

WHAT IS THE IMPACT OF A **CONFUCIAN** WELFARE REGIME

UPON **LONE MOTHERS**

IN **TAIWAN?**

Volume II

by

Ming-Yu Lee/Li, Bêng-Giók/李明玉

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Chapter 6 Income, Employment and Lone Mothers

In the Parent-Worker-Citizen Welfare model, as many feminists point out, lone mothers are treated as workers and offered prevalent and high quality public childcare, paid parental leave and generous state benefits (Stoltz 1997; Nyberg 1994, 2000). Thus earnings are the main source of the lone mothers' income package along with state benefits (Kamerman and Kahn 1989; Leira 1993; Hobson 1994; Hobson and Takahashi 1997; Gustafsson 1990, 1995). In the Mother-Carer-Citizen Welfare model, lone mothers have long been recognised as carers of children and had no obligation to participate in the labour market until the 1980s. State benefits are the main bulk of lone mothers' income and have been well documented in Western literature (Graham 1986; Millar 1987, 1989; Snell and Millar 1987; Bradshaw and Millar 1991; Bingley et al.1994; Knijn 1994; Ford, Marsh and McKay 1995; Duncan and Edwards 1996, 1999; Edwards and Duncan 1997; Ford and Millar 1998; Kiernan et al.1998; Lewis 1997; Land 1999). Consequently, some Western writers further argue the welfare-state-as-breadwinner instead of male-breadwinner for lone mothers in the above welfare model (quoted from Knijn 1994). Unfortunately, from the 1980s onwards, such state-as-breadwinner has been labelled as "dependency culture", whereby lone mothers in this welfare model are often accused of relying on state

benefits as “inactive citizens” (Andrew 1991; Roche 1992; Thatcher 1995; Lister 1997; Faulks 1998). In the late 1990s, welfare to work, such as the New Deal in Britain, has become the political agenda to tackle their “dependency on the State” and increase their participation in the labour market (Deacon 1997a & b; Land 1999; Little 1999). Finally, in the Mother-Worker-Family-Outsider Welfare model, lone mothers are regarded as workers, like their counterparts in Sweden, but are provided with an extremely limited amount of public childcare, no paid parental leave and furthermore no universal state benefits or adequate social assistance. In comparison with their counterparts in Sweden, employment becomes a more vital and significant source of their income package, and almost equivalent to their whole income. In other words, the lack of state support in child benefits, childcare provision and paid parental leave makes employment critically important. It is also more difficult for lone mothers in Taiwan to combine paid work and unpaid care for children, or sometimes the elderly, than their counterparts in the West. Furthermore, a number of Taiwanese studies have confirmed that earnings are the main income of lone parents (Shu and Chang 1987a & b; Chang 1987; Chuang 1991; Tong 1992; Chang et al. 1995; Pong and Chang 1995). But none of them had ever “contextualised” lone mothers into the Taiwanese Confucian Welfare State, where the Confucian family is the key welfare provider and women, as a family outsider, can hardly benefit from it, in contrast to

men. First, the current chapter is going to examine to what extent lone mothers could claim means-tested state benefits as part of their income support. Secondly, how do their earnings from paid work support their family and what constraints do they face will be evaluated carefully.

6.1 Dependency on the State? Lone Mothers?

Critique of the 1980 Social Assistance Law

Inequality of Social Assistance

As noted in Chapter One, all social welfare support in Taiwan for those in need is not universally available, but rather is provided on a piecemeal and discriminating basis (Chan 1984, 1985; Jacobs 1998). In the Mother-Carer-Citizen Welfare model, as Knijn (1994) argues, *“With the introduction of the General Social Assistance Law in 1965, single mothers’ financial situations improved.... their income was guaranteed until their children were twelve years old... the social assistance law was viewed, by the state as well as by the citizenry, as a ‘right’ of those who needed it. To emphasize*

this view the government (of the Netherlands), upon the introduction of the law, launched a media campaign explaining to citizens that they had the right to social assistance and should not feel humiliated when they used it” (p.92). Even, in the Netherlands, the new General Social Assistance Act came into practice in January 1996, and by this Act, lone mothers are obligated to earn their living by paid work once their youngest child reaches the age of five (Knijn and Van Wel 2001). But they are still granted to have the financial/social right to care for their children before their youngest child reaches the age of five. However, in Taiwan there was no Poverty Law, similar to the relevant law in the Netherlands and the UK, up until the introduction of the Social Assistance Law¹ in 1980. Essentially, the law is almost in effect equivalent to the Poor Law in both these above countries (Millar 1989; Knijn 1994; Englander 1998; Davis 2001). As Ku (1995a & b, 1997, 2001) persistently points out in the Taiwanese Welfare State, “For the poor, social assistance is the way to get cash benefit... But the 1980s Act contained no article to regulate the definition of poverty, leaving great power in the hands of government officials to determine the level of the poverty line according to their wishes rather than the needs of the poor.” (p.29 quoted from Ku 2001; also see Lin and Ku 1991:17-19). As a result, the poverty line varies

¹ The Social Assistance Law was enacted only in 1980 to replace the Social Relief Law passed in 1943 when the KMT still ruled mainland China, while Taiwan was being colonised by Japan. Until 1997, the KMT government tried to improve the target groups by proposing the Social Assistance Law of 1997. The new act specified the poverty line as being 60% of per capita consumption expenditure in the previous year, but it came down from the post in May, 2000 (Ku 1995, 1997, 2001)

from local authority to local authority, caused by the varying administrative level of local authorities, which are regulated by the 1980 Social Assistance Law as the major welfare provider for those in need, while the KMT Central government merely acted as regulator, as many mainstream scholars argue (Ku 1995a & b; Goodman et al. 1997; White and Goodman 1998; Kwon 1998; White et al. 1998). The worst contrast of social assistance, mainly low-income family allowance, might be located between Taipei Metropolitan City and Taipei County, separated from each other only by the Tamsui River and its couple of branches, although the living standards of these two different administrative authorities are almost the same (Lin 1995). In my study, only four lone mothers are eligible for full low-income family allowance on behalf of their dependent children, whereas each child was subsidised NT\$5,100 by the Taipei City Government and NT\$14,00 by the Taipei County Government respectively at the time of the interviewing (1998). Thekla and Joy are both lone mothers with dependent children, but live in Taipei City and Taipei County respectively. But the level of social assistance they could claim for their children confirmed a big inequality of social assistance from locality to locality.

