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SINGLE-PARENT FAMILIES IN BANGKOK, THAILAND: FACTORS AFFECTING CHILDREN LIVING IN SINGLE-PARENT FAMILIES

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SINGLE-PARENT FAMILIES IN BANGKOK, THAILAND: FACTORS
AFFECTING CHILDREN LIVING IN SINGLE-PARENT FAMILIES

DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology at the University of Kentucky

By

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Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Rosalind Harris, Professor, University of Kentucky

Lexington, Kentucky

2011

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

SINGLE-PARENT FAMILIES IN BANGKOK, THAILAND: FACTORS AFFECTING CHILDREN LIVING IN SINGLE-PARENT FAMILIES

There has been a transformation in family structure in Thailand due to the changes in economic and social structures over time. Though not recorded in census data the rise in single-parent families can be expected due to a rise in divorce rates, that have been recorded, over the past decades. However, the literature on single-parent families is limited and little is known about the experiences of single-mothers and children of single-mother families in Thailand. This study examines the factors that have major impacts on the well-being of children of single-parent families in Bangkok, Thailand.

A qualitative methodology was employed to study the lived experiences from the point of views of 20 divorced single-mothers and 20 adult children from a different sample of divorced single-mother families in Bangkok, Thailand. Altogether 40 semi-structured interviews were conducted in Bangkok, Thailand during June and July of 2010. Three theoretical frameworks, including family and household decision making theories, the life-course perspective, and the family composition perspective were applicable in this study to provide an understanding of how economic and social structures play an important role in the dissolution of marriages and how family composition plays an important role in the well-being of children.

The findings of this study shed light on the lived experiences of participants and revealed the important factors that influence the well-being of children of single-mother families. The major factors include financial resources, parenting styles and discipline, and social supports. In addition, this study has implications for developing programs to assist and facilitate the well-being of single-parent families, strengthening the relationship within extended families, and eradicating the negative assumptions that are often associated with single-parent families.

KEYWORD: Single-Parent Families, Single-Mother Families, Single-Mothers, Divorced Mothers, Children of Single-Mother Families

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SINGLE-PARENT FAMILIES IN BANGKOK, THAILAND: FACTORS AFFECTING
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

My Story

I was born in Bangkok, Thailand in the very late seventies, the youngest of two daughters in a Thai family with Chinese ancestry. My father worked in a Thai government agency as an architect and my mother was a professor in a public university in Bangkok. My parents have lived separately for the rest of their work lives while I was growing up, because my father was constantly rotated from province to province. I lived in a compound with two houses, which were designed by my father, in the suburbs of Bangkok, in Nonthaburi. My house regularly consisted of my mother and sister. Because of work, my father regularly came home two to three times a month on the weekend. The other house in my compound consisted of my mother's family—my grandparents and my aunts.

Observing some of the negative outcomes on children who grew up with one parent, whose stories appeared on the television shows and in the lives of some of my friends, I questioned myself about whether I had a healthy life growing up in a family where most of the time my parents lived apart. Based on my physical health and emotional health, my answer is 'Yes', physically, emotionally, and psychologically. Why didn't my family arrangement affect my life negatively while growing up? I found my answer by looking into my family structure. I grew up in an extended family system. My parents, although they did not live together full time due to their jobs, are still married and both play a significant role particularly in the family finances, family decision-

making, and being involved in their children's lives. With the nearness of my grandparents and other relatives in my extended family, child-rearing was principally provided within the family.

When I set off for Thailand in the summer of 2005 after I came to study in the United States for several years, I wanted to find out what the Thai family structure was like in the early years of twenty first century. How had it changed from the past decades while I was growing up? From my observation and my experience as an intern at the Social Development and Social Security Ministry, Thailand, I noticed that the Thai family now comprises parents and children, has a "nuclear family," structure more than I saw in the past. Owning a condo and moving out of one's parents' house has become a common dream of many young adults after college graduation and having a career. Various types of families, for example, out-of wedlock couples, divorced couples, same-sex couples, single-mothers, etc. are increasingly portrayed through media and some are also noticeably seen in the public places.

My decision to study factors affecting the well-being of children living in single-mother families is influenced by my life history and my experience as an intern. Comparing and contrasting my family background, I questioned if family composition alone really has effects on children's lives. How is family composition important to children while growing up? How do single-parents deal with busy working conditions in a highly competitive labor market and raising their children alone? What are some of the factors contributing to raising children alone effectively? I had an optimistic view that a single-parent family did not really have negative effects on most aspects of child well-being. .

Introduction

In societies throughout the world, family has played an important role in supporting and providing resources to family members (Park 2007). The families are necessary for reasons of survival. For instance, they strengthen the chances for economic security, intergenerational socialization and for the emotional support of children and adolescents. Often times when we think of the definition of family, a picture of a father, a mother, and children comes into mind. However, the definition of family has changed and broadened these days. For example, there is recognition of cohabiting couples, same-sex couples with children, and single-parent households as family.

Many transformations in family structure have occurred as a result of the change in economic, technological, and socio-cultural structures in many countries around the world. For example, an increasing number of women gaining access to education and increasing female employment have transformed a family structure from a single-income family to a double-income family. Such an increase in financial independence and equality in the gender roles are also associated with increasing opportunities and choices for couples to get away from unpleasant marriages and to seek divorce.

Data from the United Nations Statistics Division show divorce trends in many Western countries are comparable; in these countries the divorce rates continued to rise between 1950 and 2000 and then the rates gradually drop after 2000. For example, the divorce rates in the United States increased from 2.6 per 1,000 people in 1950 to 5.2 in 1980 and declined to 4.2 and 3.6 in 2000 and 2008 respectively. The United Kingdom's rate was 2.99 in 1980, rose from 0.61 in 1960, then dropped to 2.4 in 2008. The trends in

divorce in many Asian countries appear to be similar to those in Western countries. For example, China's divorce rate increased from 0.5 in 1950 to 1.46 in 1990 and dropped to 1.2 in 2008. Japan's divorce rate also increased from 0.94 in 1970 to 2.08 in 2000 and slightly declined to 2.0 in 2008.

Thailand, which will be the focus of this study, experienced an increase in divorce rate from 0.11 in 1950 to 0.76 in 1983 and to 2.1 in 2007. Unlike China and Japan, the rate in Thailand continued to rise to 8.6 in 2008. Although divorce rates have increased in many regions in Thailand, Bangkok is one of the cities where the rates dramatically rose in the recent years. The highest rate for 1990 was in Bangkok, at 23.9 percent, comparing to the rate for the North, at 12.5 percent, which was more than twice that of the Northeast, at 4.8 percent. The percent change between the numbers of divorced licenses increased from 1.1 percent in 2007 to 6.9 percent in 2008.

While the statistics on divorce in countries around the world have been uneven changed over the years, the statistics of single-parent families appears to be constantly increasing. The U.S. Bureau of Statistics in 2011 reports the number of single-parent families between 2000 and 2008 increased from 27 percent to 29.5 percent in the United States, from 20.7 to 25 percent in the United Kingdom and from 8.3 in 2000 to 10.2 percent in 2005 in Japan. Statistics, according to Custodial Mothers and Fathers and Their Child Support: 2007 released by the U.S. Census Bureau in 2009, also shows that approximately 84 percent of custodial parents are mothers and 16 percent of custodial parents are fathers.

Although statistics on the number of single-parent households in Thailand have not been collected by the census, the trends of a rise in single-parent families in Thailand can be expected due to the change in economic and social structures and a continuous increase in divorce rates. The increase of single-parent families caused by divorce or separation has produced increasingly more children who are being raised in one-parent families and more likely in single-mother families, in Thailand. The experience in the family life of single-mothers and those children who were raised by a lone-mother will be the major focus of this study.

Statement of the Problem

Previous studies on single-parent families (Sorensen 1994; King 2003; Manning and Lamb 2003; Amato and Cheadle 2005) focused on the impacts of well-being of children living in single-parent families. A substantial amount of research found the absence of one parent in a family likely to have a series of negative consequences on the well-being of children, growing up with a lone parent. Compared to two parent families, children living in single-parent households are likely to perform less well on standardized tests, have lower educational aspirations, and have lower chances of graduating from high school due to economic deprivations, (Amato, 1993; Lee 1993; Downey 1994; Finn and Owings 1994). Research also found that children who did not live with two biological parents were roughly twice as likely to be poor, to have children outside of marriage, and to have psychological and behavioral problems (McLanahan and Sandefur 1994). Lower educational performances are also found to be relevant to lower economic attainments and a decline in standard of living in adulthood (Amato and Keith 1991).

The lack of economic resources can also explain the school difficulties of children from single-mother families while interpersonal deprivation helps in explaining the poor school performance of children from single-father families (Downey 1994). Single-parents who have a full-time job to meet their family's economic needs are likely to have less time to monitor their children's behavior and to supervise and observe the school progress of their children. A lack of time and parent involvement in children's lives increases the likelihood of them being engaged in problematic behaviors (Park 2007). Studies also revealed that many who witnessed violence between parents are likely to experience social and emotional difficulties due to feelings of loneliness, fear and anger (Amato and Keith 1991; Biblarz and Gottainer 2000).

The various background characteristics of a family such as family income, parental involvement, and family environment were broadly studied in many countries to understand the conditions of children living with one parent and the impacts of family arrangement on children's outcomes. Although the divorce trends in Thailand have been increasing during the past decades and these trends predict an increasing number of single-parent families, much less is known about whether impacts of parents' marital disruption on children's well-being are also demonstrated within the Thai setting.

Significance of the Study

Family structures in Thailand have become more diverse and complex. Particularly, while divorce trends are on the rise in this decade, we can predict that the number of children and adolescents who grow up with a lone parent will increase. The existing literatures focusing on single-parent families in Thailand (Jirawattananonth

1992; Chooto et al. 2001; Sanithwong Na Ayuthaya et al. 2007) examine the process of becoming single-parent families and the risk of single-parent families in Thailand. When researchers look at the consequences of children living in single-parent households, they tend to relate the family arrangement to outcomes for children; for example, children, growing up with one parent are likely to have negative experiences with school performance, self-esteem, social adjustment, etc. The literatures are only limited to examining family arrangements and the outcomes of children while overlooking the actual factors embedded in such family arrangements that may influence consequences.

This study is designed to answer what are the factors affecting the well-being of children living in single-mother families and how these factors have an impact on the children. By examining these family experiences, this study intends to illuminate three aspects including financial resources, parenting styles of discipline, and social supports. These factors are important for investigating the effects on academic outcome, emotional well-being, and behavioral problems of children living in single-mother families. The focus of the study is limited to self-perception of single-mothers and adult children on how these factors affect their living and answer questions about what are some of the difficulties experienced as a result of the single parent family structure.

Understanding the family experiences of single-mothers and adult children and how these experiences affect their lives is important for the development of future welfare policies and practices to support single-parent families in Thailand. This study is also important for launching public awareness of the lived experiences, occurring in single-parent families in order to improve resources needed for the parents and children. This study is important for understanding ways to assist this growing number of single-

mothers with children and hopefully it will indicate ways in which single-parents and children of a lone parent who are experiencing a marital disruption can be empowered.

Although single-mothers and single-fathers may hold different background characteristics such as economic status, educational attainment, and occupational prestige, which may have something to do with children's future outcomes, this study attempts to examine self-perspectives on the family experiences of single-mothers and adult children of single-mother families. The single-mother families included in the study are particularly those caused by divorce. I have chosen to study single-mother families because there were a higher number of children who were raised by a lone mother, compared to a lone father. In addition, the number of divorced parents was found to be noticeably high, compared to the number of widowed parents. A detailed discussion on the percentage of children and adolescents by household arrangement in Thailand and causes of single-parent families will be further provided in chapter three.

Much research has shown that background characteristics of family such as race, socioeconomic status, and educational attainment can produce the various outcomes for children. However, rather than comparing outcomes for children of single-mother families between different social classes, this study intends to study the challenges faced by Thai single-mothers and Thai adult children of single-mother families of middle class families. Thailand experienced economic and social development through westernization that moved the country from an agriculturally based to industrial based economy. From then, the middle class, which I will discuss in chapter six, grew in accordance with an expansion of the city, a variety of career categories, and an increase of educated citizens. Multifaceted experiences, facing middle class single-mothers, for example, balancing

work and home in order to be able to live in a decent lifestyle, maintain their socio-economic status as well as provide a healthy upbringing for their children without assistance from the father of a child, would be an important study on Thai families in today's society.

Research Question

This study was designed to examine the factors that influence the well-being of children living in single-mother families from the perspective of 20 single-mothers and 20 adult children of single-mother families living in Bangkok, Thailand. The main purpose of this research study was to explore the lived experiences of single-mother families in terms of how they have coped with their lives financially and emotionally while raising their child without a partner. By examining the lived experiences of single-mother families, this study intended to illuminate the educational experiences and behavioral experiences of children experiencing single-parenthood. So the explicit research question guiding this study is: what are the factors that influence the well-being of children living in single-mother families in Bangkok, Thailand?

Definition of Terms

This research intends to study the perspectives of Thai middle class single-mothers and adult children in Bangkok, Thailand. The term single-parent family in this study is defined as a family comprised of a lone parent with one or more children. Single-mothers are defined as divorced or separated mothers who care for one or more children without the assistance of the father of the children in the home. The terms divorce and separation are used interchangeably. Children of single-mother families are defined as adult children

who were cared for and raised by a divorced or separated mother. Although there are many ethnic groups in Thailand and many of those are mixed-blood, based on intermarriages between ethnic groups, mainly ethnic Chinese and Thai, they identify themselves as Thai citizens. Thus, “Thai” in this study refers to people, living in Thailand, who self-identify as Thai, regardless of race and ethnic.

Although the social structure in Bangkok consists of different social classes, including upper class, middle class, and lower class, this study specifically focuses on middle class single-mother families living in Bangkok. The middle class in this study is classified based in part on family income and occupation. Using a definition from Key Indicators 2010 from the Asian Development Bank, which I will discuss in the methodology chapter, middle class single-mothers and adult children include those who earn between 6 dollars to 20 dollars per day and/or those who work outside of the agricultural sectors, commit to salaried jobs, such as professionals, salaried clerical staff, businessmen, salaried administrative, and bureaucrats.

Organization of Dissertation

This dissertation consists of eight chapters. In chapter one, I have introduced the issues of single-parenthood and some effects of living in single-mother families and have established the foundation for this dissertation, which includes discussing the research questions that directed the focus of this study. In chapter two, I provide a historical background on the transformation of Thai society and the Thai family structure as a result. This chapter discusses the transformative time periods including the origin of Thailand as a country, the early period of early Thai society, the nation building period, and the global era.

In chapter three, I combine and interpret the significant literatures directly related to the factors affecting the well-being of single-mother families. This chapter includes trends in marital dissolution, an overview of single-parent families, factors relating to outcomes of children in single-mother families affecting single-parent households and child's well-being, and impacts on children in single-mother families. In this part on trends in marital dissolution, the divorce rates, reasons for increasing divorce trends and trends in single-parent within Western society and Thai society will be discussed respectively. Due to the fact that there is insufficient literature in the area of single-parent families within Thai society, literatures from Western society and Thai society will be integrated and discussed in the section on factors relating to outcomes of children in single-mother families affecting single-parent households and the part on the impacts on children living in single-parent families.

In chapter four, I discuss a detailed understanding of the probable outcomes for children of single parent families, guided by three theoretical frameworks, including family and household decision making theories, the life-course perspective, and the family composition perspective. In chapter five, I review the research methods employed in this study. In this chapter, I also discuss the criteria for selecting respondents to participate in the study, specify the data sources and data collection methods, detail the particular procedures that will be utilized for analyzing the data, and describe the strategies the researcher will employ to ensure the validity of the research. In chapter six, I discuss and summarize the research findings that emerged from this study. Using pseudonyms the findings are based on the lived experiences of the participants. In chapter seven, I discuss the contributions that this study makes to the field of single-motherhood

in regards to factors that have impacts on well-being of children of single-mother families, living in Bangkok, Thailand. In the final chapter, I conclude a discussion of the implications of the study's findings, offers relevant recommendations for professional practice, and suggest directions for future research.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIETY AND FAMILY STRUCTURE IN THAILAND

A discussion of the history and transformation of Thai society are examined in this chapter to provide basic background knowledge associated with the change in family structure over time. This chapter aims to provide an understanding of how Thai society came to be and examines cultural, social, and economic influences across time and space. This is done to build an understanding of how individuals and family structure are in the process of change in the country. This chapter consists of four sections. The first section, the origin of Thailand, provides background information about the geographical location, the original settlement, and population. The second section discusses Thai society in the early years, including the character of the indigenous Thai family and an assimilation of Chinese culture into the Thai society and family structure. The third section talks about Thailand in the nation building period, which was the period when Western countries came into contact and had dramatic influences on the development of economic structures, social structures, and family structures. The last section discusses the period in which Thailand has become more modernized and informs the changes that took place in the country during the twentieth century, including a change in economic structure, a change in population, and a change in family structure.

The Origin of Thailand

The mainland in Southeast Asia, now known as Thailand has been inhabited by a group of people, believed to be called Mon and Khmer for more than 30,000 years (Pookajon 1999). Thailand is bordered on the east by Laos and Cambodia, on the South by the Gulf of Thailand and Malaysia, on the west by the Andaman Sea and Burma, and on the north by Laos and Burma (see FIGURE 1). Prior to the 10th century, Thailand was governed by various kingdoms such as the Mon, Khmer, and Malay kingdoms (Torkaow 2009). When people who came to be collectively called “Thai” moved down from southern China into the region around the 10th century, they defeated the existing kingdoms and established their own kingdoms. These kingdoms fought each other under a continual threat from the Khmers, Burmese, and Vietnamese until 1238 when the Sukhothai kingdom was established as a sovereign state to self-govern the country (Torkaow 2009). During this period, the Thai language and its alphabet were created and organized as the national and official language. Buddhism, which has been the major religion in this area that came from the Indian culture, remained.



FIGURE 1. Map of Thailand

Source: Central Intelligence Agency, the World Factbook.

Several kingdoms thrived to have the dominant power and to govern the nation. In 1782, the “Rattanakosin” kingdom, the current empire, became dominant (Torkaow 2009). In this period, Bangkok, located in central part of the country, along the major river; “Chao Phraya” (See FIGURE 1), was designated to be the capital city. Because Chao Phraya River runs through the city, Bangkok began as a trading port and community center and became the largest urban area of Thailand and the cultural, educational, political and economic center of the country. Thailand was an absolute monarchy until 1932 when a coup transformed it to a constitutional monarchy under a parliamentary democratic system, in which the king is the head of the country and the prime minister is the head of government. The king has become the symbol of the nation

but still has the power to approve or disapprove bills, adopted by the parliament before they become effective as laws.

Thailand is geographically divided into four major regions: the Central, North, Northeast, and South. The low-lying plain formed by the Chao Phraya River is where the majority of the population is concentrated. The central region of Thailand is the historical and contemporary heart of the indigenous Thai population and economy. Bangkok; the capital city, located in the central region, has been the major center of industry in the country because it is located at the base of the plain near the mouth of the river. The Northern region of Thailand is a mountainous region where rice is grown in the valleys and orchards are found on the hillsides. Another large area of the country, where the major populations reside in is the Northeastern region. This area is a dry plateau area, suited for cultivating rice and tropical crops. The Southern region of Thailand has a relatively small population some of its southernmost provinces are mixed with Malay. Fruit and rubber are the most significant agricultural products in this region.

According to LePoer (1987), race and ethnicity in Thailand were not clearly defined whether by language, by features of culture, or by an individual's self-identification, due to the fact that the Thai government's policy promoted a concept of assimilation of various ethnic groups within the country and encouraged a new idea of Thainess. Under the Nationality Act of 1913, all born inside the borders of Thailand could claim the Thai nationality (Baker and Phongpaichit 2005). This policy was later on amended; however, the concept of unified nation still remains. People who have settled in Thailand for some periods of time tend to consider their race as Thai. For example,

people who are Chinese descendants mostly regard themselves as Thai with Chinese ancestors, rather than Chinese, living in Thailand.

Despite the inadequacy of the data on race and ethnicity, it is possible to make some rough estimates of the ethnic composition of the minority sector of the Thai population in the present days. As shown in FIGURE 2, statistics compiled from the National Statistical Office and Central Statistic Office of Thailand, 2009 and the CIA World Factbook show that the population of Thailand is made up of 75 percent Thai, 14 percent Chinese, and 11 percent are other ethnicities. 93.2 percent of total populations are Buddhists, 5.8 percent are Muslims, 0.9 percent is Christians, and the rest are Hindus and Sikhs, as shown in FIGURE 3.

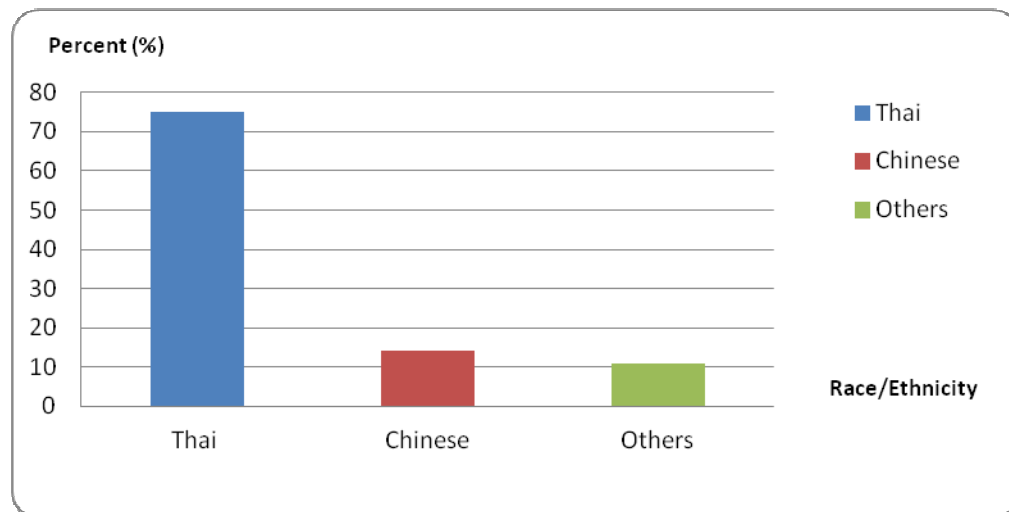


FIGURE 2. Race/Ethnicity

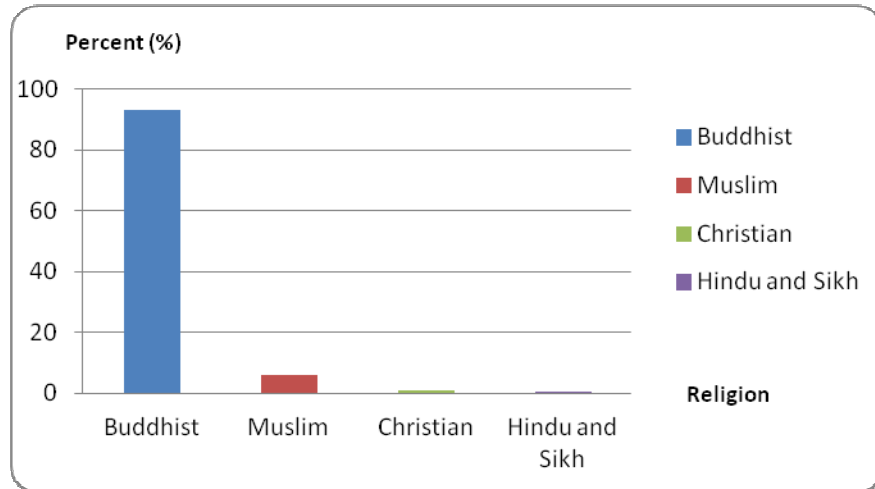


FIGURE 3. Religion

Source: Data in FIGURE 2 and 3 were compiled from the National Statistical Office of Thailand, 2010 and Central Intelligence Agency.

An Early Thai Society

From around the first century BC during Sukhothai period, Thailand had strong relationships with Asian countries and assimilated elements from some of the cultures, through their contacts. For example, Thailand absorbed some elements of artistry and broad trade from India, China, and Cambodia. Thailand started to form its own culture, influenced by two major cultural groups from India and China (Baker and Phongpaichit 2005). Indian culture has had an influence on the Thai culture through religious beliefs, arts, and linguistics. New ideas and technologies, brought in by India; however, were not wholly assimilated into Thai culture. Rather, they were adapted to suit the Thai environment and produced uniquely Thai cultural traditions. For example, Thailand created their own religious scripts, borrowed from South India and having obvious

connections with Buddhist and Hindu beliefs and mythologies. Education in Thailand began when one of the kings of the Sukhothai Kingdom, Ramkamhaeng, created the first Thai alphabet, using scripts derived from an Indian script. Education was provided by the Royal Institution of Instruction to princes and sons of nobles and by the Buddhist monks to commoners.

Around the late twelfth century, Chinese groups expanded their settlements along the Mekong River and then became dominant in the Chao Phraya Basin. Indigenous people in Thailand who coexisted with the Chinese progressively blended into this society. Although many Chinese descendants of immigrants did not lose their sense of being Chinese, the majority of Chinese descendants merged into Thai culture by adopting Thai values, such as speaking the Thai language, celebrating Thai festivals, and pledging loyalty to the Thai flag and monarchy. Eventually, indigenous Thai culture and Chinese culture appeared to combine into one culture.

In the eighteenth century, Chinese migrants into Thailand increased through the trades, settled along Chao Phraya River, and formed the majority of the city population in Bangkok (Baker and Phongpaichit 1998). Chinese merchants and laborers ran the urban economy, and the society became more bourgeois, especially in the capital. Chinese entrepreneurs in Thailand not only imposed taxes through their trading to raise government revenues, they tried to increase their power through royal patronage by serving as traders on behalf of the king. Some Chinese merchant families made impressive alliances with royal families, earning titles in the palace and wealth when many married indigenous Thai and started their own enterprises.

Although the Thai culture was shaped by direct and indirect borrowings from Indian and Chinese civilization, Chinese influences continue to be more significant among the Thais' lives, because descendants of Chinese immigrants could easily intermingle into indigenous Thai society by long residence, marriage, and cultural assimilation. The majority of Chinese descendants merged with Thai society and became indistinguishable from the indigenous Thai by marrying a Thai. Within generations, Chinese descendants became so integrated that they became Chinese-Thai and eventually Thai and most continued to regard themselves as Thai.

Family in Thai Society

Family and Household

Family was held as the foundation of the Thai society. The concept of family in Thai society was broader than merely a group that consists of parents and their children who cooperate in a number of day-to-day activities. For Thais, the word family or 'Krob Krua' was understood as a kin group consisting of those who are related principally, but not absolutely through blood ties of maternal or paternal sides. The types of kin are referred to as members of the family who live in the same house and share many aspects of the day-to-day activities (Podhisita 1990). Thus, the concept of family and household in Thailand is interchangeable and the word Krob Krua is alternatively used for household. The members of the family may include parents and children, grandparents both maternal and paternal, uncles, aunts, in-laws, and grandchildren. In some families non-relatives such as workers or maids who have lived in the house for an extended period of time may be counted as family kin.

According to Brewster Grace (1974), indigenous Thai mainly resided in small, long-established rural communities and villages, which were formed around rivers, canals, deltas, and crop fields. Agriculture has been a major economic activity in every region in Thailand. The heart of the country is the valley of the Chao Phraya River, where Bangkok is located (see FIGURE 1). Thai settlements increased with rice agriculture and communities became increasingly clustered around merchant areas, agricultural regions, and other economic communities. Rice manufacture represents a considerable part of the Thai economy and labor force. The Thai economy has been geared to growth from rice exports, accompanied by other agricultural commodities such as tapioca, rubber, grain, and sugar.

Fundamentally, the extended family tradition was strongly held by Thai communities in rural areas, where kinsmen on both maternal and paternal sides are dependent. Because men were constantly going off to hunt and to serve in the army, when there was no guarantee of safe return, the rural household revolved around its women (Baker and Phongpaichit 1998). The traditional Thai family was obviously described as matrilineal, in which the family property was passed down through the female as ruler of the family and manager of the family farm. A Thai daughter, rather than a son, was expected to reside in or nearby the parental house after marriage. Inheritance was equally partitioned among male and female children, but the youngest daughter was expected to inherit the parental house and to take care of the parents until they die. Both son and daughter were expected to contribute to their parents' welfare and send them money. Harris et al. (1963) explicate mobility of the Thai was irregularity, in which people in Thailand rarely move from one region of the country to another,

radically change their jobs, or migrate to other countries. For many, mobility has taken the form of moving to urban areas, especially Bangkok, to pursue work and this pursued residence becomes permanent.

Gender Roles within the Thai Family

There was a division of responsibility between husband and wife in the Thai family. The wife accepted the main role of child rearing and home management, while the husband took a major role in business and farm management. Women or wives were generally subordinate to men or to their husbands at least in public (Hass 1979).

Practically, the wives took a role of financial management for the family by controlling a great deal of their families' cash income (Limanonda 1990). Therefore, women had more power in their families than was obvious (Hass 1979).

Any public display of affection between a man and a woman such as handholding and embracing each other was considered as inappropriate behavior. Thais regarded physical intimacy and sexual intimacy as suitable only within marriage. Hence, expressions of love between unrelated persons of the opposite sex should always be kept from public view. There was a double standard of sexual morality, in that, although promiscuity for men or women was not acceptable, women were much more stigmatized.

Marriage

Thai society has always reflected the master-subject relationship, in which the superior gives leadership in return for support and trustworthiness. In large measure, Thai people carry the hierarchical ranking, according to seniority. In the family, seniority is valued. Family members give an older person more power, which provides a guideline

for proper behavior. This precept was commonly practiced even when it came to the selection of mates, in that the selection of mates in Thai culture was predominantly controlled by the parents. Graham (1958) argues that the parents unquestionably had the right in selecting mates for their children. Children who did not follow the practice in past generations were considered to be violating a long-standing custom. However, marriage in Thailand might be arranged through formal negotiation, with the use of a go-between, and the young person's own decisions were often respected (Limanonda 1990). When a couple married against parental wishes or without obtaining parental blessings, they had to be in a very secure position to withstand the hazards involved. It also created conflicts with the extended family, which one could avoid by asking for consent.

Because the family structure in Thailand involved extended kin, marriage in Thailand was not just about two individuals but about their families and their belief systems. Parents tried to make the best possible match they could and partners were committed to making the marriage work. Hence, adolescents were not only bonded together by the ceremony of marriage but also by the social pressure associated with it. A couple's new status and identity, particularly for the wife, whose last name was changed to her husband's and title was changed from Miss to Mrs, creating new patterns of behavior with appropriate duties and responsibilities. It is not only the bride and groom that passed from being single to being married, but their parents and siblings entered new relationships and became in-laws. Such status changes put additional pressure on the couples since marriage involved more than one type of status change. Married couples would face severe social pressures if divorce ever became an issue.

Chinese Assimilation into Thai Society and Influence on Family Structure

Both Chinese and Thai cultures have changed due to their influence on each other. Because of mixed-marriages with the indigenous, Chinese immigrants culturally adjusted into Thai society, adopting Thai values, speaking Thai, going to Thai schools, and celebrating Thai festivals (Chan and Tong 1993). Whereas, the Thai took on an ideal type of male dominance, brought in by the Chinese. Baker and Phongpaichit (1998) argue that the Chinese brought with them explicit patriarchal and patrilineal family traditions. The first Chinese settlers often preferred sons and grandsons. They produced the sons needed to uphold the family's next generation, and ties to patrons and partners as a result. Chinese-Thai families adopted a family tradition focused on males and filial piety. The merchant family included working women, but under male dominated working conditions. Descent and inheritance were through males, and the husband was conclusively the head of the family. Sons brought their wives into the parental home.

Another characteristic of the Chinese family that played in the assimilation processes of the second generation was a rigid organization with definite status and specific obligations, assigned to each family member. Although the Thai family appointed clear-cut rules, governing relationships between family members, Gardiner and Lematawekul (1970) viewed that the Thai family had a loosely structured organization, in which some considerable permissiveness was given to individuals toward deviations from the accepted norm when compared to the Chinese family. In this regard, Chinese parents exercised forceful control over their children's marriages as well as their livelihoods (Coughlin 1960).

The Nation Building Period: An Influence from Western Countries in the Nineteenth Century

In the nineteenth century during the colonial period, although France and Britain took over many neighbor countries such as Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, and Malaysia, Thailand established a firm compromise with Western powers to declare Thailand to be an autonomous neutral territory even though they had to sacrifice some territories to preserve the country's independence (Baker and Phongpaichit 2005). Thailand though was independent in the sense that it was not officially or directly colonized by Europeans; the country was transformed under the strong influence of the ideals from the West and under the direction of the Europeans employed by the Thai government. For example, when the British first came to look for trading opportunities, the process of transformation through trade relations with the British introduced Thailand to new systems for disciplining the people and for creating a nation-state through new kinds of trading regulations, economic rationality, laws, and organization (Curran 1995; Baker and Phongpaichit 2005). Subsequently, Thailand constructed a judicial system, new common law approaches, new military planning and modern education systems.

Along with the influences of modernization, a key influence of change in Thailand was King Chulalongkorn (King Rama V), who reigned between 1868 until 1910. The king's reformation was made in order to modernize the country and improved almost every aspect of Thai life. Under his reign of 42 years, Thailand developed relations with European nations and the United States. The royal children, bureaucrats and military leaders were sent for training and education in the West. They brought back new ideas of civil service systems, government systems, school systems, communication

systems, and Western ideas of democracy and equality. The formal educational system and the first school were established and the Command Declaration on Schooling was issued.

After the Second World War, the U.S. became a new foreign ally. While Britain had focused on its colonies, the U.S. arrived in Thailand as a collaborator and stood for resisting the spread of communism in Asia. The U.S. helped to promote development, aiming primarily at economic growth through the mechanisms of the nation-state more intensively than before (Baker and Phongpaichit 2005). The U.S. also helped to set up a new bureaucratic infrastructure for promoting development of a planning board, budget bureau, investment promotion machinery, and restructured central banking.

Social Stratification and Mobility

Thai society was stratified based on a number of factors including who had political power, prestige and access to wealth, starting in the early nineteenth century. By the late nineteenth century; however, social stratification was primarily based on the accumulation of wealth (Funatsu and Kagoya 2003). While the hereditary nobles continued to retain high status in the society, the Chinese who controlled the major business enterprises of Thailand made a place for themselves and moved into the upper bureaucracy. As the Thai accorded high status to those who held power and prestige, bureaucrats were likely to acquire a high social status. Bureaucratic elites and bureaucrats tended to be those who held undergraduate or graduate degrees from foreign universities.

However, the expansion of the bureaucracy and an increasing private sector generated opportunities for social mobility. An upward mobility was associated with the

availability of education, which gave the Thai positioning in bureaucratic careers. However, education was necessary for entering the bureaucracy while competencies for political reliability and connection in the patron-client system played a part in upward mobility within the bureaucracy. The relationship between patron and client was also significant in the society, in which the connection between the two specific persons was important for political support and economic implication. Positioning in the high levels of the bureaucracy not only brought a good income, but also provided access to other sources of income such as participation in the ownership of businesses.

A New Formed Thai Family Structure

Both Thai and the Chinese have been exposed to external Western practices and ideas during the country's modernization, development and industrialization process (Morita 2007). They have become more alike because both are to some extent assimilated into a common new cultural and social environment as they share many cosmopolitan practices and beliefs (Tarkulwaranout et al. 2001). In the face of rapid Westernization in Thai society, Thai kinship became bilateral, in which descent is traced through both the mother's and the father's families. In 1868, King Mongkut abolished the right of a man to sell his wife or children into slave status to settle the debts or as punishment without their permission. A right of upper-class women to have a say in selecting husbands was more limited than those of lower or middle class women because their choice might affect the reputation of the family.

Marriage and Family

During the nineteenth century period, the nuclear family became an ideal of the domestic unit; however, many families often included members of the extended family such as unmarried siblings and relatives (Wyatt 1984). The husband was supposedly the head of the family; whereas, the wife had considerable authority within the household. Polygyny; however, was commonly practiced in the past, generally among the elite wealthy and powerful men. Property generally was divided equally among the children after the parents died. The youngest daughter was commonly assumed to have primary responsibility for looking after the parents in their old age and inherited the family house.

Finding a partner and marrying in the nineteenth century were basically initiated by younger individuals, although the choice of a spouse may be influenced by their parents. Many newly married couples tended to establish their own household when they married (Komin 1990). However, residence with the parents was still common, especially among poorer couples. Divorce was usually a matter of a couple terminating their marriage and dividing their property.

Global Era: Thai Society in the Twentieth Century

Thailand began the modern era after the launching of its first National Development Plan in 1961. With the help from the U.S., Thailand set up a new bureaucratic infrastructure for promoting development, mainly including economic development, educational development, and administrative development. Cities influenced by American culture changed form and style after a tourist authority was organized in 1959 as part of development planning. New suburbs were organized around

the schools, shops, cinemas, and clubs catering to westerners. Foreign goods, especially American brand names, acquired new status value. Hence, the American era, as Baker and Phongpaichit (2005:150) called this period, redefined what was modern and aspirational, especially for the growing urban middle class within Thailand.

As Baker and Phongpaichit (2005) discussed, the Thai-Chinese industrial groups were the major recipients of the capital development plan. Western powers provided Chinese entrepreneurs, long-settled in Thailand since the route back to China was closed after the Chinese revolution in 1949, a new opportunity in business and banking. In this climate, Chinese entrepreneurial families thrived by exploiting their own family labor, saving money, investing greatly in their businesses, providing for their children's education, developing family networks, and drawing on political contacts.

Forced labor and the integration of the economy with capitalist enterprise made changes in the economy, society, and landscape of the country, particularly in Bangkok. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Bangkok was a city largely in transition and this transition presently affected economic functions and cultural functions. A new entrepreneurial elite of Chinese origins emerged in the early twentieth century; at the same time, the middle class of merchants expanded, and the economic transformation of the city created a new working class, formed by urban workers. McGee (1967:72) described Bangkok as a "dual city," where there was an older, pre-industrial palace city juxtaposed with a newer, commercial city. The city had gone from a floating village—houses built along canals—to a modern metropolis" (London 1980:29). Bangkok and its society were reshaped by new transportation systems, such as the rail and road. Bangkok also attracted many, although it was much more expensive to live there than in a

provincial city. This is partially due to its key center of intellectual life, where institutions of higher education and the center of political power.

The transformation in Thailand during the twentieth century was made primarily within economic, social, population, and family structure.

Economic Structure

Thailand began its transformation from a land-oriented agrarian country to a pre-industrial country in the twentieth century (London 1980). Rural agriculture yielded to the new role of agricultural entrepreneurs. While agricultural activity could not continue to maintain a rural population because of a growing land shortage and there were not enough markets for crops, and rural districts were finding it difficult to provide employment for the increasing number of rural workers, migration in search of work in the industrial sector increased overtime. A push from rural poverty to acquire urban employment was feasible.

Foreign markets and investment augmented various types of industry, incorporating with state enterprises such as pharmaceuticals, tobacco, oil refining, etc. and a large numbers of small private enterprises such as rice milling, food, beverage production, etc. are far more relevant to employment. The tourism industry has also been a major economic factor in Thailand. Unsurprisingly, it appears that while the industrial sector is growing, the service sector attracts the growing labor force. In other words, service industries, for example, hotels, restaurants, communications, transportations, etc., have been increasing in live with the demand from the industrial sector. The growth of

the city not only produced factory work but also jobs such as drivers, house servants, shop and restaurant workers, and construction laborers.

An increasing number of Thai people were attracted to migrate from rural areas to urban centers such as Bangkok, because urban areas had greater employment opportunities and more and better social services. Moreover, Bangkok, strongly influenced by western culture, has governed the country as a political and business core. As education, bureaucracy, and modern business expanded, a middle class, drawn from the mix of indigenous Thai and Chinese-Thai, drawn from the provincial towns, was formed and began a new urban life and culture. The increase of business and income gave form to a new urban culture which values modernity, wealth, and individualism (Baker and Phongpaichit 2005). While the transformations of the Thai economy and the cooperative outcomes of the economy and politics have moved Thailand toward a more free-market economy and a more democratic polity, the social changes were primarily produced by urbanism and modernization. Ultimately, urbanism prevailed and has done to dominate the entire country.

Population

The population in Thailand visibly changed between 1960 and 2000. As shown in FIGURE 4, Thailand had a population of 26.3 million in 1960. The population increased to 44.8 million in 1980 and reached 60.6 million in 2000. The Thai population stood at 65.4 million people in 2010. As shown in FIGURE 5, compared with the 1960 Census, the percentage of population was considerably higher in the Central Region and the Southern Region while it was lower in the Northern Region and Northeastern Region.

The Northeastern Region had the largest population, 34.2 percent in 1960 and 2000. The next largest regions were the Central Region, 23.3 percent in 1960 and 23.4 percent in 2000. The Northern Region had 21.8 percent in 1960 and 18.8 in 2000. The South had a population of 12.5 in 1960 and 13.3 percent in 2000.

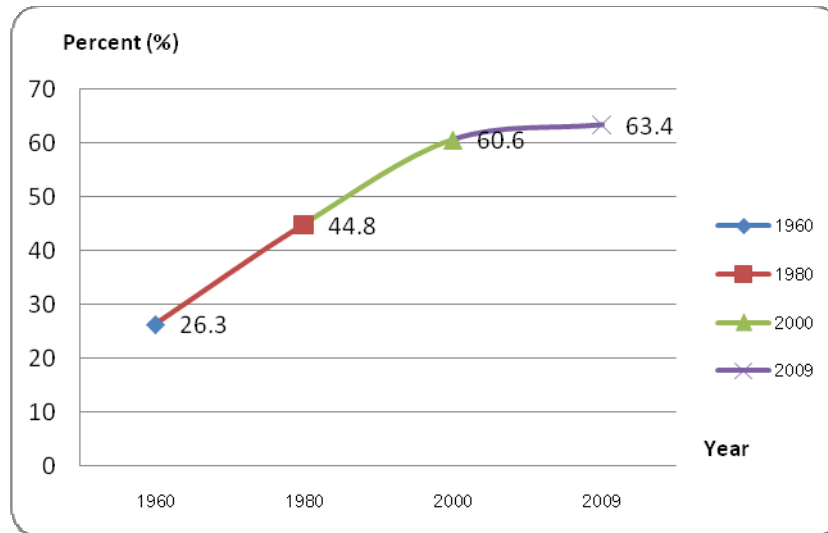


FIGURE 4. Population

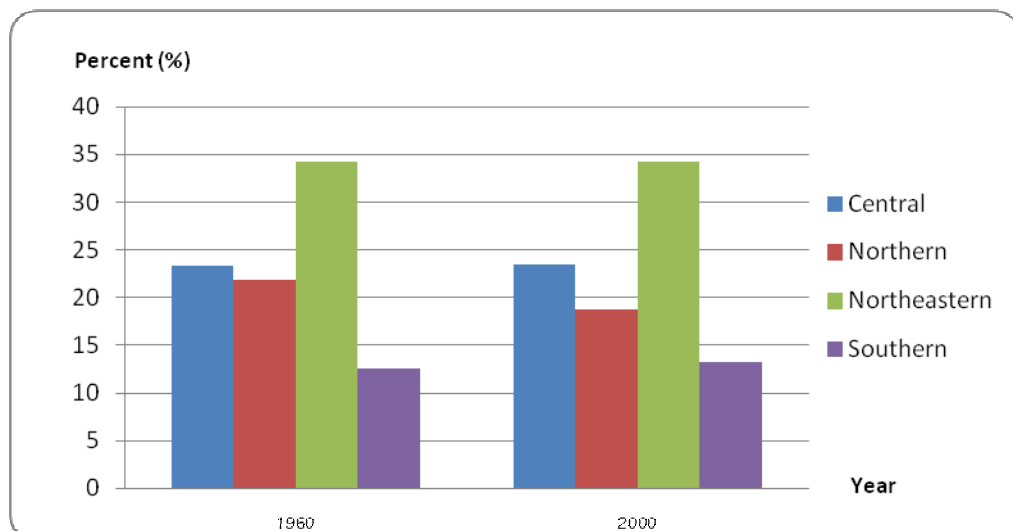


FIGURE 5. Population by Region

Source: Data in FIGURE 4 and 5 were compiled from Population and Housing Census 2010, National Statistical Office of Thailand.

As a result of contacts with the West and the impact of capitalism, one of the most important changes in this period was the growth in urban and rural populations and a growing urban setting in Thailand. In the early twentieth century, urban growth has been much higher than rural (see FIGURE 6). The data reveal the extent of a drastic urban growth of 132.1 percent, comparing to rural growth of 44.3 percent in 1947-1960. The growth rates were dropped in 1960-1970, but urban growth rates (47.8 percent) were still higher than rural (28.9 percent). Bangkok was one of the most growing cities in the country. The number of growth rates by region (see FIGURE 7) also shows the highest rates of 117.9 percent in Bangkok, comparing to other regions.