They (the Bureau of Social Affairs of Taipei City Government) subsidise me Low-Income Family Allowance NT\$5,100 (about £102) for each child per month. For I have got two daughters, so they subsidise me NT\$10,200 (about £204) per month (Thekla)

Each child can be subsidised only NT\$1,400 (about £28), and two children only NT\$2,800 (about £56) only. Such little amount of subsidy would be little help for me to pay off my electricity and water bills, but it is very difficult to claim (Joy).

Furthermore, this inequality also extends to the differentiation of low-income families.

Not all low-income families can be entitled to “*full*” social assistance, while all of them are classified into three different categories, i.e., *Families in need of full allowance, partial assistance, and short-term assistance*² (Chen 1992; BOSA 1993).

Since 1996, all three of my children have been covered within the low-income family scheme....At the beginning of that year (1996)(She was confirmed to have cancer). That's why my eldest daughter (aged 13) can be subsidised with the same amount of money which my younger twin children are subsidised. Previously I couldn't successfully claim any benefits for my eldest daughter, for they (the government-employed social workers) always said: “I have owned a flat.” Having a flat becomes the main obstacle for me to claim any benefits from the City Government (Pin-cyang).

First, having a “tiny” flat with a 10-pings-size³, poor conditions and only two small bedrooms, one of which is illegally constructed, disqualified Pin-cyang's entitlement for *Families in need of full allowance* for her daughter aged 13. Secondly, the recognition of her serious illness in 1996 gave her eligibility for “full” social

² Families in need of full allowances means that all the household members are not able-bodied, having no estate and no income or are forced to live on social assistance due to emergency etc. Families in need of partial assistance means that the total family income does not exceed the officially defined minimum living expenses. Finally, families in need of short-term assistance means that the total family income exceeds the minimum living expenses, but the exceeded income has reached one third of it. For further details see *the Regulation of Low-income Families in Taipei Metropolitan City*.

³ 10 pings = 33.06 m² = 360 sq.ft.

assistance on behalf of her daughter. This recognition is eventually based "*in the hands of government officials to determine the level of the poverty line according to their wishes rather than the needs*" of her daughter. With such great power controlled in state hands, it can be easily understood why social welfare expenditure in East Asia can remain at a very low level and becomes a very "attractive lesson" for Western politicians and some Western scholars to emulate it in the West.

Under the 1980 Social Assistance Law the KMT state provides lone mothers with financial assistance only when the Confucian patrilineal family dysfunctions in welfare provision. Worse is that this financial assistance (means-tested cash benefits) is still fragmented into three types of category, differentiated "*in the hands of government officials rather than the needs of the poor*". This fragmentation of social assistance again exactly reflects the reality of Taiwan that social policies in the Mother-Worker-Family-Outsider Welfare model have become residualism of residualism, and much worse than the equality of social assistance in free-market-oriented USA. However low-income lone mothers are stigmatised by several welfare theorists as the "underclass" (e.g., Murray 1984, 1990, 1994; Smith 1992; Morris 1993b, 1994), but at least "equally" entitled to Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), which is replaced by the Personal Responsibility and

Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWO) despite imposing time-limited benefits (Kamerman and Kahn 1988; Orloff 1991; Polakow 1993; Palley and Belcher 1996; Waldfogel 1996; Dowd 1997; Michel 1997; Lewis 2000). Social assistance benefit level may vary by localities, but not by “dependent children” or “family with dependent children”. In fact, the state in the Mother-Worker-Family-Outsider Welfare model granted Pin-cyang’s entitlement for *Families in need of full allowance* by recognising her lower ability in the labour force caused by her illness of “cancer”, but not the welfare needs of her “dependent children”. This is in complete contrast to social assistance benefits on the basis of the recognition of welfare needs of dependent children in comparison with those in the Mother-Carer-Citizen Welfare model in the Netherlands and the UK.

Unbelievably Restricted Criteria of the “Able-Bodied”

In addition to this fragmented low-income family allowance mentioned above, in contrast to the 1965 General Social Assistance Law in the Netherlands based on “complementarity and citizenship”, the 1980 Social Assistance Law is ideologically conceptualised on the basis of the “good-will or virtue” of the Confucian State instead of “individual rights” where those in need of social assistance are humiliated and

stigmatised, as has been well-documented in Eastern Asian Welfare regimes (Chow 1985/86, 1988; Ku 1995a & b, 1997, 1998, 2001). In addition to this stigma, those eligible for Low-Income Family Allowance are required to take part in paid work. Article 10 of the law declares clearly: *“Local authorities are obligated to offer job training, employment consultation, job creation or provide casual labour instead of charity benefits to those who are eligible for low-income family allowance and the able-bodied in order to achieve their self-reliance and independence in all respects. Those able-bodied poor who are unwilling to take any job training, employment consultation, or participate in any work afterwards will be refused entitlement to any state benefits.”* (Lin et al. 1998). By this law lone mothers in Taiwan are apparently assumed and obligated to earn their income through employment. Those claiming low-income family allowance and being the “able-bodied poor”, are obligated to be “willing” to take casual jobs, by which the Scheme of *“Casual Labour Instead of Benefits”* (CLIOB 以工代賑) has always been implemented. In other words, the law demonstrates clearly to low-income lone mothers that no paid work means no means-tested cash benefits for their dependent children. Unsurprisingly, four low-income lone mothers in my fieldwork are *obligated* to participate in the Scheme of *“Casual Labour Instead of Benefits”* (CLIOB 以工代賑) while they are granted only low-income family allowance to pay for their children, but excluding themselves.

The personal welfare needs of low-income mothers themselves have to be met by their own “independent” earnings from casual jobs despite their poor health, as Pin-cyang describes her experience.

(When asked about the continuity of all part-time jobs together) Not at all. Since I have been so ill, I had to stop house-cleaning and sewing, but have to keep the road-cleaning job. After my operation, I could not work any more, so I had to rest for half a year....(During the half a year of resting caused by cancer surgery) there was nothing(no subsidies from the state) for me at all, except for the subsidies for my three children(Pin-cyang).

Furthermore, this Scheme has long developed very restricted criteria of the “able-bodied” so that despite their ill health lone mothers are compulsorily regulated to engage in casually paid work, provided by local governments. For Pin-cyang obviously there is no such thing as to “receive state support for performing caring work” without taking any paid work. Even having rectal cancer and surgery, she is still “desperate” to make every effort to “keep” her casual job of working as a road-cleaner offered by the Taipei City Government, because “employment” is the only way for her to support her family, as the 1980 Social Assistance Law regulates.

(During the time when she was very ill and could not be entitled to anything from the State for herself, she still had to hire someone else to work for her in order to keep her casual job. Pin-cyang explained the reasons why she made every effort to keep her road-cleaning job) Yes, there were two reasons for me to do so. First,

by that job, I just could be covered by the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS); secondly, I did need to keep that job to support my family...Yes.(the wage was given to the person whom Pin-cyang asked to help her to keep her job)....Then they(the Bureau of Environment Protection of the Taipei City Government) certainly would say to you: "A lot of people are waiting for that job. After taking a half-a-year rest, you can apply for it again." But I was very afraid that I wouldn't get it again, like my friend, who was here and had an operation as well. After taking a year rest, she started to apply for that job again. But all her documents had to be checked and examined again. The staff in charge of the arrangement of casual jobs kept telling her: "No place, no job for you at all. Come here next time!" And they wouldn't take her case seriously at all (Pin-cyang).

Essentially, this *Work-Compulsorily-Oriented (means-tested)* cash benefits are in contrast to Income Support (only means-tested) in the UK or social assistance benefits in the Netherlands where lone mothers had no obligation to participate in paid work in the past, but recently they are "encouraged", for example, via *compulsory work-focused* interviews in Britain, to participate in the labour market with the added support of in-work benefits, such as Working Families Tax Credit (WFTC)⁴ in Britain (Knijn and Kremer 1997; Hewitt 1999; King and Wickham-Jones 1999; Gray 2001; Williams 2001). However such increasing pressures of welfare to work upon lone mothers are strongly criticised by many Western feminists who argue that citizenship should incorporate the right to care and carers should be exempt from the obligation to be available for paid work (Knijn 1994; Knijn and Kremer 1997; Millar 1994;

⁴ Family Credit has been replaced with the more generous Working Families Tax Credit (WFTC), introduced in October 1999, since New Labour's accession to power in May 1997. For further details see Rake (2001) and Dean (2001)

Jenson 1997; Lister 1997; Michel 1997; Leira 1998a & b; Daly and Lewis 2000; Gray 2001; Rake 2001; Williams 2001). Moreover, this exemption from the obligation to participate in paid work is confirmed with Gray's (2001) argument that *"The New Deal for Lone Parents is voluntary, whilst the long-term unemployed face benefit sanctions if they refuse employment or training. However, the New Single Work-focused Gateway involves mandatory 'work-focused' interview for lone parents. The Budget speech of March 2000 indicated that lone parents with a child under 5 would be allowed to defer interviews....Lone parents will be obligated to be attend interviews, but not actually seek employment"* (p.191; also see Levitas 1998:139-140; Lund 2000:34; Rake 2001:214). Furthermore, upon the introduction of 1996 PRWO along with the abolition of AFDC in the USA, by which single mothers were in effect supported by the federal state of the USA in exchange for caring for their children, Michel (1997) strongly argues that *"poor women do not have the right not to engage in paid work, nor do they have the right to receive state support for performing caring work"* (p.205; also see Palley and Belcher 1996; Reese 2001). Lone mothers in Taiwan have never had the **"right"** to be supported by the state in exchange for caring for their children or frail elderly parents or in-laws without their engagement in paid work. Nor have they ever been exempt from the obligations of participation in paid work. Instead they have been **"destined"** by the state to engage in paid work and

unpaid work, even though they are stigmatised as the tightly selected “low-income families”. Moreover, they still cannot “rely on” the state in the Mother-Worker-Family-Outsider welfare model, even when having serious ill health, such as cancer.

Apparently, the criterion of the “able-bodied” has been interpreted by “government officials” so far that ill health, including cancer, has long been ignored and has never ever been seriously counted in the entitlement to Low-Income Family Allowance in Taiwan. Having two school-aged daughters and having breast cancer, Joy has continuously been refused by “*government officials*” entitlement to Low-Income Family Allowance for her dependent children, mentioned once in Chapter Five.

After suffering from domestic violence for over three years, for me, the motivation to get divorced is the confirmation of having a cancer. After half a year, they (her mother-in-law’s family) also found out about the illness I have got. Probably, the factor in getting cancer is strongly linked with an extremely unpleasant environment where I had lived under an overwhelming pressure and with extreme unhappiness for a long time. Particularly there has existed a cancer history in my own genealogical family. For example, my mother and grandmother both had breast cancer too.... Then they (her mother-in-law’s family) believed that illness (her cancer) could bring unlucky or unfortunate events to their family. Thus they made every effort to get rid of me...The state didn’t want to help me. I really do not have other options at all.... He (the social worker for the government) always said: “You are too rich! There is no way I can help you!” (Joy)

As Popay and Jones (1990) highlight, *“the reasons for gender differences in the health of lone parents lay in differences in their marital histories, in their socio-economic circumstances and in the nature of their roles as parents”* (p.530). Graham (1993) further confirms that *“Caring for children in cramped, unsanitary and insecure conditions, and with little time or space for yourself is reflected in high levels of physical illness and emotional distress.”* (p.175; also see Graham 1986; Popay and Jones 1990; Blaxter 1990). The extreme unhappy experience of marital violence and domestic exclusion from the mother-in-law’s family for over three years not only increased Joy’s higher possibility of breast cancer genetically inherited from her natal family, but also became the initiative for her divorce. Her serious illness of cancer is still “neglected” by the state so badly that she has persistently been “excluded” from entitlement to Low-Income Family Allowance even only for her children. Subsequently, there is “no choice” for her to support her family except for “full-time” paid work.