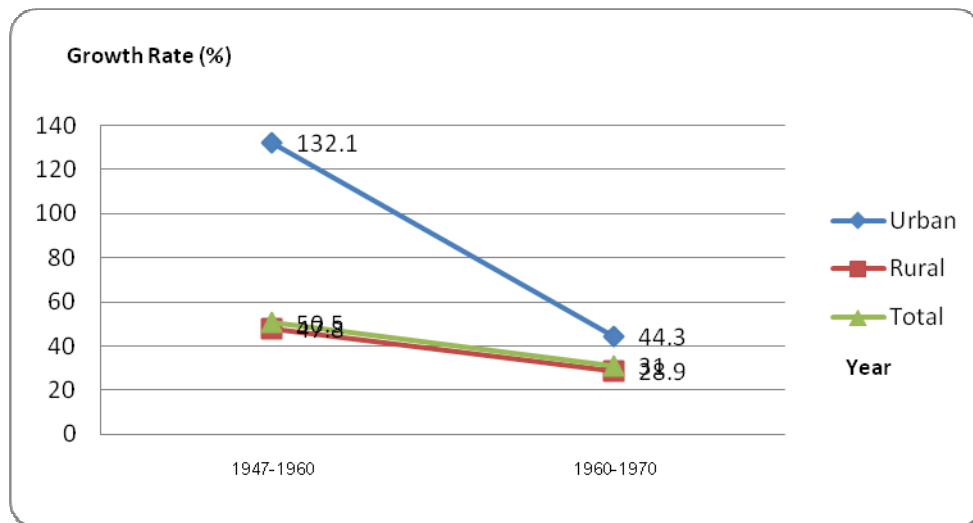


FIGURE 6. Growth Rate (%) of Urban, Rural, and Total Population, 1947-1960 and 1960-1970

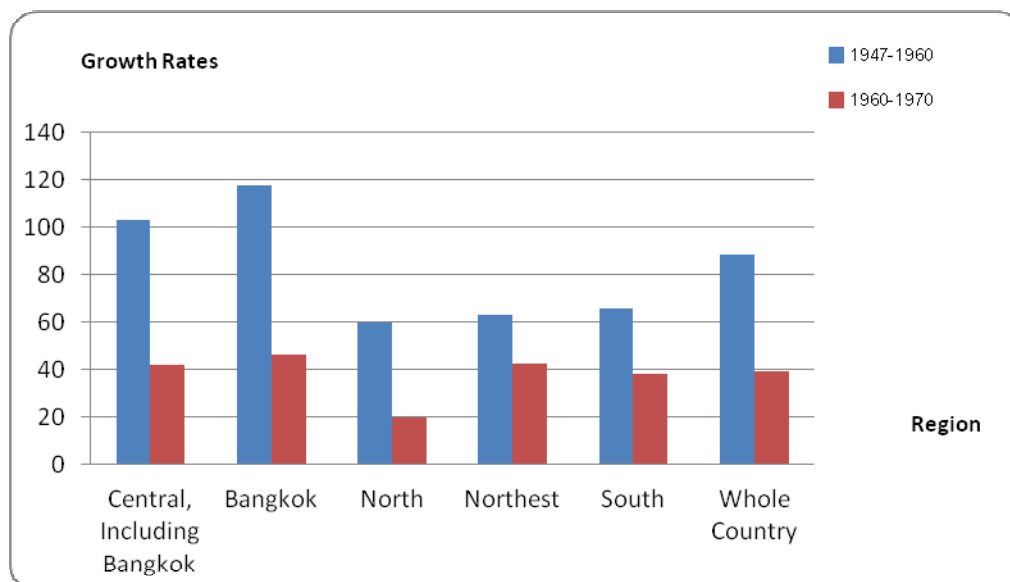


FIGURE 7. Growth Rates (%) of All Municipalities, by Region, 1947-1960 and 1960-1970

Source: Data for FIGURE 6 and 7 were compiled from Population and Housing Census 1972, National Statistical Office of Thailand.

A comparison of population at regional level reveals that Bangkok had the most increasing number of population between 1960 and 2000 (see TABLE 1). The percentage increased from 8.1 percent in 1960 to 10.8 in 1990, and 10.4 in 2000.

Region	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
Bangkok	8.1	8.9	10.5	10.8	10.4
Central	23.4	21.9	21.7	22.1	23.3
Northern	21.8	21.8	20.2	19.4	18.8
Northeastern	34.2	35.0	35.0	34.9	34.2
Southern	12.5	12.4	12.6	12.8	13.3

TABLE 1. Percentage of Population in Different Regions from 1960 to 2000

Source: Population and Housing Census 1960-2000, National Statistical Office of Thailand.

The population density (see FIGURE 8), determined by the average number of people per square kilometer of Thailand, drastically increased from 51.1 persons per kilometer in 1960 to 118.1 persons per kilometer in 2000. Bangkok had the highest density at both regional level and provincial level: 4,028.9 persons per kilometer. At regional level, the population densities of the Central Region: 137.8 persons per kilometer, the Northeast Region: 122.9 persons per kilometer, the Southern Region: 113.9 persons per kilometer, and the Northern Region: 67.0 persons per kilometer.

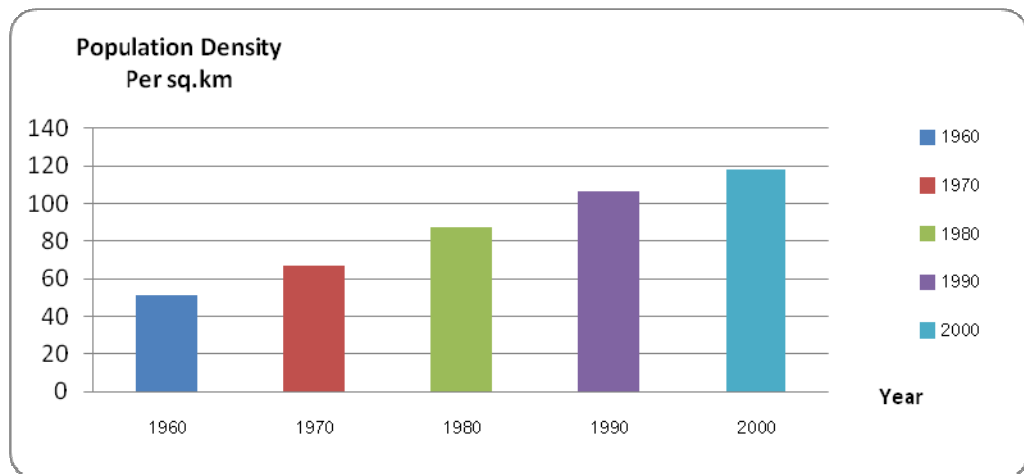


FIGURE 8. Population Density from 1960 to 2000

Source: Population and Housing Census 1960-2000, National Statistical Office of Thailand.

Among the working population, women are included in many sectors as the workers and the business people. For example, they planted crops on the city outskirts, dominated the street and canal markets, and also labored in the factories and public

utilities. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, there have been increasing urban employment opportunities in factories, where many village girls are pulled into urban areas because of a strong sense of their responsibility to contribute to the family income (Lo and Yeung 1996).

Social Structure and Social Stratification

At the social level in the twentieth century, social stratification became more complex as the economic structure developed. A growing number in the elite class had their origins outside the hereditary nobility and the higher ranks in the government bureaucracy expanded to include persons from various socioeconomic backgrounds. Many business families such as Chinese businessmen fully entered the bureaucracy and earned considerable economic power and influenced some political decisions through bureaucrats with whom they had connections. A number of those families became bankers and industrial entrepreneurs. Opportunities to earn a higher social status and acquire prestige within the Thai society were available to anyone, especially those Chinese in the economic elite acquired prestige within the Thai society through the links with the Thai elites in respect to the establishment of economic relations.

In the years after World War II, a socially and occupationally mixed middle class emerged, when the national development scheme was launched in 1958 and when the Thai economy began to change from one based on agriculture to one led by manufacturing in 1982 (Funatsu and Kagoya 2003). Funatsu and Kagoya (2003) discussed that a majority of the new middle class were Bangkok-born with traditional middle class parents such as store owners and small factory owners, who had less than six

years educational background. The majority Thai college graduates, who used to join the government career civil servants, started to go into the private sector, because it was better paid. At the same time, government officials started to change their jobs from the public sector to the private.

The emerging middle class was based partially on consumption expenditure and partially on occupation. The Asian Development Bank (ADB) uses a simple definition of people living on approximately between 2 US dollars to 20 US dollars per day as determining middle class status. Using this criteria to define the Thai middle class, Natalie Chun (2010)'s survey showed that middle class population in Thailand were quite large in the number, which consisted of about 85 percent of population, followed by lower class of 10.72 percent and upper class of 3.46 percent. As Chun (2010) defined, unlike the poor who only had enough to survive, the middle class had the base amount of income to invest in fruitful activities that contribute to economy welfare of the country. In account for daily expenditure, wage and income should be taken into consideration. According to the Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board (2010), a minimum wage of Thailand was 206 baht per person per day or about 6 US dollars per person per day.

Categorizing the middle class using the ADB's definition and Thailand's minimum wage, the middle class can be classified into the upper middle class, which include those who worked in professionals and technicians, executives and manager, and white-collar officer workers. Middle-middle class consisted of those who were employed in salaried careers at the middle levels, salaried administrative, and middle-level bureaucrats. The lower echelon within the middle class consisted of those who lived

between 2 US dollars per day to 6 US dollars per day, including those petty bourgeoisie who provided a range of services to the other level of middle class, for example, salesperson of a small-scale business, shopkeepers, and service workers. In effect, when a minimum wage is taken into consideration, the percentage of lower class population and of lower-middle class population will increase.

The rise of middle classes further transformed the country, particularly Bangkok's infrastructure and its social and cultural life. Condos were established in the city center areas. As the traffic conditions worsened, many middle class people with mid to high-income altered their new lifestyle in to stay in city condos where they were close to their workplaces and went back to their parents' home on the weekends.

On the other hand, while a number of those salaried employees in companies expanded in this decade, a large group, of the lower stratum or working class emerged as a range of occupations expanded. This segment was assorted with wage-workers in industrial enterprises, those who had no steady work but offering their services as unskilled labor, rural subsistence agricultural families, and migrant workers.

As the twentieth century progressed, the private sector became a relatively new idea to the Thai as a source of substantial income (Funatsu and Kagoya 2003). Besides bureaucrats and government workers who earned a higher prestige in the society, those entrepreneurial employees also acquired a higher social status, depending on the positions they hold. As the availability of a higher education beyond secondary level was expanded throughout the country, opportunities for social mobility were feasible through

educational attainment. Education was not only necessary for entering a career, but also necessary for upward mobility within the organization.

Education

According to Ministry of Education (2008), the educational system was reformed and reshaped under the 1902 the National System of Education in Siam. Thailand has had a formal comprehensive education plan since 1932, including kindergarten, primary, secondary, and higher education. A launching of the first National Education Scheme aimed to provide an opportunity for education to all individuals regardless of sex, social background, and physical conditions. Schools have been mandatory from age six to fifteen. Around 1960, compulsory education legislation was passed to require individuals to receive nine years of compulsory primary education (Triamanuruck et al. 2004).

According to the Human Development Index (HDI) of 2011, Thailand's mean years of schooling is 6.6 years, which increased from 4.6 years in 1990 and 5.4 years in 2000. Expected years of schooling is 12.3 years, which increased from 8.6 years in 1990 and 11.2 years in 2000 (see FIGURE 9). Comparing to countries which are close to Thailand in 2011 HDI rank and population size such as Vietnam and Philippines, Thailand's 2011 mean years of schooling is higher than those of Vietnam, but lower than those of the Philippines. Thailand's 2011 expected years of schooling are slightly higher than those of Vietnam and the Philippines (see TABLE 2). Incorporating with measurements of life expectancy and a decent standard of living, Thailand is ranked 103 out of 187 countries in the medium human development category.

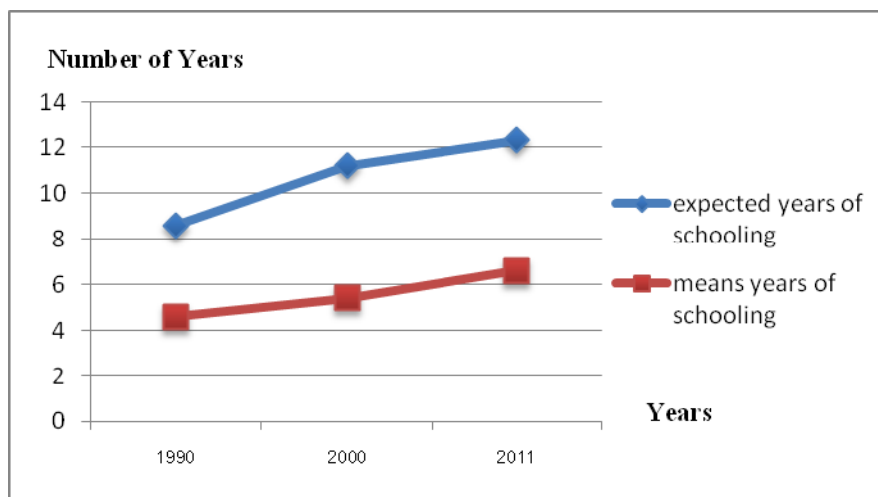


FIGURE 9. Thailand’s Means Years of Schooling and Expected Years of Schooling

Source: Human Development Index (HDI), 2011

	Mean years of schooling	Expected years of schooling
Thailand	6.6	12.3
Vietnam	5.5	10.4
Philippines	8.9	11.9

TABLE 2. Means Years of Schooling and Expected Years of Schooling

Source: Human Development Index (HDI), 2011

School system in Thailand is generally divided into public schools and private schools. The public schools or government schools are administered by the government and the private schools are established by private individuals, some are Christian/Catholic schools and charity schools. Tuition fees, according to Tsang and Kidchanapanish (1992),

was officially not permitted by the government, varies by school, in which the estimated fees for private schools are likely to cost more than public schools. According to Thailand Household Economic Survey (2001), the average household size of 3.6 persons per household spent 2.5 percent of the total consumption expenditure on education in 2001, which increased from 1.4 percent in 1990.

Thailand has evolved some educational reforms to improve the quality of educational programs and to provide accessibility for individuals. In order to encourage more students to gain education, the Thai government spent about one-quarter of its total public expenditure on education. Higher education emerged in Thailand when Chulalongkorn University was instituted in 1916. Tertiary education has increased its significant importance to both individuals and the society in general toward the twenty-first century. As of 2004, 15 percent of the education resources were allocated to higher education (World Bank 2006). The Ministry of Finance in Thailand introduced the student loan scheme to ensure access for the poor to secondary and higher education by providing loans to needy students under favorable repayment conditions (Ziderman 2003).

Higher education provides substantial value to individuals, for example, the economies related to career and the living. Individual earnings are related to educational attainment, in that people who completed high school earn more than those who did not while people with a bachelor's degree would earn more than those with a high school diploma. According to the data from the Labor Force Survey (2005), the average monthly wage for individuals with tertiary education is more than four times larger than the average monthly wage of individuals with primary or less years of education and three

times larger than those with secondary education. TABLE 3 illustrates that the average monthly wage of individuals with primary education or lower was less than 4,400 baht or about 110 US dollars. This was about 200 baht per working day, which was slightly above the 191 baht per day minimum wage in 2005. Average monthly wages were much higher for secondary and higher education workers, which were 6,772 baht or USD 169 and 17,680 baht or USD 442 respectively.

Educational Level	Average Wage (Baht)
Primary or Less	4,390
Secondary	6,772
Higher Education	17,680
Unknown	17,250
Population Average	8,259

TABLE 3. Average Monthly Wage by Educational Level, 2005

*US\$ 1= roughly 40 baht in 2005

Source: Labor Force Survey, 2005

Family Structure

The residence patterns in the twentieth century has transformed from the Chinese and Thai original customs, in which the Chinese customarily followed a patrilocal pattern of residence after marriage while the Thai had an inclination for matrilocal residence (Morita 2007). Many of younger generations of Chinese born in Thailand and Thai citizens set up a separate household after marriage and they were in favor of neolocal

residence. Even though financial difficulty that might occur in the nuclear family and the need to take care of their aged parents are recognized, newly-married couples follow the neolocal type of residence to avoid family problems due to overcrowding of family members. This results in a change in the size of household. According to the Population and Housing Census, National Statistical Office, in the year 2000, there were 15,660,667 households. As shown in FIGURE 10, the average size of household was 3.9 in 2000, which was lower than in 1960, which as 5.6 persons per household.

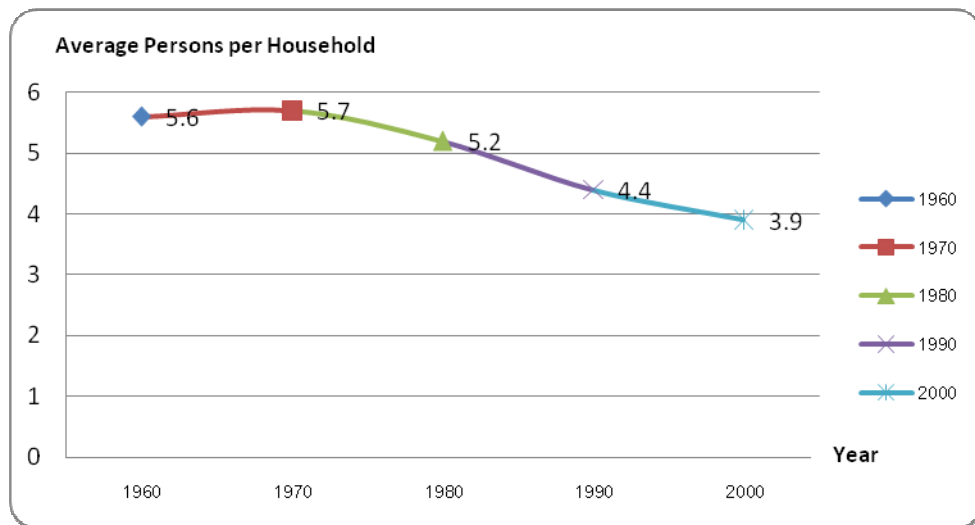


FIGURE 10. Average Size of Household from 1960 to 2000

Source: Population and Housing Census 1960-2000, National Statistical Office of Thailand.

In the 1970s, the economy was developed mainly in Bangkok and attracted people from rural areas to work in order to be able to send remittances home to their families and to live a better quality life. While individualism, accompanied by a nuclear family ideal, became an ideology for Thai, living in the city, attitudes toward marriage among Thai

people has been changing. Marriage is initiated by the young couple, instead of arranged by the parents. However, the approval of both sides of parents is still needed by the couple for marriage to take place.

Many Thai women are economically active; some work at home, but are engaged in activities that bring income into the family such as shop-keeping. However, in the growing economies in Thailand, the change in women's employment has reflected the shift in agricultural employment to non-agricultural sectors such as office worker, clerical employees, etc. Women's participation in the labor force has been an important indicator of marriage patterns. Women's employment enhances women's status, in that they have control over income, resources, and over their own decision-making, including a decision to enter a marriage. Among younger people, economic security is viewed as a common reason for delayed marriage. Jejeebhoy (1995) notes that formal sector employment increases resources that enable women to postpone marriage and provides reasons for parents to encourage their daughters to work for some times before marrying. Because there is a concern that the need to build a career before considering marriage is necessary, women's participation in the labor force relates to an increase in investments in education and age at first marriage would go up (Williams and Guest 2005).

In addition to the significance of women's labor force participation in relation to an entry into marriage, women's level of education is also a critical indicator. The data (see TABLE 4) show that the percentage of women who had no-education decreased from 31.1 in 1970 to 19 and 12.9 in 1980 and 1990 respectively. On the other hand, there were increasing rates of school completion, including primary level, secondary level, and university level.

Grade of school completed	1970		1980		1990	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No- education	31.1	21.4	19.0	12.9	12.9	8.6
Primary level	64.5	70.7	71.6	72.9	70.5	69.7
Secondary level	3.6	6.3	7.4	11.4	11.5	16.1
University level	0.5	0.9	2.0	2.4	5.1	5.3
Other education	0.3	0.7	..	0.4	..	0.3

TABLE 4. Percentage Distribution of Women and Men Aged 6 Years and over by Grade of School Completed, 1970, 1980, and 1990

Source: Population and Housing Census 1970, 1980 and 1990, National Statistical Office of Thailand.

The growth of educational and occupational opportunities for women, along with social and other forms of development have progressively changed the country's social and cultural attitudes about family life and the role of Thai women. A higher education and higher number of women, participating in the labor market are reflected in their household autonomy and their economic roles outside the home and plays a significant role in determining marriage patterns (Blossfield 1995; Hirschman and Teerawichitchainan 2003). Such women's independence results in a higher number of non-marriage or delayed marriage in Thailand (Williams and Guest 2005). Many young women are more self-reliant and not in a hurry to marry because they find that marriage will limit their rights. A study (Jejeebhoy 1995) additionally shows that the women with higher educational backgrounds and those who were born in Bangkok are more likely to stay single than those with lower educational backgrounds and those who were born in rural areas. Thus, higher educational attainment is associated with higher instrumental power in decisions, involving the choice of one's marriage partner and timing of one's

marriage. In other words, late marriage is often attributed to the change in the norm of family formation motivated by higher educational backgrounds.

Marriage and Family Law

Polygamy was liberally practiced in Thailand under civil law until King Chulalongkorn who kept up the European standards by reforming the Thai law and implementing monogamy into Thailand in 1935 (Baker and Phongpaichit 2005). Under family law governing marriage and divorce in Thailand, a marriage can take place when the man and woman have completed their seventeenth year of age and only if the man or woman is not already the spouse of another person. Property belonging to either spouse before marriage and acquired by either spouse during marriage through a will or gift are set as “Sin Suan Tua.” Property acquired during marriage or fruits of Sin Suan Tua are set as “Sin Somros.” Debts incurred by either spouse during marriage are regarded as the obligation to be conjointly performed by the spouses.

In 2003, Thai women are no longer required to take their husband’s family name when they marry. Marriage is terminated by death, divorce or being cancelled by the Court. Divorce may be affected by mutual consent or by judgment of the Court. Grounds of action for divorce include, for example, either spouse has committed adultery, one spouse is guilty of misconduct which causes the other to be seriously ashamed, insulted, excessively injured. In case of divorce by mutual consent, the spouse can make an agreement in writing for the exercise of parental authority over the children and the contribution to the maintenance of the children. In case of divorce by judgment of the Court, the Court will order the parental authority over the children and appoint each of

the children to belong to any party, by taking into consideration the happiness and interest of the child. The husband or wife may be entitled to claim compensation from any person through an act of the part at fault with intention. Upon divorce, the “Sin Somros” is subject to liquidation between the spouses; whereas, they are equally liable for common debts.

Women Status in Thai Family

Most Thai women are the caregivers for the elderly and routinely send money to them when they are in the workforce. Thai society is not yet a gender-equal society. Being a woman is less valued than being a man, according to the conservative view; husbands should take care and support their wife. In other words, the man is expected to lead and the woman should follow him. However, wives still have the power in practice as they usually manage the family finances as well as take care of children. In a less conservative view, the vast majority of the Thai women work and contribute as much to the household income as the men and sometimes even more than men.

While Thai women are taught to be conservative and stay in at night, young men and women are more self-confident and are often seen out together at night. Thus, dating is very common among young people and overt acts of love such as holding hands and embracing in public are no longer taboo in the eyes of youngsters, but are still inappropriate in the eyes of persons who hold a conservative view. Although pre-marital sex, is unacceptable for conservative couples because having sex is usually related to getting married, it is practiced more among modern Thai couples. Living together before getting married is also practiced to test out their relationship before starting a real family.

Polygyny; a man can legitimately have more than one wife at the same time, although has been illegal under the Thai legislation, is predictably practiced in Thai society in that among Thai men, especially powerful and rich men sometimes have a second unofficial wife who these men support but the women themselves remain unrecognizable in the society. These women who choose to be the second wife tend to be those who feel they do not have to work hard to be financially secure or those who are trapped by a married man who lied about his marital status. Extra-marital relations are carried out more by men, it is less acceptable for married women to have affairs. Conservative views continue to influence many women against divorce because of the stigma implying for instance that such a woman is impure or unpleasant. Thus, many women do not divorce in order to avoid gossip and blame.

Summary

As capitalism restructured the Thai economic systems and prevailed within the country, Thai society and family structure were altered. The emergence of the nuclear family with dual income earners, the values of individualism, and the rise of women's independence primarily based on access to more economic opportunities anticipated a rise in divorce rates and ultimately an increasing number of single-parent households in Thai society over time. Dissolution of marriage, divorce trends, and a tendency of single-parent families, particularly single-mother families as a result of social transformation in Thailand will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

Variations in family structure have been accompanied by a changing social structure, such as a change in work force, norms, and values. Several key changes in the family that began to occur in many countries around the world, including Thailand from the latter half of the twentieth century on, have captured the attention of those studying family patterns. One of these is changing union formations that include a delay in entry into marriage, a decline in marriage, a rise in unmarried cohabitation, an increase in divorced families, and a rise in single-headed households. This study has changed on single-headed household families, specifically single-mother families. There is a complexity of problems facing single-mothers that have been studied while a number of important variables that affect the success or failure of children, who grew up in these family formation are also being explore.

This chapter discusses literatures and research findings that indicate a variation of quality of home environment and child outcomes within single-parent households. This chapter is divided into three sections, including trends in marital dissolution, overview of single-parent families, and factors relating to outcomes of children in single-mother families.

Trends in Marital Dissolution

This section discusses divorce rates and reasons for increasing divorce trends. Reports and statistics used in this section are retrieved from the United Nations Statistics Division. Using the crude rate to describe the number of marriages or divorces per 1,000

individuals in the population can give a sense of commonality of marital status. The crude rate, however, includes children who are not at risk of marriage or divorce, it provides rough descriptions of trends over time. In addition to the crude rate from the United Nations, statistics collected by the Department of Provincial Administration, Ministry of Interior, Thailand will show the percentage change in the number of divorced people in Thailand. For the most part, I try to use statistics for the same year for all countries, mentioned in this section. Where rates are unavailable for the year in question, I depend on what other information is available.

Divorce Rates

Rates and statistics from the United Nations show results of shifting divorce rates throughout many countries. Some of these countries include those are North America, Europe, and Asia. A study of U.S. patterns predicts that high levels of divorce will become a typical part of the American family experience considering the period phenomenon of the 1970s and the cohort phenomenon of the baby boom generation (White 1990). Between 1960 and 1995, the rate of divorce increased by over 200 percent (Friedberg 1998). Slightly more than one-half of all marriages in the United States end in divorce (Lee et al. 2007). The U.S. divorce rates increased in the thirty year period between 1970 to 2000 (see FIGURE 11). In 1970, the divorce rate was 3.5 per 1,000 people, increasing to a high of 4.2 in 2000. The rate continued to decline in the millennium years to 3.7 in 2007.

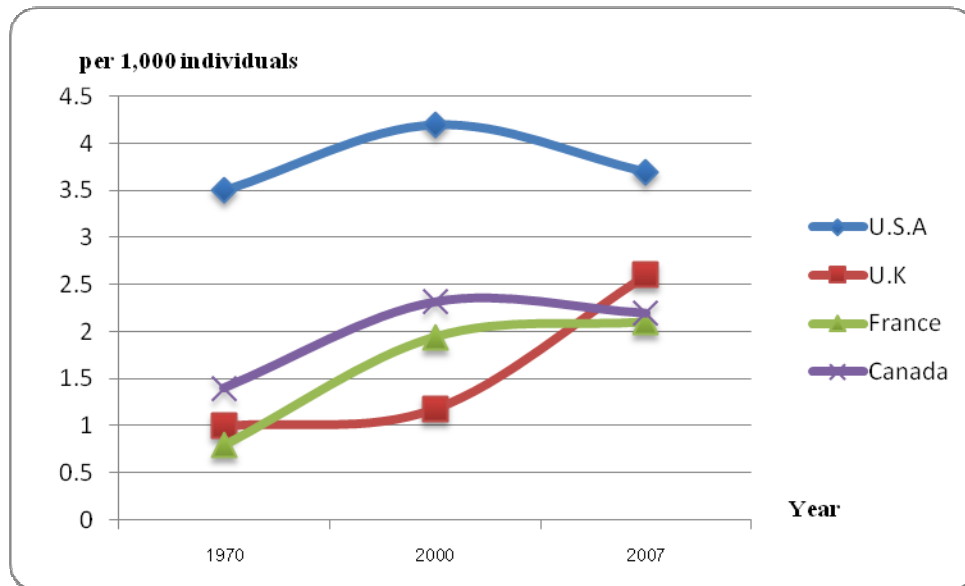


FIGURE 11. Crude Divorce Rate by 4 Countries: Canada, France, U.K., and U.S.A. from 1970 to 2007

The crude divorce rate = the number of divorces occurring among the population of a given geographical area during a given year, per 1,000 mid-year total population of the given geographical area during the same year.

Source: Demographic and Social Statistics: Statistics and Indicators on Women and Men, United Nations Statistics Division.

According to the statistical sources, in some other developed countries, divorce trends are quite comparable to the United States (see FIGURE 11). The crude divorce rate in Canada increased from 1.4 in 1970, to 2.32 in 2000 and then slightly dropped to 2.2 in 2007. The United Kingdom's rate was 1.0 in 1970, then increased to 1.18 in 2000 and 2.6 in 2007. France's rate was 0.79 in 1970 and increased to 1.94 in 2000 and 2.1 in 2007. Comparing the peaking number of divorces, France still was lower than the United States of America (5.2 per 1,000 in 1998) and the United Kingdom (2.9 in 1996).

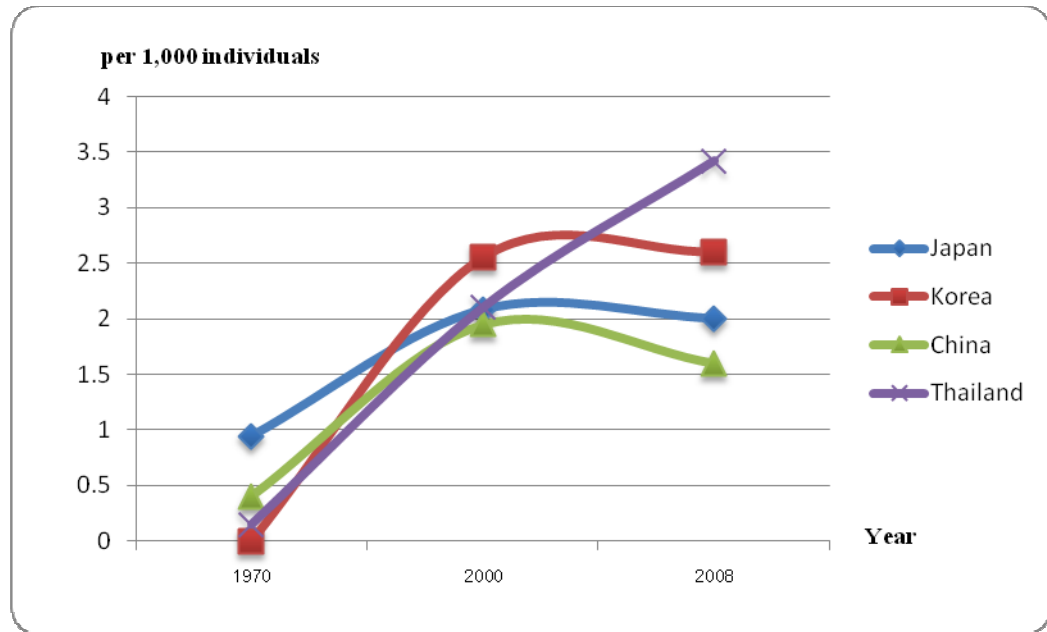


FIGURE 12. Crude Divorce Rate by 4 Countries: Japan, Korea, China, and Thailand from 1970 to 2008

The crude divorce rate = the number of divorces occurring among the population of a given geographical area during a given year, per 1,000 mid-year total population of the given geographical area during the same year.

Source: Demographic and Social Statistics: Statistics and Indicators on Women and Men, United Nations Statistics Division.

Divorce rates, although rising, are still quite low in some Asian countries when compared to European and American countries. The jump in the number of divorces in Asian countries has come recently, with statistics showing that the number has more than doubled in the past forty years. As shown in FIGURE 12, Japan and Korea have experienced significant increases in their crude divorce rates since 1970. Japan's crude divorce rate increased between 1970 and 2000 from 0.94 to 2.08 and slightly declined to 2.0 in 2008. Korea's divorce rate gradually increased until its peak 2.55 in 2000 and

declined to 2.6 in 2008. China's divorce rate also increased from 0.4 in 1970 to 1.95 in 2000 and dropped to 1.6 in 2008.

Thailand experienced an increase in divorce rate from 0.15 in 1960, to 2.1 in 2000, and to 3.42 in 2008 (see FIGURE 12). The percentage of divorced couples per 100 married couples rose from 10 percent in 1997 to more than 30 percent in 2007 (Pothisita and Taweessith 2009). As shown in TABLE 5, divorce rates rose from 7.9 per 100 cases in 1981 to 9.7 in 1990, with considerable regional disparity. The highest rate for 1990 was in Bangkok, at 23.9 per 100, and the rate for the North (12.5 per 100) was more than twice that of the Northeast (4.8 per 100).

Region	1981	1990
Northeastern	4.8	4.8
Northern	6.7	12.5
Southern	6.3	7.2
Central	7.9	11.3
Bangkok	21.7	23.9
Total	7.9	9.7

TABLE 5. Divorce Rate in Thailand by Region, 1981 and 1990

Divorce rate = (number of registered divorces/number of registered marriages) X100.

Source: Mattana Phananiramai, Population Changes and Economic Development in Thailand: Their Implications on Women's Status, 1995.

Reasons for Changing in Divorce Trends

Divorce is the consequence of many factors, including common causes such as infidelity and irreconcilability (Casper 2002). Financial difficulties, debt, and the stress that accompanies them can be another important reason leading the divorce. As FIGURE 11 and 12 lay out the timing of a change in divorce rates in many countries, they suggest that social and economic factors must be taken into consideration to examine changes in family structure and its process over time. Ulrich Beck and Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim (1995, 2002) suggest scrutinizing the process of the change in social structure, involving cultural values and norms in order to assess family change. A family demographer, Goldscheider (1995), notes that in order to understand the family change, we should look at both individual and societal behavior as well as economic, political, and cultural institutions.

Changes in Social Norms

The transformation that has taken place in rising divorce rates indicates that marriage has become a less lasting part of people's lives in many countries now than it was in the past. Changes in public attitudes, involving more positive assessments of single lifestyles and non-marital cohabitation, also suggests a substantial decline in the marriage (Amato 2001). With statistics showing (see FIGURE 11), the number of the U.S. divorce rate that was soaring and dropping during the sixty year period, marriage rate (see FIGURE 13) has been continually dropped from 11.1 in 1950 to 8.5 in 2000 and to 7.8 in 2005. Some other countries also share similar trends in marriage with the U.S. For example, France's marriage rate has dropped from 7.5 in 1950 to 5.2 in 2000, and

then 4.5 in 2005 and Sweden's has decreased from 7.5 in 1950 to 4.5 in 2000 and 4.9 in 2005.

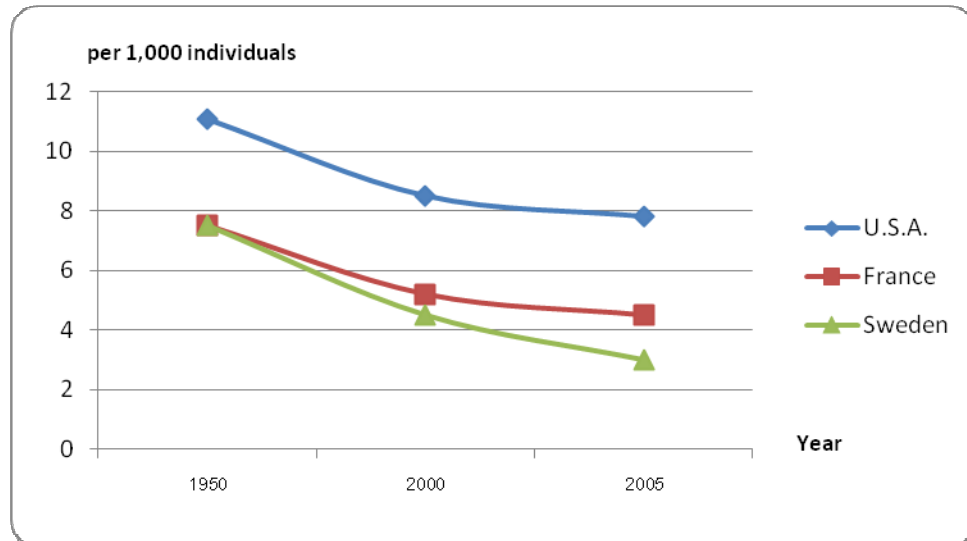


FIGURE 13. Crude Marriage Rate by 3 Countries: U.S.A., France, and Sweden from 1950 to 2005

The crude marriage rate = the number of marriages occurring among the population of a given geographical area during a given year, per 1,000 mid-year total population of the given geographical area during the same year.

Source: Demographic and Social Statistics: Statistics and Indicators on Women and Men, United Nations Statistics Division.

Similar to marriage trends in the United States, France, and Sweden, as shown in FIGURE 14, Japan's marriage rate decreased significantly from 10 in 1970 to 6.6 in 1980 and fairly decreased to approximately 5.9 in 2007. Korea had a similar experience of the dropping marriage rate beginning in 1978, from 8.9 to 6.5 in 2007. According to Thailand's crude marriage rate, available from 1960 to 2004, the rate also increased from 2.3 in 1960 to 6.5 in 1980 and started to slightly drop to 5.8 in 2000 and to 5 in 2004.

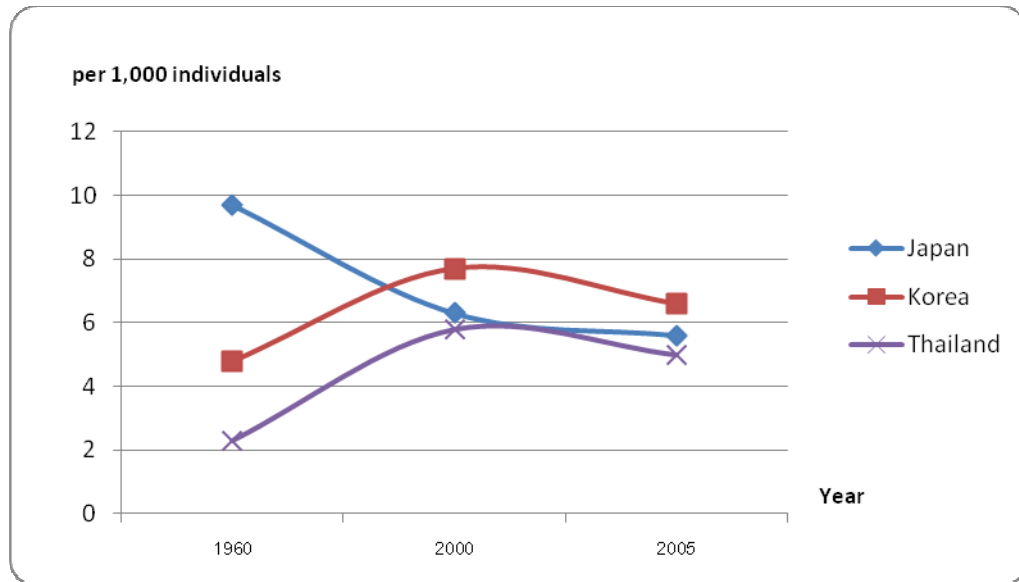


FIGURE 14. Crude Marriage Rate by 3 Countries: Japan, Korea, and Thailand from 1960 to 2005

The crude marriage rate = the number of marriages occurring among the population of a given geographical area during a given year, per 1,000 mid-year total population of the given geographical area during the same year.

Source: Demographic and Social Statistics: Statistics and Indicators on Women and Men, United Nations Statistics Division.

White (1990) argues that the change in divorce trends during the past decades was due to the change of family values. Changes in the social institutions that structure individual experience should be taken into consideration. The shift from pre-industrial to industrial society results in the family and family stability being less important due to the development of extra-familial institutions, which provide alternative sources of financial security, personal services, and satisfaction. White's assumption suggests that such economic changes have destabilized the social and economic forces that maintained the institution of marriage. Glenn (1996) and Wilson (2002) additionally argue that in the past, marriage was primarily valued because it provided economic security and a stable

environment for raising children. However, people today view marriage primarily as a vehicle for self-fulfillment and many are unwilling to stick together through the difficult times arising in marriage.

According to the family decline perspective, the concept that the level of commitment to marriage as an institution has eroded because many spouses tend to stay in a marriage as long as they are happy and their needs are being met is associated with this point of view. American society has become increasingly individualistic, as people have become preoccupied with the unrestricted pursuit of personal happiness (Popenoe 1993; Waite and Gallagher 2000). Opportunities and risks are increasingly taken in and handled by individuals themselves without the concern of social groups. Individualization theory also claims that many of the changes occurring in family structure, such as the increasing number of single-parent families, can be explained by a long-term trend in modern societies to allow more autonomy to individuals (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 1995, 2002).

Changing social structure and lifestyles, associated with modern and urban living has led to an increase in divorce rates and a drop in marriages in Thailand. Hirschman and Teerawichitchaina (2003) argue that a drop in marriages shows a weakening in Thailand of the family institution or a loss in faith in the family unit. Singh and Samara (1996) argue that living in modern society, in which more Thai women gain economic autonomy through education and employment outside home, gives women alternative choices to marriage. Edward et al. (1992) also infer that since many wives are now the breadwinners, the competing interests between home and workplace are likely to lead to tension and strain in families, resulting in the destabilization of marriage in Thai society.

As the modern lifestyle offers considerably more freedom to Thais, especially women, and less deference to men, divorce is considered as a solution for a couple. It provides the important function of allowing couples to free themselves from difficult relationships.

Changes in Divorce Law

A change in the legal structure of divorce is another subject that accounts for the rise in divorce. In Western countries, such as the United States, Canada, and Australia, the impact of no-fault divorce legislation have accelerated divorce rates (Goldberg 1990; Brotherson and Teichert 1997). According to Stevenson and Wolfers (2007), most states in America began to require evidence of marital fault before allowing a marriage to be dissolved in the 1950s. The liberation of laws was resolved in the late 1960s. Many states introduced irreconcilable differences as grounds for divorce, in which divorce can be conducted by a request of either spouse, regardless of the wishes of his or her partner.

Many studies have investigated whether unilateral divorce has led to a rise in the divorce rate (White 1990; Allen 1992; Friedberg 1998; Rodger et al. 1999; Eshelman and Bulcroft 2006; Wolfers 2006). In Rodger et al.'s study (1999) on the effects of no-fault divorce, the findings reveal evidence that no-fault laws somewhat increased divorce in many states in the United States. The interpretation that no-fault laws resulted in a substantial number of divorces for most of the 32 states that implemented no-fault divorce during the divorce boom between 1965 to 1974. Wolfers (2006)'s study, analyzing divorce rates and divorce laws across U.S. states from 1956 to 1998, finds a similar result that divorce rates rose sharply in the two years following the adoption of

unilateral divorce laws. The divorce rate afterward reverted back toward earlier levels, and a decade after these reforms had no recognizable residual effect.

While no-fault regimes have influenced rates of divorce in the United States, laws in Thailand do not provide for a no-fault divorce option. Thailand's implementation of at-fault divorce evidences an increase in divorce rates. The law for monogamy was established in 1935, when marriages had to be registered by a wife and a husband (Baker and Phongpaichit 2005). This law further gives rise to rules for divorce under mutual consent or court judgment. Under the reformed divorce laws in Thailand, if the divorce is consensual with no disagreements between spouses, the divorce can be completed. If there is disagreement between the spouses, the divorce has to be contested, and they must approach the court for a for-cause divorce. The basic grounds for divorce include, for example, adultery, insanity, criminal misconduct, abuse, etc. Although the change in divorce policy may not have had the impact in Thai society, like it has had in other countries, many individuals in the modern era have become disappointed by their marriages.

Changes in Gender Roles

The change in gender roles is another area that relates to the change in family structure. Particularly, women's increasing participation in professional occupations and public affairs provides a greater context for understanding and interpreting divorce trends. Whereas trends in divorce steadily increased from 1970 to 2000 in many Western countries and Asian countries (see FIGURE 11 and FIGURE 12), the rates of women's labor force participation demonstrate a similar trend in which the rates steadily increased

in many countries between 1970 and 2000 (see FIGURE 15). For example, rates of America’s female labor force participation increased from 43.3 in 1970 to 59.2 in 2005. This trend is correspondingly found in other countries, such as Sweden, Canada, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom. The rates sharply rose in the Netherlands, from 28.5 in 1970 to 60 in 2005.

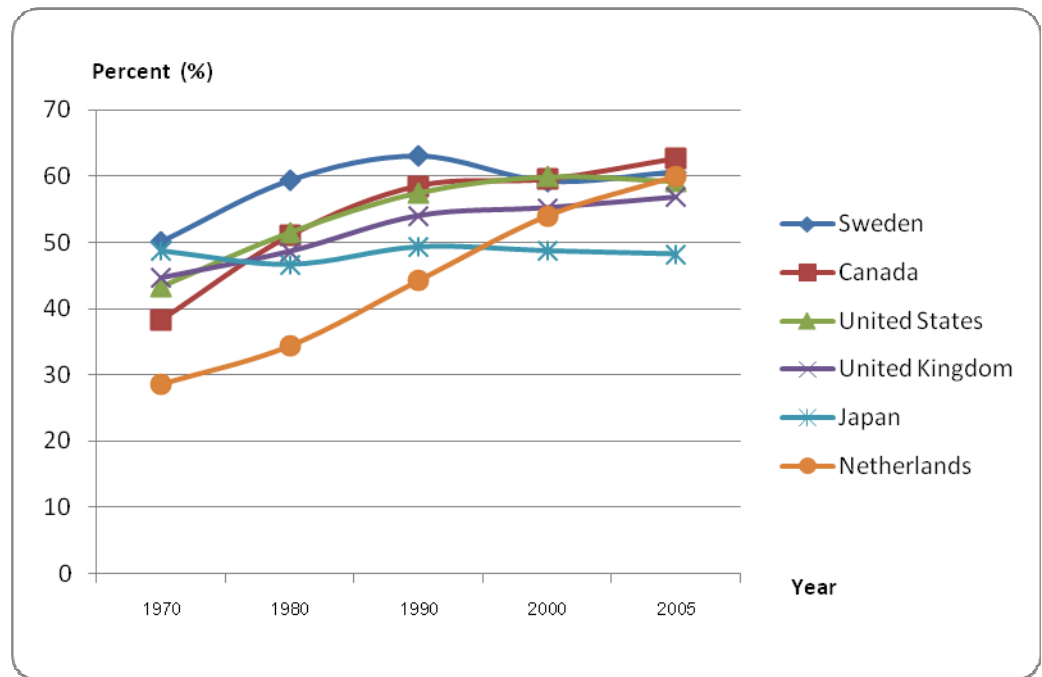


FIGURE 15 Women’s Labor Force Participation Rates, Selected Countries, 1970-2005

Source: International Comparisons of Annual Labor Force Statistics, Adjusted to U.S. Measures, 1970-2010, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Many studies illustrate that female employment is associated with the increase in marital instability (Greenstein 1990; White 1990; Casper and Bianchi 2002). An explanation of the steady increase in women’s labor force participation, especially among married women, accompanied by the increase in divorce trends is because female

employment gives women more economic independence from men and families. Female employment also provides the economic foundation for wives in unsatisfactory marriages to divorce and be economically self-supporting. As the number of women entering the work force continues to rise, family structure is moving from a single-income family to a double-income one. The wife's potential ability to earn and support herself outside of a current marriage is a critical reason that may reflect a wife's decision to exit marriage. Edwards et al. (1992) also argue that paid work outside the home alters existing marital arrangements and disrupts customary marital processes, elevating conflicts between the spouses and lowering their satisfaction with the marital relationship. The family structure in which everyone plays numerous roles such as a worker, spouse, father or mother, and household handler, is prone to cause role-conflicts over the distribution of time, money and other necessary resources within the family. As a result, the risk of the separation of family members may increase.