The Disadvantages of the Scheme of “Casual Labour Instead of Benefits” (CLIOB 以工代赈)

The casual labour provided by local governments, although fitting in with women’s

domestic responsibilities, has trapped low-income mothers into countless disadvantages in all aspects, which will be examined as follows:

(1) Less Employment Protection, but Great Vulnerabilities at Work

As Crompton (1997) notes, "*part-time work is considered advantageous mainly because of its flexibility*", leaving women free to carry out their domestic responsibilities in the home (p.33; also see Beechey 1987; Leira 1992; Charles 1993; Allan and Daniels 1999). As Hakim (1995, 1996) further argues, "*The great majority of women working part-time see themselves as housewives, whose primary responsibility is keeping home, with employment fitted around family life.*" (quoted in Hakim 1996:70; also see Blossfeld and Hakim 1997). This may be true on the basis of Western women's daily experiences, particularly while married women have demanded part-time work to fit in with their domestic responsibilities in the sense of voluntarily preferring a part-time job, and capitalist employers have simply responded to this demand, as some Western feminists have suggested (Walby 1986, 1990, 1997; Hakim 1995, 1996; Naylor 1994; Garey 1999). But this can hardly reflect lone mothers' experiences of being part-time workers in Taiwan. Hakim (1996) continued to argue that "*It is sometimes argued that women are forced into part-time work by the need to combine employment with their childcare activities. While*

plausible, the evidence does not support the idea” (pp.70-71). Instead, disputing her argument, this idea is not confirmed with low-income lone mothers’ experiences of part-time work in Taiwan. In fact they are forced into part-time work by the need to combine employment with their childcare and housework, very similar to involuntary part-time workers, lacking of higher education and technical skills in the USA (Garey 1999:88-107). Confirming Crompton’s (1997) views, “*We have to remember, however, that women’s ‘preferences’ will be shaped by their available options....it is very likely that women with caring responsibilities will have a ‘preference’ for part-time work*” (p.35; also see Perkins 1983:17; Berger 1986:17; Ginn et al. 1996; Radfield and Proctor 1998;Crompton and Harris 1999a & b; O’Connor, Orloff and Shaver 1999; Mackie et al. 2001). The combination of part-time employment and caring responsibility gives low-income lone mothers in Taiwan the only way to cope with being a solo rice-winner and mother without “dependency on the State”. For lone mothers in Taiwan, this combination can hardly be “the best of both worlds” in terms of Myrdal and Klein’s Book *Women’s Two Roles* (1968) in contrast to part-time and secondary earners in Britain (Hakim 1996:71). In the meantime, their capitalist employer is actually their “State”. In contrast to Hakim’s argument, they, as part-timers, are *primary earners and solo rice-winners*, lacking a male rice-winner and the state to rely on, but have been treated as “secondary earners” in the labour

market, similar to part-time working wives as secondary earners in Britain. However, the flexibility of part-time work leaves low-income lone mothers to carry out their domestic responsibilities on the one hand, but sacks them, as Walby (1986, 1990, 1997) constantly notes, with more risks of dismissal, redundancy, and low wage, low-status, low investment in training and promotion and no entitlement for paid parental leave, sick leave, and pension due to the lack of both trade union and legislative protection of part-time workers (also see Barron and Norris 1976, 1991; Chiplin and Sloane 1976; Glazed 1980; Wajcman 1981; Perkins 1983; Berger 1986; Siltanen 1986; Shu and Chang 1987a & b; Beechey 1987; Beechey and Perkins 1987:22; Robinson 1988; McLaughlin et al.1989; Elias 1990; Morris and Nott 1991; Blackwell 1994:88-89; Rubery et al.1994; Callender 1996; Hu 1996; Pillinger 2000; Grimshaw and Rubery 2001; Gough 2001). No paid paternal leave for the care of sick children and no pension rights are confirmed by Pin-cyang's experiences of being a casual labourer for Taipei City Government:

Within a month, I cannot be so ill to take any days off. Otherwise, I cannot earn such an amount of money. If something happens and I do need to take days off, I won't get any payment. For example, my second twin daughter had an operation and I took four days off, then I lost four-days wages... No, I don't have any pension. As a casual labourer, if I can work, then I will have income; if I cannot work, then I won't have any wage. There is no guarantee for me from my occupation (Pin-cyang)

Unsurprisingly, four low-income mothers in my study employed by Taipei City

Government are not guaranteed a minimum wage by the 1984 Labour Standard Law, which mainly formally protects full-time workers. Their wages are paid on the basis of a day-to-day wage and by the number of working days. At the time of interviewing (1998), the maximum wage which low-income mothers could earn was only NT\$13,000 (about £260) per month, less than the minimum wage of NT\$ 15,840 (about £316.80) of the same year (Wu, 1998).

Only the day you work can be taken into account. So, it (wage) is calculated on how many days you really work. For example, if you go out to work outside half day in the morning, the half-day wage is NT\$ 250. Two half-days are taken as a one day-wage of NT\$500 (about £10)..... then it (the maximum days) won't be 30 days a month. The maximum days will be only 26 (Pin-cyang)

Despite working for the public sector, all these four low-income mothers are excluded from the best employment legislative protection, i.e. the Government Employee Insurance⁵ and, in contrast, are covered only by Labour Insurance⁶ and National

⁵ Government Employee Insurance came into effect in 1958 and has been revised once in 1974, expanding its coverage over all the patrilineal family members of all the government employees, and including all the civil servants and public school teachers only. In other words, not everyone working for the public sector can be covered by such an Insurance Scheme, such as casual labourers employed by the government but excluded from such a scheme.

⁶ Labour Insurance was enacted for the first time in 1958 and shifted this programme from Taiwan provincial to nationwide level. Later on, it was revised three times before 1980 to extend its coverage from safeguarding those employed in industrial firms and mines with 20 employees and over in 1950, to covering all labourers in private firms with more than five employees in 1979. Late in 1984, the Labour Standard Law was the first to regulate relations between employers and employees, working hours, wages and the protection of women and child workers. For further details; see Ku, Yuen-wen (1995, 1997).

Health Insurance⁷. Instead, under this they have to pay their own insurance premium, unlike their counterparts covered by the NHS in Britain without any premium payment.

No, I am not a government employee. But I have still been covered by the National Health Insurance and the Labour Insurance Schemes, because I work as a labourer, not like a teacher who is a governmental employee. So I am not a government employee, but only a labourer (Thekla).