The growth of occupational opportunities for women has progressively changed the country's social and cultural attitudes about family life and the role of Thai women. Edwards et al. (1992) and Vichit-Vadakan (1994) argue that in association with an increase in access to female education, a large number of women entered the labor market and women became a large economic force. An increased proportion of women participating in the labor force influenced the living arrangements and characteristics of modern family life. The higher status of women is reflected in their household autonomy and their economic roles outside the home (Hirschman and Teerawichitchainan 2003). Women's greater economic independence indicates the change in marriage patterns and family structure and explains in part the increasing divorce rate in Thailand. The data

trends in FIGURE 10 and FIGURE 12 give an impression that divorce rates were low in Thai society during the twentieth century when female labor force participation was low (58.4 in 1992) and the rates have been increasing during the twenty first century as Thai women gain economic autonomy through employment outside the home.

Overview of Single-Parent Families

Single parenting is choosing to build and raise children without a spouse or partner. Without the assistance of the other biological parent in the home, the social and economic circumstances of family life can be affected. Single-parenthood may occur for a variety of reasons. Some cases occur by choice, such as divorce, adoption, or donor insemination, while others are the result of a sudden incident, such as a death of a spouse, child neglect, or abandonment by one of the biological parents. Single-parenting due to divorce means that divorced single-parents have the primary custody of the child and have the major obligation of raising the child. Statistics reported in this section are compiled from previous studies, the U.S Bureau of Statistics, the U.S Census Bureau, and the National Statistical Office of Thailand.

Trends of Single-Parent Families

The number of single-parent families increased dramatically in many countries between 1980-2008 (see FIGURE 16). The number of single-parent families between 1980 and 2008 increased from 12.7 percent to 24.6 percent in Canada, from 13.9 percent to 25 percent in the United Kingdom. The U.S. Bureau Statistics (2011) reported the number continues to increase in the United States from 19.5 percent in 1980 to 27 percent in 2000 and to 29.5 percent in 2008. Japan, the only Asian country where single-parent

statistics are available, shared similar trends of single-parent households, in which the number sharply increased from 4.9 percent in 1980 to 8.3 percent in 2000, and then continued to 10.2 percent in 2005.

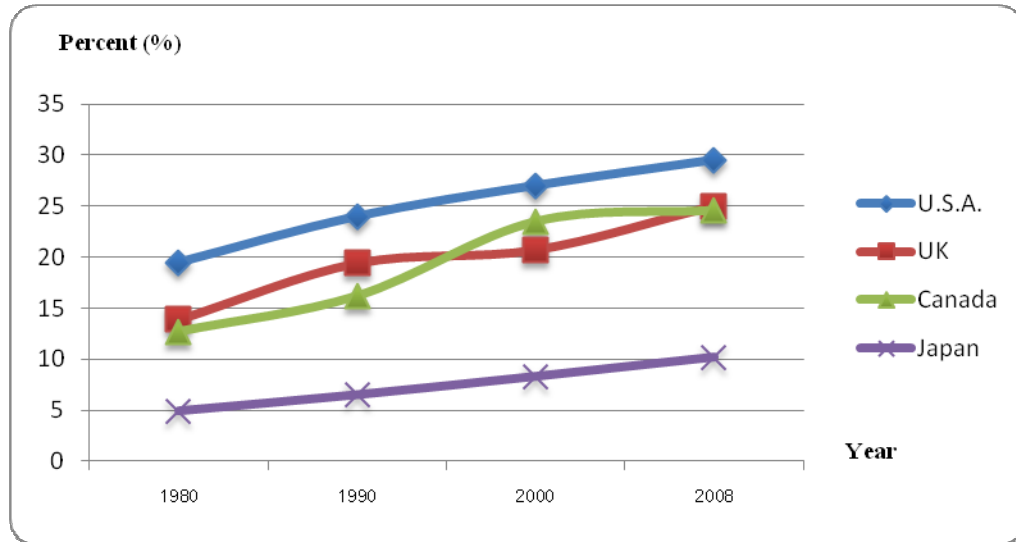


FIGURE 16. Single-Parent Households by 4 Countries: U.S.A., U.K., Canada, and Japan from 1980 to 2008

Source: U.S Bureau of Labor Statistics, updated and revised from “Families and Work in Transition in 12 Countries, 1980–2001,” Monthly Labor Review, September 2003, with national sources.

By examining the marital status of the parents with whom children reside (see TABLE 6), one-parent families in the United States were 11,686,000 in 2010, slightly increased from 11,527,000 in 1995. Among the reasons that caused single-parent families, the number of single-parent families caused by a divorce was quite high compared to single-parent families caused by never married, separated, and widowed. One parent families maintained by a father or single-father that were caused by divorce were 792,000 (46.7 percent) in 1995, 913,000 (44.7 percent) in 2000, and 807,000 (45.8

percent) in 2010. One-parent families maintained by a mother or single-mother that were caused by divorce were 3,674,000 (37.3 percent) in 1995, 3,392,000 (35 percent) in 2000, and 3,134,000 (22.3 percent) in 2010.

Among one parent families, caused by divorce, the number of single-mother families was found to be larger than the number of single-father families. In 1995, the number of divorced single-mother families was 3,674,000 versus 792,000 of divorced single-father families. Divorced single-mother families were 3,392,000, compared to 913,000 of divorced single-father families in 2000. In 2010, there were 3,134,000 of divorced single-mother families, while there were 807,000 divorced single-father families. Reflecting on the demographic trends that have affected the shift from two-parent families to one-parent families, Burpass and Raley (1995) argue that half of all American children are expected to spend part of their childhood in a family headed by a mother who is divorced, separated, unwed, or widowed.

Year	All One Parent Family	Families Maintained by Father (In thousands)				Families Maintained by Mother (In thousands)			
		Never Married	Divorced	Separated	Widowed	Never Married	Divorced	Separated	Widowed
1995	11,527	508	<u>792</u>	296	98	3,680	<u>3,674</u>	2,050	430
2000	11,725	639	<u>913</u>	350	88	4,181	<u>3,392</u>	1,716	391
2010	11,686	520	<u>807</u>	326	109	4,448	<u>3,134</u>	1,950	392

TABLE 6. Households by Selected Characteristics in 1995, 2000, and 2010

Note: Data in this report represents the number of single-father families and single-mother families per thousand single-parent families.

Source: TABLE 6 was compiled from U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Reports, 1995, 2000 and 2010.

Compiled from various sources of data in Thailand, the family structure in Thailand changed overtime and became more diverse and complex. Considering the gender of household head and family structure, female-headed households are steadily increasing from 16.5 in 1980 to 26.2 in 2000 and to 29.6 in 2006 (see TABLE 7). The National Statistical Office of Thailand reports among children and adolescents between 0-17 years old in 2008, 61.8 percent were living in two-parent households, 15 percent in single-mother families, 3.1 percent in single-father families, and 20.1 percent did not live with their parents (see TABLE 8). The Thai Health Promotion Foundation reports that among 11.4 million of children and adolescents between 11-22 years old in 2009, there were 2.5 million of those who were living in single-parent families.

Gender of household head	1980	1990	2000	2003	2004	2005
Male	83.5	80.6	73.8	73.2	72.1	70.4
Female	16.5	19.4	26.2	26.8	27.9	29.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 7. Percentage Distribution of Household by Gender of Household Head and Family Structure in Thailand, 1980-2005

Source: The National Statistical Office, Thailand

Category	Percent (%)
Two-parent families	61.8
Single-mother families	15
Single-father families	3.1
Not living with parents	20.1

TABLE 8. Percentage of Children and Adolescents between 0-17 Years Old by Household Arrangement, 2008

Source: The National Statistical Office, Thailand

A survey study of Siwaporn Pokpong (2009) (see TABLE 9), categorizing the type of single-parent families by type, finds that 34.8 percent of all single-parent families were caused by divorce, 35.8 percent by separation, 27.1 percent were widowed, and 2.3 percent were living apart due to work. The Department of Provincial Administration of Thailand reveals that there were 34.8 percent of divorced families in Thailand in 2009, which made 34.9 percent of children living in single-parent families and 63.4 percent of those living in single-mother families. It was estimated that there would be 870,000 divorced families in 2010 and predicted about 1,479,000 children would be living in single-parent families from divorce.

Category	Percent (%)
Divorced	34.8
Separated	35.8
Widowed	27.1
Apart due to work	2.3

TABLE 9. Percentage of Single-Parent Families by Category, 2009

Source: A Survey on Perception of Single-Parent Families, 2009 by Siwaporn Pokpong, National Institute for Child and Family Development, Mahidol University, Thailand

Factors Relating to Outcomes of Children in Single-Parent Families

A shift in family demographics has a direct influence on a child's life. Previous studies have been conducted on the effects of marital disruption on children and a variety of problems experienced by children of single parents, ranging from psychological disturbances to diminished social relationships. Children raised in single-parent families as a result of divorce experience many undesirable effects compared to children raised in two-parent families (Sorensen 1994; Manning and Lamb 2003; Amato and Cheadle 2005). Children struggle with loss of trust in the past and future, and with loss of parental interest as parents struggle with their own lives and feelings (King 2003). Consequently, children who experience divorce may have poorer psychological well-being, poorer physical health, less education, lower standards of living, more behavioral problems and lower marital satisfaction of their own (Amato and Keith, 1991; Downey 1994; Sorensen

1994; Tayler 1995; Gottainer and Biblarz 2000; Zhan and Pandey 2004; Strohschein 2005).

The severity and persistence of these problems depend on a variety of factors. This section illustrates how factors affect the lives of children and the single-parents and predict the children's well-being after their parent's divorce or separation. These factors include family arrangement, socioeconomic status of single-parent families, parental styles of discipline, and age of a child at parental divorce/separation.

Family Formation and Gender of Parent

Some studies have examined how the gender of a parent has an impact on children. Studies on emotional and mental problems of children living without their biological father show that children in lone-mother households are likely to be sometimes or often unhappy, and likely to score poorly on measures of self-esteem (Cockett and Tripp 1994). Among children aged five to fifteen years, those from lone-mother families (16 percent) are twice as likely to have a mental health problem as those from two-parent families (8 percent) (Meltzer et al. 2000). Children of divorce (20-25 percent) showed lasting signs of depression, risk taking, irresponsibility, and antisocial behavior compared with 10 percent of children in two-parent families (Hetherington 2002).

A study (Cockett and Tripp 1994) claims that children from single-mother families are outperformed in school when compared with those from two-parent families. Those school performances include reading skills, mathematics, thinking skills, as well as difficulties with teachers. One of the explanations for the fairly poor school performance of children from single-mother families is the lower level of economic resources of

single-mothers relative to two-parent families (Downey 1994). Children growing up with never-married mothers are especially disadvantaged according to standard scales of deprivation (Gauthier 1999). Mulkey, Crain, and Harrington (1992) study, analyzing school grades and standardized test scores, also suggests that children from single-father families outperform their counterparts from single-mother families but still score lower than children from two-parent families.

Comparing child well-being in single-mother families versus single-father families, Downey (1994) finds children from these family forms perform similarly in school although single-father families have more economic resources than single-mother families. While economic factors are a predictor of school performance among children in single-father families, interpersonal resources, such as parental involvement and supervision play a crucial role among children from single-mother families. There are few effects of gender of the single-parent on children's self-esteem, verbal and math abilities and relationships with peers (Downey et al. 1998).

The balance of work and family duties are considered to be rough for many single-mothers, who must work overtime shifts to compensate for the salaries while taking time away from their children and other domestic chores. Children, both girls and boys, of divorce are also found to be more likely to become parents early or become teenage parents than those from two-parent families (Kiernan 1997). Whereas, teenagers living without their biological fathers are more likely to be persistent offenders, because of a reduced level of parental supervision (Flood-Page et al. 2000). Thomas, Farrell, and Barnes (1996) examine the impacts of single-mother families and nonresident father's involvement in single-mother families. The study finds that nonresident father

involvement protects the negative effects of children in single-mother families on delinquency, heavy drinking, and illicit drug use. Another study (Kirby 2006) finds that adolescents who moved to stepfamilies from single-parent families had an elevated risk of initiating alcohol use.

The financial status of the single-mother family may be one of the first impacts after divorce. In order to cope with financial difficulty, single-parents often suffer with mental strain. A study demonstrates that divorce is a chronic stressor that may be greater for women than men because women are more likely to have had interrupted work careers and fewer financial resources (Kitson and Holmes 1992). Divorced mothers may have to leave their social networks, which is a crucial source of psychological support, to enter the labor force or increase their working hours. Accordingly, the increase in mental health problems appears for women when they are faced with a lowered income and when they must care for more children.

Studies in Thailand found that both men and women upon becoming single-parents, either resulting from a partner's death or divorce/separation, often experienced psychological problems, for example, sadness, loneliness, frustration, pressure, exhaustion, anger, disappointment, etc (Yodpetch 1997; Chooto et al. 2001; Kamhom 2006). However, some divorced women may feel relief, blissful, independent, etc. A study of Sanithwong Na Ayuthaya et al. (1986) illustrates that Thai divorced women are often blamed, gossiped about, and considered as unwanted. Many divorced women who cannot stand the negative criticisms may feel so shameful that they either commit suicide or become reclusive. Divorced women with children experience more psychological problems due to the loss of self-confidence, social stigmatization, stress of parenting and

disciplining children and over the relationship with their children, etc. (Jirawattananon 1992).

However, some studies indicate that there are positive outcomes in single-parent families on mother-children relationships. Demo (1992) indicates that adolescents have a close and satisfying relationship with their single-parent. The loss of the father has less impact on the relationship that adolescents have with their mothers (Aquilino 1994). A home filled with conflict is found to be the least pleasing home environment for children. Overt adult conflict over a period of years may lead to behavioral problems in children. Such problems may later be mistakenly associated with parental divorce but are actually apparent long before the legal dissolution of the marriage and children can benefit from living in a one-parent household, where they do not have to deal with parental conflicts (Amato and Keith 1991; Amato and Cheadle 2005).

Socioeconomic Status

Previous studies on single-parent families (Sorensen 1994; McLanahan 2004; Sanithwong Na Ayuthaya 2007) find that financial difficulty appears to be one of the most important issues in single-parent families in both Western countries and Thailand. Ellwood and Jencks (2002) report that the proportion of children in single-parent families rose from 10 percent in 1965 to 27 percent in 2001. Proctor and Dalaker (2002) further argue that the increase in the proportion of children living in poverty between 1970 and 1993 is the result from the growth in single-parent families. The most noticeable consequence in a family after divorce or separation is that there is a loss of one earner's income and the additional costs of breaking up household arrangements. Single-parent

families often report lower income and greater financial strain than two-parent families (Avison et al. 2007).

Many studies (Amato 1993; Baer 1999; Biblarz and Gottainer; 2000; Barrett and Turner 2006; Zeiders et al.; 2011) perceive family structure is an indicator of quality of home environment and child outcomes. There is also a correlation between family income and children's incomes when they reach adulthood (Zimmerman, 1992). The economic hardship perspective argues that negative outcomes in single-parent families are due primarily to reduced economic resources (Amato 1993). Researchers have pointed out the importance of poverty and economic insecurity for explaining lower educational achievement of children in single-parent families. The economic difficulty of single parents, especially single-mothers, is a major concern for the future education of children who live in a single-parent family. Parents with higher incomes can afford to send their children to high-quality schools and provide their children with various educational resources and opportunities to participate in extracurricular activities, which will enhance children's achievement (McLanahan and Sandefur 1994).

Single-parent status can predict poorer academic performance and personal-social development of children. Comparing academic performance of high school students, those students from intact families outperform those students from divorced families in all categories, including grades and attendance (Ham 2003). On average, youths from intact families are more likely to graduate from high school, attend college, and complete college compared to those raised in single-parent families (Ginther and Pollak 2004; Pong et al. 2003). Parental divorce changed daily routines and work schedules for both adults and children living in single-parent households. Many adolescents have to assume

extra domestic and childcare responsibilities while financial conditions required them to work part-time. These burdens result in children from single-parent households having greater levels of absenteeism and tardiness in school.

As a result, according to Zill et al. (1993) children from single-parent families are likely to repeat a grade and to be expelled or suspended from school. He argues that young children, carrying symptoms such as being dependent, a fear of abandonment, demanding, and disobedient in school tend to be less imaginative, more repetitive and passive watchers. Young children of divorced families tend to be more withdrawn, inattentive, and put less effort into work, which results in weakening their academic progress and eventually many children are likely to drop out of school altogether.

Astone and McLanahan's (1991) study demonstrates that children of single or stepparents report that their parents had lower educational expectations for them, compared to those in intact families. Moreover, children living with a sole parent or stepparent report that their parents are less likely to monitor schoolwork and provide less managing of social activities. Wallerstein's study also shows that only one-third of divorced fathers chose to help pay for college. Hence, children in intact families tend to have greater academic achievement and educational attainment and are less likely to be involved in behavioral problems in school because their parents tend to be more involved in their school activities and to have higher expectations for them.

Nelson (1990) also argues that family income has effects on a single-mother's life tensions, which may diminish the emotional well-being of parents and have negative effects on children's self-esteem and children's behavior in school. Single-mother

families are at a high risk of poverty and a poor psychological health due to the pressure the single-mother has to put up with in working to earn an income to meet the family's needs, leading to fatigue and emotional imbalance, which results in a lack of time spent with children. Parents under economic stress and single-parents often poorly supervise their children and may let them gain autonomy too early. Unsupervised adolescents are more likely to be involved in risky behaviors such as cigarette smoking, alcohol drinking, drug use, early sexual activity resulting in adolescent pregnancy (Richardson et al., 1993; Blum et al. 2000).

In order to afford or maintain a decent family life after divorce, both single-parent and children experience stressful experiences such as long hours of work. Divorced mothers become demoralized, depressed and less emotionally stable creating long-term health consequences (Gavard et al. 1993). Correspondingly, children of recently divorced parents may experience depression, grief and hurt. Moreover, children who do not recover after their parents' divorce and the disturbance of the family may suffer long-term psychological effects. Studies (Amato and Keith 1991; Biblarz and Gottainer 2000) show evidence that children of single parent families are likely to experience feelings of loneliness, fear, and anger. They are likely to have both social and emotional difficulties and many suffer from grief and anxiety (Webster and Herzog 1995; Amato and Cheadle 2005).

Parental Styles of Discipline

While some studies found different impacts on children of divorced parents related to the socioeconomic status of the family they grew up in, other studies find that

the different impacts of divorce on children may be linked to parenting and disciplinary styles. Parental involvement in monitoring their children's schooling and supervising their activities outside of school and sanctions influences children's behavior and thus reduces the likelihood of being engaged in problematic behaviors and ultimately school failure (Buchanan et al. 1992). Single-parents who have a full-time job to meet their family's economic needs or those who have to work extra hours in order to solve financial problems after divorce, usually have less time to monitor their children's behavior and to supervise and observe the school progress of their children (Park 2007). This can also lead to poor parental relations and lack affection between parents and children (Chooto et al. 2001; Ruangkanchanasetr et al. 2005). Poor parental monitoring, and a lack of knowledge of the adolescent's activities are related to adolescent behavioral problems (Barber 1992; Frick 1993; Ary et al. 1999).

Parenting after divorce is often disturbed and discipline becomes incompatible within and between parents. Custodial fathers and mothers differ in their parenting styles, in which mothers are likely to become more coercive with their children after divorce than fathers (Grych and Fincham 1992). Buchanan et al. (1992) found that children living with their fathers had poorer adjustments because of poor monitoring. This is due to the problems that many single-mothers frequently encounter the problem of task overload and stress from handling tasks without a partner's assistance. In order to be responsive to their children's needs while trying to be effective disciplinarians, they tend to exercise their unwarranted control over the children.

Grych and Fincham (1992) illustrate that parenting styles and disciplinary practices are correlated with the development of behavior in children. A study in

Thailand (Ruangkanchanasetr et al. 2005) shows that one-third of secondary school students in Bangkok have behavioral problems, which are associated with parental marital problems and dysfunction. Risk behaviors may include, for example, driving after drinking alcohol, riding with a driver who drank alcohol, carrying weapons, fighting, and experiencing substance abuse. Another study in Thailand (Chooto et al. 2001) finds that children's behavior has noticeably changed after parental divorce.

Whereas parental involvement and parenting and style of discipline play a crucial role in children's behavior, parental conflicts and violence in families are found to put them at risk of using violence as adults. Children who witness violence can experience serious emotional difficulties, lack of sense of self, and have little confidence in the future (Saunders 1994; Johnson et al. 1996). They often live with anxiety and fear of the next violence to arise. Adolescents may react by running away or getting involved with risky behaviors. Those children, in turn, come to see violence as the right way of dealing with conflict in human relationships and this can affect children's adjustment at school and with their peers.

Age at Parental Divorce/Separation

Children at every age are also affected by divorce in different ways. Many studies identify the relevance of age at the time of separation on children's divorce adjustment (Amato 1996; Wallerstein and Lewis 2004; Wallerstein et al. 2000). The younger the child when the parental divorce occurred, the more the child was negatively affected. Amato (1996) demonstrates that the younger the child is when his parents' divorce, the more the divorce will negatively affect that child's communication behavior and decrease their

trust in future partners. He also finds that children who were younger than 12 years old when their parents divorced were the most likely to experience negative effects. This is because younger children had a shorter period of time in which to learn functional dyadic communication skills from their parents, which could result in experiencing an incidence of divorce later in their life. Wallerstein and Lewis (2004) also claim that parental divorce's negative effects tend to be most strong in those children who experienced their parents' divorce when they were six years old or younger, because they had so little ability to comfort themselves during this traumatic time in their young lives.

Moreover, young children encounter problems with personal adjustment, poorer relationships with their fathers and peer relations than those who experienced disruption later in childhood, while adolescents encounter problems with sexual relations and antisocial behavior (Zill et al. 1993). DeBord (1997) found that the adjustment to parental divorce is more difficult for elementary school children than for younger or older children. This is because these children are old enough to understand the unpleasantness of their parents' separation, but they are too young to manage their responses to this pain (DeBord 1997).

DeBord (1997) notes children's reactions to parental divorce may vary by age at the time of the separation. School age children may react with sadness, somatic complaints, and intense anger towards parents. Those children frequently tend to believe that they have caused their parents' divorce or refuse the fact that anything has changed, and can experience a fear of being left alone or of being abandoned altogether. While school age children may become stubborn, depressed, or angry, adolescents may encounter problems establishing an adult identity, demonstrate anger towards self or

others, and experience somatic complaints. They often feel a loss of parental support in handling personal problems. Some teens may feel they are pushed into adulthood if they have to take responsibility for many new chores or care of their siblings. They may react to parents due to their high stress by trying to take control over the family.

Summary

There are reasons for the rise in divorce rates. Focusing on the social structure, the common factors related to the increased rates of divorce include changing social and cultural trends, increased employment opportunities for women. Because family structures are ultimately dependent on social and economic structures, financial stability of both husband and wife are one of the major reasons for an increase in divorce rates. Besides women's changing roles and becoming professional in modern times, spouses effortlessly seek out comfort outside the marriage if things are not working out in a marriage, which results in infidelity. To solve these issues, it is easier for many spouses to give up their marriage than to try their best to deal with their problems. Hence, financial stability of women is a major cause of rise in divorce. Divorce and life in a one-parent family have become increasingly common in the lives of parents and children.

Another reason for the rise in divorce rates is a change in attitudes towards marriage and divorce. Previous studies (White 1990; Amato 2001) argue that formal marriage has lost its normative support, and marriage and divorce are similarly thought to be increasingly mere formalities. As cohabitation becomes a more common behavior, several studies show that premarital cohabitation is associated with higher probability of divorce. The explanation for this is that the kinds of people who choose to break

convention by cohabiting may have lower commitment to marriage as an institution and a disregard for the stigma of divorce.

Parental separation may cause such immediate impacts such as a loss of security and protection and a loss of financial stability as parents live their separate lives. A typical pattern after parental divorce is that the mother becomes the single parent, performing a commitment to raising the children and working both inside and outside the house while the father becomes the supporting parent (Amato 2000). Single-parent families are more likely to have lower family income and higher poverty rates than two-parent families, especially those in which the parent is the mother. The poverty of families headed by women can be explained by the fact that women's roles are mainly domestic, undervalued, and low-paying or unpaid. Although educated women have an opportunity to join public services, they are primarily reduced to the traditionally perceived female jobs, for example, secretary, teacher, or nurse. Yet, there are still socio-cultural biases directing women into a particular area of employment. For example, women are more likely to be recruited into social affairs ministries than economic ministries or remain in the lower ranks of civil servants. Hence, even full-time employment does not guarantee the financial security of single mothers because of the gender difference in earnings.

As a result, the absence of one parent in a family may negatively affect children's well-being. When time and economic inputs of the single parent family headed by a woman are less than those of a two-parent family, the socioeconomic achievement of the child will be negatively affected (Sorensen 1994; Gottainer and Biblarz 2000). Children from different socioeconomic groups might experience a different level of hardship. The

association between low income and quality of settings, including neighborhoods and schools, where children grow up, has a crucial influence on children's chances for leading a successful adult life. Family income is the most important factor determining the quality of these environments.

Children raised in single-parent families as a result of divorce may experience some negative effects on many levels. Although single-parent families have increased in many societies these days, single parents and children of divorce may suffer from the stigma attached to a single-parent family in that it is not a norm. Many single-parents, especially single-mothers, often find that others hold a certain stereotype of them. These stereotypes include, for example representations such as young, inexperienced, unwed and careless. Such stereotypes may leave single-parent families out of social circles, and thus single parents often feel isolated, lonely, and different. This could lead single-mothers and children of single-mother families to isolate themselves, which will have a negative influence on the developmental stages the child will move through.

While economic supports help couples' well-being and children's education, emotional support helps couples promote familial adjustment and self-esteem (Manning and Lamb 2003; Rindfuss et al. 2004). Compared to children who grow up with both biological parents, the difficulty in adjustment and functioning among children growing up in single-parent families are another result of the absence of a parent. While short-term distress at the time of separation fades, long-term unpleasant outcomes might leave heavy impacts on children. The consequences of the parent's choice might lead their children to feel frustrated, resentful, and angry with their parents for their behavior or for affecting their lives. This may leave them feeling powerless, sad, uncertain, anxious, and

helpless. Eventually, children cannot enjoy their lives and cannot concentrate on their education.

As the Thai family structure has changed overtime due to the change in social structures and economic structures, such as a change in the work force and societal norms and values, there are an increasing number of divorced couples and single-parent families. The impact family structure has in regards to children's outcomes in Thai society these days is a critical phenomenon that needs to be examined. The following chapter will discuss three theoretical frameworks: family and household decision making theories, the life-course perspective, and family composition perspective, and illustrate how these perspectives inform my inquiry and shape the practice of my study.

CHAPTER 4

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Trends in single-mother families in Thailand have been increasing over the past decades. Many studies as discussed in the previous chapter demonstrated a variety of impacts family structure has on children's outcomes, such as academic achievement, behavioral problems, and emotional health. This study attempts to understand the participants' realities from their point of view on how family structure impacts children's lives. When looking at outcomes of children of a lone mother, it is important to consider some of the factors that play a part in the families, such as economic resources, parental styles of discipline, and social supports. A better understanding of the lived experiences of single-mother families in today's society and the meanings single-mothers and children make of their experiences allow me to conduct my study by looking into possible factors that have impacts on the well-being of children of single-mother families.

The study employs three theoretical frameworks, including family and household decision making theories, the life-course perspective, and the family composition perspective. Family and household decision making theory is applicable in this study to understand the correlation between today's economic structure and a decision to divorce; the process of economic and social change brings many couples' marriages to an end. The life-course perspective is applicable to understanding family relationships and individual development over a lifetime, with regard to generational and historical time. This perspective guides me to examine patterns throughout single-mothers' and children's lives and experiences that accumulate over time to impact future outcomes for

children. The family composition perspective is important in this study for explaining how the change in family composition impacts children's well-being. This perspective considers how family transitions and relationships among family members also have impacts on children.

Family and Household Decision Making Theory

Family and household decision making theory was influenced by the economic theory of the family and social exchange theory, which are based on the assumption of rational choice. Decisions about when and whom to marry and whether to remain in a marriage are presumably made by rational actors who weigh the costs and benefits of alternative courses of action and choose the best options. The discussion and analysis of marriage and family based on economic theory was particularly significant in the analysis and interpretation of the rise in female employment and its possible connection to marriage and fertility behavior (Becker et al. 1977; Willis 1987).

Economic theories of the family based on the rational choice assumption are influential because they provide a theoretical way of thinking about family behaviors and change, especially expenditure patterns and labor supply. Implementing the economic perspective of labor market in relation to marriage, Oppenheimer's (1988) study on women's employment and the gain to marriage reveals that young men take a longer time than previous generations to settle into the labor market because of an increased investment in schooling and fewer possibilities for entering the labor market. An increasing insecurity concerning the future expectations as good economic providers can extend the period between reaching adulthood and entering a first marriage.

Other research, applying the economic perspective illustrates that labor market involvement raised the value of women's time spent in the labor market and increased the opportunity cost of spending time raising children (Bianchi and Casper 2002). Economic individualism has made it possible for individuals and couples to desire and pursue the happy marriage rather than the stable marriage (Adams 1995). Women's increased education and rising employment ultimately increase the likelihood of divorce and reducing fertility.

Becker et al. (1977) discussed divorce in terms of costs and benefits, expected gains to partnerships, and the role of uncertainty and imperfect information. Becker (1974)'s theory of marriage supports the notion of a marriage markets, illuminating a concept of when a woman's comparative advantage in the home relative to the market is greater than her husband's, the couple will allocate more of the wife's time to the home and more of the husband's to the market, and both will have much to gain from marriage and much to lose from divorce.

Drawing on social exchange theory, family and household decision making theory views that individual actions are understood as the results of actors' evaluating possible courses of action in terms of how well they will maximize rewards over costs. Rewards include love, support, companionship, emotional security, social status and connections, sexual relations, as well as property, financial resources, and assistance with daily tasks. Costs include extra work and responsibilities, annoying habits, or limited individual choices and freedom (Clark-Stewart and Brentano 2006). Therefore, individuals voluntarily enter and stay in any relationship only as long as it is adequately satisfactory in terms of rewards and costs (Thibaut and Kelley 1959). When people feel that the

rewards of the relationship are equitable and the costs have been equally distributed, the relationship is stabilized and strengthened; an unequal exchange pushes the relationship toward dissolution (Homans 1961).

Family and household decision making theory is applicable to explaining the reasons why couples decide to terminate their marriage and choose to live alone and/or raise their children by themselves. In the period prior to the divorce, people evaluate their relationship in terms of costs and benefits. The decision to divorce is shaped by the resources of the spouse and the rewards of the relationship compared with alternative attractions outside the marriage, such as a new love interest, a sense of freedom, more independence, or a potential of self-actualization (Levinger 1976). Quarrels, which lead to the end of marriage, start between couples when they realize there are other options, for example, taking a job elsewhere, dividing up the chores differently, revising ones' family planning, making love to someone else (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 1995).

In an attempt to better understand families, understanding how individuals within families coordinate and make decisions and how they negotiate compromises and trade the perceived costs and benefits of different choices about family life should be taken into consideration (Seltzer et al. 2005). The weighing of costs and benefits connected to the expenditure of time remains useful for a couple. Men and women who spend time within the labor market are likely to have less time to allocate to the home. In bargaining processes in family decision making, a couple will have much to gain from marriage and much to lose from divorce when a wife gains advantages from investing her time in her home while the husband invests time in the labor market. However, any decision that involves negotiation between two actors with divergent preferences or goals such as

decisions about divorce or separation can be difficult if other actors such as children are involved.

The Life-Course Perspective

The life course theory, as suggested by Elder (1985), may allow researchers to explore the knowledge relating to continuity and discontinuity in family life in the course of changing social, economic and global environments. The life course perspective involves the significance of time, context, process, and meaning on human development and family life (Bengtson and Allen 1993). Bengtson and Allen (1993) elaborates that the family is perceived as a micro social group within a macro social context, in which a group of individuals with shared history interact within ever-changing social contexts across ever increasing time and space. Therefore, the life course suggests the connection of social and historical factors with personal biography and development within which the study of family life and social change can follow (Elder 1985; Hareven 1996).

Several areas of family studies have applied this perspective. For example, Coltrane and Ishii-Kuntz's (1992) study on men's housework, investigating that timing of the beginning of parenthood can affect the lives of all family members in many ways especially financial issues. Pittman and Blanchard's (1996) study on work history and timing of marriage, adopts a life-course perspective to examine how the patterns of involvement in paid employment, before and during first marriage is related to the division of household labor for both husbands and wives. Call and Teachman's, (1996) study, uses the life course perspective to illuminate that marriages before military service experience greater disruptions than marriage during or after military service

The timing of lives refers to individual time, generational time, and historical time (Price et al. 2000). Individual time refers to sequential age such as childhood, adolescence, and old age. Generational time refers to the cohorts, in which people are grouped, based upon their age. Historical time refers to societal or large-scale changes or events such as the periods of political and economic changes, war and technological innovations.

These time periods of life influence positions and roles in society, which are based on culturally shared age definitions. (Hagestad and Neugarten 1985). The life course perspective is helpful for understanding how children of single-mother families are socialized across the life span when analyzing the developmental process. The concept of timing of lives also allows history and circumstances to be considered when analyzing children's outcomes.

The life course perspective moreover suggests that an individual's development is set and transformed by conditions and events occurring during the historical period and geographical location in which the person lives (Elder 1985; Price et al. 2000). This concept helps to explore the way single-mother families experience transitions by framing their experiences within the context of societal norms. As such, social and cultural ideologies can shape people's perceptions and choices in that divorce may be viewed as a usual solution for unhappy marriage for couples in the twenty first century, which can explain the rise in divorce rates and eventually a growing number of single-parent families.

For this reason, the life course perspective may provide working tools for understanding children of single-mother families in younger cohorts, commonly moving

along stages of development. A comprehension of the location of various cohorts in their individual historical contexts aids in identifying circumstances that have differentially affected people's own life histories because people and families interact within socio-historical time. With respect to historical influences, children living in single-parent families or stepfamilies today are likely to have fewer negative consequences than those children in such families a couple of decades ago, because these family arrangements now become more common and more normative.

Another concept of the life course perspective as Elder (1985) notes is that the transition and trajectory are socially organized in human lives. A transition is a distinct life change within a trajectory while a trajectory is a sequence of times in which an individual spends in specific social states. The life course perspective also emphasizes that transitions typically result in a change in status, social identity, and role involvement whereas trajectory can include multiple transitions. In this way, the same transition can produce different effects depending on when it occurs in the individual's life trajectory and depending on the historical era in which it occurs (Bengtson et al. 2005).

This concept also demonstrates how human lives are shaped by complex and multifaceted circumstances. For example, children of divorced parents may undergo several transitions in their lives from living in two-parent families, to single-parent families, and maybe to stepparent families. Single-mothers as well as children who do not experience transitions in family setting may need more time during transition periods in order to create the stability in a new family setting.

There is also the possibility of transition reversals (Hagestad and Neugarten 1985). The movement within a trajectory may create the need to retreat to a previous transition period. For example, mothers with young children who recently divorced may return to their parents' home and seek out temporary help from their parents. In contrast, single-mothers who do not have kin support may need more time in a transition period to build the assets that will assist them in their future family setting. The notion of retreat has particular implication for children in single-mother families because growing up with a sole parent is certainly complex.

This theoretical perspective is a valuable tool for analyzing the economic opportunities, cultural values and family experiences that are influenced by historical conditions and play an important role in shaping family structure. The perspective conceptualizes that the impact that divorce has on a family member depends on the individual's age, generation, and life stage. This concept also frames the idea that the relationship between parents, the interactions between parents and children, and the relationships among siblings and extended family members have impacts on each family member, personal characteristics, and individual actions to other members of the family.

Family Composition Perspective

The family within the context of the family composition framework is defined by long-term committed relationships, responsibilities, and ongoing support rather than exclusively by marriage, law, or biological ties (Bengtson et al. 2005). In this respect the definition of household needs to be distinguished from the family. A household refers to a residential unit and the individuals who live in that certain home while family may

broaden across several households. In some circumstances, not everyone in a household is considered to be in the same family. Hence, the family composition perspective suggests that it is important to clarify when we consider family transition, whether we are examining transitions involving a household or with the family as a whole.

In addition to the distinction between the term of household and family, definition of family and who is considered to be a member of family are also distinctive depending on the individual's definition (Demo et al. 2000). The family is differently represented for different individuals within the unit, for example, in a unit that consists of children and a mother, one child may consider her mother to be a member of her family while another child may consider the same woman, who is a stepmother to be outside of her family. Family members, thus, are not always limited to individuals who have pleasant relationships with others in the unit. Rather, family members who may have conflicting relationships with each other are also considered to be members of the same family. In some units, individuals who are physically absent or have distant relationships with other members in a family may still be considered family members. This is because the lives of family members are interconnected in some ways and the individual is still psychologically present in the minds of some individuals within the unit.

The theoretical perspective emphasizes the consequences of living in two types of family. First, in divorced and single-parent families, compared with married families, divorced persons report more negative life events, greater social isolation, more difficulties in parenting, and lower levels of psychological well-being (Amato 2000). Most studies have involved comparisons of children living in different family structures to identify the consequences of changes in family living. For example, the literature

(Amato 2000; Demo and Cox 2000) indicates that children whose parents divorce are at greater risk for some negative outcomes. In the immediate aftermath of a parental divorce or remarriage, most children experience emotional distress and behavioral problems, including anger, resentment, unreasonable demands, noncompliance, anxiety, and depression (Hetherington 1999).

Second, in remarriage and stepfamilies, Coleman et al. (2000) claim that most of the research shows the children function less well in a number of adjustment areas than the children from first-marriage families. For example, children in stepfamilies have more acting-out behavioral problems, more depression, lower self-esteem, and poorer academic performance than do children in first-marriage families. Theorists who take the family composition perspective state that family composition is related to the well-being of individuals, particularly children (Aquilino 1994; Demo 1992).

It is frequently believed that two biological parents provide a more favorable family environment for healthy child development and that family arrangements deviating from this structure, such as single-parent families or stepfamilies, are assumed to be problematic for children (Amato and Keith 1991a; Kitson and Holmes 1992; Simons 1996). One of the reasons, evidenced in some studies, is that children who are not raised by both of their biological parents often experience lower levels of well-being than those from intact families because they tend to lose social capital, referring to the emotional, economic, and educational support that parents provide their children. McLanahan and Sandefure (1994) further discuss that when biological parents do not live in the same household with the children, they lose a close connection. The nonresidential parent tends to feel less emotionally involved in their children's lives and is less likely to

feel financially responsible for their children. This can explain why many children from non-intact families are likely to obtain lower levels of emotional, educational, and economic support.

However, while theorists argue that family structure directly impacts the well-being of children, they ignore the fact that the loss of social capital from one parent can be replaced by another individual or that the residential parent can compensate for the absent one (Acock and Demo 1994). We cannot assume that all individuals who are not in married families would experience the same kind of difficulties. Some remarried individuals may report greater well-being than do divorced or non-remarried adults.

The family composition perspective is helpful in analyzing the causal influence of family transitions and to examine family structure and outcomes on a child's well-being. Whereas, it suggests that the process of divorce and the transitions associated with becoming single-parent families should be taken into consideration to analyze the consequences for both adults and children who experience the parental divorce. The parent-child relationship within the family structure where biological parents are absent from their children's life, maintaining ties with non-residential parents can be more difficult (Wallerstein 1980; Hetherington 1989; and Furstenberg and Cherlin 1991). However, maintaining parent-child emotional ties are more important than the physical presence of a parent in the household (Amato 1987; Wenk et al. 1994).

In addition to the family dynamics and individual adjustment that are associated with the transition, a measure of children's well-being prior to divorce allows a study to show the differences in well-being that takes place before and after changes in family

structure to estimate the independent influence of divorce (Cherlin et al. 1991). Although there is significant agreement in the studies that children in divorced and remarried families are at increased risk for the development of psychological, behavioral, social and academic problems in comparison with children in two-parent, non-divorced families, divorce may be an indicator of poorer outcomes in children, not the cause of difficulty in children's well-being.

Therefore, the theoretical implication of this perspective suggests some information that is useful for analyzing the effects of family structure on children's well-being. Generally, the researcher has employed cross-sectional and comparative research designs that highlight comparisons of one family relationships and family members' well-being. However, family dynamics; such as parent-child relationships, level of communication, and parenting style, individual adjustment; such as an individual report of a child having difficulties in school and experiencing emotional difficulties should be taken into consideration following to a family transition.

Summary

This study employs three theoretical perspectives: family and household decision making theories, the life-course perspective, and the family composition perspective. As discussed in this chapter, the three theoretical perspectives were discussed to understand the participants' lives in relation to the processes by which economic and social structure have brought many couples' marriages to an end and how family composition and the relationship family members have with each other play an important role in the well-

being of children. In the next chapter, I will discuss the methodology used to understand the lived experiences of the participants.

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

This study employed a semi-structured interview method with single-mothers and adult children of single-mother families in Bangkok, Thailand. This study was initially conducted as a pilot study. The data from the pilot study were later assessed to be useful and adequate to be used for analysis in the dissertation. An outline of this chapter includes 1) Research Methodology 2) Data Collection Methods and Procedures 3) Data Analysis 4) Trustworthiness

Research Methodology

The theoretical and empirical literature reviewed above suggests that family transitions have critical influences on the lives of family members. Characteristics of parents are also associated with children's well-being. Difficulties within the marital relationship change family dynamics and affect children's well-being. Thus, divorce may be an indicator of disadvantage in children's lives. This study employs qualitative methods in examining, describing and understanding the internal and external pressures and complex factors at play in relationships affecting Thai families in Bangkok. Qualitative methods, based on the use of open-ended questions and in-depth exploration are especially useful in this study for two reasons.

First, by encouraging people to talk openly about their experiences, researchers are more likely to understand the meaning and contexts that are most relevant to the people for whom they are investigating. Second, the words and phrases that emerge during this free-flowing conversation can be used in the construction of closed-ended

questions down the line to clarify and substantiate the story (Denzin and Lincoln 2000; Madriz 2000; Crabtree and Miller 2004). Thus, qualitative methods are appropriately applied in this study in order to explore interactions related to the common experiences of single-parents, particularly single-mothers, who have gone through family transitions from married couples to divorced parents.

Data Collection Methods and Procedures

Sample Characteristics

People become members of a single-parent family for many reasons, for example, divorced parents, separated parents, never married single-parents, and out of wedlock children. I chose a form of non-probability sampling as the basis for selecting the sample, because it was unlikely to know how many people make up the overall population under these circumstances. The selections of the sample for the study were a snowball sampling and purposive sampling.

Snowball sampling was most likely to be used when it is particularly difficult to identify potential subjects (Kirk and Miller 1986). Because of the lack of the reported rates of single-parent families in Thailand, according to the national statistical office of Thailand, a snowball sampling was a technique possible to identify subjects who were difficult to locate. Purposive sampling was employed to select particular persons in order to provide information and represent variation on the experiences under investigation (Mason 2002; Maxwell 2005). The purposive sampling method was chosen as the most appropriate method for this research because this technique was frequently used for work on sensitive and low frequency issues (Kitson et al. 1982).

Employing snowball sampling and purposive sampling can be subjected to a risk of bias of unknown magnitude (Kalton 1983; Kirk and Miller 1986). However, these techniques are informative and economical (Descombe 1998). To minimize sampling bias of samples, potential participants were carefully selected from the following controlled conditions.

Definition of Single-Parent Family

The term of a single-parent family was defined as a family comprised of a lone parent with one or more children. Single-parents are defined as parents who care for one or more children without the assistance of another parent in the home. Single-mothers in this study were defined as divorced or separated mothers who care for one or more children without the assistance of the father of the children in the home. Children of single-mother families in this study were defined as adults or young adults who were cared and raised by a divorced or separated mother.

Demographic Characteristics

I purposely aimed to interview Thai single-mothers and young adults of single-mother families from middle income families. The single mothers and the young adults, included in this study were not from the same families. Participants who were self-identified as Thai regardless of their original race and ethnicity were included in the study. Although the study intentionally focuses on the effects on children of single-parent families, it was reasonable to include adults aged 20 years old and older in this study, rather than adolescents or children aged under 20 years old, because they were mature enough to be able to articulate and communicate with the researcher. Young adults were

likely to be able to look back to their past experiences and were able to analyze them in terms of how family structure affected their lives while growing up without a father and related them to their well-being. One of the drawbacks to this approach however, could be that as older adults the study participants could have lost some connections with their past experiences and provided less accurate accounts.

This study aims to study middle class people, living in Bangkok, Thailand. The basic income, skills, and values that categorize people in the middle class allow them to improve their own standards of living, strengthen the prospects for economic growth of the country, and have an influence over the policies that tend to get a widespread implementation (Banerjee and Duflo 2008). Middle class in this study was defined by two criteria; consumption expenditures in relation to household income and occupation.