Lee: Do you need to pay NHIS for yourself? Or Does the Government pay for you?

Pin-Cyang: I do need to pay NHIS by myself; it's not paid by the Government.

Even though all their dependent children are covered by the National Health Insurance⁸ (NHI) with a government contribution for the dependants of low-income families, as a form of compensation to disadvantaged groups, they, as “able-bodied and working” mothers, have to contribute a higher premium (60%) for their NHI than any full-time employees of the public or private sectors (30%) (Lin 1995; Ku 1998:125; *Free China Journal*, 9th July, 1999). Likewise, they have to contribute a higher premium for National Labour Insurance as well.

⁷ The National Health Insurance (NHIS) began to be implemented in Taiwan on March 1995. It is based on a contribution model, rather than a taxation model, which is proclaimed in the Constitution of the ROC. The ratio of contribution is 30:60:10 for employees, employers and government respectively. See Ku (1998).

⁸ The schedule for premiums and rates was approved in July 1994 before the National Health Insurance was launched in 1995. Employees pay 30% of the premium, employers 60% and the government 10%. Thus a typical worker, earning just over US\$943 a month, with a spouse and two children, pays about US\$42 a month(see *Free China Journal* 9th July, 1999).

(2) No Autonomy, Insecure Income but More Part-Time Jobs

As Rubery et al. (1994) note in one of their findings, *“However, what is perhaps more notable is the low level of choice available for female part-timers, where almost half have no choice over the total number of hours worked and over two-thirds have no choice over start and finish times. Such flexibility as part-time jobs provide is thus clearly for the benefit of employers and may not fit employees preference or domestic commitments”* (p.223-224; also see Garey 1999:88-107). Likewise, the lack of “choice” over the total number of working days and dates to work is confirmed with Pin-cyang’s experiences of working as a female casual labourer.

Furthermore, the number of working days is not decided by me, rather by the Bureau of Environment Protection (of Taipei City Government). They decide which day we, casual labourers, should work, then we have to work; likewise, they also decide which day we don’t need to work, then we have to rest. As a result, I cannot decide at all how many days a month I can work... Then it won’t be 30 days. The maximum working days would be 26. $26 \text{ days} \times \text{NT\$}500 = \text{NT\$}13,000$. This is the maximum wage I can make per month.... Thus 26 working days are the maximum days, which become the key factor for me to earn the maximum wage per month. But, in fact, there is no minimum wage for me, because there is no minimum number of working days I can work (Pin-cyang).

In addition, as a number of Western scholars point out, part-time work appears to be

highly segregated, confined mainly to feminised occupations in the service sector (Beechey 1987; Beechey and Perkins 1987; Elias 1990; Rubery et al.1994; Crompton 1997; Hakim 2000). None of the lone fathers in the present study have ever worked as part-timers; in contrast, at least four low-income lone mothers have always participated in the Scheme of “Casual Labour instead of Benefits (CLIOB 以工代賑)”, particularly as street-cleaners.

The lack of autonomy over the number of working days and “gendered” part-time work are closely linked with low-wages, insecure incomes and dead-end occupations of these lone mothers working as casual labourers and have also trapped them into high risk of vicious and long-term poverty. As a result, such an insecure and insufficient income from casual work and meagre Low-Income Family Allowance has led them to undertake another one or two part-time jobs to make ends meet. Except for casual work assigned by the Taipei City Government, all these four low-income mothers interviewed had been undertaking more than one part-time job until usually their health could not bear it any more (two of them). One of them once had taken up three part-time jobs together in order to make her family ends meet until she was confirmed as having cancer of the rectum.

As Hsiung (1996) criticises, *“the Mothers’ Workshops(媽媽教室) and Living Rooms as Factories(客廳即工廠) programmes represent the KMT’s efforts to reconcile the potential conflict between female labour-force participation and women’s role in the family...Through the Living Rooms as Factories program, married women are incorporated into productive labour not as regular workers but as homeworkers, reinforcing their subordinate and dependent status in the family and society. Their labour-force participation is based on its subsidiary and supplementary character”* (p.55; also see Fu 1995:24). Again like casual work assigned by local governments, these part-time jobs did reconcile the lone mothers’ role of a rice-winner and carer of dependent children by allowing them to work at home, for example as a piece-rate worker and seamstress for satellite factories (Standing 1989; Ka 1993; Hsiung 1996). In fact, this homework (i.e., paid work carried out in the home) enabled lone mothers to reconcile their childrearing with rice-winning responsibilities together in the home and became the key dynamic in creating the “Taiwan Economic Miracle”, particularly in the 1970s (Galenson 1979:391; Farris 1986:3-4; Bello and Rosenfeld 1990: 215-230). In contrast, such economic growth has exploited these female “homeworkers” as casual and piece-rate workers in terms of low wage, low status, over-time, uncertain income and less employment protection. Exactly as Beechey (1987) criticises, *“Homeworkers have often been singled out as one of the most*

exploited groups of workers, working for extremely low rates of pay and long hours" (p.95; also see Hope et al. 1976:103; Barrett 1988:155; Morris and Nott 1991:77; Reskin and Padavic 1994: 159-160). Lucy is a lone mother who works alone at home under the pressure of domestic responsibilities and out of financial necessity. In effect, homeworkers are mothers and rice-winners in the home, who are good examples to fit the ideology of the KMT economic and social policies, not only glorifying unpaid mothering for her children and housekeeping for her family, but also being an "active citizen" as a casual labourer and a homemaker with a tiny wage, in order to avoid her dependence on the State and to maintain the Confucian virtues of "*independence, diligence, frugality*" (Wah 1991:173-181,213-221). And such "*double*" burdens in combining of caring responsibilities and "*multiple*" part-time jobs and homework might cost lone mothers the price of "ill health", which is strongly recommended to further study in the future.

(After the death of her husband in 1985). I did some handicraft at home, paid as many as I had completed pieces,.... such as temple lanterns or necklaces or Buddhist prayer beads...(The income for doing piece-rate work) is very little a month. Only several thousands.. Around NT\$3,000 (about £60) or 4,000 (about £80) a month... So I had taken two part-time jobs together for more than one year... Physically, I could not bear it any more. Then I got something wrong with my shoulders and my heart. So I had to stop working as a home carer (Lucy)

Summary

Lone mothers in the Mother-Carer-Citizen Welfare model, for example in Britain, were not required to register for work under the National Assistance Act of 1948 if they had dependent children under 16 (Lewis with Hobson 1997: 7). As all Western governments seek to reduce lone mothers' dependence on state benefits, lone mothers have gradually been "encouraged" but not "regulated" through Welfare to Work, such as in the USA and UK, into the labour market (Standing 1999:48). In contrast, lone mothers in Taiwan are regulated under the 1980 Social Assistance Law into the casual labour force in order to combine carer and rice-winner's responsibilities. Part-time employment is a dispensable dynamic in the entitlement to social assistance benefits. Furthermore, these Work-Compulsorily-Oriented means-tested cash benefits are subsidised only to support dependent children, but exclude their carers, in contrast to social assistance benefits for dependent children and their carers in the UK and the Netherlands. Subsequently, these cash benefits from the State and low-wages from casual work are still too insecure and insufficient so that lone mothers are forced to participate in piece-rate homework in order to make ends meet. In the Mother-Worker-Family-Outsider Welfare model, lone mothers are viewed as workers and primary rice-winners, but not treated as equally as their male counterparts in

Taiwan or their counterparts in the Parent-Worker-Citizen Welfare model. Sometimes, the participation in two or three part-time jobs becomes their strategy for coping with their caring and rice-winning responsibilities, but which are easily at the expense of their health. In a sense, the State in the East Asian Welfare model does not act only as “a regulator” as Kwon (1999) argues, but rather as “a capitalist employer” who has “exploited” low-income lone mothers in terms of over-time rate, piece-rate wage, insecure earnings, low-status, less employment protection, no paid maternity leave on childbirth, no paid parental leave for the care of sick children, contributory health care and the like in order to maintain the low level of social welfare expenditure, as Walby (1986, 1990, 1997) strongly argues.

6.2 Full-Time Employment and Lone Parents

Except for those four poor lone mothers above, the rest (36) of the interviewees in the current study usually had full-time jobs either in the government sector or private sector. In contrast to those lone mothers undertaking “gendered” part-time work, none of the lone fathers interviewed had worked as part-timers or interrupted their career due to domestic responsibilities. As an enormous Western feminist literature notes,

“there is an enormous difference in the types of jobs women and men do, the pay they receive, the hours they work, the skills they acquire and their patterns of employment over a lifetime” (quoted in Charlers 1993: 56; also see Martin and Roberts 1984; Dex 1985; Beechey and Whitelegg 1986; Jenson et al. 1988). Further it is assumed that gender segregation at work is the most important cause of the wages gap between men and women (Vanek 1980; Walby 1988; Bruegel 1989; Armstrong and Armstrong 1990; Joshi 1991; Crompton and Harris 1999a; Rake 2000; Warren et al. 2001; Blackburn et al 2001). This wage differentiation is mainly based on the assumption of the male-breadwinner and wife-dependent model, whereas men have a family to support, and women do not have one to support, but rather are supported by men mainly or completely. This orthodox assumption has completely ignored the fact that an increasing number of women do have a family to support alone in the absence of men. Particularly lone mothers in the Mother-Worker-Family-Outsider Welfare model rely neither on men nor the state. As noted in Chapter One, the Taiwanese social security system is still incomplete and underdeveloped, and in particular lacks National Pension Insurance and National Unemployment Insurance (Ku 2001; Ku and Chen 2001). Full-time employment becomes more vital for lone mothers in Taiwan in comparison with that for their counterparts in the Parent-Worker-Citizen Welfare model. At the time of interviewing (1998), unfortunately, two lone mothers in my

fieldwork were unemployed and further received no social assistance benefits and no unemployment benefits at all. How did they cope with no earnings while being unemployed? And how did they combine full-time paid work with their mothering alone without state benefits? The following section is going to search for these answers on the basis of lone parents' experiences in the Taiwanese social context.

Lone Fathers' Continuous and Full-Time Work

Sons Benefiting from Gendered Human Capital Investment

As Ku and Chen (2001) optimistically point out, "*Taiwan has been moving towards an institutional welfare system, in which a national pension insurance scheme (NPI) is under construction and should be realised by 2000*" (p.95). But unfortunately, it still remains rhetoric at the time of writing (September 2001). Furthermore, Kwon (1999) concluded on the one hand that "*Confucian ethics, however, failed to secure the living standards of the elderly households in the sense that the levels of private transfers in most income groups failed to reach half of the relative poverty line*" (p.20), but on the other hand he still could not deny that the "*Confucian proposition, if we assume private transfers are related to that, is working in the sense that single-and*

couple-only-elderly households still get their main income from their family", i.e., their children (p.17; also Kwon 2001: 83). In analysing income transfers to the elderly in South Korea and Taiwan, however, Kwon (2001) confirms that *"more than half of the elderly in Korea and Taiwan live together with their grown-up children.. about half of Korean and Taiwanese elderly people acquire their main income from their children."* (p.83). In contrast, he is still blind to the gender hierarchy preferring sons for the sake of old aged pension within the Confucian family and society, whereas sons are preferred in reality, and entitled to more "rights/privileges" than daughters, valued less and obligated to more "duties/responsibilities" in turn (Kwon 1999, 2001). This preference in Taiwan has historically been well documented in many studies (e.g., Gallin 1966; Wolf 1972; Coombs and Sun 1981). Again, this favour coincides with Marsh's (1996) longitudinal study about social change in Taiwan from 1963 to 1991 by illustrating that *"57% of the 1991 respondents still think it is either desirable or very desirable to live with one's married son(s)"* (p.96). Certainly this favouring of sons is closely related to the traditional expectation of care and support in old age and the "gendered" imbalance of family economic investment and distribution, noted in Chapter Two. Furthermore, this desirability of sons has a great impact in understanding the Taiwanese State's reluctance in the construction of its National Pension Insurance. Lone fathers as sons are likely to benefit from such a "gendered"

preference, which may make them more likely to receive higher family economic investment in terms of education or more family resource distribution related to their career/ business than their sisters, as lone mothers.