To classify middle class single-mother and adult children in this study, I used a definition of middle class people, according to Key Indicators 2010 from the Asian Development Bank, which defines that middle class as a whole tend to be better educated than the poor, to be more densely represented in regional and urban areas and to be more common in salaried employment. The Asian Development Bank also identifies the middle class people by a range of 2 US dollars to 20 US dollars per capita of daily consumption. Due to a wide range within this group, the minimum wage in Thailand was taken into consideration to narrowly identify the middle class. A minimum wage of Thailand, which is 206 baht per person per day or about six US dollars per person per day, as issued in 2010 by the Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board, was used as a tool to estimate a standard of living in order to correspond to my definition of middle class.

Another criterion that was used to identify the middle class in this study was occupation of participants. According to Key Indicators 2010 from the Asian Development Bank, the middle class is also classified by occupations, in that compared to the lower class; middle class is less connected to agriculture and less likely to be wage laborers. Middle class people are more likely to have salaried jobs, have a greater tendency to seek more expensive medical care when ill, and have fewer children and invest more in health, nutrition, and schooling. They are likely to be educated and live in urban areas or along coasts. People who live above a minimum wage were classified as middle class, because those who earned less than this tend to be marginalized as people in the informal sector and rural subsistence agricultural families, and classified in lower stratum. On the other hand, the upper class tends to have hereditary nobility origins.

In sum, middle class in this study was defined as a group of people who earned more than 206 baht per day (six US dollars) and/or those who worked outside agricultural sector, obligated to salaried jobs, such as professionals, salaried clerical staff, businessmen, salaried administrative, and bureaucrats.

Geographic areas

The single-families sampled in this study were drawn from urban areas of Thailand, specifically Bangkok.

Gaining Entry

The study was conducted in Bangkok, Thailand from June to July 2010. I contacted a coordinator of the Family Network Foundation; Ms. Tanitcha Limpanitch and presented documents of IRB approval (see APPENDIX A) to receive a permission to locate my research at the foundation. The Family Network Foundation is a nonprofit organization, which is located in Bangkok, Thailand. The foundation, incorporating with the Single Family Network Foundation aims to support single parents and provide friendship and companionship, as well as activities for single parents and their children. Members of the organization include all types of single-parents such as divorced parents, unmarried parents, and widowed parents. The organization has gained more members from various socio-economic backgrounds; however, a majority of members tend to be educated and salaried employed due to their ability to access knowledge and news. The foundation provides a variety of free services for single-parents, such as organizing family events and trips, group discussions, and lectures by professional speakers and educators.

I distributed verbal recruitment scripts (see APPENDIX B and C) to the foundation to identify an initial pool of potential participants. After I received a list of twenty members who met all criteria for this study from the agency, I contacted each person to find out their willingness to take part in the study and to make an appointment. Five out of twenty subjects took part in the study due to availability and their willingness. My personal contacts referred thirty-five subsequent volunteers.

Face-to-Face Interview

During the interview, I conducted a one to two hour semi-structured interview in Thai language with 40 respondents at their home, workplaces, or public places. Respondents included 20 single-mothers and 20 adults of single-mother families. Those single-mothers and those adults were not from the same families. Prior to the interview, I reviewed the purpose of the study and provided each respondent with an informed consent agreement (see APPENDIX D and E) for a signature. The initial interview questions (see APPENDIX F and G) were used as a guideline for interview. A pre-defined list of issues such as work-family conflict, gender role attitudes, attitudes towards divorced person and single-parent family, family crisis both economically and psychologically, and relationships within family made an informal conversation on the research subject. Interviews were carried out in the Thai language, tape recorded, and field notes were kept on observations relating to the respondent's mood, tone, facial expression, and body language.

The interview question sets used in this pilot study are suitable for gathering information from participants during interviews. During the pilot study, reliability of the instrument was ensured by clearly wording the questions included in the interview script. Questions were created to get to the same issues to all respondents even though wording, attributed to respondents were not be exactly the same. Interview questions were simultaneously modified during a pilot study to ensure that the questions accurately address the research questions. The consent form was also tested for comprehension. All comments were taken into consideration and errors were amended.

Observation

Data collection also employed observational methods along with semi-structured interviews. The use of several kinds of methods, called triangulation by Patton (2001), was used to strengthen a study, control bias and establish valid propositions. Face-to-face interviews provided flexibility and achieve a depth and complexity, which result in a complete and accurate data (Kirk and Miller 1986). Observational methods, including watching behavior and recording what took place, were carried out during the interviews to reach complex behavioral interaction and answers that subjects were unlikely to tell the truth. Engaging multiple methods, such as, observation, interviews and recording led the study to be more valid, reliable, and diverse construction of realities (Golafshani 2003). I also asked for their contact information and permissions to proceed a follow-up telephone interview if I find some missing data or unclear responses.

Data Analysis

The procedures that I used to illustrate how the actions were analyzed and interpreted the interview data include the following procedures.

Organizing Data

Creating “Interview Summary”

This qualitative research results in large amounts of relatively laden, precise, and detailed data. In order to help with analyzing these data, I created an “interview summary” for participants as soon as possible after each interview took place. This summary includes information about the interviewees and information to link the report

to the field notes that were taken during the interview and the tape recordings that were made. The summary note contained important details about the interviews in such a way that it would not be necessary to go back to the tapes or field notes at a later date. In order to protect the privacy of the informants, it was essential that this was done in a way that the information was not associated with the real name of individuals by giving each informant a pseudonym. The summary note also contained information that was provided by the informant in the process of interactive interview. Direct quotes from the respondent were included if a respondent was particularly expressive and insightful and revealed their perspectives on a subject. The objective of this interview summary was an attempt to interpret the content of the interactive interview in a way that relates the findings to the objectives of the study.

Creating “Participants’ demographic Information Spreadsheets”

I created “participants’ demographic information spreadsheets”, including “single-mothers’ demographic information” and “adult children’ demographic information” (see TABLE 10 and TABLE 11 and also see APPENDIX H and I for completed information) to assist in organizing the participants’ attributes. Participants’ attributes include age, educational attainment, occupation, monthly income, marital status, number of household members, etc. This process allowed me to convert the interview data into a usable form and became more familiar with the respondents. The interview summary and participant demographic information were used as a reference for analyzing the data.

Single-mother	Age	Occupation	Monthly income (baht)	Marital status (mother)	Number of children	Number of family members
1. Ed	55	Private employee	10,000	Divorce	1	5
2. Jong	58	Gov. employee	30,000	Divorce	1	2
3. Kai	48	Private employee	10,000	Separate	1	3
4. Kam	55	Gov. employee	40,000	Divorce	2	3
5. Kim	52	Trading	10,000	Separate	2	4
6. Kun	40	Private employee	30,000	Divorce	1	4
7. May	60	Gov. employee	10,000	Separate	1	2
8. Nat	43	Business owner	20,000	Divorce	3	3
9. Nee	57	Gov. employee	30,000	Separate	1	2
10. Nid	46	Private employee	10,000	Divorce	1	2
11. Orn	45	Gov. employee	30,000	Divorce	2	3
12. Pat	43	Gov. employee	20,000	Divorce	2	3
13. Ped	48	Private employee	10,000	Divorce	2	3
14. Sunun	61	Gov. employee	50,000	Divorce	2	3
15. Thida	53	Gov. employee	30,000	Divorce	2	3
16. Thum	60	Family business	10,000	Divorce	1	2
17. Toy	52	Housewife	7,000	Divorce	1	2
18. Tu	45	Private employee	10,000	Divorce	2	4
19. Won	49	Private employee	20,000	Divorce	1	5
20. Zoe	59	Gov. employee	20,000	Separate	1	2

TABLE 10. Single-mothers' Demographic Information

Adult children (M=Male, F=Female)	Age	Academic	Occupation	Monthly income (baht)	Marital status (mother)	Number of siblings (same parents)	Number of family members
1. Beck (M)	27	Masters	Looking for a job	10,000	Divorce	1	2
2. Ei (M)	35	Masters	Private employee	20,000	Separate	1	2
3. Fog (F)	25	Graduate school	Student and private employee	10,000	Divorce	2	3
4. Jake (M)	24	Bachelors	Private employee	10,000	Divorce	1	3
5. Kate (F)	25	Graduate school	Student	10,000	Separate	1	2
6. Lek (F)	22	In college	Student and private employee	40,000	Divorce	1	2
7. Nim (F)	26	Bachelors	Chef	9,000	Separate	4	3
8. Pan (F)	28	Masters	Private employee	10,000	Divorce	1	2
9. Pik (F)	33	Bachelors	Private employee	10,000	Divorce	1	3
10. Pla (F)	29	Bachelors	Private employee	25,000	Divorce	2	3
11. Moon (F)	48	Ph.D	Professor	30,000	Divorce	1	2
12. Som (F)	30	Masters	Business owner	10,000	Divorce	1	2
13. Sri (F)	34	Masters	Private employee	50,000	Divorce	4	5
14. Tawee (F)	36	Masters	Private employee	65,000	Divorce	1	2
15. Tha (F)	33	Bachelors	Private employee	20,000	Divorce	1	2
16. Tong (M)	33	Masters	Architect	25,000	Divorce	2	3
17. Took (F)	43	Certificate	Housewife	20,000	Separate	1	4
18. Toom (M)	32	Masters	Lawyer	200,000	Divorce	2	3
19. Yod (M)	25	Bachelors	Private employee	25,000	Divorce	1	2
20. Yu (F)	32	Bachelors	Private employee	10,000	Divorce	2	3

TABLE 11. Adult children' Demographic Information

Reviewing Data Sources

I listened to audio recordings and read through each field note and interview summary one more time to make sure that information I got remained faithful to the informant's actual thoughts and words. Writing memos while reviewing interview materials helped me capturing analytic thinking about data and drawing connections between ideas and perspectives that were mentioned in the interactive interview. Reviewing all data sources multiple times, I began to see the common themes emerging from the data that had a special relevance to the objectives of the study.

Analyzing Data

To make an important connection to a research question, I employed thematic analysis to identify the most interesting and demonstrative patterns across interview (Merriam 2002). Thematic analysis aimed at discovering the most common and relevant themes within the data, which were able to represent the whole dataset. This step entails describing and developing the themes from the data to answer a research question as the lens for analysis. Three themes emerged from the data in relations to a research question, "What are the factors affecting well-being of children of single-mother families?" include financial stability, parental competence, and social support. After I identified major themes and differentiated significant themes from insignificant themes as according to my research question, I reread my data and revised my themes when necessary. Broader themes were subcategorized into more precise or conceptual themes and prominent categories were identified under each theme.

In efforts to make sense of these themes, I went through the “interview summary” of each informant and the “participant demographic information spreadsheet” and began to interpret the data from each theme using Owen’s (1984) criteria for thematic analysis. Following Owen’s procedure, I wrote down the three main criteria, including recurrences, repetition, and forcefulness. Brief notes about strong emergent ideas and potential links to theory were also noted.

The original themes were now broken into subcategories, in accordance to the recurrences, which could profoundly address the factors affecting well-being of children of single-mother families. The new subcategories of what financial stability involves include: improved (better off financially), unbothered (economical unchanged), deteriorated (financial worsen). Subcategories of what parental competence entails include: education (emphasizing on school performance), behavior (monitoring and disciplining actions and activities), and future relationship (concerning about a child’s future relationship). Subcategories of social supports involve: financial resources (assisting with money), childcare assistance (offering daycare), emotional support (providing expressive maintenance), and no support.

Additionally, I created a diagram to both aid in the organization of the themes and categories. The visual diagrams (see DIAGRAM 1-3) were useful in constructing the themes and categories and identifying how the themes related to each other, my research question, and my theoretical framework.

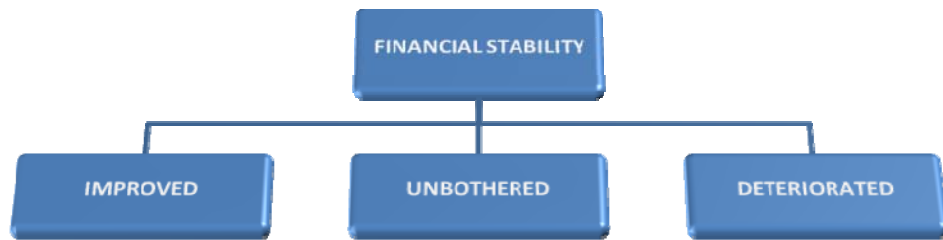


DIAGRAM 1
Theme 1: Financial Stability

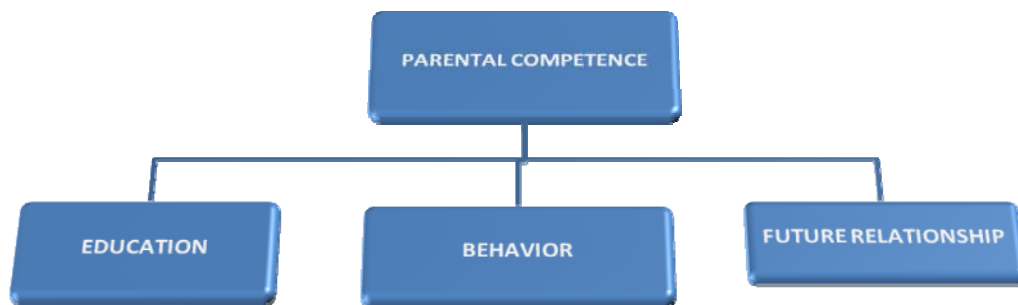


DIAGRAM 2
Theme 2: Parental Competence

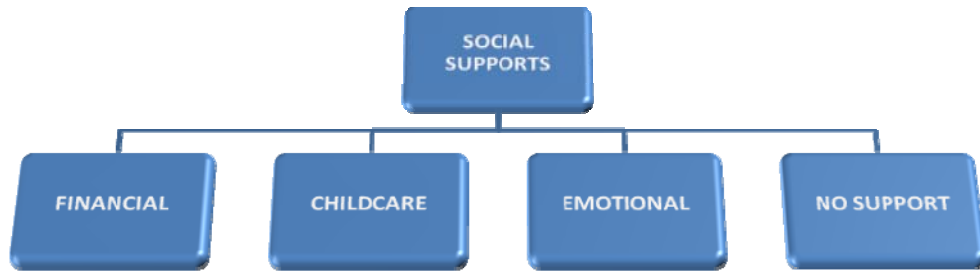


DIAGRAM 3
Theme 3: Social Supports

In order to measure well-being of children in single-mother families, I looked at the correlations of the three factors on children's education and behavioral problems. Firstly, academic achievement was considered as an important indicator for children's well-being and their future. Analyzing academic outcome in relations to family characteristic, I looked at the correlation of parent investment on children's education, such as financial resources, mother's emphasis on academic performance, and parental monitoring, which associate with school performance of children and the level of academic completion. Secondly, behavioral problems serve as a predictor for children's future outcomes. Behavioral problems are measured by three perspectives according to participants' perception of parental view (i.e. disobedience; using violence with family members, destroying property, etc.); emotional view (i.e. involving aggression toward others); and legal view (i.e. committing serious crimes such as murder, theft, illegal drugs use).

Trustworthiness

In a qualitative study, the trustworthiness and credibility of the research is essential. Findings should reflect the reality of the experience (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Miles and Huberman 1994). In order to increase reliability and validity in this study, I employed the following techniques. 1) triangulation 2) reflexivity 3) low-inference descriptors

By using triangulation strategy, I employed the use of multiple research methods and the use of multiple data sources to help me to understand a phenomenon in the study (Denzin 1978). Themes emerged through interview data were examined in relation to additional interview data and data from observation field notes. The triangulation of data I collected from individual interviews and observation during the interview capture an accurate and realistic description of the lived experiences of the single-mothers and the children growing up with a single-mother. For example, participants' discussions of the causes of divorce/separation were examined in relation to interview data from participants who described why they decide to leave marriage and become a single-mother, while comparing it to field notes on the reaction to the question, the tone of voice, and the expression when they told the story. In this manner, an inclusive understanding within this concept was reached, in which it was determined that causes of divorce/separation were mainly derived from a lack of the father figure.

The use of two sets of informant; the single-mothers and the children of single-mother families, is another way of triangulating via data sources. Viewpoints and experiences from the single-mothers were verified against those of the children. A rich

picture of the attitudes, needs, and behavior of those under the study were constructed based on the contributions of a range of people.

Reflexivity, involving self-awareness and self-reflection of the researcher is a strategy that can be used to avoid error and bias in interpretations and to increase the reliability and validity of a study (Krefting 1991). To some degree, researcher's bias is always present in research; however, a researcher's awareness and acknowledgement of personal bias can limit the influence he has on a study (Denzin and Lincoln 2000). I increased the credibility of my study by acknowledging that my background, values, and experiences may have influenced participant responses and the interpretation of the data.

During the whole course of the study, I maintained awareness that my social identities, experiences, beliefs and values were constantly influencing my research. I also made short notes at the time and expanded notes as soon as possible after each interview session. The notes helped me in keeping aware of my influential role as the researcher, as well as in detecting my potential bias and inclination that may influence the conclusions I made about the data.

Low-inference descriptors, as Clive Seale (1999), involve recording observations in terms that are concrete as possible, including verbatim accounts of what people say. The closer the descriptor is to the data, less inference is made by the researcher and interpretive validity is enhanced. By using low inference descriptors, I used descriptors that are close to what the subjects said. For example, I used the inference descriptor "authoritative" to describe characteristics of parenting style based on evidence such as supportive rather than punitive and flexible but firm. This allows my personal

perspectives to influence the reporting. I also inserted direct quotes from persons interviewed to support themes reported in the results. These low-inference descriptors allow the reader to better assess the trustworthiness of the research report (Lincoln and Guba 1985).

Limitations

The research study was limited by the following conditions. First, it was difficult to arrange times to interview the participants according to their schedules. The interview session may be limited if the participants were preoccupied with their work and their children, which resulted in a less in depth of answers. Second, it could be argued that this study was limited by the research methodology. During face to face interview, interviewees may feel hostile as they concern with the issue of confidentiality. They may feel reluctant to give truthful answers as they do not want to look bad in front of the researcher. The bond between the interviewer and the respondent was important. A good rapport could create flexibility and the respondents may feel more comfortable to give more detail.

Third, because seniority is an important part in Thai culture, in which the younger person should respect the older person, the different use of language and the wording of questions concerning to the cultural appropriateness in the interview with the mothers and the adults of single-mother families may jeopardize the consistency of the research instrument. Finally, my cultural insider's knowledge, my gender, ethnicity, and social class may have limited this study. My knowledge about cultural identity and class values permitted me to easily make assumptions about the participant. The respondents' stories

reminded me of my own experiences with family and community, which can cause issues regarding personal bias in the data collection and data analysis stages of research. By recognizing my position as a cultural insider and maintaining self-knowledge, I consciously secured against researcher bias.

Summary

Qualitative methodology, using semi-structured interviews and observations were employed to examine the lived experiences of single-mothers and adult children of single-mother families in Bangkok, Thailand. The research study was conducted between June and July of 2010. My study included 40 participants: 20 divorced single-mothers and 20 adult children of divorced single-mother families, who were from 40 different families. Interviews were conducted and data were tape-recorded and/or note taken. Reliability and validity were measured by three strategies: triangulation, reflexivity, and low-inference descriptors

Data from the study, including the profile of single-mothers and young adults who grew up in single-mother families and attitudes of being a single-mother who raise children alone and being children who grew up with a lone mother provided comprehensive information on the background of participants, experienced difficulties, and impacts of growing up in a single-mother family. The data also contributed to the identification of factors that resulted in children's well-being and outcomes of living in a single-mother family, which was useful for use in the actual study to answer my research question, which asked what the factors that have effects on the well-being of children living in single-mother families are.

Data were organized and arranged so that the results of the study were then interpreted. Notes or transcripts were studied in order to identify whether there was data missing from the cases either on purpose or through omission of a respondent or an interviewer who left a question unanswered. Then, the data were analyzed through thematic analysis. In the following chapter, I will discuss the findings of this research study.

CHAPTER 6

DESCRIPTIONS OF PARTICIPANTS

The demographic information of the participants, as provided in Chapter five, revealed background information of the participants, including age, education, occupation, monthly income, parents' marital status, number of children and siblings, and number of family members. Chapter six further provides a brief summary of each participant on how they experienced parental separation/divorce. This chapter begins with reflections on the interviewing process. Then, I provide brief descriptions of participants, in which the depictions reflect on the causes of separation/divorce and certain circumstances while living in a single-mother family. The participants are categorized into two sets; single-mothers and adult children. Each set are described in alphabetical order. In the last section, I include a summary of my discussion on the reflections and the background information of the participants.

Reflections

The interview method was employed in this study to explore the factors influencing the lives of single-mother families through the lived experiences of single-mothers and adult children of single-mother families. I interviewed 20 single-mothers and 20 adult children of single-mother families in my study. The single-mothers and the adult children did not come from the same families. The interviews took place in Bangkok, Thailand between June and July in 2010. Participant recruitment moved quickly due to tight schedules. I contacted the Family Network Foundation right away when I set off in Thailand for distributing the verbal recruitment scripts to the members of the

organization. In the meantime, using the snowball sampling technique, I used recommendations from my connection to find additional potential participants. The Family Network Foundation contacted me back within a week and gave me a list of 20 potential participants who were willing to take part in the study. I called each person on the list, received from the foundation and contacted the individuals referred by my connection on the phone to find out their inclination to participate in the study and arranged the time for interviewing.

The time and the setting where the interview took place were challenging in some cases. The time scheduled for interviewing was not accurately managed and the appointments were not exactly made as scheduled. My first interview was an interview with one of the adult children who grew up with a single-mother. The interview was initially scheduled after office hours, which was after 4 P.M., in a cafeteria at her workplace, that she suggested because it was convenient for her. However, the actual interview started an hour late because of an unexpected work situation that she had to deal with. A similar case occurred when I scheduled another interview with a working single-mother, in which the interview was scheduled after working hours on a weekday in a coffee shop. The participant was not able to make it on time due to problems with traffic. Interestingly enough she was vigilant about keeping me informed about where she was at and how long she thought she would be at respective locations. The actual interview started about two hours later than the scheduled time.

I found there is a thing called “Thai Time”; a cultural practice, in which nothing ever starts on time and people are almost always late for things. People here are more relaxed; do not worry so much about time as compared to Americans. In addition,

traveling time in Bangkok cannot be precisely estimated due to unpredictable traffic patterns. Traveling from one place to another can be frustrating, because you cannot predict how far and how long it will take. This “Thai Time” was a lesson for me. I learned to spare my time and not to schedule too many interviews on one day. Although I could not expect appointments to start right on time, I always had to be on time for the appointments.

Some of the questions for interviewing triggered certain memories for the participants, which produced unexpected responses for me. I sometimes witnessed grief when interviewing single-mothers on an individual basis. In most cases, when I asked an interviewee to describe the most difficult situation they had faced in their lives in regards to bringing up children without the father, they told their story involving how their miserable marriage made the life of a young child struggle. For example, in one interview with a single-mother, she told me she had her little daughter waiting at school forever wondering if her mother was going to show up or not. As she thought about this, she started to have a tear in her eyes and told me she could never forgive herself for making her daughter feel insecure. At this point, I was not sure how to proceed with the conversation. I felt responsible for being a good listener since it was apparent she was distraught over something in the past and still carried strong feelings. I felt it would be rude to cut her off when she was sharing this personal information. Letting her take a moment to share her sentiments and giving her appropriate support allowed me to build trust and a better relationship with the interviewee.

The participants came from varied backgrounds and generations. I found myself being aware of the Thai convention that was situated firmly within the seniority system;

respect for elders is a part of Thai culture. Thai people are taught to regard all who are older as aunts or '*paa*', uncles or '*loong*', grandmother or '*yai*', and grandfather or '*ta*'. The older person may address the younger one as younger sister or '*nong*', and the younger person may address the older one as older sister or '*pii*'. When kinship status is assigned, individuals are expected to treat others just like their own relatives. With seniority established, I found it was beneficial in building a good working relationship with the participants when we became immediate kin. However, I realized I needed to be very careful in the language I used to talk with the elders and in what I chose to comment on.

Brief Descriptions of Participants

Single-Mothers

1. Ed

A 55 year-old single mother of a son got divorced because her ex-husband had another woman. After she saw how his unfaithfulness had created emotional distance between her and her husband, it did not take much time for her to make a decision to divorce, but her husband prolonged the process of divorce. Besides adultery that caused her divorce, money was another reason. She described that her family during marriage was a dual-income family, in which both had jobs and her husband took care of paying an installment for a house while she was responsible for household expenses. She demanded a divorce because she was not willing to cover his expenses anymore.

After divorce, she confronted with some financial problems. She admitted that the household expenses were increased due to a loss of one income earner from her ex-

husband and her ex-husband did not offer any child support. Her difficult time was when her son was little. She had to hire a babysitter or sometimes she had her siblings watch her while she was away at work. Even though her financial circumstance had deteriorated, she thought that parenting was the most important factor for bringing up a child healthily. She is an office worker and currently living with her son, her 2 sisters, and a nephew.

2. Jong

A 58 year-old single-mother of an only daughter divorced from her lawyer husband because he was not a good father and physically abused her. She shared that her ex-husband was emotionally absent and sometimes physically abusive. She shared that at one time, her daughter witnessed her father's abuse. She said that her ex-husband always chose friends over family. Often time, he brought his friends over to her house, drank, and hung out through the night. One day she realized that her daughter might be in danger, growing up in a house where there were a group of men getting drunk every night. She decided to leave her husband and took her 10 year old daughter to stay with her younger sister for a while before she settled in a place for herself and her daughter. She waited until her daughter was about 18 years old to officially divorce her husband, because of the fear that the stigma of having divorced parents would follow her daughter.

Divorce was her right decision, as she expressed. Her financial circumstances after divorce were getting better with time and she no longer had to deal with fighting him. She recognized that parenting without a partner was not so difficult although she was concerned about her daughter being involved with illegal drugs and other illegal

activities. Her daughter graduated from one of the top universities in Thailand and went to a law school in the U.S. Now she is a lawyer and occasionally contacts her father since they are in the same field. Jong is now a teacher and living with her 28 year-old daughter.

3. Kai

A 48 year-old woman has been a single-mother of a daughter for 16 years. She did not get married because she considered a marriage just a piece of paper. She separated from, as she referred, her ex-husband after almost a year of living together while she was pregnant. Kai's mother did not approve of her husband in the first place because he was a playboy. He had 2 kids from a previous marriage. Kai separated from her husband once she found out that he was having an affair. She returned to her mother's house and stayed with her since. Her daughter has never seen her father since she was born.

The most difficult time for her was when her daughter was about 2 years old. She admitted that she did not have enough time to take care of her daughter since she worked 2 jobs. She later gave up her own company and currently was employed in an industry in order to be able to have time with her daughter. She did not regret separating from her husband and she did not experience any difficulty raising her child alone. What she was worried about was what her daughter would grow up to be and she thought disciplining was the key.

4. Kam

A 55 year-old single-mother of 2 children; one daughter and one son, got divorced after 10 years of marriage. She married her ex-husband without her parents' approval.

She shared that her ex-husband was not committed to the family and always put friends above family. He was working in another province while she was working and living in Bangkok. She said that one day after they had a big argument, her husband walked out leaving her and their children behind. Kam took quite a long time to recover from the pain, because a decision to divorce was not her idea, but her ex-husband's. A confusion and misunderstanding created tension and stress while she was raising her kids. After years of separation, she decided to file for a divorce and her divorce lawsuit was ended after 4 years without alimony and child support.

She admitted she was concerned about financial circumstances so that she worked extra hours in order to compensate for the lack of her husband's income. She confronted conflicts between having time for work and time at home while she was raising her children. Extended working hours decreased an ability to spend time and supervise her children. She noticed somewhat negative impact on the school grades of her children. Gender of the child was one of the issues she had to deal with. While she had no problem raising her daughter, she was worried about raising her son due to a lack of a male role model in the house. Sending her son to a boarding school was a solution so that he could learn and develop a sense of a good grown up man from school. Currently she is a government employee, living with her two children, who are both in college.

5. Kim

A 52 year-old single-mother of two daughters separated from her husband for 10 years. She discussed the reason that caused her separation was because her husband could not lead a family and did not commit to or was accountable for a family. She walked

away from her husband in an attempt to secure a money settlement for herself and her daughters. She thought that she would not be able to financially support her daughters' education unless she separated from her husband because he liked to gamble. She did not file for divorce although her ex-husband had another daughter with his new girlfriend.

Her most difficult time was after the separation because she had to run her business by herself while taking care of the children. Her financial circumstances after the separation were not too bad, though her daughters could not afford some extravagant expenses unless they worked part-time jobs. Kim's parents passed away many years ago. She was very close to her mother-in-law because her mother-in-law stayed at her house since she was married. Her mother-in-law was a helping hand, taking care of the children while she was working. Her daughters did not experience negative outcomes in terms of school performance and behavioral problems. However, her daughters did not like to socialize with the neighbors since they knew about the separation of the parents and tended to ask about it. Her two daughters graduated from college and are working in private companies. She currently owns a small food business and lives with her two daughters and her mother-in-law.

6. Kun

A 40 year-old single-mother of a daughter divorced from her husband because of infidelity. She shared that her ex-husband cheated on her with another woman. She said that she knew he was having an affair for about two years but he never admitted it. She demanded a divorce after two years of betrayal and lying. At that moment, her ex-

husband did not want a divorce because she was pregnant with a daughter. She decided to pursue a divorce when her daughter was four months old.

She was confronted with some financial problems when her daughter was in elementary school. Her former family was another burden since she also had to take care of her aged mother and a sick older brother. Although they lived in the same house and her mother and brother were able to take care of her daughter while she was away, Kun did not find that assistance very helpful. A lack of communication between her mother, her older brother and her daughter resulted in distress and delay in her daughter learning how to speak. Kun discovered the problem fast enough to heal her daughter's disorder in time. Her daughter is now 18 years old, attending a school. Kun is an office worker. Her household members currently include her daughter, her mother, her older brother, and herself.

7. May

A 61 year-old single-mother explained the reason she decided to become a single-mother and raise her only daughter without a partner is because her ex-husband had an affair. Her ex-husband met another woman while he was living and working in another province. Once she heard about the affair from one of her friends, she decided to leave her husband, moving to Bangkok to find a new job and start her own life with her five year-old daughter. She had a lot of help from her older siblings, including a place to live when she first moved to Bangkok and childcare assistance.

She struggled with time conflicts between work and home. There were many times that her daughter had to stay very late at school, waiting to be picked up. because

she could not get out of work. She expressed that sometimes she wished to have someone to help her think and share responsibility. However, her financial circumstances after the separation were improved as her ex-husband was extravagant in spending and now she did not have to be liable for his bills. She still holds a marriage license after 20 years of separation and being a single-mother while her ex-husband has another family with a child. Her daughter grew up without financial problems due to her ability to manage her money. May is now a retired teacher and her daughter is doing a master's degree in the U.S.

8. Nat

A 43 year-old single-mother of three children; one son and two daughters divorced when she was 31 because of irreconcilable differences and sexual incompatibility. She shared that while she had to take care of the three children, she had so little time for her husband, which caused them an emotional distance and later caused him to have another woman. She expressed that she took about six months to recover from the trauma following divorce by doing a meditation and talking to a psychologist. She described that her older son was really closed to his father and still kept in touch with him while her middle child was mad at her father, and her youngest daughter did not show any feeling about her father, because she was too young when the divorce occurred.

She shared that her ex-husband filed for divorce and demanded child custody; however, she won custody of her children. She admitted that she experienced some financial problems after divorce since she did not receive any child support from her ex-husband. However, she did not see the divorce had affected her children's school

performance and behavior. She is now a small business owner. Her first son and her second daughter are currently living with her. Her youngest daughter is living with her mother.

9. Nee

A 57 year-old single-mother of a son separated from her husband when her son was one year old because of an infidelity. She described that her ex-husband was a playboy and never helped out with the child. She shared that one day her ex-husband decided to step out of the family while she was looking after her child and never came back. She discovered later that he had another woman. She did not file for a divorce, but she demanded child support until her son graduated from college. Financial support from her ex-husband somewhat secured the financial condition after the separation. Working as a teacher, she was able to manage her time between work and family. At the same time, childcare assistance from her mother was found to be useful. However, Nee was worried that her son would be upset when he saw others, particularly his cousins growing up with two biological parents. Her ex-husband now has a new family with three kids. It has been 25 years now since she separated from her husband. Nee is a teacher, living with her 26 year old son.

10. Nid

A 46 year-old single-mother of a 14 year-old son divorced from her husband, because her ex-husband had another woman. Due to their careers, her ex-husband moved to Jantaburi province to work as a teller while she was living in Bangkok, working in a private company. While they were having a long distance relationship, she

explained that her ex-husband met another woman at his workplace through his friends. About eight years later, divorce was official.

She expressed that she was so distressed that she could not live by herself following the divorce. She turned to her friends for some advice and took several years to recover from the sadness. Although she filed for a divorce and demanded alimony, she experienced financial difficulty because of the debts her ex-husband incurred during the marriage and because he did not pay the monthly child support. Her financial circumstance changed for the better years after the divorce through some help from her nephew. Now she is an employee and is also doing some volunteer work and living with her 14 year-old son.

11. Orn

A 45 year-old single-mother of two sons separated from her husband after two years of marriage. She officially got divorced in 2008 when her sons were 11 years old and nine years old. Her husband's lack of responsibility caused a marital disruption. She described that he was not responsible for family expenses during marriage, did not help taking care of children, and did not commit to the family. Money issue often caused a fight and accusation, which led to her divorce. Post-divorce, her sons still kept contact with their father and occasionally went to stay with him. Recently, she decided to send her older son to live with her father, because his school was closer to his house.

Financial condition after her separation from the husband has not changed since her husband never financial supported the family during the marriage. She admitted that her sons frequently witnessed the parents' fight and argument when they were little.

Watching parents out of control and fight somewhat had an effect on her children's personality. Particularly, her older son, as she described, had a bad temper and a little patience. Her ex-husband constantly changes his girlfriend, but does not commit to anyone yet. She is now a government officer.

12. Pat

A 43 years old single-mother of two sons uncovered that her ex-husband made a little effort to be a part of a family. As described, he was a temper alcoholic man; he often raised his voice and yelled when he was angry. He neither provided care to the family, nor did the economic. Every time that they had verbal fights, he escalated to a few punched. Pat gave him chances to improve his behavior and prayed for his improvement. He promised to change and to behave well, but he has not. Her ex-husband prolonged the process of divorce, because he did not want it in the first place. It took about seven years to officially end their marriage.

After divorce, she was relieved and had less stress in her life. Financial circumstance was getting better since her income now had to only cover herself and the children. However, watching their parents fight constantly made her children become aggressive. Pat admitted that it was easy to use verbal aggression toward their children when she was upset. Because Pat's parents lived in another province, sometimes she struggled with managing time to watch their children while she had to work. Although Pat recognized that her sons were not a straight-A student, they never misbehaved or involved in illegal activities.

13. Ped

A 48 year-old single-mother of two children; older daughter and younger son divorced at age 32 because she caught her ex-husband cheating and lying. She was originally from Bangkok, but moved to Pidsanulok, where her ex-husband lived and worked when they married. With a possible assistance provided by her older sister and her parents-in-law, both financially and emotionally, she did not hesitate to get a divorce when she found out about her husband's affair. She brought her children with her and moved to Bangkok, where it was her hometown, after the divorce.

When Ped first relocated in Bangkok, she struggled with financial circumstance, in which a cost of living was higher than it was in the countryside. She had to find a job in order to support herself and her family without her husband's help. She found that her older sister, who never married, was very helpful. Financial support through her daughter's tuition could relieve some financial tension while she was settling. Her ex-husband now has a new family with a child. She is now an office worker. Her two children; 29 year-old daughter and 21 year-old son are currently living with her.

14. Sunun

A 61 year-old single-mother of a son and a daughter decided to divorce because her ex-husband did not take any responsibility for a family. She revealed that he never cheated on her, but he did not make any commitment to the family and often time he chose friends over the family. Sunan described her ex-husband's characteristic as a controlling; he liked to be in charge of everything and liked to command everyone in family to follow and live under his rules. Her husband did not want a divorce in the first

place, so it took many years to bring their marriage to end. After divorce, her husband moved out to live with his younger brother in the countryside while Sunan could keep the house and lived with her children. According to an agreement, her ex-husband was allowed to see his children.

Sunan did not find the divorce had much an effect on their financial condition. Her ex-husband constantly sent her some money until he passed away about 10 years ago. In addition, she knew it was important to have money saving and being economical. Being a single-mother raising a boy was a challenge for her than raising a girl, especially when he was a teenager. Drugs use and bad influence of friends were the most concerns she put on her son while she was not much worried about her daughter. Sunan is now a retired teacher, living with her daughter, her son, her daughter-in-law, and her niece.

15. Thida

A 53 year-old single-mother of two daughters divorced from her husband because of unfaithfulness and lying. She filed for divorce a couple months after she caught her ex-husband having an affair with his employee. Her older daughter was eight years old and her younger daughter was six years old at that time. Her daughters were supportive when she divorced, because they did not want to see a fight between parents as she saw other families did.

Although her ex-husband financially supported the family during marriage, Thida did not find financial circumstance was much changed after the divorce even without his help. She thought money management was the key, in which she also taught her children how to save the money and learn to value of the money. She also received a childcare

assistance from her mother when she needed. Sometimes she sent her daughters to stay with her mother in the countryside during their school breaks while she was working in Bangkok. Her daughters occasionally met her father when they visited their grandmother on father's side. Thida is now a teacher and living with her daughters.

16. Thum

A 60 year-old single-mother of a daughter divorced when her daughter was six years old. Thum did not take a long time to make a decision to divorce after she found out that her ex-husband had another woman. She revealed that her daughter sometimes exposed to the parents' fight and she noticed her reaction to the fight by withdrawn and quiet. She admitted that a decision to divorce was not easy to make. She took less than a year to process a divorce, because she was scared of it would be even more painful for her daughter, growing up in such a dysfunctional family. She did not struggle after divorce since her ex-husband did not much support the family during the marriage.

Because Thum and her husband's family could not get along, after divorce she came to her mother for some emotional support. At the same time, she offered some financial assistance through the household expenses. Her ex-husband later married and had another daughter. She always put an emphasis on the education for her daughter. She expressed that she felt successful when she saw her daughter graduated. Her daughter only met her father couple times in her life. Her ex-husband was remarried and had another child. Now he passed away.

17. Toy

A 52 year-old single-mother of a son got a divorce when her son was three years old because of her husband's infidelity. A feeling of being betrayed made her go for a divorce right away after she heard about his ex-husband's affair from her relative. She worked before marriage in a private company, but she quit her job and became a stay-home wife and mother after she got married while her husband was working in a shipping company. After divorce, she did some random jobs and was temporarily employed. She got to keep the house that her mother-in-law bought it for her and her husband while they were married, while her husband moved out. In addition, her mother-in-law was really supportive in terms of financial aid through her son's tuition and monthly household expenses.

Although she did not experience financial difficulty following the divorce, she found that raising a child without a partner was challenging. She revealed that while she was coping with her tension and stress due to her husband's leaving, she often lose control and many times she spanked her son out of her anger. Physical aggression resulted in a child's withdrawal and sometimes self-hitting. She also found that it was difficult to explain to her son where his father went. Now her ex-husband was remarried and had another child.

18. Tu

A 45 year-old single-mother of two sons divorced from her husband because he wanted to have a new family. Her ex-husband worked in Chiang Mai province, where he met another woman while Tu was working in Bangkok. Her ex-husband demanded a

divorce when her first child was three years old and the second child was just born. Tu did not want to precede a divorce a divorce since her children were too little. Her children went back and forth between Bangkok, staying with her and Chiang Mai, staying with their father and grandmother. It took about six years for them to obtain a divorce. After divorce was finalized, she took both of her children back to Bangkok, and allowed them to occasionally meet with their father.

Her financial circumstance after the divorce was not much changed, because she had a secured job even though her husband was not financially responsible. Rather, Tu exposed to a lot of stress and frustration while she was trying to cope with her husband's leaving and have to admit as she became a divorced mother. Raising children was also challenging. She had a hard time explaining a divorce and the family situation to her children; whereas, she had to comfort them since they were hoping that their parents would get back together.

19. Won

A 49 year-old single-mother of a son divorced from her husband because he had another woman. She took about three years to get a divorce and at that time, her son was only three years old. She revealed that she was upset every time her son asked about the father. However, her son learned to know about his parents' divorce when he grew up. Her ex-husband although remarried and lived in a countryside, he came to see his son once or twice a year when he was little. They lost contact over the years when he grew up. She was not affected by divorce financially since she took care of the household expenses during the marriage. However, being a single-mother was challenging for her,

because of the time conflict between work and home although she received some assistance from her relatives, financially, emotionally, and a childcare assistance.

However, she found a divorce benefited her in terms of a relationship between her and her son. She attempted to spend more time with him so that he would not feel that he was abandoned. Also, she found that her emotional well-being was healthier after divorce and she had more time to supervise her child. Won is now an office worker, living in Bangkok with her son, her parents, and a nephew.

20. Zoe

A 59 year-old single-mother of a son separated from her husband when her son was 11 years old, now he is 25 years old. She explained that she had to deal with irritating habits of her husband such as alcohol use and physical abuse, but infidelity was the main reason that caused her separation. However, she admitted that she did not want a divorce, because she felt ashamed of being a divorced woman. Additionally, she did not want her son to be shameful by changing his father's last name to her last name. Not many people knew about her separation. In attempt not to reveal that she separated from her husband, she became quieter after the separation.

Since her son aware of the situation in the family from the beginning, he was very supportive when his parents separated. Zoe revealed that she did not experience much of financial struggle, because she obtained some helps of her parents and siblings. Her parents offered financial assistance through her son's tuition, at the same time, her mother helped her with a childcare when her son was little. His son still kept in touch

with his father, calling him on a special day and occasionally meeting with him. Now her son was graduated from a university and was in graduate school.

She still had a wedding band on her ring finger. She was willing to take part in my study, though she did not feel comfortable signing a consent form. She is now living with her son.

Adult Children

1. Beck

A 27 year-old only son of a single-mother experienced his parents' divorce when he was 15 years old. He said that the reason of their divorce was because his father met another woman. He recalled when he was little, every Sunday was his family day, in which his family always found fun activities to do as a family. As he grew up, he remembered his father hardly had time for the family and then he discovered later that his father met another woman. Soon after, his parents got divorced.

He did not much affected by his parents' divorce. His mother and father owned a business. After the divorce, his mother ran a part of the business, which made her capable of support the family financially. Beck was very supportive of his mother through the divorce, because he knew his father was a playboy and his mother would be happier if she did not have to deal with his father's woman's issue. His father had another family. His father recently passed away. Beck recently received a Master's degree from the United States and now lives with his mother.

2. Ei

A 35 year-old only son of a single-mother experienced his parents' separation when he was 18 years old. He described that his parents did not get married and his father already had a family while he had his mother. He physically grew up with his mother since he was born. His father regularly came to visit, but never spent a night at his house until he was 18 years old when he completely departed from the family. The reason caused their separation was because of the conflict with the father's first family. He expressed that he never felt lacking a father because he met him everyday.

Growing up with a lone mother has not much physically affected his life. However, he expressed that growing up in a non-traditional family, where the father had more than one wives was complicated and realized that it was somewhat problematic. Constant arguments over his father's first wife created tension in which he seldom had a moment of peace. He promised to himself that he would not choose to have his own family like his father. He now works in one of the biggest food and drink industries in Thailand. He is married and has two children.

3. Fog

A 25 year-old daughter of a single-mother experienced parents' separation twice while she was growing. Fog has one younger brother who was two years younger. She described her father loved socializing with friends and loved to drink. Her parents divorced for the first time when she was seven years old because her father met another woman. That time, her mother immediately decided to divorce. Eight years later, her father divorced from that woman and came back to her mother when she was 15 years

old. A couple years later, they split again and this time her brother had to stay with her father.

Fog did not agree with her mother to go back to her father. She remembered they had a lot of fight and she knew they could never be together. She admitted that while she was growing, she was sometimes upset growing up in this family orientation and often blamed it on her father who created the family dilemmas. On the other hand, she admired her mother who was strong and was able to fulfill her life with her devotion. Hence, Fog would rather choose to live by herself and wish not to get married in the future. Now she is an office worker and a graduate student, living by herself.

4. Jake

A 24 year-old only son of a single-mother experienced parents' divorce since he was three years old. He said that he did not really know the reason of his parents' divorce, because he was too young when they divorced. Jake said that since his mother never mentioned about how she got divorce, he would not rather ask her. Though, he doubted it was because of irreconcilable difference that caused the divorce. Although Jake's father was not around since he was born, he occasionally met his father while he was growing, because he regularly visited his grandmother--his father's mother.

He experienced somewhat financial difficulty while growing up, because his mother did not have a permanent job. He noticed sometimes his mother had financial tension since the household income basically came from his mother's contracted job although his grandmother and his father financially supported him through his tuition and some of the household expenses. He realized an ongoing struggle his mother has been

through raising him up by herself and made up his mind that he would want to make sure that his family was financially secured enough before he built his own family. His father now has a new family with a child. Jake is currently an office worker and still lives with his mother.

5. Kate

A 25 year-old daughter of a single-mother grew up without the father around since her parents' separation when she was one year old. As a story she heard from her mother, her father met another woman while he worked in another province. She did not have a memory about her father and only met him twice in her life. Her father never contacted the family since he left and never gave the family any supports. As she revealed, when she was little she always questioned who her father was and wondered where her father went. She also admitted that she was jealous of other families that have both the mother and the father.

With love and helps from her aunts and uncles from the mother's side, growing up with a lone mother though was not difficulty for her. Moreover, in order to compensate with a lack of a father, her mother sometimes managed to spoil her by too much protection. Although her parents have been separated for many years, her mother still held a marriage license while her father had a new family; though they could not get married. Her father was currently living in Nakornsri Thammarat province while she was living with her mother in Bangkok. She is now in graduate school.

6. Lek

A 22 year-old a Thai-German daughter of a single-mother experienced her parents' divorce when she was eight years old. She was born with a Thai mother and a German father and raised in Germany until she was about nine years old. She was sent to Thailand and lived with her mother's family; her grandmother and aunts. During her school years, she went to boarding school. She told that her parents separated twice before they actually filed for divorce. The reason was basically because of irreconcilable differences. Both her father and her mother has their new own family and lived in Germany. She still kept in touch with her father and got a long well with the new families of her mother and father.

Although she was away from both her father and mother, she was basically raised by the mother while her father only supported her through the child support. Her mother performed as a breadwinner of her natal home, in which she took care of the household expenses by sending home the money from Germany. Living with her mother's natal family, she found that somewhat discomforted. Beside her grandmother, she could not get along well with anyone. She moved out and lived by herself after she finished her high school. She was currently in college while she worked as a translator.

7. Nim

A 26 year-old adult children of a single-mother experienced her parents' separation when she was 18 years old. She was the third child with two older brothers and one younger sister. She was now married and working as a chef. Her parent separated because her father met another woman. Her father was a gambler and loved to drink. she

remembered her father hardly came home while she was growing up and when he came home, many times she had to witness her mother and father's fight. Sometimes she saw her father molest her mother. Her mother took a few months after she found out that her father was cheating to divorce from the father. She packed his stuffs and let him go. Her father has a new family with one child.

Growing up with a mother was quite rough for Nim, because financial circumstance after the divorce was insecure, as her mother did not work during the marriage. She had to find a job after the divorce to support the family. Until Nim graduated, her father financially supported the family through a part of household expenses. Years later, his father was remarried and had another child. Sponsoring the two families were too much for him, he could not support Nim's family; whereas, his new wife wanted him to stop sending the money. Now, Nim and her younger sister were taking care of her mother while her older brothers occasionally asked her for money.

8. Pan

A 28 year-old, only daughter of a single-mother shared her story growing up with a mother. She described that her parents had a switching personality, in that her mother was serious and determined while her father was flexible and easy-going. Whereas her mother worked hard, took care of things around the house, was a breadwinner, her father basically took care of the child and never took things too seriously. Pan grew up in the same house with my mom and dad. But, she explained that she sensed something was wrong between her mother and father since her younger years. She felt that her parents were emotionally separated since she was a little kid because she noticed that they did not

have any physical touching. She witnessed some arguments growing up. Her parents waited until Pang was old enough to be able to understand the divorce. They officially divorced when she was 21 years old.

Pan was very close to her father because he was always on her side and her friend. Although she knew the family situation all along, she revealed that she could not make up her mind and could not help the feeling of upset when her father actually moved out. After the divorce, she emotionally depended a lot on her friends as well as her mother side of relatives such as grandmother and her aunt. She still kept in touch with her father and regularly met him until recently her father had moved to the U.S. Pan was now working in an international company and living with her mother.

9. Pik

A 33 year-old adult children has been living with her single mother when since she was 10 years old. She told her story that her mother had her when she was only 19 years old while her father was 10 years older than her mother. Her father had three children from his previous wife before. Her parents divorced when Pik was about three years old, because her mother could not stand seeing her father went around with many women. During her younger years, she grew up with her father while her mother went to Japan after the divorce. Her mother came back to Thailand with her stepsister when Pik was 10. While growing up with her father, Pik although knew where her mother was, she could not help thinking that she was left by the mother.

While her mother was in Japan, she often contacted her on the phone and sent her things such as toys. Thus, during her younger years, Pik always wanted to meet her

mother and wanted to live with her. Pik asked her father to move to go live with her mother when her mother came back from Japan. While Pik was living with her mother, she still kept in touch with her father and he still supported her financially. Pik's father had a new family after Pik went to live with her mother. Her father recently passed away.

10. Pla

A 29 year-old daughter of a single-mother experienced her parents' divorce when she was 14 years old and her brother was seven years old, because of her father met another woman. She told that her mother took less than a year to divorce after she knew her father was cheating on her. After the divorce, her mother firstly settled her own family in Bangkok with her younger brother while Pla was living with her grandparents of her father side. Pla moved to live with her mother few years later.

Because Pla aged many years older than her brother, sometimes she took over her mother's job to take care of her brother. Growing up with a lone mother, Pla did not experience much of a difficulty. With a lot of helps through her tuitions from her mother's former family; her aunt, financial circumstance was not affected. Looking at some of her friends' families, where their parents also divorced, Pla perceived growing with a single-mother was common. Although her father was remarried and had a new child, she constantly kept in touch with her.

11. Moon

A 48 year-old, only daughter of a single-mother experienced parents' divorce when she was five years old. She told that she grew up with her mother without knowing the reason of the divorce because her mother never mentioned about her father. She

explained that she was taught to be very respectful of the older person and that made her afraid to ask things that her mother did not seem like to talk about. She found out later that her father was living in another province, having a family with three children.

Although Moon has never met her father in her life, she was financially supported by him through alimony until she graduated. In addition, she received scholarships for a higher education to study abroad. She grew up with her mother without receiving any helps neither financially nor emotionally from her relatives, because, as she said, she was not close to any of them and that she seldom contacted them.

Without much support from others while growing up, Moon's mother rather relied on moral and ethical Buddhist precepts. She described that her mother was very strict in which she demanded Moon to follow her rules and she never allowed Moon to spend a night anywhere. Growing up under her shield, she admitted that sometime she had problem trusting people and was afraid of getting close to people. She realized that dealing with family issues was complicated and she did not wish to have a family in the future. She was not married and still living with her mother.

12. Som

A 30 year-old only daughter of a single-mother experienced her parents' divorce when she was three years old. She has met her father twice in her life. The first time when she visited her grandmother on father's side and the second time when her father visited her at the hospital when she had a car accident. She barely knew the real reason of their divorce, but she suspected that it was because of a long distance relationship and the difference in personality. She explained that both of her mother and father were doctors.

Her father was working in another province while her mother was working and living in Bangkok. She said that she barely knew about her father except that he was tempered and she knew he currently has a new family.

She illustrated that her was the first child and was responsible for things around the house since she was a kid. This environment had brought her to be tough. Growing up with her mother, Som was raised to be strong and always hide her emotion. She revealed that she personally was not upset growing up in a single-mother family; however, stereotypes attached to the family orientation from the media depiction and social assumption had frustrated her thoughts. Yet, she admitted that she had problems dealing with conflict in relationships, since she had never learned or seen from their parents.

13. Sri

A 34 year-old, the youngest daughter of four children of a single-mother experienced her parents' separation since she was six years old. Their parents' divorce was officially made five years ago. The two reasons that caused their separation were firstly because her father had another family, and secondly because of their different lifestyle and personalities. Sri stated that her parents had made a right decision separating, since they had a lot of fight during marriage. After their separation, her emotion was improved since she no longer saw them fighting. She recalled that her father started to fade away from the family; he came home once and month and then never came home. Sri started to learn that her father also had another family with two children by the time she was growing. Until Sri was 29 years old, her mother and father were officially

divorced because her mother wanted to be financially independent from her husband and did not want some of her money distributed to another family.

Sri's family owned a construction company. Her father basically ran the business while her mother was a housewife. Although her mother did not work during the marriage, she was financially secured because she earned some big money from selling lands. Even after the separation, her father still financially supported the family every month. Sri met her father, customarily on the family gathering day every year and on her parents' birthdays. Although she did not feel upset and resentful about her parents' divorce, she admitted that she was very careful choosing a partner and afraid of having her own family.

14. Tawee

A 36 year-old only daughter of a single-mother experienced her parents' divorce about eight years ago after seven years of their separation. She explained that her father was often relocated while he served as a soldier engineer. He basically lived in another province due to his job, but always came back home when he could. Until she was about 15 years old, her father started to fade away from the family; rarely came home for almost six years. Her mother decided to divorce when she found out that he met another woman and wanted to marry her.

She had not met her father since until one time she accidentally met him with his child. She illustrated she was excited and rushed in to greeting him. Unexpectedly, her father did not seem happy seeing her and not seem like talking to her. She went back home very disappointed and cried. Although Tawee was not financially affected by the

divorce, she admitted she was somewhat emotionally disadvantaged. She had problem trusting men and always believed that men were unfaithful. Tawee is an office worker and now married. She is currently living with her husband and her mother.

15. Tha

A 33 year old daughter of a single-mother experienced transitions in family composition from two-parent family, to single-mother family, to step-family. Her parents divorced when she was about four years old. She described that her father was from a wealthy family; he was spoiled, he liked to drink and always got into a fight every time when he was drunk. Her mother was from a small town in Pathumtani province. She moved to Bangkok after marrying her father and ran several small businesses while her father did not have a committed job. Because of his personality and his habit, her mother decided to divorce and raise Tha by herself in a residential building where Tha's grandmother on father's side bought it for them while they were married.

Tha was sent to one of the famous boarding school in Bangkok when she was five years old until nine years old. During her younger years, she occasionally met her father until she was 15 years old that she moved to live with her father, stepmother and stepsister because her mother was sick and was not totally be able to work to support the family and moved back to her hometown. She expressed that she struggled with adjusting to her stepfamily, which included her own father and her stepmother. At the same time, she faced with a feeling of jealousy of her stepsister when she saw how close and how much her father cared for her sister, comparing to herself. Now, she owned a condo and

takes care of her stepsister after her father and stepmother passed away while her mother is living in Pathumtani.

16. Tong

A 33 year-old adult children of a single-mother told a story that his parents got divorced when he was 10 years old because of irreconcilable differences. He is the first child of three brothers. His mother was a teacher and his father was an interior designer. For many years that sometimes he came home from school and witnessed his parents' fight. His father started to fade away from the family; seldom came home and finally left them for good. His father financially supported the family for a couple years after the divorce through the tuitions and some expenses. Though, he noticed his mother had to work extra hours to be able to cover the family expenses.

Tong was not much affected by his parents' divorce in terms of emotional distress while his younger brothers showed more resentment and sadness over their separation. However, a loss of a father challenged him, because, as he expressed, he did not have a male role model and never had a role model of a happy adult relationship while growing up. His father recently remarried and sometimes kept in touch with him. Tong is now an architect and living with his mother and one brother.

17. Took

A 43 year-old daughter of a single-mother experienced a complexity of family composition while she was growing up. She described that her mother married and divorced from her first husband with two sons. Then she met her biological father and had her out of marriage. They separated when Took was two years old. While her

biological father had a new family, her mother met another man because whom she called step-father. Her step-father was also married when he met her mother. Took grew up with her mother and two step-brothers from her mother's first husband in the house; whereas, her step-father, whom she thought he was her real father while growing up always came to her house but never spent a night there. She met her biological father when she was 18 years old and now he already passed away.

Took expressed that she was lucky that she had a great step-father, who substituted her father. While growing up, Took never felt lacking of a father, because her step-father and her older brothers were always around, taking care of her when she was little. Her step-father as well as her older brothers financially supported the household expenses. Since her mother had to go to work, often time her mother's older sister was hired to babysit her. Took was now a married housewife and had one daughter.

18. Toom

A 32 year-old adult children of single-mother experienced his parents' divorce when he was 17 years old. He is the youngest son of two siblings; he has one older sister. Toom analyzed the reason of his parents' divorce was mixed. He described that her mother was a stay-home mom and never worked her entire life, but she was an extravagant type of person. His father was an only child and was a successful real estate businessman. Toom described that his father was tempered, self-centered, and spoiled while her mother was insecure. He scrutinized that because of the differences in their personality that drove them to divorce. They took many years to process the divorce,

because his mother did not want to divide some of her saving funds to his father when they got divorced; whereas, his father did not want to be embarrassed by a divorce.

Toom said that the most difficult time was when his parents were divorcing. Many times he was distracted from his study to comfort his mother while she was going through a divorce. Toom admitted that during his younger years, he felt embarrassed by his parents' divorce and he would rather not to tell his friends at school about his family. Instead of crying over his parents' divorce, he gathered his inner strength and worked hard at school to overcome the divorce. His father continued to financially support the family after the divorce through alimony and child support. Although economic condition after the divorce was not as well as it was before, he did not feel it negatively affected his overall standard of living and his lifestyle. He is now a lawyer, living by himself.

19. Yod

A 25 year-old adult children of a single-mother told a story that her mother decided to get a divorce because her father always had other women while they were married. He described that his father was so much older than his mother and was married many times before he married to his mother. He had seven wives and 10 children all together. His father owned a business while her mother was a school teacher. His parents divorced since Yod was born, but he occasionally met with him when he was little. Though, his father financially supported him through his tuition.

Her mother was later in a relationship with a man, who Yod called a step-father. Because his step-father was already married, he visited him and his mother once a week, but regularly financially supported them. Yod never felt resentful over his parents'

divorce and never embarrassed about it. Rather, he received much attention when he told his family story to his friends when he was little. Although Yod was not negatively affected by his parents' divorce, he thought a traditional two parent family is healthier in terms of economic resources for children's education and children's development. He also wished to have someone to take care of her mother when she got older and to the rest of her life. Yod is now working in a private company and living with his mother.

20. Yu

A 32 year-old adult children of single-mother experienced her parents' divorce when she was 21 years old and her brother was 19 years old. Her parents were first separated a year after her mother caught her father had an affair. A couple years later, they were officially divorced and her father moved out of the house. She uttered that she felt upset when she knew they were getting a divorce because she was very close to her father. She still kept in contact with her father while her brother was so angry at him that he did not talk to him for a while after the divorce. She admitted that money was the next issue her mother decided to divorce since her father took the money, which was supposed to be used for household expenses to his new woman.

Growing up with a lone mother, Yu was not much negatively affected, because she was old enough to comprehend the family situation. However, financial circumstance after the divorce was worsening, because her mother had to become the primary financial resource. Moreover, Yu was not able to follow his plan to pursue a higher education after she finished her college; she had to get a job in order to help her mother financially support the family and her younger brother.

Summary

This study employed a face-to-face interview method to explore the lived experiences of participants as a single-mother or as a child of single-mother families, living in Bangkok, Thailand. An open-ended interview style enabled respondents to talk freely and it allowed me to probe deeper into the primary responses of the respondents and gain a more detailed answer on a particular topic. 40 interviews were conducted in Bangkok, Thailand, including 20 single-mothers and 20 adult children of single-mother families who were not from the same families as those single-mothers. Interviewing protocols were used to guide the conversation and to add probing questions. During an interview, it was important to communicate clearly and to make sure the participants' answers were accurately recorded.

Data of 20 single-mothers and 20 adults of single-mother families were organized and arranged so that the results of the study could be interpreted. The participating single-mothers in this study were aged between 40 to 61 years old. The participating adult children of single-mother families in this study were aged between 22 to 43 years old, consisting of 14 women and 6 men. Measuring by their monthly income, educational attainment, and occupation, socio-economic backgrounds of the single-mothers and the adult children correspondingly fell between middle to high socioeconomic status. A majority of single-mothers held at least a college degree; two earned a graduate degree, and three held high school diploma. Adult children in the study earned slightly higher education than the single-mothers, in which nine adult children held college degrees, nine earned graduate degrees, and one held a certificate degree. Mostly both single-mothers and adult children were employed and/or were currently employed in the fields ranging

from industries, small businesses, and government agencies. Their monthly incomes roughly ranged from a low of 10,000 baht or 323 US dollars to 200,000 baht or 6,451 US dollars.

In my experience, interviewing was challenging when conducting an interview with participants who experienced a terrible divorce. The richness of their stories and vulnerability were useful and valued. However, there were times when I felt uncomfortable asking further questions when the respondents shared painful and emotional information with me. I frequently witnessed vulnerability and suffering when interviewing single-mothers about their experiences of raising their children without their partners. In some cases, single-mothers expressed their emotions when they shared their incapability to fully care for their young children because of their committed jobs.

However, interviewing single-mothers and adult children of single-mother families were challenging, because the stories and their past experiences might be regarded as personal, in which they may not want to reveal to anyone. Confidentiality may be questionable. I felt it was important that the participants were being treated with respect and they were free to discontinue the interview if they felt uncomfortable and distressed. If participants felt listened to and respected, the relationship with the researcher would be enhanced and they would be more willing to tell more profound story. Rapport was an important part of the process. In some cases, participants preferred to answer a series of questions rather than tell their story. The majority of the respondents who participated in this study were careful about answering all questions as accurately and thoroughly as possible. It was hard to predict how long an interview would take.

Most participants were kind. They did not seem to mind the amount of time it took and seemed glad to help.

In the next chapter, I will report the findings through the voice of the participants' experiences. Chapter seven will identify and discuss three prominent themes that emerged from the data. The themes are as follows: 1) financial stability; 2) parental competence; and 3) social support. The themes, which reveal the lived experiences of the participants in this study are discussed in-depth in narrative form.

CHAPTER 7

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION

Chapter seven reports what I found from the study to answer the research question, “what are the factors affecting well-being of children of single-mother families”? This study collected data from 20 single-mothers and 20 adult children of single-mother families in Bangkok, Thailand. The single-mothers and the adult children in the study were not from the same family. Interviews were either tape recorded or notes were taken or both. According to the points of view of the 20 single-mothers and 20 adult children, I found that the major factors that have impacts on well-being of children of single-mother families are financial resources, parental styles of discipline, and supports from kin.

After I listened to the interview tapes and read through the field notes, taken during the interview, and interview summary, I organized participant demographic information (see APPENDIX H and I), consisting of participants’ ages, self-identified race and ethnicity, educational attainment, occupation, household income, marital status, number of children, and number of household members in a spreadsheet. Interview materials were reviewed in order to learn about the individual participant’s experience of living in a single-mother family. In this chapter, I present the findings through the voice of the participants’ experiences of being a single-mother or a child from a single-mother family in the themes, relating to the research question. Three major themes are financial stability, parental competence, and social support. This study assures the participants confidentiality and anonymity and indicates that identifying information will not be

available to anyone who is not directly involved in the study. To protect respondents' identities and their information addressed during the interviews, pseudonyms are allocated to all participants in the study.

To report the findings, I used a narrative strategy as an interpretive device through which informants shared their life stories and their past experiences. Narratives were gathered through interviewing, in which the interviewer and the respondent were engaged in creating the meaning of the questions and answers that comprise of the narrative as they discuss understanding through language (Alvarez and Urla 2002). This was to understand how the past experiences formed the views of the present, how the present formed perceptions of the past, and how both molded participants' perceptions of the future.

This chapter identifies and discusses three major themes that emerged from the data. The themes include 1) Financial stability 2) Parental competence 3) Social supports. The themes reveal the lived experiences of the participants and are discussed in-depth in narrative form. These three major themes are divided into categories as shown in DIAGRAM 4. Each theme and subsequent categories are further provided along with narrative discussion in DIAGRAM 5, 6, and 7.

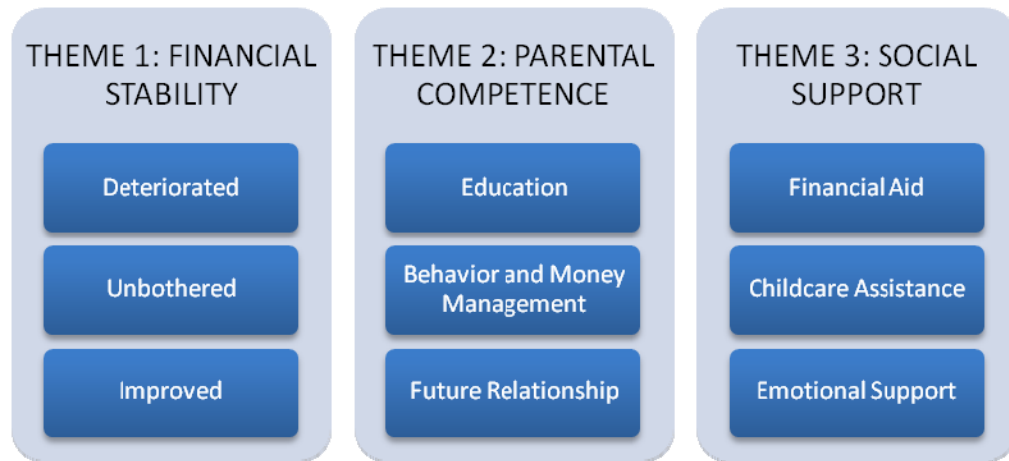


DIAGRAM 4: Three Themes of Factors Affecting Well-Being of Children of Single-Mother Families

Theme one: Financial Stability

The data show that divorce primarily creates some changes in financial conditions for both spouses. Most clearly for the single-mothers in this study, divorce can drop a woman’s standard of living by reducing income and increasing expenses. This condition is notably found in single-mothers who did not work during the marriage. Single-mothers who worked during the marriage and following a divorce experienced less financial hardship and found that financial condition of their family after divorce has not changed much even if most of their income has to entirely meet the same expenses that used to be covered by two incomes. In a number of cases the financial condition after divorce improved because they did not need to stretch to support their ex-husband’s expenses. The theme of financial stability is divided into three subcategories, including deteriorated, unbothered, and improved. A diagram of this theme and the three categories that emerged under this theme is provided in DIAGRAM 5.

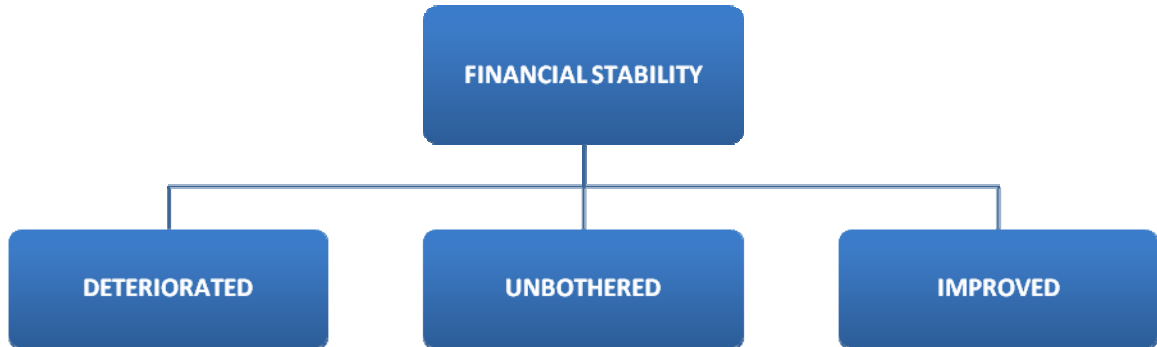


DIAGRAM 5: Financial Stability

Deteriorated

Participants in the study reported that a divorce can be devastating and negatively impact both spouses. Not did divorce caused emotional damage, in many instances, it led to financial devastation. Four single mothers and five adult children of single mothers reveal that they experienced some financial problems after a divorce and it was likely that their lives after divorce or separation are affected. If monetary resources are not managed properly, the situation can be intensified and made even worse. Many cases from the study revealed that they needed to alter their lifestyle after their divorce in order to survive financially.

Single-mothers in this study demonstrated that divorce is financially traumatic. While women continued to be the caretakers of children following a divorce, former husbands failed to pay for child support. *Nat* revealed that her ex-husband never handed over the money after the divorce. She expressed:

“My ex-husband used to kick me for money while we’re still married. When I decided to divorce from him, he wanted to take my 3 kids to live with him after divorce. I didn’t correspond with him. I gave him whatever he wanted, my property, just to keep my children staying with me. Not only he left me with nothing, he never provided money for the children.”

Ped and *Nid* shared a similar experience, which her ex-husband agreed to pay for child support after the divorce, but he did not actually follow through as he promised or he did for a period of time following divorce or occasionally. *Ped* said:

“My ex-husband helped out with the household expenses when we were married. He promised to pay for child support after divorce, but he didn’t actually do. I would say I financially suffered following a divorce because I decided to move to Bangkok to find a job. A cost of living in Bangkok was much higher than in Pissanuloke province, where I lived when I was still married.”

Nid shared:

“He offered to give me and my son money 1,000 baht each month after divorce. He performed as he promised until my son entered the 7th grade. He stopped sending us money.”

Another 58 year-old single-mother of an only daughter, *Jong*, explained:

“We were separated when my daughter was in 6th grade. I got divorced when my daughter was in high school. After years of negotiation about custody of our daughter, I decided to give my husband a house and everything he wanted so that I could have custody and a divorce. I never wanted a child support or any kind of financial support from him after divorce and he never gave us any. The only thing he gave was when my daughter wanted to study aboard and he gave her a fund to go to graduate school in the States.”

Not only did single-mothers find a lack of financial support from their ex-husband caused economic hardship following divorce, the husband's debts were found to prolong the process of separating and to be expensive. Some participants experienced more financial devastation because their former husbands left them with some debts.

Nid exposed:

“My ex-husband owned businesses with his friends. He wasn't good at managing businesses, actually, but he liked to do it anyway. Once it's collapsed, he left me and my sister, who was his loan guarantor, with a lot of debts. He ran away from his debt and let me went through bankrupt alone. I lose my house and my car. It was a shocking period of my life.”

Jong shared a similar detail about his ex-husband. She told a story that:

“I was single responsible for any expenses of my family since I was still in marriage. I paid for house and car installments and also my children's tuition. My ex-husband wasn't care for anything concerning the household expenses. Yet, he was a loan guarantor for his friends. When things unfortunately went wrong, my house was going to be taken away. I decided to bestow my house to him when we divorced because I didn't want to take care of the debt anymore.”

Adult children in the study also experienced some changes and may face some economic problems while growing up with a sole mother. The amount of income earned following divorce was too difficult to figure for the young children. However, they recalled the time spent with their mother was decreased as working hours increased *Tong*, whose parents divorced when he was 10 years old because of irreconcilable differences reported that financial conditions after his parents' divorce had altered. He explained:

“Although my dad still paid for children’s tuition and helped paying some of the bills after he left, it just happened for a couple years after the divorce. Instead of having a dual-income to support our household expenses and to 3 children, I noticed my mom had to work harder to be able to pay the bills and cover all expenses of our family after my dad left. The cost of living was higher and higher because my brothers and I were growing up. She had lesser times for the kids and often time, I had to stay with my aunt and grand-mom while she was working.”

The mothers who did not work during marriage would have to find a job in order to be able to financially support their family. *Nim*, who experienced her parents’ separation when she was 18 years old revealed some financial struggles. She said:

“My dad sent us some money from time to time after the divorce. When his new wife knew about it, she was so mad. She called my mom and insulted us of taking money from my dad. My dad stopped sending us money after that. My mom, who was a stay-home mom, had to find a job to support the family. Me, my brothers and my sister also had to work to support ourselves.”

Jake recalled a similar experience:

“My mom didn’t work during marriage. Although my grandmother of my father’s side financially supported me through tuition until I graduated while my dad helped my mom with some household expenses after divorce, my mom had to find a job and work for some extra money. She was a part-time home cleaner for a while. I remembered when I was a little that my mom had to leave me alone at home while she went out to work.”

Children of single-mothers had to manage their future plans to correspond with financial realities after the divorce. Participants who experienced their parents’ divorce when they were grown up had to take an income-earning responsibility for a household. *Yu* experienced her parents’ divorce when she was 21 years old and her brother was 19

years old. Although her parents own a business, *Yu* struggled with some financial hardship following her parents' divorce, because her father was the major income earner. In order to be able to afford her living without the father's support, she had to call off her plan to pursue a higher education. She expressed:

“When my parents got divorced was the same time as I was about to graduate from college. I actually had a plan to continue to study and pursue a master's degree. I did not do it as my plan because our household income decreased after my father left. I had to find a job and help my family financially.”

Tawee's parents' divorce was officially over 8 years ago when she was 28 after 7 years of separation. Instead of continuing to pursue a higher education after college, she took care of the household payments right after she graduated. Her life after the divorce was somewhat financially affected. She said:

“My mom didn't think thoroughly before she decided to divorce. She was emotional and suddenly made a decision once she knew that my dad wanted to start a new family another woman. Money wasn't an issue for her to take into account. It resulted on me because I had to work in order to afford my family financially since they were separated.”

Unbothered

In some single-mother families the financial situation became extremely difficult after the divorce because the mother had the sole financial responsibility for the children. Still other families did not find a divorce as financially destabilizing. This is depended on how well the parents were able to handle the financial situation following divorce.

Twelve single-mothers and 11 adult children from the study reported that divorce was not

too financially risky for them. This was mainly because those mothers worked during the marriage and continued to work post-divorce; they routinely shared responsibility of the family expenses or entirely took care of expenses during marriage.

Kam revealed that she had a job and paid all the bills since she was still married.

Her ex-husband was not a breadwinner from the start. She expressed:

“I did not feel a divorce has affected me financially because my ex-husband never financially supported family. He never got his act together to take care of the children. He loved gathering and socializing with friends. He didn’t make any commitment to the family, neither financially nor emotionally. We both agreed in our marriage license that I would be solely responsible for the children. Therefore, I didn’t feel any changes financially after divorce because I was the main source of income from the beginning.”

Orn, 45 year-old single-mother of 2 sons, who separated from her husband after 2 years of marriage noted:

“My financial condition following divorce was untouched because my ex-husband never helped paying bills since we still married. My 14 year-old older son recently changed school and has lived with his father for one year now because his school is closer to her ex-husband’s. My ex always comes to her and asks for financial support of her son, including tuition, while he is staying with him.”

Kai, explained her ex-husband did not aid her with money even when since they were together.

“My financial condition has never changed because I’m always financially supportive of myself and family. I used to work 2 jobs when my daughter was little, doing my own small business while I was working in one of the biggest food industries in Thailand. I’m now only working in the company because my daughter is growing up and demanding more time from me.”

Another 49 year-old single-mother of a son, *Won*, shared a similar story of being the sole breadwinner for her family. She shared:

“I did not suffer financially at all after divorce because my ex-husband has never been a breadwinner for the family. I took care of everything, especially the household expenses.”

Single-mothers who had a secured job are not as likely to be financially affected by the divorce. *Zoe*, a pharmacist, single-mother of a son, said:

“Money was not an issue during marriage and after because I am a pharmacist, which is a financially stable job. Although my husband never cooperate with paying the bills, my solo income is enough for raising my son.”

Participants from the study realized that post-divorce could leave spouses financially worse off. Some single-mothers have learned to avoid some financial effects by managing their money well and saving, avoiding any debts and even working harder in order to maintain a standard of living. *May*, *Thida*, and *Kim* revealed that divorce did not have much impact financially on their lives as a single-mother. *May* said:

“I’m an economical type of person. I never used any kinds of install payment, because I didn’t want to have debts. I always save money for necessary things and for my daughter’s education.”

Thida said:

“My financial condition after divorce was not struggle because I have a job and I know how to manage money to avoid financial problems. I taught my children the value of money, and how to handle and save money for the future. I could raise

my children without his financial support. I wouldn't accept his money if he offered anyway."

Kim also shared:

"My husband never helped me with the bill pay. On the other hand, he built some debts and I was the one who paid for his debts. I decided to get separated because I wanted to save money for my daughters' education. If I stayed with him, I wouldn't be able to afford my daughters' higher education. I admitted that I had to work harder after we got separated because I had nobody helped me with driving when I did my business. But, I did not have any financial problems."

Supports from kin and former family are found to be crucial to aid some single-mothers in helping with financial struggles after divorce. *Ed* found moving back to her parents' house to be efficient in decreasing some of the cost of living after her divorce.

"My ex-husband did not offer any financial support after divorce. If he offered, I wouldn't want it. My financial condition following divorce was not much affected, because I moved out of his house to live with my mom."

Some cases show that the separated fathers continued to financially support the family after the divorce, either as a monthly salary or a support through children's tuition.

Nee explained:

"Although a cost of living was increasing, my income was as well increasing. I demanded monthly financial support from my ex-husband after divorce and he agreed while I paid for his son's tuition. He stopped sending money right away when my son graduated."

Sunun never experienced financial hardship because of her husband's financial responsibility after divorce.

"Financial situation after my divorce was not different from when I was married. My ex-husband gave me 3,000 baht every month until he passed away 10 years ago. However, I had to manage money and be economical", *Sunun* said.

Toy admitted that she did not face financial struggles because of the support from her mother-in-law and her ex-husband. She described:

"My mother-in-law bought a house for me and my husband to live during marriage and also gave me 4,000 baht each month because I didn't have a job. I still live in that house even after I divorced from my husband and he already moved out of a house. My mother-in-law loves my son so much that she unrelentingly continued to pay for his tuition and all expenses. My ex-husband also gave me 2,000 baht a month until my son graduated."

A majority of adult children in the study did not find their parents' divorce had much effect financially. Some of the reasons include; for example, the father continued financially supporting the family either monthly as a salary or covered the children's tuition. These occurred either by order of the divorce decree or by mutual negotiation between couples.

Moon experienced her parents' divorce when she was 5 year old. She grew up without financial problems because she received financial support from her father. She said:

"My dad was ordered by divorce decree to pay for child support. So, he paid for my tuition and some expenses until I graduated from college. I pursued a higher

education afterwards, but did not have to bother my mom because received a scholarship.”

Toom explained:

“After divorce, my dad offered financial support for both mother and children as he was ordered in divorce decree. Because he didn’t have a new family, he kept the promise, sending us the money regularly. Of course, my mom’s income decreased because she didn’t have a job. A household income, supported by my dad was still sufficient for a living. So, we were not much financially affected following the divorce.”

“My mom although was basically a stay-home mother, she earned much money from selling lands and that was enough for raising her 4 children. Plus, my dad continuing financially supports our family up until now even if he had another family to take care of. Divorce didn’t make any change in my family financially at all”, *Sri* said.

Pan also shared:

“My dad was financially supportive while I was growing up. But, somehow I think my mom felt like my dad was a kind of a burden because he never helped her out with anything. She is more like a breadwinner while my dad liked to play with the kid. I was able to be self-supportive after I graduated, which was about 2 years later after my parents’ divorce.”

In addition to the father’s continuing support after divorce, some adult children in the study found financial supports from kin, step-father, or friends strengthened the financial base of the family without the father’s aid.

Pla, explained:

“My dad never helped us with financial aid after the divorce. My mother wouldn’t accept it anyway if he offered. But, I did not experience any financial struggle because my aunt was paying for my tuition and sometimes with the bill payment.”

Took explained:

“I only met my biological father once in my entire life. His new wife did not want him to contact us, because she was afraid that we would ask him for money. So, he never financially supported our family. I did not experience financial hardship while I was growing because my step-father was financially supportive through my tuition and some expenses.”

Yod found that financial circumstance after divorce was assisted by whom he called “god-father.”

“My father financial supported me through my tuition during my secondary school years. When I was a little older, instead of regularly paying child support, he gave me the things that I needed. While I was growing up, my mom introduced me to a man, whom I called ‘god-father’. He also had a family, but he was taking care of my family at the same time. He aided us with the money.”

In single-mother families, in which the mother was in a secured financial position before the divorce or worked harder after the divorce there tended to be less financial difficulty following divorce. For example, *Som*, although too young to recognize the differences in the financial condition in her family before and after her parents’ divorce because her parents divorced when she was three years old. She never experienced any financial hardship while she was growing, because her mother was a doctor, so she was in a secured financial condition enough to support her living without the father. But, she considered that money was an important factor for a child while growing. She said:

“I couldn’t compare the circumstance before and after my parents’ divorce because I was too young to remember anything. But, I didn’t have to face money problems. My mom was a pediatrician and often time she had to be on call at the hospital. I remember that my mom had to leave me with my aunt while she went to work.”

Beck, explained:

“I don’t know if my dad still financially aided my mom after they divorced. We never received any kind of supports from our relatives either, because we were not that closed. But, I noticed that my mom was working harder than before, but she still had time for me.”

Others, who found that economic condition following divorce was not changed, are those whose parents divorced when they were too young to recall the circumstances, occurring earlier than the divorce.

“My dad worked in a television industry while my mom was doing her own business. I don’t see any different financially before and after my parents’ divorce or even comparing when I lived with my dad and with my mom. Maybe I was too young to recall the circumstance when they were still married.” *Pik*, whose parents divorced when she was about three years old said.

Tha’s parents divorced when she was about four years old. She couldn’t compare the differences in terms of financial circumstance between before and after her parents’ divorce, because she was too young when divorce the occurred. She explained:

“I was too young to recall any circumstances before my parents’ divorce. But, I remember I didn’t have any financial problems while I was growing with my mom. She didn’t have much money for me to extravagant spend, but she had enough money for me to go to a good school and go to the movie with my friends. Financial circumstance was better when I lived with my dad and step-mom because it was the time that my dad a secured job, owning a business.”

Although many families in the study did not struggle with economic strain while growing up with a sole mother, they considered money and financial stability important

factors for raising a child and even more important for advancing a child's education, which could lead to better opportunities and career success.

Ei explained:

“My dad was financial supportive though my tuition and household expenses while I was growing. Although he stopped the financial aid after they separated, financial circumstance of the family was unbothered because my mom always took care of the bills. However, I think if I had more financial supportive from the family, I would have got better chance to advance my education and I would have been more successful.”

Improved

While divorce left many single-mothers less well off economically, some participants in the study claimed that their status remained unchanged or even improved. Six single-mothers and three adult children from the study revealed that they benefited financially from the divorce. Single-mothers from the study reported that they ended up in a stronger financial position than when married, because their former husbands never supported the family financially during their marriage. Many admitted that financial conditions improved following divorce because their income now only had to cover her expenses and the children's expenses.

A single-mother, *Pat*, expressed:

“My ex-husband used to be an office worker. But, he wasn't hard working. He constantly changed his jobs, which made his income unstable. He was never financially responsible for the family even before the divorce. After divorce, that didn't happen either.” She uttered, “Because my ex didn't stay with us anymore, a cost of living was decreased.”

Jong although experienced some financial hardship right after the divorce, the financial condition gradually developed years after the divorce. She explained the reason that she was well off economically after the divorce was because she did not have to be responsible for her husband's debts or expenses. She said "Financial situation after my divorce was apparently better. I could spend all the money on daughter's needs."

Tu shared her story that:

"I was financially supportive for my ex-husband when we were married because I earned more income. Once I divorced from my husband, the financial status was unbothered. I sometime had to work some extra hours, but my financial condition was better than before, because I no longer have to support my husband in any ways."

Kun explained:

"My ex-husband spent all the money on his business, which was later on collapsed. After I divorced from him, economic condition was healthier. I was being able to support my mom. I was able to buy a house and a car."

Thum is currently working in her family business and found that her financial condition even improved following the divorce.

"My parents own a business and I've been working with them. My financial circumstance was quite stable enough to support my family and myself during marriage. Financial condition after divorce was even less injured because I found that my income would only have to cover my daughter's expenses and my own."

Adult children in the study felt that financial circumstances after their parents' divorce was improved, firstly because single-mothers worked harder in order to be able

to afford the family living situation. Some may additionally receive some aids from their kin. For example, a childcare assistance was needed for *Lek*'s single-mother so that she would be able to have more time to focus on her career. *Lek*, She did not experience any financial hardship following divorce. Rather, she thought the financial condition was improved. She explained:

“After my mother filed for divorce, my dad was ordered to financially support me until I was 18. My mom is running her own business. So, she had to work hard in order to be able to support my grandparents and me. That’s why I was sent here to live with my mom’s former family so that she would have more time to work. For that reason, I consider that financial condition in my family after divorce was better because my mom could invest her time on her business.”

Fog articulated:

“My mom did not work--she was a housewife during marriage. After my mom and dad separated, my mom thought that she needed to work and then she started her rental house business since. I believe that household income increased from before, because she worked harder. She worked so hard that she barely had time for her children. I recalled that I only met her in the morning when she drove me to school and at night before I went to bed. She also worked on weekends. Not only she earned more, I received a lot of financial helps from my grand-mother and great-grandmother while I was growing up.”

Kate revealed that the financial situation of her family post-divorce was improved because her father was an extravagant type of person. She reflected:

“My mom and dad got divorced since I was so little that I could remember anything. But, when I over spent my money on things that were not necessary, she always said that I was just like my dad. Although my mom had to work some extra hours, our household income was increased, because my mom knew how to spend money unlike my dad (according to my mom).”

Theme two: Parental Competence

In addition to a loss of financial resources following the divorce as discussed above, the single-mothers in the study were confronted with how to deal with their children without a partner. Post-divorce could be overwhelming and challenging to many single-mothers and their children. The skills that were considered to be necessary for children's growth, as described by the participants, contributed to the children's ability to adjust, to develop, and to have a healthy well-being. They also reported that the parenting styles of discipline and the types of relationship between parents and child were considerable influences on how well the children were doing.

Parenting styles are categorized according to whether they are high or low on parental command and responsiveness, which reflects different, naturally occurring patterns of parental values, practices, and behaviors (Baumrind 1991). A typology of four parenting styles includes authoritarian, authoritative, permissive, and uninvolved (Maccoby and Martin 1983). Baumrind (1991) describes each type of parenting in the following. Authoritarian parenting is the most highly directive and demanding. Authoritarian parents are obedience and status-oriented who expected their orders to be obeyed without explanation. Authoritative parents are both demanding and responsive. They are assertive rather than intrusive and restrictive. Permissive parents or non-directive parents are more responsive than demanding and are likely to allow children self-regulation. Uninvolved parents are the least responsive and demanding. They tend to be rejecting and neglecting.

According to the data, collected from interviewing single-mothers and adult children, participants described themselves, as they were responsive and nurturing while being flexible and supportive. The participants reported that their relationship between the mother and the children were highly bonded and equal. Whereas, the mothers developed guidelines for their children, which could be either flexible or firm depending on particular circumstances. The styles of parenting reported in the study; hence, were a mix of two categories; authoritative parenting and permissive parenting.

The tasks of rule setting and monitoring, communicating, disciplining, and teaching were found to be the most challenging for single-mothers. While participants considered balancing nurturing, disciplining, and also giving children liberal opportunities they most emphasized the children’s education, behavior and money management for their own future families. The theme “Parental Competence” comprises three subcategories, according to those highlighted subjects. A visual representation of this theme and the three subcategories that emerged under this theme is provided in **DIAGRAM 6**.

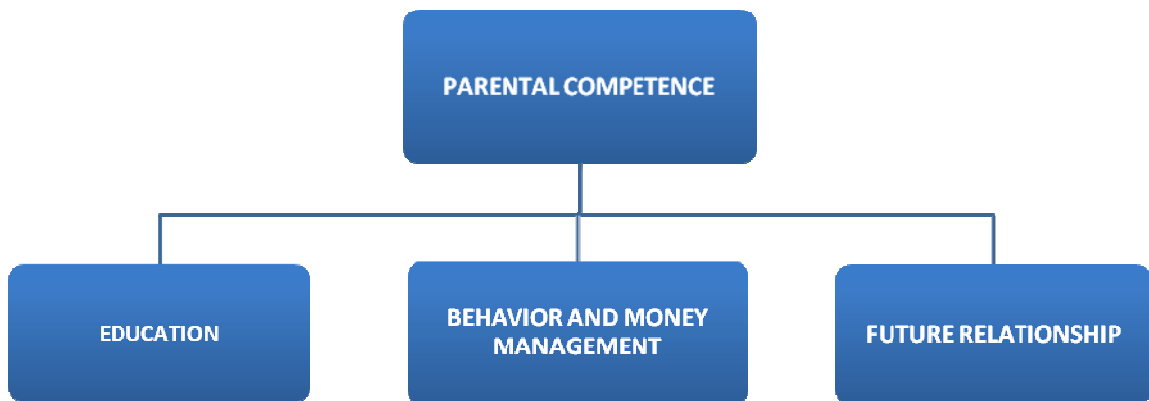


DIAGRAM 6: Parental Competence

Education

From the interviews, single-mothers and adult children described a mix of authoritative and permissive styles of parenting that they used to guide their children's behavior. They developed a close relationship with their children while maintaining a reasonably high level of expectations and guidelines. Five single-mother and three adult children in the study reported that education was one of the most crucial issues that was emphasized for children in single-mother families. *Thum, Orn, Nat, and Zoe's* expectation for their children's education was conditioned in part on their current performance in school and mostly on the expectations for their attaining a bachelor's degree. The data revealed many single-mothers believed that academic achievement would lead their child to a successful career in the future. Thus, parents could play an important role in the education of their children. Adult children from the study shared that their mothers always emphasized the importance of their school grades more than anything else.

Parental expectation of children's school performance related to parental involvement in children's studying. For example, *Zoe* used rewards as a motivation for her son to study hard and do well in school. *Zoe* stated:

“I realized how importance of education could affect my son's future. I would give him anything he wanted if he got good grades at school. When my son was little, he loved reading comic books. I would rather like him to study. I made a deal with my son that if he got good grades, I'd buy a new comic book.”

An important step in motivating children to do well in school was to put an emphasis on the child's personal interest and be supportive of them. For example, *Thum* explained that she worried about everything involving her daughter such as she worried about her daughter's future. Though, she did not have rules or use punishment to discipline her. "She could do anything she wanted, but it had to be under my supervision." *Thum* said. She also directed her daughter to study what she noticed she had a talent for. *Thum* directed her daughter to study business and information systems, because she noticed her interest in technologies.

Some invested money in education; for example, *Nat* and *Orn* invested money on child's education by hiring a tutor or sent their children to tutoring school. *Kim* decided to separate from her husband, because she wanted to stop supporting and sharing her money with him. Rather, she wanted to save money for her daughters' education. *Orn* had high expectation for her 2 sons to achieve a bachelor's degree and wanted them to have a good career.

A similar story was reported by adult children, *Som* and *Fog*, that their mothers expected them to earn good grades in school and expected them to receive more than a high school diploma. However, *Som's* mother and *Fog's* mother used a different approach to discipline their child when it came to their studying. *Som* explained her mother used rewards to motivate her to do well in school. She said:

"My mother was sometime intense, but she was flexible in a way as long as my school grades were still good. She did not set rules to discipline me. But, she used rewards as an incentive if I did well in school. Other than education, she would leave it up to me."

Fog's mother used a verbal punishment so that she would act according to what she thought was right or wrong. She expressed:

“I was so scared if my mom yelled at me when I behaved badly or did not study hard enough. It worked with me this way because I stopped doing what I was doing and motivated me to work harder on exams due to a fear of her raising voice.”

Behavior and Money Management

A lack of a father might be interpreted as a lack of disciplinarian of a family. Participants in the study were likely to be concerned with behavioral problems that might arise from the absence of the father. To keep children from developing behavioral problems, nine single-mothers reported that they, in addition to letting a child know that they loved and would always be present to assure support, they communicated openly with them to secure mutual understanding. Although nurturance helped children feel loved and cared for, they demanded responsible behavior from their children by setting rules for children and supervising them. Regularly referring to the rules and complaining when a child undermined the rules was most performed in single-mother families in the study.

Generally, single-mothers set the house rules to aid their child to behave neatly around the house. *Kim, Ped, May, and Pat* emphasized the house rules in general such as doing chores and tidying up rooms. *Won* stressed the importance of being on time. *May* and *Kai* viewed that lying was an unacceptable behavior, which they emphasized to their children above other issues. The data also reported that all single-mothers used verbal

punishment such as scolding, whining, and making the child realize their mistakes through verbal anger. For example, *Ped* and *May* revealed that they mainly complained and whined about their children not being organized. Mostly, the single-mothers explained that while they were complaining they tried to make their children be responsible for their own mistakes and self-discipline.

Kun reported that she was more worried about technology that intruded on the closeness between her and her daughter and more importantly, she was concerned about her daughter's health. *Kun* enforced limits on her daughter even if her daughter now reached her teenage years and became more independent and distant, *Kun* expressed:

“Me and my daughter were very close. When my daughter was in the 4th -5th grade, she was so attached to me. She's now growing up and became addicted to the internet. I would say that I was quite flexible, but the thing that I most worried about was that she always stayed up all night in front of the computer. She was interested in IT and she was good at using power point. I was supportive for her, but I had to set rules for her not to stay up too late surfing an internet or spend too much time in front of the computer.”

On a variety of behavior measures, using drugs and committing a crime and other illegal activities were vital concerns and were emphasized to the children. These concerns were found in both single-mothers who had sons and those who had daughters. *Nee* and *Jong* worried about their children getting involved in violence and other illegal activities such as drugs and crime. Although *Nee* admitted that she used both physical and verbal punishment strategies to discipline her son when necessary *Jong* said that she never punished her daughter by spanking or using swear words, the only thing that they

hoped not to occur to their children at younger ages was that they would be exposed to drugs, cigarettes, and alcohol.

In order to instruct a child's behavior, 12 adult children in the study reported their mothers emphasized the importance of being tidy around the house, being well-organized, and helping with some chores. *Tawee* said that she had to help her mom with chores since she was very young, even before her parents separated. Although adult children in the study did not report that their mothers set precise rules or regulations about what they should do, they knew that they had to listen to their mother's order and follow it. How participants were disciplined in their younger years was also reported in the study, in which some experienced both physical punishment and verbal punishment as a type of discipline, while some others experienced some warning and complaining.

Although *Kate's* relationship with her mother was a two-way relationship, which her mother always listened to her argument before making a judgment, but when she rebelled, her mother "would use an insulting verbal that really hurt me." *Kate* said.

Jake and *Lek* share a similar strategy their mother used to discipline their misconduct. *Jake* described:

"When I was little, I was malicious and disobedient. Sometimes when we had an argument, I talked back to my mom. My mom would both spank and scold at me."

Lek said:

"I was frequently beaten and moaned every time I didn't listen to her or badly behaved."

Tha expressed:

“I always had an argument with my mom when I was younger. I got spanked and scolded all the time, because I was very disobedient. I was so naughty that my mom didn’t know how to deal with me. I was sent to stay with one of the most strictly teachers for a year or two to learn to be disciplined.

Nim experienced some punishments from both her father and mother in her younger years. She shared a similar experience of punishment.

“My mom often yelled at me when I was misbehaving, but she never spanked. Unlike my dad, he both yelled and spanked me.”

Sri and *Kate*’s mother were overprotecting, who never let their child taking risk. They never received permission from their mother, for example, they were not allowed to be outside at night and travel. However, *Sri*’s mother strategy was unique, in which *Sri* never received a permission when she asked from her mother, but never got punished even if she violated her order. *Sri* said:

“I never ever got a permission to do things, especially going out at night and travel aboard. She always told me those stuffs were not good for me and warned me about the risk. Ironically, I did all those things she forbade me. Even if I didn’t listen to her and disobeyed, I never got punished.”

Adult children in the study reported the same issues those single-mothers most emphasized including: avoiding drugs, alcohol, gambling, and illegal activities. Their mother worried that such traumatic experiences in their child’s younger years may lead them to get involved in worse behavior later. Although adult children in the study reported that their mother never sat down and had a conversation about those activities, they were informed to be aware of the danger of them. *Pik*, *Nim*, and *Yod* shared a similar experience that their mother did not set rules or limits on them about anything, except a warning not to get involved with risky activities. A strategy single-mothers employed to

monitor and prevent children from getting involved in illegal activities and to live by morals was not permitting them to go out at night and not allowing them to stay out late. These rules were set for both sons and daughters, including *Jake, Pik, Took, Moon,* and *Pan*. Distinctively, *Beck's* mother did not set rules around the house or for him to behave. He explained how his mother disciplined

“My mom never specifically emphasized on things while I was growing up. She is my role model and played a vital role in helping me to be away from risky behaviors. She often showed good behavior that I could learn and pick up on.”

Being faced with a bill that cannot be paid is very stressful and can have harmful effects in any family, especially single-mother families. Two single-mothers and one adult child reported money management skills were frequently emphasized in the family of a sole mother. According to the participants, it was necessary to have an emergency fund for the unexpected expenses and things that were not planned for, and especially for a child's education. Distinctly, the single-mothers who found money management was important to be stressed to children did not essentially experience a financial effect on family. Rather, they experienced either financially unchanged or better off economically after the divorce. In contrast, an adult child of a single-mother who experienced some financial difficulty after divorce found that money management was vital and often stressed in the family without a father.

Toy and *Tu* uncovered that it was important to teach a child the value of money and to be economical and to budget, because spending money in a way that was consistent with a good plan could provide a sense of well-being even without support from a father. Showing a child and informing them to see and realize the mother's hard

work in order to support a family living was a good way to teach him or her the value of money.

Tu said that she always taught her children to be reasonable, including being a reasonable spender.

“I stressed on my children to spend according to their usefulness. I always taught them to look at how they spend money and decided if all those things were really important and needed.”

Tong admitted that he noticed a decline of his family income after his parents’ divorce although his father continued to support the family financially a couple years after the event. He explained:

“My mom always told me to use money wisely, because after my dad left, our family income decreased, whereas, our expenses increased due to me and my brother were growing up. My mom had to increase her working hours in order to make some extra money.”

Single-mothers and adult children in the study perceived that good money management not only allowed them to survive after divorce, it also allowed them to be able to deal with things that could unexpectedly emerge in the future without worrying about having a financial crisis.

A Child’s Future Relationships

Another issue that single-mothers in the study were concerned about was a child’s future relationships. One of the important ways that children learn about relationships is by watching their parents interact. The participants reported that some fights and arguments between parents were recurrent before the divorce and children happened to

witness the fights. Spouses justifiably divorced to end the fighting while they saved their children the pain of their conflicts. Growing up, watching negative interaction and conflict between parents, children did not only suffer emotionally; they tended to imitate this way of communicating and dealing with others. For some, parents' divorce occurred at a very young age in a child's life resulting in them to growing up in a sole mother household. Growing up with only a mother and never having experienced their parents' managing conflict, children tended to have a lack of skill in dealing with disagreement.

Single-mothers in the study reported that they wished their children would have a healthy relationship and would not follow in their divorcing parents' footsteps. Whereas, adult children of single-mother families in the study reported that although their mothers allowed them to make their own choices in relationships, they wanted them to have a long-lasting relationship. While intact family was an ideal for all and they expected not to follow their parents pattern, they did not have a negative attitude towards single-parent families.

Husbands' infidelities may cause single-mothers a problem with trusting men, both in their next relationship and in their children's future relationships. Most single-mothers were not concerned with finding a new relationship in their life, but were rather concerned with their child's future family. *Ed* and *May* did not have an expectation for their children's relationship. They only hoped that they would not follow their parents' route and not rush into relationships. *Ed* taught her son to wait until he was financially stable and ready to be committed before starting a family. *May* expressed:

“What I lacked in my life, I didn’t want my daughter to face it. I wished for her to meet with a man who is committed to family, faithful, and stable. I told my daughter to take a long time to get to know a man before getting married.”

Another concern that single-mothers have about their children’s future relationship is their inexperience in seeking a healthy relationship and a lack of skill in managing discord. *Kun* discussed this in relation to how her 18 year-old daughter was born and grew up without a father around. She never saw how a couple deals with an argument or handles the situation. *Kun* said:

“I’m worried about my daughter’s future relationship and afraid that her relationship would not last long. She grew up without having a good male role model in her life. I’m afraid that she would fall for a guy easily and especially fall for a bad guy because she never had a father to teach her about men’s world.”

The separated father’s behavior was often used as a bad example for a man, who single-mothers did not want their daughter to encounter and who they did not want their son to turn out to be. *Nid* began to be concerned about what kind of a man her teenage son would grow up to be. She admitted that although her son was too young to have a relationship, she feared he would be like his father when he was in a relationship. *Nid* reflected:

“I know that my son grows enough to have a girlfriend, but he’s still too young to be responsible for a girl. I keep telling him to just be friend with girl friends even if he finds someone he attracted to. What I’m most worried about and afraid of is that my son will behave like his dad. I used him as a model to teach my son a bad example of a man. I told him to find a woman like me, because that woman will be the one who really loves you.”

Single-mothers also had faith that their own experiences could help their children to make a better choice in choosing a spouse. *Thida* and *Kam* used their unsuccessful marriage to teach their child. *Kam* said:

“I told my children to look at my relationship with their father and make a thorough decision in relationships. Children are not adults and cannot see things thoroughly the way I do. I believe that older persons could give some advises or even help them making a decision.”

Mentioning about the father in a negative way was also found in families of adult children, participating in the study. The adult children in the study reported that their mothers used their father as a bad role model and used the mother’s failed marriage to teach them a lesson and warn them about their own future relationships. For example, *Toom* and *Ei* told that although their mother did not have any expectation about their relationship and their future family, she often commented on his father’s ruthless behavior and used him as an example of a kind of person a man was not supposed to be like. Especially, when it comes to relationship with a woman and marriage, behaving like his father was the most unacceptable behavior they should not perform.

Experiencing an unhealthy family and a bad relationship between his parents, *Ei* learned to know this kind of a relationship he would not wish to happen with him and his own family. He stressed:

“I grew up seeing my mom having a hopeless relationship with my dad made me swear to myself that I wouldn’t do like my dad did to my mom. I know exactly how sad it was in my mom’s position. Now I have 2 children and I’ll never let my

family miserable. It's never happy. I know I have to fulfill what my mom has lost her all life. What I can do is to be a good son and take care of her when she gets older."

Pla and *Yu*'s mother did not have any expectations of them. *Pla*'s mother said her mother "trust" her and respected her decision, even though she wanted to get to know every boyfriends she had. *Yu*'s mother only hoped that one day she would officially get married with her cohabiting boyfriend. *Moon*'s mother, on the other hand, did not have hope for her to get married, because she was afraid that she would be taken advantage of by a man. *Moon* explained:

"My mom believes that having a family is like a string attached, which always makes you worried. And that always makes you unhappy. I had a boyfriend when I was younger and I used to have a dream of having a family, consisting of me, my husband, who could get along with my mom, and a child. But, the relationship was not last long, because I was very self-reserved and did not want to commit. Now, I realize my mom is right. I no longer look for someone to be with me the rest of my life. I'd pursue a Buddhist moral life, following ethical conducts in the end of life."

Besides disciplining children to develop self-control and correct misbehavior, many single-mothers were likely to use their experiences to teach their children and expecting their children not to step into the same mistake they did. The participants reported the single-mothers tended to use the father as a negative role model. In addition to teaching the children to be a good person in society, achieve a good education, and have a good career, the participants reported that the single-mothers expected their children's future family to be unlike their parent's. The data showed that all participants

perceived that single-parent families were not uncommon in today's society. There was no evidence from the study reported the single-parent families were viewed as problematic. However, many single-mothers from the study articulated that they expected their children to have a happy marriage and had a hope for them not to deal with the same problems the mother faced with.

Theme three: Social Supports

The data showed that the participants believed that social support from kin played an important role in relieving grief in lives after divorce. Various types of social support provided a variety of assistance to the single-parent families and was important to the pattern of recovery and adjustment of both single-mothers and the children. Single-mothers and adult children of single-mothers in the study showed a variation in recovering from their sorrow, ranging from months to years to adapt to life without their mate. With help from friends, former family, and self-help groups, the majority of the participants sooner or later were capable of adapting to their new circumstances and handling their everyday affairs.

This theme corresponded with inquiries I asked participants about relationship with their kin and former family; whether they received any supports from kin and relatives after they became a single-mother or during living with a single-mother and what types of support they obtained. Their responses range from receiving a financial aid, childcare, emotional support, and no support from kin. A few, reported no support from kin turned to their friends for a support. The data from some, who reported they received some supports from the departed father, will not be included in this theme. DIAGRAM 7

provides a visual depiction of this theme and the four main subcategories that emerged under this theme.



DIAGRAM 7: Social Supports

Financial Aid

Becoming a single mother was a big problem especially when a mother does not have enough expenses to support her child. The data showed that mostly participants who obtained financial aid reported their kin was their major economic resource. Few reported the separated father offered some financial support, ranging from occasionally to monthly. Kin help was perceived as the first source that was responsive for the need of single-mother families in the study. Particularly, the single-mothers' parents were likely to aid them with the children's tuition and some household expenses. Kinship groups although consisted of an extension of the nuclear family, the single-mothers from the study were likely to contact their parents or their children's maternal grandmother (YAI) and children's maternal grandfather (TA), their ex-husband's parents or their children's paternal grandmother (YA) and paternal grandfather (PU), and their older sister or their children's maternal aunt (PA), and their older brother or their children's maternal uncle (LOONG).

Eight single-mothers in the study reported they received some financial help from their natal kin, including aid with cost of living, some expenses, and some funds for children's education. For example, because *Thum* has worked with her parents' company, financial aid from her parents was quite spontaneously transferred to cover her expenses and her daughter's, in which she explained:

“Following divorce, I started working for my mom and dad, which I got paid monthly like you work in an organization. My parents also made sure that my monthly paycheck was enough to cover some of my household expenses even when I was financially stable.”

Some single-mothers were financially supported by kin through a child's education. *Kam* received some financial aids from her mother and older sister, offering for her two children's tuition. *Thida's* youngest son's tuition was under her parents' responsibility. *Zoe's* parents paid for her son's tuition. *Ped* was also financially aided by her older sister through her daughter's education. She shared:

“My older sister loved my daughter as much as her own daughter. After I got divorced, she was the main source of my daughter's tuition. She paid for her tuition until she graduated.”

Toy explained that since she was not working, she did not have an access to any financial resources. Her husband's mother was helping her with money following the divorce. She explained:

“After I divorced from my husband, I continued to live at my husband's house, where his mother bought it for us when we married. My husband was the one who

moved out and settled a new family. His mother gave me 4,000 baht each month and she paid for my son's tuition until he graduated."

Tu, *Won*, and *Nid* found it beneficial having financial supports from kin, because it was a flexible monetary resource that they could depend on. *Tu* benefited from her kin financially, in which her older sister who offered her some financial help when she needed it. At the same time, her mother was another financial resource where she could borrow money from her when she needed to. *Won* was now living with her son, her parents, and her nephew articulated that she moved back to her parents' house after her divorce. She was not struggling with financial difficulty, because, as she admitted:

"Living with my parents could save me money, because I could share a cost of living with them. At the same time, they could also help me with watching my kid when I had to go to work."

Nid received some financial assistance from kin just like a filial duty, in which her nephew financially assisted her when she was struggling. She described:

"I kind of raised one of my nephew when he was little. He respected me and he thought it's his obligation and devotion to assist me when I had troubles. He offered me some money when I was short of money."

Five adult children of single-mother families in the study reported similar circumstances, in which they found financial aid offered by kin was essential and accommodating with life after parental divorce. Financial help from kin that the adult

children received while growing up with a single-mother included financial aid for children's education, some help with expenses, and some pocket money.

Ei received financial aid from his maternal uncles. He said:

“I was very close to my relatives. We remained our contact until my mom was divorced. My relationship with kin was decreased after that event for a while. But my LOONG still helped my mom out with my tuition fee.”

Pla and *Som* were very close to their relatives, particularly on their mother's side.

They reported some parallel conditions, in which their mother's former family and siblings always helped with each other. Hence, when their mother divorced from their father, their relatives offered them help. They received a lot of assistance from them while growing up with a sole mother, including some funds for her education, childcare, and some emotional cheering up. *Pla* explained:

“My PA was still single so she has no dependents. She raised me like her own daughter. She paid for my tuition until I graduated from college.”

Som said:

“I think money is a fundamental factor that has an effect on life after divorce. Especially for me, I think it is very important for a good education. I was lucky. My YAI sometimes supported me through my tuition.”

The data showed that only few participants received financial aid from the separated father. *Jake* described that he received monthly pocket money from his father after divorce while his YA paid for tuition and aided him with the cost of living until he graduated from college.

“Because my mom didn’t have a routine job, she didn’t earn any income. After my parents’ divorce, me and my mom still lived in my YA’s compound. YA financially supported me through tuition fee and some personal expenses while growing up until college. My father also gave me 500 baht each month to buy lunch and to take a bus to school. He routinely did that until I graduated. Other than that, he never provided any assistance to the family.”

Although *Tha* did not receive financial aid in cash from her kin, her PU and YA gave her parents a house when they married and let *Tha* and her mother stay even after the divorce and even after her father moved out. She said this was very helpful for her and her mother, because they did not have to find a new place to live while her mother was struggling to survive financially.

A Childcare Assistance

With one income and limited resources, childcare for many single-mothers became difficult. Nearly all single-mothers had to work to meet their financial needs, which made it tough for them to look after their preschool children while at work. The data showed that childcare assistance offered to the participants was mainly from their kin. A childcare assistance by kin was the first resort that single-mothers in the study went to and the most preferable, because they all agreed that childcare assistance from their kin was helpful and trustful. Eleven single-mothers in the study received a proper childcare from their former family to look out for their children while they were working. Eleven adult children reported that they grew up or spent some period of times with their older relatives during their younger years.

May explained her post-divorce situation that she received a lot of help from her older brothers, who lived in the same compound

“My life after divorce started from nothing. I left my husband and moved from Surastani to Bangkok with my daughter. I didn’t have a house in Bangkok and I didn’t buy a car yet. We first stayed at one of my brothers’ house. Sometimes when I stuck in a meeting at work, he and his wife looked after my daughter. One night my daughter got sick and I didn’t have a car to bring her to the hospital, I called them and they drove us to the hospital in the middle of the night.”

Pat and *Ped* indicated that they received childcare assistance from kin on both their sides and their ex-husband’s side. *Pat* was assisted by her mother and her ex-husband’s mother with childcare after divorce. She described:

“When my sons were kids, they were watched by their YA and YAI. I couldn’t leave my sons home alone during their school break because they were too young. So, I brought my older son to stay with his YA and my little son to stay with his YAI. Because my older son got to see his father more often than my little one, he gets along with his dad better and has a better relationship with him than his brother does.”

Ped received childcare assistance from both sides of family. Her ex-husband’s parents helped her with watching kids during her marriage while her mother and older sister assisted her with a childcare after the divorce. She described:

“While my children were very young, we lived in Pissanuloke; my ex-husband’s hometown. His parents were always helping hands with the kids. They loved my older daughter so much and always spoiled her, because she was the first child from their son. After I divorced, I took my 2 children to Bangkok, where is my hometown. Here, I started my new life with a lot of helps from my mom and my older sister. Not only they helped me with my daughter’s education fee, but they looked after my younger son when I didn’t have time. And because my older

daughter and my younger son are 8 years apart, my daughter was so helpful with watching her brother too.”

The data shows that single-mothers who moved back to their former family’s house automatically received childcare assistance from their kin. For example, *Won*, *Ed*, *Kai*, and *Kun* have been living with their former family since divorce. *Won* and *Ed* benefited from moving back to their mother’s house, because it allowed them to save up money, to have a trustful child caretaker and allowed guidance and safety for them to recover from the trauma and prepare them to be ready to move on. Living with an older one, such as a grandmother, *Kai* found it very helpful, although she worried that her daughter would be too spoiled by YAI.

Kun moved back to her mother’s house, where she had to also live with her older brother, however, she found out that they were not helpful in an essential way

“My life following divorce was stumble for a couple years. I had to work 2 jobs in order to be able to earn enough money for my daughter, my mom and my older brother when I moved back in with them. I always left my daughter with them when I went to work. One day I noticed my daughter looked sad and started having trouble with talking. I found out later that they barely communicated or talked with her while she was with my mother and my older brother. I knew it right away that I need to drop one of my jobs, adjust my schedule to come home earlier and spend more times with my daughter.”

Unlike *Won*, *Ed*, and *Kun*, *Nee* obtained some childcare assistance from her husband’s kin, because she had lived in his mother’s compound since they married. *Nee* is currently living in her husband’s compound with his relatives while her husband moved to another province. When she got separated from her husband, he decided to

move out of the house. Her mother-in-law and her husband's siblings instinctively provided some help with raising her son when he was younger; and her husband continued to support her and her son until he achieved a bachelor's degree.

Sunun and *Zoe* obtained some childcare assistance from their mother during marriage, while such aid was diminished after divorce. From their stories, I found that the age of a child at the divorce is related to the level of childcare assistance from kin, in which a childcare support by kin tends to be diminished if parents divorced when a child is at older years. *Sunun* indicated that her mother helped her with watching her daughter for a couple months when her daughter was 2 years old. She did not acquire any childcare help from her former family after the divorce. Because she divorced from her husband when her son was 20 and her daughter was 14, she did not really need childcare assistance. She still keeps in touch with her own family and still visits them regularly. Like *Sunun*, *Zoe* divorced her husband when her son was 12 years old. She explained that her mother helped her watching her son when he was about 5 years old, when she was still married. She did not ask for childcare from her mother when she separated from her husband, because her son was grown up and mature enough to take care of himself. Instead her mother helped her by providing money for her son's education.

Nine adult children of single-mother families in the study indicated that they spent some time during their childhood with their older relatives either those on their mother's side or those on their father's side or both. A childcare assistance was basically needed when the single-mothers went to work while their child was too young to stay home by himself/herself or when he or she needed a caretaker. For example, *Kate* and her mother

have lived in the same compound as her LOONG. LOONG not only watched her when she was little but performed many of the duties of a father. She expressed:

“I never felt lacking of a father, because my LOONG always performed as my father. I remembered when I was a little kid, my school had a yearly celebration on Father’s Day and all students’ father were invited to join the celebration at school. LOONG always went with me as a father.”

At younger years, *Tong* and his 2 younger brothers sometimes were sent to stay with his PA and YAI while his mother went to work. He recalled that after her mother’s divorce, he noticed his mother had to work harder to cover the household expenses and tuitions of the 3 children. He said:

“I know it was a tough time for her. She looked exhausted after a long day of work, plus taking care of three of us. But she never showed her stress or emotion. My YAI and PA were very helpful while my brothers and I were growing up, because they could watch us when my mother couldn’t be around.”

Similarly, *Fog*, who was looked after by her YA and her maternal great-grandmother, expressed that her mother struggled with carrying on her job while raising 2 children.

“I noticed my mom was distressed. I saw her cried very often and became quieter after the divorce. She worked so hard that we did not have time to spend with each other like we used to do. I got to see her only when she dropped us off at school in the morning and before we went to bed at night. While she was gone for work on the weekends, my YA and great-grandmother were watching me and my brother. ”

Took and *Yod* reported they were very close to their relatives and were looked after when they were younger by their mother's siblings. Whereas *Yod's* PA intuitively helped his mother watching him whenever needed, *Took's* mother hired her PA to watch her when she went to work. On the other hand, *Lek* described that when she was sent to live with her mother's family in Thailand, she could not get along with her mother's siblings. Rather, her TA and YAI were in charge of being her guardians.

Adult children who reported they were financially assisted by relatives also said that they obtained childcare assistance while living with a single-mother. For example, *Pla* and *Som* acquired childcare assistance from their mother's family. *Pla* was as close to her PA as to her mother. *Pla* always came to PA for advice or whenever she wanted to talk to somebody or when her mother was not available for her. Because her PA was still single, she loved *Pla* like her real daughter. *Pla's* mother's family also financially supported her education. Similarly, *Som's* PA was always a substitute person for her mother. She took some of her mother's jobs when she was not available, such as dropping her off at school and picking her up from school. At the same time, *Som* obtained financial support from her YAI while growing up. Consistently, *Ei* acquired childcare assistance and financial assistance from both her father's side and mother's side. He reported he was occasionally taken care of by his PA. His father's brother helped financially with tuition.

Emotional Support

In addition to financial aid and childcare assistance emotional support was very important. Seven single-mothers in the study reported they obtained some emotional

support from their kin, including their own parents, siblings, and in-laws. Commonly, the single-mothers who received financial aid or childcare assistance from their kin were likely to receive some emotional support from them as well. However, the assistance providers were not necessarily the same persons. Some single-mother families obtained only emotional support from their kin and a few turned to their friends for this support, which I will discuss in the next section.

For example, *Nid* obtained some financial assistance from her nephew; whereas, she received some emotional support from her siblings. She indicated that she had had a fight with her older sister when she was about to divorce her husband, because her sister and her husband had an issue about the debt her husband created and left for her sister to pay because she had signed a contract for him. After the divorce, she found her relationship with her sister got better. She said: “My older sister encouraged me to get a divorce. Once I did, she was very supportive.” *Tu*, similarly, received some financial help from her older sister and mother when emergencies occurred while she was emotionally supported by them. *Ed, Kai, and Sunun* not only obtained a childcare assistance when they turned to their former family, some emotional supports were automatically transferred. After *Ed*, moved back into her mother’s house and obtained a childcare aid from her mother, she also received some emotional supports from her mother and siblings. *Kai* was very close to her mother and now she was living with her and her daughter. Her mother although never articulated emotional support of her, but she “knows how much she loves me and my daughter from the way she cares about us.” While *Kai*’s mother seemed to provide her a childcare support, rather than emotional support, her older brother always listened to her problems and gave her some advices.

Although *Sunun* did not acquire a childcare assistance after divorce, she was very supported by her parents and parents-in-law. While relationship with kin was obviously improved after divorce for *Nid*, *Ed* and *Sunun* did not see a change in their relationships with kin since it has always been delightful.

Unlike those single-mothers, attain emotional support along with other kind of supports from kin, *Nat* reported that after divorce, they did not receive any aids from their kin but the emotional support, which included providing advices, listening their problems, and keeping them a company. *Nat* had a very good relationship with her former family and meet with them every day. She said her parents had a big support of her through the divorce and even after. Now she felt closer to her mother because her youngest daughter stayed with her.

Eight adult children, participating in the study reported they were emotionally supported by older kin. Some obtained only emotional support while some acquired emotional support along with financial aids and childcare help. Those who received only emotional support were ones who did not live near their kin, which made them less likely to visit their kin. Those who obtained more than one type of kin supports tend to regularly keep in touch with them either by phone or visit.

For example, *Nim* was not much close to her relatives. She only kept in touch with her maternal relatives and occasionally visited them. Although her mother divorced from her father, her mother's former family did not dislike him, because, she said, "he was still nice to them when they met." Like *Nim*, *Sri* was not much close to her relatives. She only met them on a yearly family gathering event, which was when she got to see her

father as well. Although *Sri* was not personally close to her relatives, her mother was very close to her two younger brothers, who always gave her advices and listened to her when she ran into troubles. *Pan* said that she occasionally visited her mother's family but hardly visited her father's family since her parents still married. Unsurprisingly, she lost contact with her father's family after her parents' divorce. Instead, she explained:

“I got to see my YAI and my PA more often, especially in a couple of years following divorce. I know my mom was overwhelming and wanted some emotional support, advices, and guidance.”

While *Nim*, *Sri*, and *Pan* had more contact with their mother's family, *Pik* was more close to relatives on her father side. She said they never alleged anything negative about her mother and father and they never mentioned about their divorce. Rather, their cordiality and warmth, provided to her would fulfill what she felt deficient from not having her father around while growing.

Unlike those adult children, discussed earlier, *Kate* regularly kept in touch and always got together with her relatives. She obtained more than one type of supports from kin. *Kate* was very close to her LOONG, because they lived in the same compound. *Kate*'s LOONG not only provided such practical support as childcare assistance when she was little, he also provided emotional support to her family. *Kate* expressed:

“Having my uncle and his family was luck for me and my mom. They helped my mom raised me since I was a kid. My LOONG's children and I are like siblings. We all played and grew up together. I never felt lonely or lacking of anything”

Pla, *Som*, and *Ei*, although did not live in the same area with their relatives like *Kate*, they also had a regular contact with them. Expectedly, they received all types of supports, including financial aids, childcare assistance, and emotional support from their kin while growing up in a single-mother family. *Pla* and relatives on her mother side were really close. She obtained an emotional support through the love and warmth, provided by her PA in addition to advice and financial aid, offering for her education. While *Som*'s PA and YAI provided a childcare help when her mother was unable to and offered some financial helps, *Som* and her mother spontaneously acquired emotional support through companionship, which reduced stress and promoted their self-esteem, and self-value.

Similar to *Pla* and *Som*, *Ei* felt. *Ei* expressed that he regularly visited his relatives on both side and was provided supports from both sides of his parents' family when his parents were still together and even after they separated. Although he noticed that the visiting was decreased after the divorce, he still felt appreciated by relatives on both sides of their parents. Not only financial aid and a childcare assistance, offered by their kin, could diminish some strains caused by upbringing a child alone, being a good listener, and providing some advice could promote their emotional health as well.

No Support

Family although plays an important role in social support systems to many single-mother families that they could turn to in times of need for financial help, emotional support, and childcare assistance. Some families in this study reported kin support was essentially not allocated within their family. The families that did not receive any social

supports from kin were those who reported they were not close to their kin even before divorce or separation, those who did not live near their kin, which made it hard for them to keep in touch with them, and those who did not get along well with their kin.

Jong, Orn, and Kim did not obtain any kind of support from their kin. *Jong* and *Orn* did not regularly keep in touch with their natal family. *Jong's* former family lived in another province while she and her daughter lived in Bangkok. Unlike *Jong, Orn's* former family was in Bangkok. She only kept in touch with them from time to time and only kept each other updated. They did not ask for advice or help from her family even during her tough time, struggling with the process of divorce from her husband, because they considered it is none of their business. *Kim* although was living and taking care of her mother-in law, she said she was not much provided any kind of social support by her. She reported she could not get along well with her other kin, which resulted in a loss of contact from them. She explain,

“I barely contact my other kin, but my mother in-law, since I divorced and ever since I heard they were gossiping about me. My daughters did not even want to go near their house, because they were afraid of being questioned where my father was. Although I divorced from my husband, my mother in-law is still living with me. I'm more like the one who's taking care of her. She loves me like her real daughter and I treat her like my own mom. Her support is not clearly visible though.”

Five adult children in the study reported a lack of social supports from kin after divorce. *Moon, Tawee, Yu, and Beck* described they were not close to their relatives. *Moon's* TA and YAI have passed away. She grew up having only mother in her life. *Tawee* grew up in a nuclear family, because her grandparents on both sides have also

passed away and she was not close to her other relatives. She expressed that it was not much difficult for her to adjust to a new family arrangement, because her father has been away for work most of the time since she was little. She did not feel kin support was much necessary. *Yu* and *Beck* were not close to their kin and seldom kept in touch with them.

Similar to *Kim*, *Toom* did not get along well with his kin. He explained that there was some kind of jealousy within his family, especially his mother side of family. He described that,

“My mother was the youngest and the most protected daughter in her family. She is the prettiest one, comparing to her other sisters. It was not that obvious that my PAs got jealous of her fortune, since she married to a wealthy husband and did not have to work. But, I felt their envies when they acted toward our family during the tough time, going through a divorce. It was like what you see in a drama on the TV shows when people seem not to feel sorrow seeing someone is struggling—they are like that. This is why we never cried for helps from others.”

Summary

The findings of my study, as discussed in this chapter, demonstrate the lived experiences of single-mothers and adult children of single-mother families in Bangkok, Thailand. Three major themes emerged from the data in this qualitative study: 1) Financial stability; 2) Parental competence; and 3) Social support. The findings were discussed in narrative form and attempted to express the voices of the participants' experiences with family circumstances after divorce or separation; they responded to my research question, “what are the factors affecting the well-being of children of single-mother families”? The research found that three major factors that have impacts on well-

being of children of single-mother families include financial resources, parental styles of discipline, and kin supports.

Divorce primarily creates some changes in financial conditions for both spouses, ranging from deteriorated, unbothered, and improved. Divorce can drop a woman's standard of living by reducing income and increasing expenses, especially for those who did not work during the marriage. Single-mothers who worked during the marriage and following a divorce did not find their financial condition was much affected by a divorce and experienced less financial hardship. In many cases, financial conditions following a divorce were even improved for the reason that their income did not need to stretch to support their ex-husband's expenses.

In addition to a loss of financial resources following the divorce, single-mothers were confronted with how to deal with their children without a partner. Parenting styles of discipline and the types of relationship between parents and child were considerable influences on how well the children were doing. The styles of parenting reported in the study fell into a mix of two categories; authoritative parenting and permissive parenting, in which single-mothers were responsive and nurturing while they were flexible and supportive. Whereas the mothers developed guidelines for their children, which could be either flexible or firm depending on particular circumstances, the relationship between the mother and the children were highly bonded and equal. The tasks of rule setting and monitoring, communicating, disciplining, and teaching were challenging in the single-mother families. Most single-mothers most emphasized children's education, behavior and money management.

Single-mothers and adult children in the study considered that social supports from kin were beneficial for single-mother families in helping the members to recover from grief, adjust to a new environment, and handle their everyday tasks. The assistance ranged from receiving financial aid, childcare assistance, and emotional support. Mostly, the single-mother families turned to their natal kin for any kinds of support. Those kin included mother's mother (YAI), mother's father (TA), mother's older sister (PA), and mother's older brother (LOONG). Those who turned to paternal kin for assistance were likely to be those who were dependent on the paternal kin during the marriage, such as living in the same house or nearby the mother-in-law and obtaining some financial support through household expenses during the marriage. The paternal kin was primarily the father's mother (YA). A few who reported no support from kin were likely to be those who lived far away from their kin, those whose parents passed away, and those who felt distant from their kin.

In the next chapter, I will provide a discussion on the three major themes; financial stability, parental competence, and social support factors in terms of the factors that affect the well-being of children of single-mother families and have influences on their future outcomes.

CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to understand the experiences of single-mothers and adult children of single-mother families during the transition process from marriage to divorce. This study takes a close look at the processes that are associated with the fathers' absences from families and the continuation of the families without the fathers. In this chapter I analyze experiences and perspectives that were described by interviewees. In doing so, I illuminate the factors that had effects on lives of single-mother families, particularly of children who grew up with a lone mother. Information was gathered on participants' points of view on their own experiences to find out what matters reflected how children grew up without a father. Stories of participants from 40 families, including 20 single-mothers and 20 adult children from single-mother families in Thailand, were guided through conversations, reflecting on the causes of divorce/separation, financial circumstances, parental competence, and social support systems. These stories are crucial to understanding the importance of those factors in relation to the outcomes of adult children.

In response to my research question, "what are the factors affecting the lives of children of single-mother families?", this study found three major factors affecting the well-being of children of single-mother families, including financial circumstances, parental competence, and level of social support. Well-being in this study refers to a good or satisfactory condition of a life or a living. Financial stability of families are measured from participants' point of view as story telling on how families experienced the change

in resources after the separation, ranging from improving, unbothering, or deteriorating. Parental competence is measured by the issues that single-mothers emphasized and were concerned about their children, including education, money management, behaviors, and a child's future relationship. Social supports are measured by the types of support that the single-mother families obtained from kin. Kin in this study is defined as a group of persons related by a common ancestor, family, or clan. Kin may include parents, siblings, relatives, and in-laws.

Once the themes reflecting major factors affecting the well-being of children are identified, the concept of how these factors result in children's outcome emerged into two issues; education and behavioral problems. In order to measure well-being of children in single-mother families, I focus on the interrelationships between the three factors and children's education and behavioral problems (see DIAGRAM 8). I firstly consider whether children's progress in the school system is an important indicator for their well-being and their future. Analyzing academic outcomes in relation to family characteristics, I look at the correlation of parent investment in children's education, such as financial resources, mother's emphasis on academic performance, and parental monitoring, which associate with school performance and the level of academic completion of children of single-mother families. Secondly, I consider behavioral problems or how behavioral problems serve as a predictor for children's future outcomes. Behavioral problems are guided by three perspectives according to participants' perception of the parental view (i.e. disobedience; using violence with family members, destroying property, etc.); emotional view (i.e. involving aggression toward others); and legal view (i.e. committing serious crimes such as murder, theft, illegal drugs use).

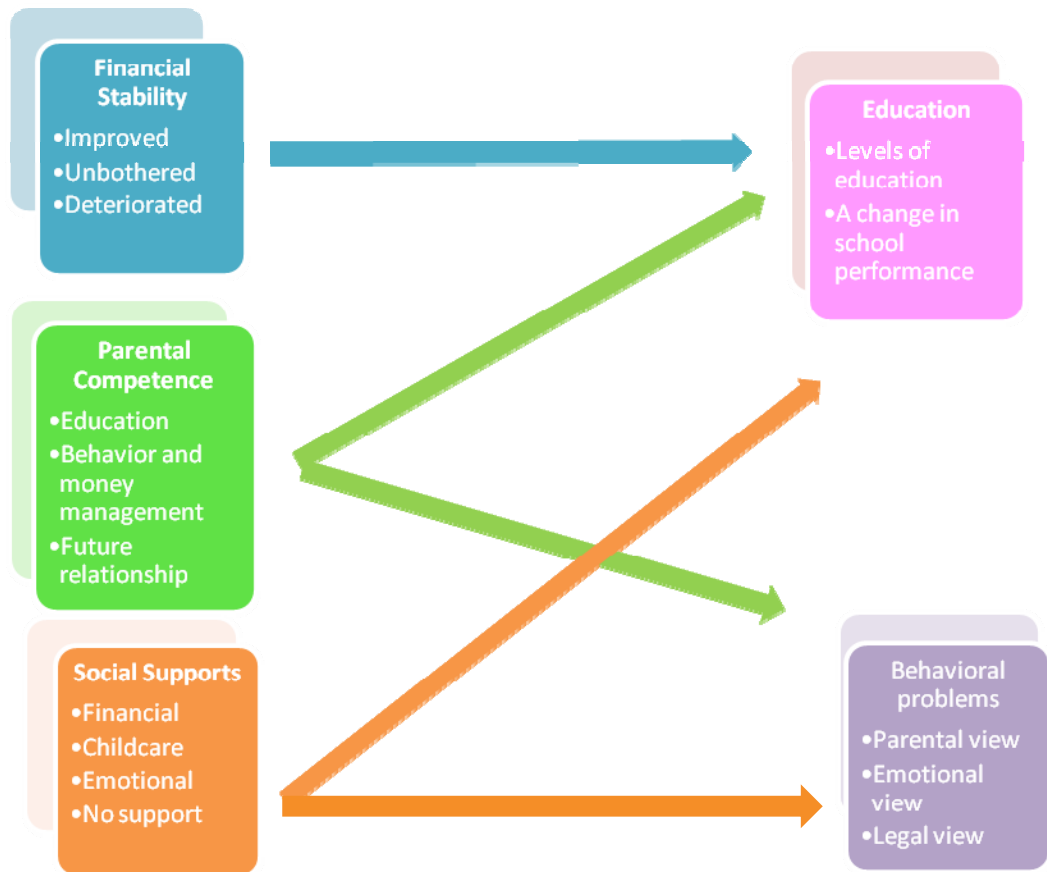


DIAGRAM 8.

Factors and Its Effects on Well-being of Children of Single-Mother Families

Financial Stability

Financial circumstances are major concerns for many single-mothers when they become a single-mothers. Surprisingly, most mothers from the study did not process their cases through the legal court for alimony and child support from the separated husbands; only few fathers complied with court ordered financial obligations. Many single-mothers only wanted to file for dissolution of domestic partnership regardless of any benefits that they would have been able to receive from their ex-spouses. Although

some single-mother families reported that the separated fathers fulfilled financial obligations regarding their children after divorce, sometimes it was just occasionally, which was insufficient to meet the requirements of the family in terms of food, clothing, and education, especially during teenage years when the children constantly grew and generally required additional support for all of these needs.

Following divorce, custodial mothers and their children were confronted with changes in household economic conditions. However, the overall evidence is not as strong in support of the belief that many of the single-mother families unavoidably experienced financial difficulties, which ultimately resulted in negative impacts on their children's well-being (Sorensen 1994; McLanahan 2004; Avison et al. 2007; Sanithwong Na Ayuthaya 2007). It is important to note that economic circumstances are not completely accountable for difficulties in the lives of single-mothers and children after divorce. Rather, the evidence from this study shows that different levels of economic circumstance experienced by single-mother families are mainly associated with single-mothers' economic self-support before their divorce. This will place single-mother families in a position to experience different levels of economic conditions.

Single-mother families that most suffered most from economic burdens were the ones where lone mothers did not have jobs while married. Finding a job in order to be able to spend on their household expenditures after divorce was challenging because unemployed single-mothers encountered some difficulties because of age, lack of experience, and education. Moreover, the issues of balancing work and home duties and dealing with economic struggles were continuous problems these families had to resolve.

Another economic burden of many female-headed households resulted from the change in family structure from a dual earner household to a single earner household. Single-mother families that suffered from economic problems after divorce were also the ones where both husband and wife used to share financial responsibilities for the household while married. Financial problems increased as the separated father stopped paying for household expenses and child support. A loss of one earner required the single-mothers to want extra money to maintain their lifestyles. Even lone mothers who had jobs while married had to work extra hours to compensate for money lost when the fathers left. Single-mothers rarely had the option of staying home to care for their children. The issue of time management for work and child care is really a big challenge for a lot of families in this study.

While a lot of single-mother families struggled with some financial instability after divorce, some reported their financial circumstances post divorce remained unchanged or were even improved. Generally, most families where the mothers had jobs were not financially affected by the divorce as much or were less likely to confront financial problems because taking care of the household's financial responsibility were usually their job. Instead of helping each other and sharing responsibility within the family, the fathers appeared to be a burden for the mothers in a family where the mothers were the breadwinners. Many single-mothers from the study showed their relief when their marriages were over because they no longer had to support their husband financially. Hence, in cases such as these a loss of the father seemed to improve the economic conditions of the single-mother family as a whole.

Another factor that improved the financial conditions of single-mother families was being freed from the father's debt. Debt from the father appeared to be one of the reasons for marriage dissolution. The fathers who ran their family into debt appeared to be a cause for the mothers to seek divorce in the first place, because, in some cases, the debt from the fathers did not only affect their own family, but also their spouse's extended family. For example, those extended kin who were asked to sign a guaranteed investment contract for the father's business could end up with a debt themselves when the business collapsed. Thus, single-mother families had an economic advantage because the mothers were no longer tied down to the debts or financial decisions of their partner, thus the financial circumstances of the families after divorce became better. Although the departed fathers left the family and the mothers with full responsibility for household expenditures and child-rearing accountability, a decision to divorce seemed to be the best solution for resolving the financial slump of the family while maintaining their relationship with the extended family.

Seeking divorce because of debt generated by the fathers may seem to be irrational and self-centered for the mothers. However, the debt alone was not necessarily the primary reason that mothers filed for divorce. A lack of commitment to the family was also an important concern for the decision to divorce for many single-mothers. In addition to infidelity lack of commitment to children played an important role. The fathers who ran their families into debt often put their friends and others above anything else such as family, wife, and children and tended not to participate in family activities. Moreover, these types of fathers were likely to engage in many forms of abuse, such as alcohol abuse, physical abuse and gambling. Therefore, the financial circumstance of

many families not only recovered after divorce, but families were just better off all around.

Other factors considered to be social indications for the reasons that single-mothers in this study overcame financial difficulties after divorce include a change in cultural norms and a change in women's employment opportunities. The family and household decision theory, based on rational choice assumptions was influential in the analysis and interpretation of the rise in female employment and its possible connection to marriage and divorce behavior. Becker et al. (1977) discuss divorce in terms of costs and benefits, expected divorce is more likely to occur when each partner sees advantages in divorcing over remaining married. An increased female participation in labor force in today's society enables women more easily to support themselves, their family, and children. Women were no longer depend on their male spouses' ability to support and uphold a marriage and family financially, and thus the desire to rely on a male spouse was not as important. Unsurprisingly, financial conditions were not a key concern for mothers who had jobs during marriage in deciding to divorce, because they were able to financially support their families and children. Even those who did not have a job during marriage rather chose to terminate their marriages, because they saw opportunities for participating in the labor market and being financially self-supportive.

Family decision making theory appropriately illustrates that a decision over whether to stay married or to exit the marriage involves the mother's serious consideration of her economic independence. The mothers, who gained control over the family funds or gained prospects for entering the labor market or obtaining some financial resources from other sources such as from the former family, tended to perceive

an advantage of dissolving a marriage over staying in an unpleasant marriage. However, this perspective proved too limited for the analysis of family behavior, because it relied too much on family economic behavior in relation to the labor market. It failed to analyze those situations in which adults within families had incompatible inclinations and did not always follow the assumptions of rational choice. The conflicting preferences among individuals within families also influenced the decisions in bargaining over marriage and divorce.

The family composition perspective, claiming that the decision of parents to live apart destroys the social capital that might have been available to children whose parents had lived together is not effective in explaining the financial circumstances experienced by the single-mother families in this study. And thus, a claim that two-parent families are the best family structure for children (McLanahan and Sandefur 1994), is not absolutely applicable in this study. Children who are not raised by both of their biological parents do not necessarily suffer lower levels of well-being than children from two-parent families due to the loss of economic capital in one-parent families. Conversely, the residential parent can replace the loss of financial support from one biological absent parent. Single-mothers in today's society are not always at a high risk of poverty, because of an increasing number have careers.

Financial Resources and Children's Education

Previous studies in this area have largely focused on how a marital disruption affects children's academic performance in relation to the economic resources of single-parent families. Some studies (Astone and McLanahan 1991; Zimiles and Lee 1991)

suggested that the factor that has a crucial impact on school performance and children's academic achievement is the family structure. This study looks at the perspectives of the single-mothers and the adult children with regard to how the financial circumstances of the family following the marital disruption period could affect children's education.

This study finds that family structure is not directly accountable for the academic achievement of children of single-mother families. However, financial circumstance of the families has something to do with academic achievement of the children. How economic resources are distributed in single-mother families affects children's education. Single mothers in this study reported a variation in economic conditions after divorce. For example conditions could worsen, remain unchanged or improve.

Ironically single-mothers who considered their economic conditions as poorer after marital disruption did not seem to feel that money and family income affected their children's education. Although, some admitted that financial circumstances were slightly diminished after a couple of years following the divorce/separation, it did not have much of an effect on school performance and academic achievement of children. There was not much change in school performance after parental divorce/separation and there was no report of school dropouts. Adult children of those single-mothers in the study received at least a college degree. Money was not regarded as a limitation affecting the children's school achievement although full-time single-mothers had to work some extra hours to cover all household expenses alone and had less time to monitor their children's school performance. Single-mothers tended to save money for school as they made their children's education a priority.

By contrast from the perspectives of adult children regardless of gender in the study the economic condition of the family had effects on education. Although adult children did not experience much of a change in school performance following their parental divorce/separation, they perceived that financial circumstance after their parents' separation had effects on their education. The limited resources following divorce/separation of the parents seemed to be a major factor that restrained the capacity to hire special tutors to strengthen the children's school performance. Adult children of single-mother families who reported that financial conditions were under pressure after their parents' divorce were less likely to have a chance to continue their study to a higher degree of education after finishing college. They perceived these poor financial conditions resulted in compromises to their level of academic achievement and their future career advances because if they had gotten more money to pursue a better education, they would be able to advance their career success.

The age of the child when the parents divorced is found to be interrelated with the perception of money as a source of children's education. Adult children whose parents were divorced when they were in college tended to perceive that money could affect their education, which in the long run could affect their career success. When a transition was made from two-headed family to one-headed family and from dual-income household to single-income household, the comparison between more adequate financial support and less adequate financial support was made if their family was struggling to deal with the financial situation after divorce. Unlike those families, money and economic conditions did not seem to affect the education of the children if their parental separation occurred

when they were too young to be able to recognize the differences in financial circumstance before and after their parents' separation.

The fact that single-mothers and adult children had a different view about how the financial resources of the family could affect children's education suggests that there is a gap between the two generations. Unlike the past generations when having a college degree was a passport to success, competition these days has become so intense that having a college degree cannot guarantee a good paying job and accomplish career success. Although single-mothers provided a good education for their child as a foundation for his/her future and require them to receive at least a college degree, adult children, living in a fiercely competitive labor market, would want to strive to get the best they could to land a decent job. Sticking with a high stress job that is not flexible or living from paycheck to paycheck is not desirable for people from the middle class. Low paying jobs are forcing some people to reconsider training for a skill of some type to compensate.

Parental Competence

Economic difficulty is not necessarily the only predictor of academic outcomes for children. In addition to the financial resources, parents' involvement in children's education could help them maximize their academic performance. The data showed that the parenting styles single-mothers practiced fell in between the two categories of Baumrind's parenting style frame, which are authoritative and permissive styles. Employing the authoritative style, single-mothers attempted to direct the children, using their policy in a rational-oriented manner, while their children's autonomy and

disciplined obedience were valued. They did not limit their children with restrictions, but rather exercised firm control at points of parent-child conflict. Combined with permissive styles, single-mothers performed in an acceptable and affirmative manner towards the children's desires and actions. The children were allowed to regulate their own activities while the single-mothers attempted to avoid the exercise of control and overt power to accomplish their ends.

The life course perspective, claiming that history shapes an individual's life experience (Elder 1985, 1994) is applicable to explain that a choice to divorce or separate has become a usual solution for unhappy marriage for couples in this century, where there is a rise in divorce rates and increasing number of single-parent families. The belief that parents should stay together when there are children in the family has been declining in today's society. Some indicators of these trends include the external market forces such as wives' employment status and wives' entry into employment. Marriage was found in this study more likely to be dissolved when wives were employed or due to an independence of wives' financial status. Even though some single-mothers in this study did not work during marriage, they went for a divorce when their financial condition seemed feasible either by considering finding a job or depending on other sources such as kin supports. Accordingly, how children experienced and felt affected by growing up with a lone mother in the 20th and 21st centuries may be different from those a couple decades ago due to women's gaining their social and economic stability through work ability and responsibility.

A finding in the previous studies (Sorensen 1994; Manning and Lamb 2003; Amato and Cheadle 2005), arguing that children who were raised in one-parent

households are more likely to experience many undesirable effects compared to children raised in two-parent families, is not completely validated in this study. The family composition perspective, tending to compare the consequences of living within two types of family structures in divorced and single-parent families, compared with married families, overlooked complex family dynamics. For example, a good parent-child relationship and high level of parent-child communication may generate positive consequences in a child's development and adjustment.

Parenting styles of discipline have influences on what kind of adult children will become. The relationship between parents and the interactions between parents and children may also have impacts on each family member, such as personal characteristics, and individual actions regarding other members of the family. Because parenting is crucial to a child's development, it is important to look at how lone mothers provide discipline, love, support, and guidance to create a healthy child. This study demonstrates the effects parenting styles have on children's education and behavioral problems.

Influence of Parenting on Academic Outcome for Children

Family arrangement is not absolutely found to be the factor impacting children's school performance and the level of academic achievement in this study. Zill et al. (1993) statement, arguing that children of single-parent families are likely to be withdrawn, inattentive, and to put in less work effort, which result in weakening their academic progress and are likely to drop out of school, was not substantiated in this study. The data showed none of the children from single-mother families dropped out of school. All pursued a college's degree after finishing high school and those who attended college

were able to receive at least a bachelor's degree. This study shows that parental expectations of education, parental emphasis on education as well as money saved for a child's education, and parental involvement are more essential for school performance and the level of academic achievement among children in single-mother families.

Unlike Astone and McLanahan's (1991) claim, that single-mothers do not necessarily have lower educational expectations for their children. Parental involvement and supervision are crucial for the education of children in that, regardless of gender of a child, parental expectations about education influences a child's ambition regarding academic attainment. Most single-mothers exerted greater control over their children's school performance. They were likely to use firm and consistent strategies for study control rather than punitive strategies. Using rewards to motivate children's hard work at school by promising goodies to children or praising them for the good grades seemed to be useful. Although, the use of rewards could produce temporary motivation, but over the long run children realized the importance of education and it motivated them to pursue a higher education.

According to the perspectives of single-mothers in the study, all rated their children's school performance from average to fairly decent and expected their child to attend college. Their children who finished high school attained a college's degree. Whereas, adult children in the study reported their parents expected them to attend college and all received at least a bachelor's degree; except one who is still in college. Neither single-mother nor adult children reported parental divorce or separation had an effect on school dropouts. Some behavioral problems in school such as skipping class,

fighting with peers, and arguing with teachers moderately occurred, but it did not evidently affect their schoolwork.

In addition to the impact of financial resources on the performance of children in school, this study suggests that family formation and single parenting are not always interrelated with the education of children. Rather, parents' involvement, expectation, and emphasis on education contribute and encourage their children to achieve an academic success. Although single-mothers in the study had different academic backgrounds, ranging from a grade school education to college degrees, they wanted their children to receive a higher education than they had. According to all participants' perspectives, having a good education can provide the foundation for a youth's future. In today's society, where competition is so stiff, requiring at least a bachelor's degree is the elementary standard the single-mothers expect their children to achieve. The fact that education is a path to landing a good-paying job and to be able to live in a decent lifestyle, then the children would attempt to get the best education they could.

A primary concern of the middle class is a secured well-paying job, which could provide a decent lifestyle. As discussed in chapter two, the Labor Force Survey (2005) showed the differential wages paid individuals earn according to their education. The average monthly wage for individuals who earn an education beyond their secondary education is more than four times larger than the average monthly wage of individuals with primary or less years of education and three times larger than those with secondary education (see Table 2). Hence the key element in creating an opportunity for a good well-paying job and for a successful future is the level education. Although education

may escalate the expenditures, most single-mothers regard education as an investment in human capital.

Monitoring and Disciplining Prevent Behavioral Problems

Single-mothers, tended to either use an authoritarian style of parenting, through which they exercised high demands but were not responsive to their children, or an uninvolved style of parenting, in which they had little communication with their children and detached from the children's life, while they were coping with a feeling of disappointment in their spouse and a failure of marriage. My findings contradict Grych and Fincham (1992), who argue that lone mothers are likely to exercise their control and become coercive over their children because they try to be effective disciplinarians and to be responsive to their children's needs while dealing with the problems of tasks overload and stress from handling tasks without a partner's assistance.

This study suggests that family arrangement is not entirely associated with children's negative behaviors, but parenting practices. The result shown in this study opposed to Flood-Page et al. (2000) and Kiernan (1997) finding, arguing that because of a reduced level of parental supervision, teenagers living without their biological fathers are likely to be persistent offenders and likely to become teenage parents. Single-mothers and adult children in this study did not report troubles associated with behavioral problems, regarding legal difficulties which include involvement with illegal drugs use and committing serious crimes i.e., murder or theft. The study suggests that behavioral problems are not always associated with single parenting and negative behaviors can be prevented if parents employ good strategies to teach children to avoid such behaviors. For

example, strategies that single-mothers usually use include emphasizing the downsides and risks of drugs and involvement in illegal activities, monitoring children's behaviors, and setting a curfew for them.

Supporting findings of Ary et al. (1999), Barber (1992), and Frick (1993), parental supervision is linked to adolescent behavior, in that parents who control their children through supervision and monitoring restrict their opportunities to engage in risky behavior. To help children learn to control their behavior and act according to what is right or wrong, a good use of disciplinary techniques was important. This study supports Baumrind's (1991) claim, stating that moderate levels of parental control are thought to be protective against harmful and behavioral problems among adolescents. Three kinds of discipline that families in the study thought were effective techniques that could keep children out of troubles while growing up include punishing, rewarding, and teaching a lesson.

Single-mothers reported they often used physical punishment, such as spanking, and verbal punishment, such as shaming and yelling, when their children misbehaved or broke a rule. The physical punishment was more used when the children were little and was likely to discontinue when they grew up. Still, single-mothers continued to use verbal punishment, such as complaining and nagging to enforce rules around the house such as making beds, cleaning the house, washing dishes, not being outside at night, etc.

Growing up in a single-mother family did not mean that the children would have to miss out on anything. In order not to make the children feel different because their mother and father were living apart, families in the study showed that single-mothers

were apt to supply everything they could, but with an appropriate reason. For example, single-mothers rewarded their children for good grades by giving things they wished for such as toys and comic books. Praising and giving a word of encouragement were also used to make children aware of what they did well and encourage them to continue doing good things, especially working hard at school to get good grades and maintaining good behaviors.

Along with punishing and rewarding techniques, teaching was another vital practice single-mothers perceived that it could prevent children from developing behavioral problems and provide some positive effects on children. Staying away from illegal activities, such as using drugs and committing crime were the most important things that single-mothers emphasized. Moreover, children were often taught to be strong, independent, and reliable as they grew up without the father around. It was stressed that if they worked hard, they could succeed through many struggles and hard times.

According to the emotional view and the parental view, this study demonstrates a similar finding to Saunders (1994) and Johnson et al. (1996) in that children who witness violence can experience serious emotional difficulties, because they often lived in anxiety and fear of the next violence to arise. Children of those families, more likely in boys than girls, who reported there were high conflicts between the parents were more likely to have arguments with parents, disobey, become aggressive, and saw violence as a way of dealing with conflict in human relationships. Running away from home or from family problems were not reported in the study by either single-mothers or adult children.

Single-mothers who took more than three years to recover from their marital disruption tended to experience more psychological problems with their children, especially if the children were in preschool years. On the other hand, parental divorce/separation was less likely to have effects on emotional well-being of children if it occurred when the children were in their childhood years or in adolescent years and if parenting styles of care-giving were sound. Older children tended to require less time from the mothers and to be more understanding about the family transition than younger children. Maturity made it easier for older children to comprehend the circumstances and be able to adjust to a new family arrangement.

This study also demonstrates that the single-mothers who were struggling with their own emotions while ignoring their children's experienced more problems with the emotional development of their children. Those children appeared to be isolated, quiet, unhappy, and depressed. Those symptoms were a wake-up call for the mothers to realize that their crisis could produce some psychological problems for their children. Although those children were treated either by consulting a therapist or by mothers changing their style of parenting, to some extent they still carried dealt with difficulties such as being distant, quiet, and having difficulty making good relationships with others. In contrast, single-mothers who struggled after divorce, but were able to suppress and manage their depressing emotions, did not report any emotional symptoms in children.

However, growing up with a lone mother does not always negatively affect children's behaviors. What is more important than the family formation is the relationship between parents and children. This study supports an argument, stating that parental warmth and support are thought to positively influence emotional well-being

(Conger et al. 1993; Kurdek and Fine 1994). Single-mothers and adult children in the study reported they had a fairly good to decent parent-child relationship. Providing warmth, support, as well as moderate levels of parental control is found to be protective against harmful behaviors.

By watching and being guided by the mothers, adolescences, both boys and girls, emerged out of single-headed households as remarkably strong adults. Although, young adults, who were raised in a single-mother environment, had to deal with disappointments quite early in life, they tended to be better prepared to handle conflicts. More specifically, many older children who carried far more responsibility of looking out for and taking care of their younger siblings became concerned, responsive, and caring as adults. Many young adults learned to deal with the increased responsibilities and challenges that they encountered within their families and then developed considerate and affectionate ties with their mothers.

When it came to relationship, both single-mothers and adult children in the study viewed that an extramarital affair was an emotionally painful, a crucial betrayal, and probably the most damaging thing that could happen to a marriage. Divorced or separated single-mothers impacted by infidelity did not take time in deciding to leave their spouses as a result the recovery period after separation seemed to be prolonged. This is because those who experienced such betrayal could not put behind the negative emotions and they thought they could not rebuild trust in their spouse. They found themselves experiencing anger they didn't know they were capable of. On the other hand, those who divorced or separated as a result of other circumstances were more likely to feel relief when they let go of their spouse.

Single-mothers often taught their children to have priorities such as education and jobs rather than jumping into relationships too fast. Most single-mothers attempted to teach their children to respect their father and not to convince them to hate him. However, they were likely to use the father as an example of a bad role model of men that girls should be aware of and that boys should not turn out to be. At the same time, single-mothers desired their children's love relationships to be unlike their own. Both the single-mothers and the adult children perceived that a repeating situation of having a family without a mate was not desirable. An intact or two-parent family was an ideal family the single-mothers wished for their children to have in their future. So did the adult children wish for their own future family. Though, if divorce ever happened in the children's generation, it would still be acceptable.

There have been many cases where children of single-mother families turned out to become good citizens and turned an extremely adverse environment into a positive one to have productive lives. Grown up children reported positive feelings and less painful memories of household transitions if they were given some chance to hear the explanation of the impending divorce. Some who witnessed the whole process of their parental divorce understood the circumstances without any explanation of why the divorce was occurring. Many consequently learned to become mature at a faster rate and had greater responsibility.

Although some single-mothers may feel as if they had little control over their lives following divorce, there was not enough evidence illustrating that it had something to do with the child's behavioral problems. The age of a child when parents divorced had nothing to do with single parenting. Considerably, the mother-child relationship and the

disciplining styles while they were growing were repeatedly linked to the children's behavior. Therefore, parental divorce/separation is not a direct factor that has effects on children's outcomes. Rather, well intentioned parenting with caring, loving, and securing that children were brought up is a crucial issue that relates to the outcome of children.

Social Supports

Divorce or separation presents family members with changes and challenges, such as a change in economic circumstance and a change in family formation. In the immediate aftermath of a parental divorce and separation, single-mothers and children may experience emotional distress. Some may show severe adjustment difficulties in the early following divorce and display anger, resentment, and anxiety, resulting from the confusion of changing relationships in the family and shifts in their life situation. While my study finds that family structure is not exclusively the factor indicating negative outcomes for children, as discussed in the previous section, it is important to look at why some children were negatively impacted by these transitions. Although single-mother families in this study considered financial resources, parenting, and parental involvement to be the most important factors associated with the outcomes and well-being of children, family structure did not have considerable effects on children if financial and emotional resources were sufficiently allocated within the families.

Divorce and separation often result in a loss of contact with one parent. With this loss, children also lose the knowledge, skills, emotional and financial resources of that parent. In order to replace those losses, single-mother families in this study viewed that social supports were most influential in establishing functional recovery in single-mother

families. As mothers and fathers are important resources for children, providing economic support, emotional support, and practical assistance as well as serve as role models for their children (Kelly and Emery 2003), children and single-mothers may benefit from the presence of extended family members contributing to helping them to relieve family stress and to promote the adjustment of children in divorced or separated families. These social supports are associated with economic, childcare, and emotional support following divorce to promote well-being in children.

Although there has been a change in the Thai family structure; a decrease in the size of household and a change in the family pattern from an extended family to a nuclear family, extended kin is always considered to be the first resort that people would turn to when they struggle. Kin assistance is often the preferred choice for single-mother providers in Thai culture. Trust and reliability emerge as key motivations for mothers' choices. Kin assistance to single-mothers was influential in preventing negative impacts of the parents' separation on children. Although there has been a decrease in the size of household in the twentieth century, the role of family kin, interacting with each other in the family and being supportive to family members are still very important. The extended kin groups in Bangkok retain the characteristic of important supportive lineages that not only share whatever resources they have to help single-mother families in to adjust financially, but help single-mothers in raising and instructing their children.

The data in this study show that divorced mothers, both those who had job and those who did not work, resorted to their maternal kin, some to paternal kin, for money support and other types of in-kind assistance such as childcare, emotional support, and shelter. Grandparents and siblings were most likely to be accommodating and played a

role of protecting children of single-mothers from the harmful effects of parental divorce. Social support and assistance from extended kin to single-mother families were found to be superior over assistance from other institutions such as government agencies or friends for two reasons. First, there are no established norms outlining the way and the degree of obligation within Thai culture that there is an obligation to return aid after receiving it. Single-mothers indeed relied on kin for assistance to get by and that in accepting this help, they carried on within the concept of reciprocity, in which family members hold to a norm of return in what could be defined as a balanced reciprocity of goods and services.

Second, this study finds that although the mother has the right to demand alimony from the father if the divorce was caused by the father alone, for example, family violence, physical assault towards the mother, or sexual infidelities by the father, many single-mothers found the court process was prolonged and complicated. Many mothers did not hesitate to walk out of unpleasant marriage and to become financially disengaged from spouses. Mothers, both who were employed and unemployed, would rather depend on themselves or their natal kin for assistance than going through an extended procedure through the legal system.

According to the family composition perspective, to distinguish between the term of household and family in order to analyze family transitions and to examine family structure in relation to the outcome on child's well-being, I found that when the definition of household and family were intermixed in which family refers to multiple households and the definition of family members extended to include grandparents, relatives, in-laws, and grandchildren, single-mother families were less likely to feel overwhelmed and to be negatively affected by divorce or separation. On the other hand, when family refers to a

group that consists of parents and their children only, single-mother families tended to feel anxious following divorce or separation. This is due to the fact that single-mother families can rely on other kin for support in getting on with their lives after divorce or separation.

Analyzing the consequences for single-mother families, family composition is not the only factor that indicates the outcomes for children. While previous research (McLanahan and Sandefure 1994; Amato and Keith 1991) argue that a loss of a close connection with a nonresidential parent has results in lower levels of emotional, educational and economic support and children may often experience lower levels of well-being, my study demonstrates that the loss of such social capital from one parent can be substituted by the residential mothers and other extended kin. Single-mothers and children more or less obtained some social support from their kin following divorce or separation. Those who had a close connection or maintained ties with extended kin both during marriage and after divorce were likely to obtain higher levels of supports.

Moreover, this study suggests that despite the difficult situations single-mother families confront, children are not necessarily predisposed to lower levels of education and to associations with behavioral problems. Family composition transitions appear have varied impacts, depending on how families can cope and organize resources—economic, emotional, and psychological assets in order to respond to crises. This section discusses that kinship ties yield variable resources for single women in transition, in the areas of financial support, emotional support, and childcare assistance.

Financial Support from Kin as a Safety Net for Children's Education

Most single-mothers in the samples were sole custodial mothers who paid for child support during growing-up years. The research finding supports McLanahan and Sandefur's (1994) argument, stating that when biological parents do not live in the same household with the children, they lose a close connection and less likely to feel financially responsible for their children. Families in the study reported either a lack of financial help from separated fathers or insufficient financial support from them. Some reported the fathers offered only partial financial support for their children, such as occasional pocket money for children when visiting. In some cases, financial support from the father was reduced and eventually withdrawn following divorce. A lack of fathers' contribution to payments of child support were recognized regardless of the father's income and standard of living after divorce of the fathers, even when the fathers' financial circumstances were substantially greater than mothers'.

Even if a lack of financial help from separated fathers or insufficient financial support from them, the research reported here has shown that economic circumstances of the households post-divorce did not interrupt school performance of children and ability to pay for children's education did not appear to have negative effects on children's education. Single-mother families in the study perceived that financial resources was one of the most influential factors needed in raising children and especially in providing education to them, yet, they did not feel that financial conditions following divorce had much effect on children's school performance and their academic achievements. A claim that single-parent families produce negative outcomes on the well-being of children, particularly on their education because of reduced economic resources occurring after

divorce (Amato 1993; Ham 2003) somewhat ignores the truth that financial resources can be replaced by others such as kin. All adult children in the study attained a college education and single-mothers did not report their children repeating grades or failing the tests.

The findings show that an important coping strategy for many families struggling to make ends meet was to turning to kin networks. Social supports from kin played a crucial role in the process of economic adjustment for the recently separated mother and accordingly on children's education either by providing financial resources or offering childcare assistance to the families. Financial support from extended kin to single-mother families ranged from lending money, giving money, and offering some financial aid, principally for education. Whereas, providing daycare assistance allowed working mothers to balance their career, household chores, and children. When childcare was arranged by trustful kin, mothers were able to work in order to earn financial support for their family livelihood and children's education.

Extended family members, particularly maternal kin, were the first resort that many single-mothers families turned to. Grandparents on both maternal and paternal sides were most likely to voluntarily contribute to the children's academic expenses and tuitions. With financial help from kin, single-mothers found relief from financial tension without assistance from a spouse. All single-mothers were able to afford the same quality of school for their children. Adult children in the study also benefited from financial help from kin. All were able to continue their education in the same quality of school and maintain their educational performance. Even though some of those who considered family structure and financial resources while growing with a lone mother were

negatively related to their academic achievement and some could not afford to hire a tutor to improve their school performance or to pursue a higher education, they were able to achieve a college degree.

Financial circumstances after divorce is an important factor that relates to academic outcomes for children in single-mother families. Single-mothers in the study viewed that family composition and financial conditions after divorce did not have much effect on children's education. Being self-supportive, managing money well, and obtaining kin financial support were the key factors that helped single-mother families to maintain the quality of living and produced positive outcomes for their children's education. On the other hand, adult children in the study perceived that economic circumstances after divorce produced some negative outcomes for education. Although they did not find that financial circumstances directly affected their school performance after divorce, when they compared their post-divorce grades with their pre-divorce grades, they felt they would have performed better with more resources.

Kin Support and Emotional Coping to Reduce Negative Impacts on Behaviors

Different people took different amounts of time to go through the process of battling with the hurt feelings and emotions and expressing their grief with different types of emotion after separation and divorce. Those emotions include loneliness, sadness, anger, misery, shame, disappointment, fear, and devastation. The amount of time single-mothers in this study spent on mourning depended on their personalities and the nature of the loss. Those whose marriages where infidelity and betrayal played a role took a longer time to recover than those who chose to leave their marriage due for other reasons such as

irreconcilable differences and a lack of a father figure for their children. Once they reconciled their emotions and began to heal they could move on with their lives.

Single-mothers who have gone through an unpleasant marriage and who needed to separate from their spouse often experienced emotional stress after divorce. Particularly, the mothers whose spouse walked away and left them to deal with some emotions of being left behind and a large number of responsibilities, including child-rearing, bills paying, and doing chores. Whereas, in the immediate aftermath of a parental divorce or separation, those young people who reported watching their mothers grieving their pain from the divorce were more likely to have feelings of loss and regret as well. Although some were not overwhelmed and were not significantly impaired following their parents' divorce, painful memories were still carried on.

The finding did not have much evidence to show that emotional deprivation of children following parents' divorce affected their behaviors. Children of single-mother families in the study did not demonstrate problematic behaviors or delinquency with regard to any of the three perspectives, including parental view, emotional view, and legal view. An explanation of this result was that single-mothers tended to reach out and ask for help from others in order to be able to move forward after divorce or separation. Single-mothers sought out their extended kin, including grandparents, siblings, and relatives for salvaging their emotions. Most single-mothers found that their suffering was somewhat decreased when they were able to share their upset sentiments with a considerate listener. Trusted family has proved to be the most helpful for grieving single-mothers to vent their hurt emotions as well as offer comforting advice. The better they were able to master their emotions, the greater their capacity to cope with stress and focus

on important priorities particularly taking care of children. This could prevent a risk for behavioral problems in children.

Extended families are important to the lives of individuals, both single-mothers and children. Extended family was not only obliging in relieving stress of the single-mothers, they were beneficial for children's adjustment in their life situation and a shift in family. In the family that grandparents and relatives offered childcare while single-mothers were going to work, the single-mothers would have a great sense of comfort that their kin could watch their children because they knew they loved and cared for their children and would take care of them to the best of their ability. Young adults who were cared by the older kin felt they had a safety net and felt secured even though they did not have their fathers around. Connections with male kin in children's lives especially compensated for the unavailable father by providing surrogate father figures. These male kin, who could serve as an addition or replacement for the biological father and played a significant and ongoing role in the day-to-day lives of children. Adult children in the study who often interacted with their kin and had good relationships with relatives reported they did not feel abandoned or lost because of their father's absence.

Parental divorce may play a negative role in the formation of attitudes toward marriage among children. They were likely to feel that relationships did not last. However, watching their kin, having a good marriage could build some hope and trust in marriage and in their future family. At the same time, some negative attitudes about marriage and relationships that might come from witnessing the failure of their parental marriage, for example, a fear of intimacy and committed relationship, a fear of rejection, a loss of trust in marriage, and a concern of family dissolution were abated. Children of

divorced parents were able to understand the importance of being in a relationship. Most were emotionally attached to the family members and made their family their priority.

In the final chapter, I will discuss the conclusions, contributions, and limitations of this study. Implications for future research and for policy will be also presented in the final chapter.

CHAPTER 9

SUMMARY

Conclusions

The aim of this study was to examine the factors that have impacts on the well-being of children, growing up in single-mother families in Bangkok, Thailand. While there was a concern driven by cultural assumptions and previous studies, proposing children were better off in the traditional two-parent families, the evidence in this study illuminated that children growing up in single-parent families did not necessarily develop an unhealthy sense of well-being. Risk of problems for children was not specifically attributable to single-parent status. Factors that were found to influence the well-being of children of single-mother families, according to the perspectives of single-mothers and adult children of single-mother families in the study include financial resources, parenting styles of discipline, and extended kin supports.

Economics played a significant role in the well-being of children; however, it could not be concluded that it played a significant role in the risk for negative outcomes, such as poorer school performance, lower educational attainment, and involvement with substance abuse, in children raised by a single-mother. The belief that there was a risk for negative outcomes in children because of a loss in economic resources after divorce and a lack of father's involvement in a child's life had persisted in Thai society. But as indicated from the study results it cannot be assumed that every child raised by a lone mother is going to have difficulties and develop an unhealthy sense of well-being. The

study indicates that sources of economic and parenting support to promote healthy well-being in children can basically be derived from the mother herself and from extended kin.

The study suggests that family structure itself does not directly affect children's education. Rather, the financial resources that single-mothers can afford for their education plays a vital role. Financial difficulty was by far the basic factor that was responsible for the problems that many single-mothers and their children faced in single-parent families. Only one parent, working and contributing to family expenses often changed financial circumstances of the family. Having a permanent job and being able to manage with payments were the approaches that most single-mothers employed to ameliorate the effects of poverty and that could prevent a negative effect on children's education due to a lack of financial resources. Although school performance and academic attainment were not found to be affected by the loss of the father, according to the perspectives of both single-mothers and adult children, to some extent, some adult children considered they would be able to attain a higher education if their fathers financially contributed to their lives. Hence, it is important to note that a devotion to children's education, such as investing money in good schools, hiring a tutors to strengthen their school performances, and encouraging them to improve their school performance are crucial factors that influence positive outcomes for children's education.

Parenting and disciplining were also associated with children's education and behavioral problems. Parenting styles, practiced in families from the study that fell in a mix of authoritative and permissive styles of parenting played a crucial role in positive outcomes for children. Going by the academic attainment of the children of single-mother families and the perceptions of school performances after the divorce, family

arrangements and parents' divorce did not have great impacts on children's education. All single-mothers and adult children in the family did not report a change in school performances; some tended to perform moderately well in school. All adult children of the single-mother families went to college or were attending a college. This is because of most single-mothers; some were well-resourced intellectually and some had attained college degrees, placed an emphasis on the significance of education and expected them to achieve a college degree.

Behavioral problems, measured by participants' perception of parental view (i.e. disobedience, using violence with family members, destroying property, etc.), emotional view (i.e. involving aggression toward others), and legal view (i.e. committing serious crimes such as murder, theft, illegal drug use, etc.) were not found in children of single-mother families in this study. This study suggests that children of single-mother families did well or did not end up with struggles because their mothers did well with behavioral management. In addition to an expectation of attaining higher education for children, mothers endeavored to monitor their children's behavior and set rules for conduct that discouraged risky behaviors.

Additionally, this study found that extended kin was an important factor that influenced the well-being of children of single-mother families. The extended family and grandparents in particular played an important role in supporting many single-mother families in Thailand, financially, emotionally, and practically in child rearing. Childcare is one of the most difficult obstacles that single-mothers struggle to provide for their families through paid employment. Single-mothers are likely to have strong preferences for kin care and rely on extended kin although there is a new institution of childcare by

non-relatives such as day-care centers available. With the support from extended kin, such as their parents and siblings, they will have less responsibility for providing suitable day care for their children. Stress and exhaustion as a consequence of carrying the burden of childcare when the mother works were relieved.

While lack of time with their mothers was a key feature of the lives of the children living in single-parent families, extended kin essentially accommodated single-mothers when they had to go to work. The quality time shared between children and mothers was substituted by their natal kin when the mothers were not available. Single-mothers found that it is also useful to bring male kin, such as uncles or grandfathers into their children's lives. Substituting the father with the male kin can be valuable for the children to grow up with a vision of a good male role model. Hence, this study suggests that a lack of a biological father in a house and a lack of time the mothers share with their children are not essentially associated with negative outcomes for children's education and behaviors. What is important is how cordial and pleasant the environment children are brought up in whether or not they are reared by their biological parents.

Family decision making theory appropriately illustrates the decision about whether to stay married or to exit the marriage is often guided by the mother's economic status. However, it ignores those situations where adults within families have conflicting preferences that may influence the decision-making. Likewise, the family composition perspective, claiming that the decision of parents to live apart destroys the social capital that might have been available to children whose parents live together is not effectively applicable to explain the financial circumstances experienced by the single-mother families in this study. Rather, single-mothers in this study can replace the loss of financial

support from one biological absent parent by being employed in the labor market and obtaining social supports from their kin. While the family composition perspective tends to compare the consequences of living in two types of family structure on family members; in divorced and single-parent families, compared with married families, it overlooks the family dynamic, for example, a good parent-child relationship and high level of parent-child communication that may generate positive consequences in a child's development and adjustment.

The life course perspective, claiming that history shapes an individual's life experience (Elder 1985, 1994) is important in explaining that a choice to divorce or separate has become the usual solutions for unhappy marriages for couples in this century. How children experienced and felt growing up with a lone mother in this decades may be different from those in past decades due to women's gaining their social trust through work ability and responsibility. Thus, the argument that children who are raised in one-parent households are more likely to experience many undesirable effects compared to children raised in two-parent families, may not be hold as much legitimacy in Thai society in the twenty first century.

The important implication, arising from this study is that although families of a lone parent are becoming increasingly visible in Thai society, it is critical for people not to assume that single-parent status predicts negative consequences for the well-being of children in such families . The qualitative method undertaken in this study provides a rich source to illustrate that the resident parent has a huge effect on children of single-parent families. What was considerable was not whether children were raised by one or two parents. Rather, it was how much support and supervision the children were getting from

the existing parent. Provisions such as financial resources invested in children's education and devotion in rearing and disciplining them were essential. It is important to note that the way single-parent families negatively affect the well-being of children originates through economic pressures that often constrain or prevent parent involvement in children's lives. When financial conditions are secured and single-parents are able to make efforts to support their children's education and discipline their children, children are protected from the risk of negative outcomes.

Contributions of This Study

This study describes what single-mother families actually look like through the eyes of middle class single-mothers and adult children of single-mother families in Bangkok, Thailand. While many studies (Downey 1994; Sorensen 1994; Chooto et al. 2001; Manning and Lamb 2003; King 2003; Amato and Cheadle 2005; Ruangkanchanasetrr et al. 2005) tend to relate some negative outcomes of children to the structure of the family, the in-depth description of the lived experiences of participants in this study allows us to better understand single-mother families through both the single-mother's perspective and the adult child's perspective.

This study is distinctive from previous studies on single-parent families because it affords readers with the opportunity to closely view the social and educational experiences of children of single-mother families and examines the lived experiences from both single-mothers' perspectives and adult children's perspectives. Family role differences can cause different opinions about hardships occurring in a family. The data reported in this study illuminate the difference between single-mothers and daughters or

sons making sense and trying to deal with the family situation. Understanding both the role of a mother and the role of the daughter or the son can give a broader perspective to understanding the dynamics of one-parent households. Understanding the difference between the mothers and the daughters or sons is necessary for learning the about the respective cultural contexts of the two generations.

This study encourages reconsideration of the biases and assumptions inherent in assertions that children raised by a single parent presage difficulties that are not anticipated with children raised in two-parent families. Family structure does not have the singular impact on child well-being conventionally asserted. Rather, the financial stability, approaches to parenting, and social supports developed by the single-parent are critical determining factors. A loss of one earner may lead to a lack of financial resources to support the academic performance of children and a lack of time to monitor children's behavior, which may lead to other problems for children for a time during the transition from marriage to single-parent status. However, parental supports through money, attention, and involvement in children's lives ultimately act as protective factors countering some of the risks associated with single-parent status.

Data about families, culture, and social values was developed and challenged through studying family experiences and everyday practices. This study also provides further evidence that might be useful for developing policies and practices for single-parent families. Understanding views of single-mothers and children of single-mother families may help policy makers to be cautious about taking narrow approaches to the challenges faced by single-parent households and the stigmas that are often applied to them. Policy makers may use the results of this study to better understand the needs of

single-parent families and to consider the roles and significance of extended families, networks, and social supports in order to better provide the diverse for them.

Furthermore, this study is beneficial for single-parent families in supporting and empowering. By illuminating the voices of single-parents and children of single-parent families in an urban city, this qualitative study seeks to provide the motivation for continued research on the lives of children with a lone parent. Beyond increasing comprehending of this topic, this study aims to encourage public awareness about the lived experiences of single-parent families that policy makers may take into account (e.g., the need for parents to have employment, financial stability and the need of children for more quality time with their parents).

Limitations

The current study is limited to the homogeneity of the population from which the participants were selected. The majority of the participants held the same demographic and socio-economic status that of middle class, self-identified Thai families. If data had been collected on participants from various socio-economic classes and other ethnic groups, there might have been more variance among the participants on how they experience economic difficulties in relation to their standards of living and financial stability. Emphasis on education, expectations of children, and styles in which parents instruct and control a child's behavior commonly associated with the middle class families might be different for those from other classes and ethnic backgrounds.

Some may express concern that this study, relying on self-reports from single-mothers and adult children who grew up with a single-mother, does not capture

generalized perspectives of single-father families. Further, some may express concern that single-mother families caused by a divorce were included in the study. It could be hypothesized that a bad separation might negatively affect accurate perceptions of participants. I would argue that while this might be possible, we should not dismiss the alternate possibility that divorced single-fathers, reporting on single-father families may be motivated to underreport the explicit facts, occurring in the family as well. I analyze their narrated stories as accounts of family experiences without a father's involvement in children's lives in order to find out the important factors needed for children, rather than precise realities that caused single-mother families.

The age of adult children when their parents divorced was another limitation of this study. Adult children who experienced their parents' divorce before they entered school had a hard time recalling what family situations were like during their parents' marriage. Many times they did not see living with a lone mother as having had much impact on their lives because they never experienced living with two parents. They did not have a memory of a time when their parents lived together to compare with family conditions without a father.

Implications for Practice and Policy

This study suggests that we cannot assume that every child raised by a single-parent is going to have difficulties. Although growing up with one parent may place children at greater risk of problems, such as doing poorly in school, dropping out of school, or becoming involved with risky behaviors, this study documents that there are many other factors to consider. The evidence in this study shows a decline in financial

resources of a lone parent after divorce or separation and a lack of time for single-parents to monitor their children's behavior and discipline them are the major reasons that create some negative outcomes for children. This suggests that single-parents may require assistance such as financial assistance and child care assistance.

Financial resources become a vital concern for single-parent families, particularly mother headed families. Many single-mothers face the escalating cost of raising children without child support from the separated fathers. Often time, noncustodial parents perceive child support as an optional payment. The implication for policy in this regard is to establish policy that would guarantee child support payments to custodial parents and ensure that all children are financially supported by both parents.

Another implication for practice is to reinforce the notion of reciprocal relationships within families. The availabilities of social supports from family and friends are reliable resources that many single-parents depend on when they have to deal with both home and work responsibilities. This study suggests that high levels of obtaining social support allow single-mothers to maintain a positive sense of well-being, financially, physically, and emotionally.

This study also supports the importance for social work professionals and formal social support networks to develop programs to facilitate emotional support for single-parents. Support groups focusing on sharing experiences and strengths might assist single-parents in reshaping their own views on their parenting. The challenge for the social work practitioner is to expand social support systems available to all families from all social classes and to those in all districts throughout the country.

A further implication of this study is to keep in mind that a claim assuming that children are better off in two-parent families may be driven by cultural assumptions. Public policy needs to identify and support the strengths of every type of family, particularly single-parent families. It is important to focus less on comparing children from one-parent families with those from two-parent families and not label single-parent families “broken homes.” At the same time, the school system needs to place an emphasis on educating youths to be economically self-supportive and good family members.

Implication for Future Research

In addition to the relationship between the three factors--economic stability, parenting, and social supports and the well-being of children in single-mother families, there were some other factors covertly narrated by single-mothers and adult children, which will be interesting and deserve further exploration. Perhaps, the impact of financial stability, parenting, and social supports are not the only factors upon which one should focus. Future research might look into other contributed factors that may account for outcomes of children of single-parent families in Thailand, such as children in single-parent families may develop emotional problems due to conflicts between parents. A feeling of being overwhelmed by single-parents in having to do everything by themselves may account for negative impacts on children.

Another factor to consider when looking at impact of single-parent families on children is the father’s involvement in children’s lives after departing from the family. It would be interesting to explore the benefits of the involvement of fathers in children’s lives. It would also be beneficial for researchers to examine whether the father should

stay emotionally connected with the children even if he cannot be physically present at all times and whether a bad father figure is better than no father at all.

In addition to further analyses of existing data, future research might expand the scope of this study by expanding the sample with regard to demographic diversity. Subsequent research on single-parent families should seek to expand this sample to include a greater number of single-parent families from lower-income and higher-income groups and other ethnic groups to discern how their perspectives and experiences are similar to or different from those of middle class families. Greater sample diversity could be obtained from single-parent families who do not live in the city to see whether the lifestyles, norms, values, and cultures would account for similar situations that could affect children's well-being.

APPENDIX A
IRB APPROVAL



Office of Research Integrity
IRB, IACUC, RDRC
315 Kinkad Hall
Lexington, KY 40506-0057
859 257-9428
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www.research.uky.edu/ori/

Continuation Expedited Review
Extension Approved

Approval Ends
June 6, 2012

IRB Number
09-0276-P4S

TO: Waruesporn Jiumpanyarach
Sociology
120 East Main Street, Apt. #912
Lexington, KY 40507
PI phone #: (859)420-1057

FROM: Chairperson/Vice Chairperson
Non-medical Institutional Review Board (IRB)

SUBJECT: Approval of Protocol Number 09-0276-P4S

DATE: June 15, 2011

On June 8, 2011, the Non-medical Institutional Review Board approved your protocol entitled:

Single-Parent Families in Bangkok, Thailand: Factors Affecting Well-Being of Children Living in Single-Parent Families

Approval is effective from June 8, 2011 until June 6, 2012 and extends to any consent/assent form, cover letter, and/or phone script. If applicable, attached is the IRB approved consent/assent document(s) to be used when enrolling subjects. [Note, subjects can only be enrolled using consent/assent forms which have a valid "IRB Approval" stamp unless special waiver has been obtained from the IRB.] Prior to the end of this period, you will be sent a Continuation Review Report Form which must be completed and returned to the Office of Research Integrity so that the protocol can be reviewed and approved for the next period.

In implementing the research activities, you are responsible for complying with IRB decisions, conditions and requirements. The research procedures should be implemented as approved in the IRB protocol. It is the principal investigator's responsibility to ensure any changes planned for the research are submitted for review and approval by the IRB prior to implementation. Protocol changes made without prior IRB approval to eliminate apparent hazards to the subject(s) should be reported in writing immediately to the IRB. Furthermore, discontinuing a study or completion of a study is considered a change in the protocol's status and therefore the IRB should be promptly notified in writing.

For information describing investigator responsibilities after obtaining IRB approval, download and read the document "PI Guidance to Responsibilities, Qualifications, Records and Documentation of Human Subjects Research" from the Office of Research Integrity's Guidance and Policy Documents web page [<http://www.research.uky.edu/ori/human/guidance.htm#PIresp>]. Additional information regarding IRB review, federal regulations, and institutional policies may be found through ORI's web site [<http://www.research.uky.edu/ori/>]. If you have questions, need additional information, or would like a paper copy of the above mentioned document, contact the Office of Research Integrity at (859) 257-9428.


Chairperson/Vice Chairperson

APPENDIX B

VERBAL RECRUITMENT SCRIPT

(ENGLISH VERSION)

Verbal Recruitment Script

My name is Waruesporn Jiumpanyarach and I am a doctoral student in the Department of Sociology at the University of Kentucky. I am currently doing my dissertation on “Single-Parent Families in Bangkok, Thailand: Factors Affecting Well-being of Children Living in Single-Parent Families. I am studying how growing up with a single-parent affects adolescents’ well-being and may shape their future. I am now recruiting participants. This research will hopefully lead to a better understanding in the differences in well-being between adolescents of two-parent families and adolescents of single-parent families, the importance of family networks as a support system and eventually be used to find effective ways to deal with the difficulties that may occur in single-parent families.

If you volunteer as a participant in this study, you will be asked to take part in interview session, which will ask you to share your story that your family has experienced regarding your marriage, parenting, and your children. The interview should take approximately 45 to 60 minutes of your time.

The decision to participate or not is entirely up to you.

If you are interested in participating, please contact me at 02-982-9215 or email me at waruesporn@gmail.com. Alternatively, you can leave me your number and I will get in touch with you in a couple of days to schedule an interview. Thank you.

APPENDIX C

VERBAL RECRUITMENT SCRIPT (THAI VERSION)

บทการรับอาสาสมัครผู้เข้าร่วมงานวิจัย

ดิฉัน น.ส. วฤศพร เจียมปัญญาวิช นักศึกษาในระดับปริญญาเอก ที่ University of Kentucky เนื่องจาก ขณะนี้ กำลังทำวิทยานิพนธ์เรื่อง “ครอบครัวเลี้ยงเดี่ยว ในกรุงเทพมหานคร ณ ประเทศไทย: ปัจจัยที่มีผลกระทบต่อความเป็นอยู่ของเด็กที่มาจากครอบครัวเลี้ยงเดี่ยว” จึงต้องการอาสาสมัครเข้าร่วมในงานวิจัย

งานวิจัยนี้มีจุดมุ่งหมายเพื่อศึกษาถึงการเติบโตในครอบครัวเลี้ยงเดี่ยว มีผลอย่างไรต่อความเป็นอยู่ของเด็ก และส่งผลไปยังอนาคตของเด็กได้อย่างไร หวังว่า การทำวิจัยนี้จะสามารถนำไปสู่ความเข้าใจถึงความแตกต่างของความเป็นอยู่ของเด็ก ที่มาจากครอบครัวเลี้ยงเดี่ยว และครอบครัวที่มีทั้งพ่อและแม่, ตะหนักถึงความสำคัญของเครือข่ายครอบครัวซึ่งทำหน้าที่สนับสนุนและให้ความช่วยเหลือต่อครอบครัว และในท้ายที่สุด ผู้วิจัยหวังว่างานวิจัยนี้จะมีประโยชน์ต่อการหาทางช่วยเหลือครอบครัวเลี้ยงเดี่ยวที่ประสบปัญหาอยู่

หากคุณต้องการมีส่วนร่วมในงานวิจัยนี้ด้วยความสมัครใจ, คุณจะต้องเข้าร่วมการสัมภาษณ์ และแบ่งปันเรื่องราวบางส่วนที่เกิดขึ้นในครอบครัว, การเลี้ยงดูบุตรธิดา และเรื่องราวเกี่ยวกับบุตรธิดาของคุณ การสัมภาษณ์จะใช้เวลาประมาณ 45 ถึง 60 นาที

ดิฉันขอยืนยันว่าในงานวิจัยชิ้นนี้ได้ผ่านการตรวจสอบและอนุมัติให้ดำเนินการงานวิจัย จากศูนย์ตรวจสอบงานวิจัยเพื่อการคุ้มครองจริยธรรมในการดำเนินงานวิจัย อย่างไรก็ตาม การเข้าร่วมงานวิจัยนี้ ขึ้นอยู่กับการตัดสินใจของคุณ โดยไม่มีการบังคับใดใดทั้งสิ้น

หากคุณสนใจเข้าร่วมในงานวิจัยชิ้นนี้ กรุณาติดต่อดิฉันที่ 085-688-2888 หรืออีเมลมาที่ waruesporn@gmail.com หรือให้เบอร์ติดต่อไว้ที่ดิฉัน แล้วดิฉันจะติดต่อกลับในอีก 2-3 วันข้างหน้า เพื่อนัดสัมภาษณ์

ขอบคุณค่ะ

APPENDIX D

INFORMED CONSENT AGREEMENT (ENGLISH VERSION)

Consent to Participate in a Research Study

Single-Parent Families in Bangkok, Thailand: Factors Affecting Well-being of Children Living in Single-Parent Families

WHY ARE YOU BEING INVITED TO TAKE PART IN THIS RESEARCH?

You are being invited to take part in a research study about effects of living in a single-parent family on children's well being. You are being invited to take part in this research study because you meet the following criteria:

- a) be a single mother or young adult aged 18 and older who grew up with in a single-parent family OR be a father, a mother, or young adult between 18 to 21 years old of a two-parent family
- b) have been a family member of a single-parent family resulting from divorce or separation OR have been a family member of a two-parent family
- c) currently be living in a single-parent family; a mother headed household or be grown up with a single father or a single mother OR currently be living in a two-parent family; both father and mother headed household or be grown up with two parents
- d) be living in Thailand, specifically Bangkok, Thailand
- e) be willing to take part in the study without any forces

WHO IS DOING THE STUDY?

The person in charge of this study is Waruesporn Jiumpanyarach, Ph.D. Candidate of University of Kentucky Department of Sociology, USA. She is being guided in this research by Rosalind Harris, Ph.D. There may be other people on the research team assisting at different times during the study.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY?

The purposes of this research study are the following:

- a) to examine the effect of living in a single-parent family on children's well being, living in Bangkok, Thailand.
- b) to study the important function of family networks as social support, financial support, and emotional support for single-parent families.
- c) to assess the level of kin support, providing for single-parent families.

By doing this study, we hope to learn about the effects of young adults living in a single-parent family, particularly single-mother families in Bangkok, Thailand where Western cultures have largely influenced people's lifestyle. We also hope to examine the important factors that affect on children of a single-mother family in order to be used as a guideline to develop an existing public policy and/or design an appropriate public policy to assist single-parent families in Thailand.

ARE THERE REASONS WHY YOU SHOULD NOT TAKE PART IN THIS STUDY?

- a) Being a family member of a single-parent family caused by other reasons besides divorce or separation such as death of the other parent, adoption, artificial insemination, etc.
- b) Being under 18 years of age

WHERE IS THE STUDY GOING TO TAKE PLACE AND HOW LONG WILL IT LAST?

The research interview will be conducted at a place of convenience. The interview will take about 45-60 minutes. With your permission, you will be tape-recorded during the interview. If you do not want to be recorded, the researcher will make written notes about the interview.

WHAT WILL YOU BE ASKED TO DO?

If you agree to participate in the study by signing this form, you will be asked to do the following:

- a) Review a transcript of interview for preparation and editing if you feel uncomfortable with the information or you feel the information is inappropriate.
- b) Read the consent form and if interested in participating, sign their name.
- c) Answer a number of questions and discuss about your family life in a single-headed family, including the past experience and the current situation.
- d) Verify and/or clarify the researcher's understanding by reviewing all the answers that the researcher will summarize to you.

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS?

To the best of our knowledge, the things you will be doing have no more risk of harm than you would experience in everyday life.

WILL YOU BENEFIT FROM TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

There is no guarantee that you will get any benefit from taking part in this study. However, some people have learned more about themselves by participating in this study. For example, you might gain a better understanding of your behavior relating to self-esteem, social aspects, emotional health, and family matters. Your willingness to take part, however, may, in the future, help society as a whole better understand this research topic.

DO YOU HAVE TO TAKE PART IN THE STUDY?

If you decide to take part in the study, it should be because you really want to volunteer. You will not lose any benefits or rights you would normally have if you choose not to volunteer. You can stop at any time during the study and still keep the benefits and rights you had before volunteering.

IF YOU DON'T WANT TO TAKE PART IN THE STUDY, ARE THERE OTHER CHOICES?

If you do not want to be in the study, there are no other choices except not to take part in the study.

WHAT WILL IT COST YOU TO PARTICIPATE?

There are no costs associated with the research.

WILL YOU RECEIVE ANY REWARDS FOR TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

You will not receive any rewards or payment for taking part in the study.

WHO WILL SEE THE INFORMATION THAT YOU GIVE?

Your information will be combined with information from other people taking part in the study. When we write about the study to share it with other researchers, we will write about the combined information we have gathered. You will not be personally identified in these written materials. We may publish the results of this study; however, we will keep your name and other identifying information private.

APPENDIX E

INFORMED CONSENT AGREEMENT (THAI VERSION)

แบบยินยอมเข้าร่วมในงานวิจัย

เรื่อง

ครอบครัวเลี้ยงเดี่ยวในกรุงเทพมหานคร ประเทศไทย:

ปัจจัยที่มีผลกระทบต่อความเป็นอยู่ของเด็กที่มาจากครอบครัวเลี้ยงเดี่ยว

การเชิญเข้าร่วมในงานวิจัย

ขอเชิญเข้าร่วมในงานวิจัยโดยการให้สัมภาษณ์เกี่ยวกับ ผลกระทบของการอาศัยอยู่ในครอบครัวเลี้ยงเดี่ยวต่อความเป็นอยู่ของเด็ก สาเหตุในการเชิญเข้าร่วมในงานวิจัยครั้งนี้ มีดังต่อไปนี้

1. ผู้เข้าร่วมเป็น แม่เลี้ยงเดี่ยว, หรือบุตร/ธิดาอายุ 18 ปีขึ้นไป ที่มาจากครอบครัวเลี้ยงเดี่ยว
หรือ
ผู้เข้าร่วมเป็น พ่อ, แม่, บุตรธิดาที่มาจากครอบครัวที่มีทั้งพ่อและแม่
2. ผู้เข้าร่วมเป็นสมาชิกครอบครัวเลี้ยงเดี่ยว ที่เกิดจากการหย่าร้าง หรือ แยกทางกัน
หรือ
ผู้เข้าร่วมเป็นสมาชิกครอบครัวที่มีทั้งพ่อและแม่
3. ผู้เข้าร่วมอาศัยอยู่กับพ่อเลี้ยงเดี่ยว, แม่เลี้ยงเดี่ยว, หรือ เดิบโตมาทั้งพ่อเลี้ยงเดี่ยว หรือ แม่เลี้ยงเดี่ยว
หรือ
ผู้เข้าร่วมอาศัยอยู่กับพ่อและแม่ หรือเดิบโตมาทั้งพ่อและแม่
4. ผู้เข้าร่วมอยู่ในเขตกรุงเทพมหานคร
5. ผู้เข้าร่วมมีความเต็มใจในการเข้าร่วมงานวิจัย

รายชื่อผู้ดำเนินงานวิจัย

ผู้ดำเนินงานวิจัย คือ น.ส. วุฒิสพร เจียมปัญญาธิ์ นักศึกษาปริญญาเอก คณะสังคมศาสตร์ แห่ง University of Kentucky, USA. โดยมีอาจารย์ที่ปรึกษา คือ Rosalind Harris, Ph.D นอกจากนี้ยังมีบุคคลในอีกหลายสาขาที่เกี่ยวข้องให้ความช่วยเหลือในงานวิจัยนี้ด้วย

วัตถุประสงค์ของงานวิจัย

วัตถุประสงค์ของการทำงานวิจัยในครั้งนี้ มีดังต่อไปนี้

1. เพื่อศึกษาผลกระทบของการอาศัยอยู่ในครอบครัวเลี้ยงเดี่ยวที่มีต่อความเป็นอยู่ของเด็ก ที่อยู่ในเขตกรุงเทพมหานคร
2. เพื่อศึกษาความสำคัญของเครือข่ายครอบครัว ที่มีบทบาทในการให้การสนับสนุนทางสังคม ทางการเงิน และทางจิตใจ ต่อครอบครัวเลี้ยงเดี่ยว
3. เพื่อประเมินการให้ความช่วยเหลือจากญาติที่มีต่อครอบครัวเลี้ยงเดี่ยว

ในการทำวิจัยนี้ ผู้ดำเนินงานวิจัย หวังที่จะได้เรียนรู้ ถึงผลกระทบที่มีต่อเด็กที่มาจากครอบครัวเลี้ยงเดี่ยว โดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่ง ครอบครัวแม่เลี้ยงเดี่ยว ที่อาศัยอยู่ในกรุงเทพมหานคร ซึ่งอิทธิพลจากวัฒนธรรมตะวันตกได้มีบทบาทต่อวิถีชีวิต

และเพื่อแจกแจงถึงปัจจัยสำคัญที่มีผลกระทบต่อลูกที่มาจากครอบครัวแม่เลี้ยงเดี่ยว เพื่อเป็นแนวทางในการออกแบบสวัสดิการที่เหมาะสมสำหรับครอบครัวเลี้ยงเดี่ยว ในประเทศไทย

คุณสมบัติของผู้ไม่สามารถเข้าร่วมในงานวิจัย

1. เป็นสมาชิกครอบครัวเลี้ยงเดี่ยวที่มีสาเหตุนอกเหนือจากการหย่าร้าง หรือ แยกทางกัน เช่น การเสียชีวิตของคู่สมรส, การรับเลี้ยงบุตรบุญธรรม, การผสมเทียม เป็นต้น
2. อายุต่ำกว่า 18 ปี

สถานที่ในการทำวิจัยและระยะเวลาในการดำเนินการวิจัย

งานวิจัยนี้จะดำเนินการ ณ สถานที่ตามที่ผู้เข้าร่วมงานและผู้วิจัยได้ตกลงกันตามความสะดวก

การสัมภาษณ์จะใช้เวลา 45-60 นาที โดยประมาณ จะมีการอัดเทปเสียงตลอดการสัมภาษณ์ หากผู้เข้าร่วมงานวิจัยมีความยินยอม มีเช่นนั้น บทสนทนาระหว่างการสัมภาษณ์จะถูกจัดบันทึกแทนการอัดเทปเสียง

สิ่งที่ต้องทำในการเข้าร่วมงานวิจัย

1. อ่านรายการคำถามเพื่อเตรียมตัวในการให้สัมภาษณ์ และอาจแก้ไขคำถาม หากพบคำถามที่ไม่เหมาะสม
2. อ่านแบบยินยอมเข้าร่วมงานวิจัย และลงชื่อในแบบยินยอม หากสนใจและยินดีจะเข้าร่วมงานวิจัย
3. ให้ข้อมูลในการสัมภาษณ์ ตอบคำถามสนทนาและแสดงความคิดเห็น เกี่ยวกับชีวิตครอบครัวซึ่งประกอบด้วย ประสบการณ์ในอดีต และ เหตุการณ์ในปัจจุบัน
4. ตรวจสอบความเข้าใจของผู้วิจัยว่าตรงกับผู้เข้าร่วมงานวิจัยหรือไม่ และ/หรือ อธิบายเพิ่มเติม หากผู้วิจัยมีความเข้าใจคลาดเคลื่อน โดยผู้วิจัยจะสรุปคำตอบทั้งหมด ในตอนท้ายของการสัมภาษณ์

ความเสี่ยงและความลำบากใจที่อาจเกิดขึ้นในการเข้าร่วมงานวิจัย

การเข้าร่วมงานวิจัยนี้ ไม่มี ผลเสียใดๆต่อผู้เข้าร่วมงานวิจัยทั้งสิ้น

ผลประโยชน์จากการเข้าร่วมงานวิจัย

ผู้เข้าร่วมงานวิจัยนี้อาจจะไม่ได้รับผลประโยชน์จากการเข้าร่วมโดยตรง อย่างไรก็ตาม ผู้เข้าร่วมงานวิจัย จะได้เรียนรู้เกี่ยวกับตัวเองมากขึ้น ซึ่งได้แก่ การเข้าใจพฤติกรรมของตัวเองที่มีผลต่อความภาคภูมิใจในตัวเอง, สังคม, สุขภาพจิต และครอบครัว จากการเข้าร่วมงานวิจัยในครั้งนี้ อาจส่งผลไปยังอนาคตในการช่วยให้สังคมได้มีความเข้าใจที่ดีขึ้นเกี่ยวกับครอบครัวเลี้ยงเดี่ยว

ความจำเป็นในการเข้าร่วมงานวิจัย

หากคุณตัดสินใจที่จะเข้าร่วมงานวิจัยนี้ คุณต้องเข้าร่วมด้วยความสมัครใจ คุณจะไม่ต้องสูญเสียผลประโยชน์ใดๆ จากการเป็นอาสาสมัครที่จะเข้าร่วมงานวิจัยนี้ คุณสามารถหยุดการดำเนินการวิจัยได้ทุกเมื่อ ในขณะที่คุณยังคงได้รับผลประโยชน์อื่น ๆ อย่างที่คุณเคยได้รับ

ทางเลือกอื่น ๆ หากไม่ต้องการเข้าร่วมงานวิจัย

หากคุณไม่ประสงค์จะเข้าร่วมงานวิจัย จะไม่มีการดำเนินการสัมภาษณ์ใดๆเกิดขึ้น

ค่าใช้จ่ายในการเข้าร่วมงานวิจัย

ไม่มีค่าใช้จ่ายในการเข้าร่วมงานวิจัย

ผลตอบแทนจากการเข้าร่วมงานวิจัย

ไม่มีค่าตอบแทนใดๆ ในการเข้าร่วมงานวิจัย

ผู้รับรู้ข้อมูลจากผู้เข้าร่วมงานวิจัย

ผลการสัมภาษณ์ของคุณจะถูกนำไปรวมกับผู้เข้าร่วมวิจัยท่านอื่นๆ ซึ่งเมื่อผู้วิจัยจะนำเสนอผลงานกับนักวิจัยท่านอื่นๆ จะนำเสนอข้อมูลในรูปแบบที่ผ่านการสรุปมาแล้ว ซึ่งไม่สามารถระบุถึงตัวบุคคลได้ และหากผู้วิจัยจะตีพิมพ์ผลการวิจัยนี้ ผู้วิจัยจะไม่เปิดเผยชื่อและข้อมูลส่วนตัวของผู้เข้าร่วมงานวิจัย ผู้วิจัยจะเก็บข้อมูลจากการวิจัยทุกอย่างที่สามารถระบุถึงตัวบุคคลได้ตามข้อกำหนด/อนุญาต ตามกฎหมาย อย่างไรก็ตามผู้วิจัยอาจมีความจำเป็นที่จะต้องแสดงข้อมูลบุคคลของผู้ร่วมงานวิจัยแก่ University of Kentucky เพื่อตรวจสอบในเรื่องการบวนการ การทำวิจัย

การสิ้นสุดการเข้าร่วมงานวิจัยก่อนเวลาที่กำหนด

แม้ว่าคุณตัดสินใจเข้าร่วมการสัมภาษณ์ในงานวิจัยนี้ คุณยังคงมีสิทธิ์หยุดการสัมภาษณ์เมื่อใดที่ต้องการ โดยที่ไม่มีผลเสียใดๆต่อคุณทั้งสิ้น ผู้วิจัยอาจหยุดการสัมภาษณ์ หากเห็นว่าคุณไม่สามารถปฏิบัติตามวิธีการดำเนินการวิจัยได้ หรือ หากดำเนินการวิจัยต่อไป อาจมีผลเสียต่อคุณได้

สถานที่ติดต่อหากมีคำถาม, คำแนะนำ, ข้อเกี่ยวข้อง หรือข้อร้องเรียน

หากมีคำถามเกี่ยวกับการดำเนินงานวิจัยนี้ ก่อนตัดสินใจที่จะเข้าร่วมงานวิจัย หรือ มีคำถาม, คำแนะนำ, ข้อเกี่ยวข้อง หรือ ข้อร้องเรียนในภายหลัง เกี่ยวกับงานวิจัย กรุณาติดต่อ ผู้วิจัย: น.ส. วุฒิสพร เขียมปัญญาธิช เบอร์โทรศัพท์ 085-688-2888 หากมีคำถามเกี่ยวกับสิทธิ์ในการเข้าร่วมเป็นอาสาสมัครในงานวิจัยนี้ กรุณาติดต่อ มูลนิธิเครือข่ายครอบครัว เบอร์โทรศัพท์ 0-2954-2346-7 คุณจะได้รับสำเนาแบบยินยอมเข้าร่วมงานวิจัย

ลายเซ็นผู้ตกลงเข้าร่วมงานวิจัย

วันที่

ลายมือชื่อผู้ตกลงเข้าร่วมงานวิจัย

วันที่

ชื่อผู้รับแบบยินยอมเข้าร่วมงานวิจัย

วันที่

APPENDIX F
INITIAL INTERVIEW QUESTIONS
(ENGLISH VERSION)

Question Guide for Interview

Single-Parent Families in Bangkok, Thailand: Factors Affecting Children of Single Mothers

Introduction to the Study and Interview:

The study focuses on the factors affecting single-parent families and children of single-parent families who grew up with a single mother. I chose to study single-parent families because the influences of Western culture are played out in family structure in urban area of Thailand. This circumstance results in an increasing number of single headed household, particularly single headed mothers in Bangkok. I have nine sets of questions regarding to background information, personality of the single-mother, perspective on family issues, reason of divorce/separation, accepting of divorce/separation, single-parenting, factors affecting children of single-parent families, effects of single parent family on children, and the change in family members.

I. Background Information

- A. Pseudonym
- B. Age
- C. Ethnic
- D. Marital status
- E. Age at parental marriage
- F. Age at parental divorce/separation
- G. Age of children at parental divorce/separation
- H. Number of children
- I. Occupation (parents/children)

- J. Education (parents/children)
- K. Range of salary (parents/children)
- L. Number of current family members
- M. Contact number/email

II. Personality of the Single-Mother

- A. How do you describe yourself? (talkative, loud, full of energy, calm, quiet, straightforward, socially active, quiet, optimistic, pessimistic, etc.)
- B. How do you express yourself? (often keep things to yourself, subtle, reserved, share most of the things to others, opened to others, etc.)
- C. How do you approach a problem? (fearless, scared, etc.)
- D. Do you easily get along with people?
- E. Do you socialize with your friends? If yes, how often and what do you usually do?
- F. How do you react when you are criticized or gossiped? (emotionally, physically?)
- G. Do you always make new friends?
- H. How do you deal with someone new or strangers? (friendly, afraid, think positively, think negatively, etc)

III. Perspective on Family Issues

- A. Describe an ideal family? (before/after separation)
- B. What was your image of single -parent family? (before/after separation)
- C. Did the divorce/separation affect your expectation of family in the future? If so, how?

IV. Reason of divorce/separation

- A. Describe characteristics of your family before and after divorce/separation?
 - I. Who was the head of the family?
 - II. Who took care of the children?

- III. Who took care of all expenses?
- IV. How often did the conflicts/arguments/fights occur in the family?
- V. Did the children witness the incident?

- B. What was the reason of divorce/separation?
- C. How long did it take for you to make a decision to divorce/separation?

V. Accepting of divorce/separation

- A. How close are the single-mother and the children?
- B. How did the children know about the divorce/separation?
- C. Have the parents ever talked about family situation or consulted the children before making a decision regarding to family issues?
- D. How did the parents feel when they informed the children about the divorce/separation?
- E. How did the children feel and react when they knew about their parents' divorce/separation?
- F. How did the parents teach their children to deal with the change in the family?
- G. What did the parents do to help their children to adjust to family transition, especially when father and mother live in a different house?

VI. Single-parenting

- A. What are the difficult and challenging things do you think it takes a single-parent to raise children alone? (financial difficulty, time conflict, psychological development, social adjustment, etc.)
- B. When was the hardest time in your memory about your family? (married, deciding, separated)
- C. Did you tell your friends and former family about parental divorce/separation? Why? Why not?
- D. What were the reactions of friends and former family when they knew about divorce/separation? (gossiping, distancing, etc.)

- E. In your opinion, what are the factors that help a single-parent/parent succeed in raising children alone? (styles of parenting, financial resources, emotional support, etc.)
- F. Has the mother ever mentioned about the father? How? How often?
- G. Did the mother give the father a chance to contact or meet with the children? On what occasion? How often?
- H. How does the mother expect her children' future family to be?
- I. How does the children expect their own family to be?
- J. Do you think if the parental divorce/separation was a right decision?

VII. Factors Affecting Children of Single-parent Families

A. Financial

- I. How does the father financially support the family after divorce/separation?
- II. Does the income increase or decrease after divorce/separation?
- III. Do the expenses increase or decrease after divorce/separation?
- IV. Does the single-mother have to increase her working hours in order to earn more after divorce/separation?

B. Style of Parenting

- I. What kind of parent are you? (strict, flexible, etc.)
- II. What are the rules and restrictions that the parent sets for the children?
- III. How does the parent punish the children when they break the rules?
- IV. What is the expectation of the parent about the children's future?

C. Kin Network

- I. How often did you come into contact with your relatives and former family? On what occasions? (before and after divorce/separation)

- II. How do your relatives offer some supports in terms of being a member of single-parent family? (financially, emotionally, watching the children, etc.)
- III. Do you get along better or worse with your kin after divorce/separation?
- IV. In your opinion, what are some advantages and disadvantages of having connection with kin?
- V. Did you receive any assistance from the states or lawsuit in order to deal with family issues?
- VI. What are more important to you between governmental program and kin support in terms of assisting single-parent families in Bangkok?

VIII. Effects of Single-parent Family on Children

A. School Performance and Behavior

- I. How well are children doing at school? (excellent, not bad, terrible)
- II. Do the children take part in school activities? (athlete, musician, etc.)
- III. Have the children ever gotten into trouble at school? (skipping school without parent's permission, fighting, etc.)
- IV. How does the economic and psychological factors affect your education?

B. Psychological Well-being

- I. How do you describe your personality (shy, cheerful, talkative, etc.)
- II. How often do you feel stressful? What cause your stressful?
- III. Are you always concerned and anxious?
- IV. Do you always feel lonely?

C. Health

- I. Do you have any medical problems?

II. How often do you get sick?

D. Social adjustment/Socialization

I. Do you have a lot of friends?

II. Do you like socializing with your friends? How often?

III. How well do you think you can get along with people?

IV. How do you like making new friends and getting to know new people?

IX. Family Transition and the Change in Family Members

A. Personality

B. Self-expressing

C. Relationship between single-mother and children

I. Does the mother spend more time with the children after divorce/separation?

II. Does the mother have more time to talk to the children after divorce/separation?

III. Did the mother and children feel closer after divorce/separation?

D. Did the mother treat the children differently after the marriage was ended? If yes, how and why?

E. Has parenting style changed after the divorce/separation? If yes, how and why?

F. Psychological well-being

G. Health

H. Children's school grades

I. Family economy

Note: Based upon each participant's initial responses, I formulated additional questions.

APPENDIX G
INITIAL INTERVIEW QUESTIONS
(THAI VERSION)

คำถามเพื่อใช้ในการสัมภาษณ์ เพื่อเป็นข้อมูลในการทำวิจัย

เรื่อง

ครอบครัวเลี้ยงเดี่ยวในกรุงเทพมหานคร ประเทศไทย: ปัจจัยที่มีผลกระทบต่อลูกที่เติบโตมากับแม่เลี้ยงเดี่ยว

คำนำสู่โครงการวิจัยและการสัมภาษณ์ :

โครงการวิจัยนี้สนใจเรื่อง ปัจจัยที่มีผลต่อครอบครัวเลี้ยงเดี่ยวและลูกที่เติบโตมากับแม่เลี้ยงเดี่ยว ผู้วิจัยจึงเลือกที่จะศึกษาครอบครัวเลี้ยงเดี่ยว เนื่องจากอิทธิพลของวัฒนธรรมตะวันตกที่มีบทบาทในโครงสร้างของครอบครัวไทยที่อาศัยอยู่ในสังคมเมือง ทำให้มีอัตราการเพิ่มขึ้นของครอบครัว ที่มีผู้นำครอบครัวเพียงคนเดียว โดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่งครอบครัวแม่เลี้ยงเดี่ยวในกรุงเทพมหานคร และเขตปริมณฑล

คำถามที่จะใช้สัมภาษณ์ในการดำเนินการวิจัยนี้ แบ่งออกเป็น 9 กลุ่ม ได้แก่ ข้อมูลพื้นฐานของผู้ร่วมสัมภาษณ์, อุปนิสัยแม่เลี้ยงเดี่ยว, ทักษะคิดเกี่ยวกับครอบครัว, สาเหตุการหย่า/ แยกทาง, การรับรู้การหย่า/แยกทาง, การเป็นพ่อแม่เลี้ยงเดี่ยว, ปัจจัยที่มีผลต่อลูกที่เติบโตมากับในครอบครัวเลี้ยงเดี่ยว, ผลกระทบที่มีต่อลูกในครอบครัวเลี้ยงเดี่ยว, และ ความเปลี่ยนแปลงของสมาชิกในครอบครัว

I. ข้อมูลพื้นฐาน

- a. นามสมมุติ/ชื่อเล่น (เพื่อความสะดวกในการเรียก)
- b. อายุ
- c. เชื้อชาติ
- d. สถานภาพสมรส
- e. อายุขณะสมรสของพ่อและแม่
- f. อายุขณะหย่า/แยกทางของพ่อและแม่
- g. อายุของลูกขณะพ่อแม่แยกทางกัน
- h. จำนวนลูกในครอบครัว
- i. อาชีพ(พ่อ/แม่/ลูก)
- j. วุฒิการศึกษา(พ่อ/แม่/ลูก)

k. รายได้โดยเฉลี่ยต่อเดือน (พ่อ/แม่/ลูก)

l. สมาชิกในครัวเรือน

m. เบอร์ติดต่อ/อีเมล

II. อุปนิสัยแม่เลี้ยงเดี่ยว

a. อุปนิสัยของแม่เป็นอย่างไร (เช่น ข่างพูด, เสียงดัง, ใจเย็น, เจ็บ, ชอบเข้าสังคม, เก็บตัว, มองโลกในแง่ดี / ร้าย เป็นต้น)

b. การแสดงออกทางความรู้สึก (เช่น เก็บความรู้สึก, เปิดเผย เป็นต้น)

c. รับมืออย่างไรกับเหตุการณ์ใหม่ที่เกิดขึ้น (เช่น กลัว, ไม่กล้าเผชิญ, กล้าได้กล้าเสีย เป็นต้น)

d. เข้ากับคนง่ายหรือไม่

e. ชอบสังสรรค์กับเพื่อนฝูงหรือไม่ ถ้าใช่ บ่อยแค่ไหน และทำกิจกรรมอะไรบ้าง

f. ปฏิกริยาตอบโต้เมื่อถูกนินทา / วิจารณ์ (ทางอารมณ์, ทางกายภาพ?)

g. ชอบทำความรู้จักกับเพื่อนใหม่หรือไม่

h. มีมนุษยสัมพันธ์อย่างไรกับคนที่เพิ่งรู้จัก หรือคนแปลกหน้า (เช่น มนุษยสัมพันธ์ดี, กลัว เป็นต้น)

III. ทักษะติดต่อครอบครัว

a. ครอบครัวในอุดมคติเป็นอย่างไร (ก่อน และ หลัง พ่อ-แม่แยกทาง)

b. ทักษะติดต่อครอบครัวเลี้ยงเดี่ยว (ก่อน และ หลัง พ่อ-แม่แยกทาง)

c. การแยกทางของพ่อแม่มีผลต่อความคาดหวังในชีวิตครอบครัว ในอนาคต อย่างไร

IV. สาเหตุการหย่า/แยกทาง

a. บรรยายลักษณะครอบครัว ก่อน และ หลังการแยกทาง

i. ผู้นำครอบครัวคือใคร

- ii. ใครคือผู้ดูแลลูก
- iii. ใครคือผู้รับผิดชอบค่าใช้จ่ายในครอบครัว
- iv. มีการปะทะ/โต้เถียง/ทะเลาะเกิดขึ้นในครอบครัวบ่อยแค่ไหน
- v. ลูกเห็นการปะทะ/โต้เถียง/ทะเลาะที่เกิดขึ้นหรือไม่

- b. สาเหตุการแยกทางคืออะไร
- c. ใช้เวลานานเท่าใดในการตัดสินใจแยกทางกัน

V. การรับรู้การหย่า/แยกทาง

- a. แม่ ลูก สนทนากัน มาก/น้อยแค่ไหน
- b. ลูกรับรู้การแยกทางกันของพ่อ-แม่ได้อย่างไร
- c. พ่อ-แม่ปรึกษาลูกหรือไม่ก่อนตัดสินใจแยกทาง
- d. พ่อ-แม่รู้สึกอย่างไรเวลาบอกลูกเรื่องการแยกทาง
- e. ลูกรู้สึกอย่างไร / แสดงปฏิกิริยาอย่างไร เมื่อได้รับการแยกทางกันของพ่อ-แม่
- f. พ่อ/แม่สอนลูกอย่างไรในการเผชิญหน้ากับการเปลี่ยนแปลงของครอบครัว
- g. พ่อ-แม่ใช้วิธีการใดให้ลูกปรับตัว เมื่อพ่อ/แม่ต้องอาศัยอยู่คนละบ้าน

VI. การเป็นครอบครัวเลี้ยงเดี่ยว

- a. ความลำบาก / อุปสรรค ในการเลี้ยงลูกคนเดียว หรือโตมาในครอบครัวเลี้ยงเดี่ยว คืออะไร (เช่น การเงิน, เวลา, สภาพจิตใจ, การปรับตัว เป็นต้น)
- b. ช่วงเวลาที่เลวร้าย / ลำบากที่สุดในชีวิตครอบครัว (พ่อ-แม่แต่งงาน, พ่อ-แม่กำลังแยกทาง, พ่อ-แม่หลังแยกทาง)
- c. บอกว่าการแยกทางแก่คนรอบข้าง (ญาติ / เพื่อน) หรือไม่ ทำไม
- d. ปฏิบัติจากคนรอบข้างหลังแยกทาง (เช่น นินทา, เลิกคบหา เป็นต้น)
- e. ปัจจัยที่สำคัญที่สุดในการเลี้ยงลูกคนเดียวให้ประสบความสำเร็จ (เช่น การเลี้ยงดู, เงิน, กำลังใจ เป็นต้น)

- f. แม่พูดถึงพ่อให้ลูกฟังหรือไม่ อย่างไร บ่อยแค่ไหน
- g. แม่ให้โอกาสพ่อลูกพบกันหรือไม่ อย่างไร บ่อยแค่ไหน
- h. แม่ตั้งความหวังกับอนาคตครอบครัวของลูกอย่างไร
- i. ลูกตั้งความหวังกับอนาคตครอบครัวตัวเองอย่างไร
- j. พ่อ-แม่ตัดสินใจลูกหรือคิดในการแยกทาง

VII. ปัจจัยที่มีผลต่อลูกในครอบครัวเลี้ยงเดี่ยว

- a. เศรษฐกิจ
 - i. อดีตคู่สมรส (พ่อ) ให้ความช่วยเหลือทางการเงินแก่ครอบครัวหรือไม่ หลังการแยกทางกัน
 - ii. รายได้ในครอบครัวเพิ่มขึ้น / ลดลง หลังการแยกทางกัน
 - iii. ค่าใช้จ่ายในครอบครัวเพิ่มขึ้น / ลดลง หลังการแยกทางกัน
 - iv. เวลาทำงานของแม่เพิ่มขึ้น / ลดลง หลังการแยกทางกัน
- b. การเลี้ยงดูบุตร/ธิดา
 - i. พ่อ-แม่มีวิธีการเลี้ยงดูลูกอย่างไร (เช่น เข้มงวด, ปล่อยปละละเลย เป็นต้น)
 - ii. พ่อ/แม่วางกฎเกณฑ์ / ข้อห้าม ใดๆ กับลูกบ้าง
 - iii. วิธีการลงโทษ (เช่น ตู, ตี เป็นต้น)
 - iv. พ่อ / แม่ตั้งความหวังอย่างไรกับอนาคตของลูก
- c. เครือข่ายเกื้อหนุน
 - i. มีการสมาคมกับญาติ พี่น้องบ่อยแค่ไหน ในโอกาสใด (ก่อน และหลังการหย่า/แยกทางกัน)
 - ii. ได้รับความช่วยเหลือ/สนับสนุนอย่างไรบ้าง จาก ครอบครัวเดิม หลังการแยกทางกัน (เช่น เงิน, ให้กำลังใจ, ช่วยเลี้ยงดู เป็นต้น)
 - iii. สัมพันธภาพกับเครือญาติ ดีขึ้น / แย่ลง หลังจากการหย่า/แยกทาง
 - iv. ผลดี / เสียของการมีสัมพันธภาพกับญาติ พี่น้อง
 - v. กฎหมาย / รัฐบาล / องค์กรรัฐ-เอกชน ให้ความช่วยเหลืออย่างไรบ้าง

vi. รัฐบาล หรือ ครอบครัวเดิมมีความสำคัญกว่า สำหรับครอบครัวเลี้ยงเดี่ยวในกรุงเทพ

VIII. ผลกระทบของครอบครัวเลี้ยงเดี่ยวต่อลูก

a. การเรียน และ ความประพฤติ

- i. ระดับผลการเรียน ดี, ปานกลาง, แย่
- ii. เคยเข้าร่วมกิจกรรมใดที่โรงเรียนหรือไม่ (เช่น นักกีฬา, นักดนตรี เป็นต้น)
- iii. เคยมีปัญหาที่โรงเรียนหรือไม่ (เช่น โดดเรียน, ทะเลาะวิวาท เป็นต้น)
- iv. ปัจจัยด้านเศรษฐกิจ และสุขภาพจิต มีผลต่อการศึกษาหรือไม่ อย่างไร

b. สุขภาพจิต

- i. อุปนิสัยของลูก (เช่น เก็บตัว, ชอบเข้าสังคม, ช่างพูด, กล้าแสดงออก, ขี้อาย, ร่าเริง เป็นต้น)
- ii. มีความเครียดง่ายหรือไม่ สาเหตุคืออะไร
- iii. คิดมากหรือไม่
- iv. ขี้เหงาหรือไม่

c. สุขภาพกาย

- i. โรคประจำตัว (โรคอะไร, สาเหตุ)
- ii. ป่วยบ่อยหรือไม่ อย่างไร

d. การปรับตัว/การเข้าสังคม

- i. มีเพื่อนเยอะหรือไม่
- ii. ชอบเข้าสังคมหรือไม่ บ่อยแค่ไหน
- iii. เข้ากับคนอื่นได้ง่ายหรือไม่
- iv. ชอบทำความรู้จักกับเพื่อนใหม่/คนแปลกหน้าหรือไม่

IX. ความเปลี่ยนแปลงระหว่างก่อน และหลัง การแยกทาง

a. อุปนิสัย เปลี่ยน / ไม่เปลี่ยน อย่างไร

b. การแสดงออกทางความรู้สึก

c. สัมพันธภาพระหว่างแม่ลูก ดีขึ้น / แย่ลง

- i. ใช้เวลาร่วมกันมาก / น้อยลง
- ii. พุดคุยมาก / น้อยลง
- iii. ความสนิทมาก / น้อยลง

- d. การเอาใจใส่ลูกมาก / น้อยลง อย่างไร หลังจากแยกทางกัน
- e. การเลี้ยงดูลูก ต่างกันหรือไม่ อย่างไร ก่อน / หลังแยกทาง
- f. สุขภาพจิต ดีขึ้น / แย่ลง
- g. สุขภาพกาย ดีขึ้น / แย่ลง
- h. ผลการเรียนลูก ดีขึ้น / แย่ลง
- i. เศรษฐกิจที่บ้าน ดีขึ้น / แย่ลง

Note: Based upon each participant's initial responses, I formulated additional questions.

APPENDIX H

SINGLE-MOTHERS' DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

SINGLE-MOTHER	Age (years old)					Ethnic	Academic (degree)	Occupation	Monthly Income (baht)	Marital Status		Number of Children	Number of Family Members	
	Current	Married		Divorce (D) or Separation (S)						Mother	Father		Before separated	After separated
		Mom	Dad	Mom	Child									
1. Ed	55	24	27	33	7	TH	Bachelors	Private employee	10,000	Divorce	New family	1 son	3 (Ed+husband+son)	5 (Ed+son+2 sisters+nephew)
2. Jong	58	28	26	S-46 D-48	S-12 D-18	TH	Bachelors	Gov. employee (teacher)	30,000	Divorce	Divorce	1 daughter	3 (Jong+husband+daughter)	2 (Jong+daughter)
3. Kai	48	31	30	31	Pregnant	TH	Bachelors	Private employee	10,000	Separate (never married)	New family	1 daughter	3 (Kai+husband+daughter)	3 (Kai+mom+daughter)
4. Kam	55	34		46	10-11	TH	Masters	Gov. employee	40,000	Divorce	Divorce	2daughters	4 (Kam+2daughters+husband)	3 (Kam+2daughters)
5. Kim	52	20	22	42	21	TH	Grade 4	Trading	10,000	Separate (still married)	Separate, new family	2daughters	4 (Kim+husband+2daughters)	4 (Kim+2daughters+mother in law)
6. Kun	40	20	24	29	4 months	TH	Bachelors	Private employee	30,000	Divorce	New family	1 daughter	3 (Kun+husband+daughter)	4 (Kun+daughter+mother+brother)
7. May	60	30		40	5	TH	Bachelors	Gov.	10,000	Separate	Separate	1 daughter	3 (May+	2 (May+

								employee (Teacher)		(still married)	(still married)		daughter +husband)	daughter)
8. Nat	43	23	25	31	Son-5 Daughter-2 Daughter-6 months	TH	Bachelors	Business owner	20,000	Divorce	New family	1 son 2 daughter	With husband's family	3 (Nat+son+ middle daughter> >little daughter lives with grandmom)
9. Nee	57	30	30	32	1	TH	Bachelors	Gov. employee (teacher)	30,000	Separate (still married)	Separate, new family with 3 kids	1 son	With husband's family	2 (Nee+ son)
10. Nid	46	30		S-31 D-37	S-1 D-7	TH	Bachelors	Private employee/ volunteer	10,000	Divorce	New family with 2kids	1 son	3 (Nid+ husband+ son)	2 (Nid+son)
11. Orn	45	33	35	43	Son-11 Son-9	TH	Masters	Gov. employee	30,000	Divorce	Divorce	2 sons	4 (Orn+ husband+ 2 sons)	3 (Orn+ 2 sons)
12. Pat	43	28	28	S-30 D-37	Son-2 Son- baby	TH	Bachelors	Gov. employee (teacher)	20,000	Divorce	Divorce	2 sons	4 (Pat+ husband+ 2 sons)	3 (Pat+ 2 sons)
13. Ped	48	21	25	32	Daughter-15 Son-7	TH	Bachelors	Private employee (teacher)	10,000	Divorce	New family	1 daughter 1 son	4 (Ped+ husband+ 2 kids)	3 (Ped+ 2 kids)
14. Sunun	61	25	26	40	Son-20 Daughter-14	TH	Bachelors	Gov. employee (teacher)	50,000	Divorce	Divorce	1 son 1 daughter	4 (Sunun+ husband+ 2kids)	3 (Sunun+ son+ daughter)
15. Thida	53	26	26	32	Daughter-8	TH	Bachelors	Gov. employee	30,000	Divorce	New family	2daughters	4 (Thida+)	3 (Thida+)

					Daughter-6			(teacher)					husband+2daughters)	2daughters)
16. Thum	60	29	32	35	6	CH-TH	Grade 12 (occupational associate degree)	Family Business	10,000	Divorce	New family with kid	1 daughter	3 (Thum+husband+daughter)	2 (Thum+daughter)
17. Toy	52	25	20	31-32	3-4	CH-TH	Grade 12	Housewife	7,000	Divorce	New family with kid	1 son	3 (Toy+husband+son)	2 (Toy+son)
18. Tu	45	30	28	40	Son-9 Son-6	CH-TH	Bachelors	Private employee	10,000	Divorce	New family	2 sons	4 (Tu+husband+2 sons)	4 (Tu+mom+2 sons)
19. Won	49	23	25	25	3	TH	Bachelors	Private employee	20,000	Divorce	New family	1 son	3 (Won+husband+son)	5 (Won+son+grandmother+grandfather+nephew)
20. Zoe	59	32		43	11-12	CH-TH	Bachelors	Gov. employee (pharmacist)	20,000	Separate (still married)	Separate (still married)	1 son	3 (Zoe+husband+son)	2 (Zoe+son)

NOTE: In column "Ethnic", TH stands for Thai and CH stands for Chinese.

In column "Occupation", Private employee is defined as a person who works for a company owned by a private sector. Government (Gov.) employee is defined as a person who works for a federal government or works in a government agency.

"Monthly income" is approximately estimated from salary of the interviewee in baht. (1USD=32 baht in 2010)

In column "Marital Status", new family means a person who is committed to another person and forms a another family after a divorce or separation.

APPENDIX I

ADULT CHILDREN' DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

ADULT CHILDREN (M=Male, F=Female)	Age (years old)		Ethnic	Academic (degree)	Occupation	Monthly Income (baht)	Marital Status			Siblingship (same parents)		Number of Family Members	
	Current	At parent's divorce (D) or separation (S)					Mother	Father	Adult child	Number of siblings	Birth Order	Before separated	After separated
1. Beck (M)	27	15	CH-TH	Masters	Looking for a job	10,000 (from mother)	Divorce	Divorce	Single	1	1	3 (Beck+mom+dad)	2 (Beck+mom)
2. Ei (M)	35	18	CH-TH	Masters	Private Employee	20,000	Separate (never married)	Married to 1st wife with kids	Married with 2 daughters	1	1	2 (Ei+mom)	2 (Ei+mom)
3. Fog (F)	25	7-8	TH	In graduate school	Student and private employee	10,000	Divorce	New family	Single	2	1 (+brother)	4 (Fog+mom+dad+brother)	3 (Fog+mom+brother)
4. Jake (M)	24	3-4	TH	Bachelors	Private employee	10,000	Divorce	New family with kid	Single	1	1	3 (Jake+mom+dad)	3 (Jake+mom)
5. Kate (F)	25	1	TH	In graduate school	Student	10,000	Separate (still married)	Separate (new family)	Married	1	1	3 (Kate+mom+dad)	2 (Kate+mom)
6. Lek (F)	22	7-8	GER-TH	In college	Student and private employee	40,000	Divorce	New family	Single	1	1	3 (Lek+mom+dad)	2 (Lek+mom)
7. Nim (F)	26	18-19	TH	Bachelors	Chef	9,000	Separate (never married)	New family	Married	4	3 (+2 older brother+1)	6 (Nim+mom+dad+4 siblings)	3 (Nim+mom+sister)

												sister)		
8. Pan (F)	28	21-22	TH	Masters	Private employee	10,000	Divorce	Divorce	Single	1	1	3 (Pan+mom+dad)	2 (Pan+mom)	
9. Pik (F)	33	3	TH	Bachelors	Private employee	10,000	Divorce	Divorce	Single	1	1	3 (Pik+mom+dad)	3 (Pik+mom+stepsister)	
10. Pla (F)	29	14	TH	Bachelors	Private employee	25,000	Divorce	New family	Single	2	1 (+brother)	4 (Pla+mom+dad+brother)	3 (Pla+mom+brother)	
11. Moom (F)	48	5	TH	Ph.D	Professor	30,000	Divorce	New family with 3 kids	Single	1	1	3 (Moon+dad+mom)	2 (Moon+mom)	
12. Som (F)	30	3	CH-TH	Masters	Business owner	10,000	Divorce	New family	Single	1	1	3 (Som+mom+dad)	2 (Som+mom)	
13. Sri (F)	34	S-6 D-29	CH-TH	Masters	Private employee	50,000	Divorce	New family	Single	4	4 (+2 brother+1 sister)	6 (mom+dad+siblings)	5 (mom+siblings)	
14. Tawee (F)	36	15	TH	Masters	Private employee	65,000	Divorce	New family	Married	1	1	3 (Tawee+mom+dad)	2 (Tawee+mom)	
15. Tha (F)	33	4-5	TH	Bachelors	Private employee	20,000	Divorce	New family with kid	Single	1	1	3 (Tha+mom+dad)	2 (Tha+mom+)	
16. Tong (M)	33	10	TH	Masters	Architect	25,000	Divorce	New family (recently)	Single	2	1 (+brother)	4 (Tong+mom+dad+brother)	3 (Tong+mom+brother)	
17. Took (F)	43	2	CH-TH	Certificate	Housewife	20,000	Separate (never married)	Separate (new family)	Married (+kid)	1	1	5 (Took+mom+dad+2)	4 (Took+mom+step)	

)					step brother)	brother)
18. Toom (M)	32	17	CH-TH	Masters (law)	Lawyer	200,000	Divorce	Divorce	Single	2	2 (+sister)	4 (Toom+mom+dad+sister)	3 (Toom+mom+sister)
19. Yod (M)	25	At birth	CH-TH	Bachelors (BBA)	Private employee	25,000	Divorce	New family (4wives+7kids)	Single	1	1	-	2 (Yod+mom)
20. Yu (F)	32	20-21	CH-TH	Bachelors	Private employee	10,000	Divorce	New family +kid	Single	2	1 (+brother)	4 (Yu+mom+dad+brother)	3 (Yu+mom+brother)

NOTE: In column "Ethnic", TH stands for Thai, CH stands for Chinese, GER stands for German.

In column "Occupation", Private employee is defined as a person who works for a company owned by a private sector. Government (Gov.) employee is defined as a person who works for a federal government or works in a government agency.

"Monthly income" is approximately estimated from salary of the interviewee in baht. (1USD=32 baht in 2010)

In column "Marital Status", new family means a person who is committed to another person and forms a another family after a divorce or separation.

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