As Rake (2000) clearly points out, *“To understand the relative position of women and men in the labour market, information on gender differentials in education and training is essential. Measures of ‘human capital’ (an important element of which is education) are commonly used to understand labour demand and supply, as well as the wages that an individual commands. Educational choices influences career and job choices (and thereby earnings), which training offered while in work can affect the chances of promotion and future earnings”*(p.18). Unsurprisingly, education and training become one of four options offered under the New Labour’s Welfare-to-Work programme in Britain to reduce dependency of the unemployed, including lone parents, and increase their participation in paid work (Cressey 1999; Theodore and Peck 1999; Tonge 1999; Pergusson et al. 2000; Millar 2000; Mandelson 2002). Furthermore, as Salaff (1981) argues, *“Education fuses different channels of inherited opportunity into a single achievement-oriented ladder to jobs”* (p.26). Despite the increasing enrolment rate in higher education since the 1950s, the discrepancy in postgraduate education between the sexes still remains wide in Taiwan. In 1996/97, the percentages of female registration in junior college and university are 56.9% and

48.1% respectively, but it dropped sharply to 28.9% in MA and 19.2% in PhD degrees (Educational Statistics of ROC 1997, a similar rate also see Appleton 1979; Ku 1986; Hsieh 1996). This decline in MA and PhD programmes illustrates implicitly that as Ku (1986) argues, *“women are not expected to attain the same educational achievement as men, and higher degrees often jeopardise women’s marriage prospects but benefit men’s.”* (p.2). This low rate of female enrolment in MA and PhD degree stills reflects the modified traditional belief in the Confucian family and society that *“it is useless for a family to educate its daughters”* (quoted in Salaff 1981:168; also see Hsieh 1996). This may also be because women from birth to death are not viewed as permanent family insiders and money invested in daughters’ higher education is “lost and wasted” for their maternal family, as noted in Chapter Two. Conversely, as Greenhalgh (1985) pointed out, parents invest as much as they can in their sons’ upbringing, providing schooling, apprenticeships, businesses, career opportunities and the like because their old age pension depends crucially on their sons. Unsurprisingly, none of the lone fathers in the current study had experienced unequal educational opportunities within their patrilineal families in contrast to two lone mothers, described in the following section. Rather one of them, David, inherited a piece of farm land from his father in spite of living and working in Taipei City. Gendered family investment in sons’ education and long-term career may grant lone

fathers more qualifications, which, as many Western scholars demonstrate, are strongly associated with their own occupational level and earnings (Britten and Heath 1983; Robinson 1996, 1999; Blau et al.1998; Gregg and Wadsworth 1999; Rake 2000). As Robinson (1996, 1999) points out, *“These higher earnings occur first because academic qualifications at a given level are more successful in buying access to more highly paid occupations. Second, within the most highly paid managerial, professional and technical occupations, academic qualifications are associated with higher earnings”* (quoted in Robinson 1999:164). Besides the newly modified inequity of higher education, as Ku (1986) further argues, *“college women are concentrated in humanities and social sciences, fields considered compatible with women’s ‘temperament’ and traditional roles but not leading them to high-paying jobs”* (p.2; also Arnot 1986). Conversely this new inequity and gender marginalisation of higher education affects lone parents differently between the sexes (Goode and Bagilhole 1998). As a result, all the lone fathers in the present study concentrated on “men’s work”, characterised by the self-employed boss (2), self-employed sculptor (1), manager (1), mechanic (2), engineer (1), skilled worker (1), and high-rank educator and senior staff (2) in a university and public school, either running their own business or working for bigger firms, such as Cannon Ltd or for the public sector, such as schools or state-owned enterprises. For Ming-chung, a trade company owner

and Feng-yang, a branch manager, high income makes the purchase of housekeeping and 24-hour childcare/childrearing services possible after becoming lone parents.

After the loss of my wife, nobody did housework for my family, such as cleaning the house and doing the laundry. Except for paying someone else to do housework, I did need someone else to prepare meals for my family.. She (the old cleaning lady) said that she could not cook for me. So I had to look for someone else to cook for me. If I could find her, then my family would recover a normal life. This old lady cooked for us until she had liver cancer roughly 7 months ago (Ming-Chung).

My school-age daughter lived with me alone for half a year. Then I did not feel that was the right way to look after her. So I negotiated with her former baby-sitter to take care of my daughter. Later on she moved to live with her family and has lived with them since then. I only visit her on holidays or weekends (Feng-Yang).

Certainly, occupational segregation and hierarchy between the sexes ensures lone fathers more secure economic circumstances than lone mothers in Taiwan.

Husbands/Rice-Winners Benefiting from Continuity of Employment

However, Siltanen (1993) opposes that the analysis of differences between “women’s work” and “men’s work” in employment does not correspond adequately with the nature and complexity of either women’s or men’s employment (pp.16-18). It can hardly be denied that as Wharton (1997) argues, “*employed women bear more*

responsibility for housework and child care than their male counterparts” (p.57). In other words, the employed men bear less housework or childcare or none of them and are more likely to work continuously. By comparison, most women’s initial entry to full-time employment after education is interrupted upon marriage or at the birth of their first child (Hewitt 1993; Gough 2001). As family insiders and rice-winners, lone fathers are more likely to be offered childcare and housework services by their patriarchal family or their family-in-law without confrontations involving children and properties, as noted in Chapter Four. Thus, it is worth noting again that none of the lone fathers interviewed had ever worked as part-timers or interrupted their continuous career due to domestic responsibilities in their lifetime at least until the time of interviewing (1998). Furthermore, one official survey suggested that in 1998 the current employment tenure (9 years) of employed men is longer than that of their female counterparts (6 years) (DGBAS 1998:7). Particularly the employment tenure of employed men in the service sector is always longer--at least 10 years--than that in other occupations (Ibid.). Those lone fathers in the current study had never experienced involuntary joblessness or sexual harassment in the workplace. None of them have ever simultaneously taken full-time and part-time work together in order to improve insufficient earnings. Nor had one of them ever brought their young children to the workplace due to the lack of paid parental leave for the care of sick children. In

fact, the continuity of their full-time employment has not only guaranteed higher earnings, more stable income and the entitlement to better employment protection, but also increased their seniority, promotions and career prospects. In fact, they are all covered either under National Labour Insurance or Governmental Employee Insurance. Particularly these governmental employees are granted more social security protection in terms of the lowest-interest housing mortgage, discounted tuition fees for their children, longer unpaid parental leave for childrearing, and a monthly pension payment on the basis of their long-term and uninterrupted full-time employment. Chung-zeng, a lone father, has worked as a high-rank educator in a public school for at least 25 years. His occupation as a government employee and having had a continuous full-time employment history has granted him a secure income, sufficient earnings, owner-occupied housing located in a better and safer community, and even a sufficient pension in his old age:

Of course the loss of my deceased wife's income certainly affected a bit upon my whole family income, but did not have any impact upon my family living standard at all...because my own income is enough to support my whole family. I haven't had any financial pressure but only emotional loneliness... Then I have had my current job for at least 25 years. Before the loss of my wife, our family finances were pretty good already. We had paid off the housing mortgage already. And I have owned the current housing for long... I am also entitled to a monthly pension payment. This pension amount is at least NT\$60,000 per month. Basically, I am not worried about how to live at all (Chung-zeng)

Gwo-chung has worked as a mechanic for Canon Ltd at least for 21 years. He is not only covered under the National Labour Insurance Scheme but also by a private occupational pension, which only bigger firms can provide to their employees in Taiwan.

Yes, it does (His employer-company provides his own private pension to his own employees). And I am entitled to its private occupational pension.. It is estimated that at least NT\$2 millions will be granted to me as my occupational pension.... At the end, I will be entitled at least for NT\$4 millions as my total pension, which is accumulated together from a lump-sum old age pension from National Labour Insurance and another lump-sum pension from the company of my employer... I am entitled to both pension schemes... A lump-sum old age pension from the National Labour Insurance Scheme will grant me at least NT\$ one million and six hundred thousands (Gwo-chung)

Furthermore, more stable income, higher earnings and better occupational welfare from the labour insurance and bigger private firms enables Gwo-chung to own two houses, one of which, an en suite flat, is newly purchased and planned for his old age.

To summarise, it seems to be assumed that lone fathers' full-time employment is more likely to benefit from gendered human capital investment in sons' education. Besides, they are more likely to access childcare and housework services from the market and their patrilineal family or in-laws without domestic conflicts or harassments. They can hardly become the objects of sexual harassment at the workplace, compared with

working women. They also benefit from the assumption that they have a family to support through full-time employment. They are more unlikely to experience involuntary joblessness because their earnings are viewed as “family wages”, and vital in supporting their own nuclear family, and sometimes, their elderly parents. These elements have interplayed together and made their uninterrupted employment history more possible. As a result, lone fathers’ families are more secure and protected in terms of earnings, income, seniority and continuity, career prospects, and old age pension in comparison with lone mothers’ families through employment.

Lone Mothers’ Intermittent Full-Time Employment

Lone Mothers as Daughters experiencing Gendered Human Capital Investment

However, an enormous Western literature constantly demonstrates in the Mother-Carer-Citizen Welfare model that the lack of affordable childcare is the main barrier for lone mothers to participate in the labour market (e.g., Bradshaw et al. 1996; Finlayson and Marsh 1998). This can hardly be the case for lone mothers in the Mother-Worker-Family-Outsider Welfare model. Furthermore, as Stoltz (1997) argues, lone mothers in the Parent-Worker-Citizen Welfare model are seen as “*being*

primarily workers” (p.426) and are enabled to obtain state benefits as “*individuals*”(p.441). Nor can this be the case for their counterparts in Taiwan whereas in spite of being “one income earners”, lone mothers are seen as “*being secondarily workers*” and unable to obtain state benefits due to being viewed as “*family members*”, although they are regulated to work and to earn their own living based on the assumptions of “independence and self-reliance”. Thus the level of one’s education and work experience plays a decisive role in their full-time jobs (Stoltz 1997). However, equal opportunity legislation has been introduced in the most Western countries. But in fact, as Rees (1998) demonstrates frankly, “*the impact of legislation has been highly circumscribed and patterns of vertical and horizontal segregation remain cemented both within education and training systems and in the labour force.*” (p.33; also see Hakim 1979, 1998). In the UK, under the 1944 Education Act, girls were enabled to gain equal access to education with boys for the first time, but this equal access to education nevertheless had the effect of reinforcing gender segregation in the sexual division of labour: women as homemakers and men as breadwinners. Women are still clustered in certain fields, reflecting their domestic roles and undermining their equal treatment in the labour market, including equal pay (Rake 2000; Grimshaw and Rubery 2001). Likewise in Taiwan, as Ku (1986) further argues “*Besides, college women are concentrated in humanities and social sciences,*

fields considered compatible with women's 'temperament' and traditional roles but not leading them to high-paying jobs" (p.2; also see Shaw 1983; Arnot 1986; Rees 1998). However, it is always assumed in the West and the East that education should be available equally to all children in school and even in the family (Mithaug 1996). Okin (1991) criticises, "*Human capital theorists, in perceiving women's job market attachment as a matter of voluntary choice, appear to miss or virtually to ignore the fact of unequal power within the family. Like normative theorists who idealize the family, they ignore potential conflicts of interest, and consequently issues of justice and power differential, within families*" (p.147), Like other Western feminists, Okin only attacked the unequal power and distribution between wife and husband within the "traditional family" consisting of two parents and dependent children in the West, but ignored that between son and daughter within the "traditional family" consisting of patrilineal three generations in the East Asian Confucian context. Underlying all these inequalities caused by the Generation-Age-Gender hierarchy within the Confucian family first is unequal educational opportunities, which two lone mothers in my fieldwork had experienced within their patrilineal families preferring sons and investing more in sons' human capital through education.

Ami, a divorced lone mother, had her education opposed by her patriarchal

grandfather who was against her having equal educational rights with her male cousins in the traditional three-generation household of Taiwan. As a result, her “primary” educational opportunity was granted through her mother’s insistence. But she was then beaten badly by her grandfather, whose power and decision in distribution of the family resource and investment is justified by the Generation-Age-Gender hierarchy.

Those women, who are as old as I, living in the same village, are often without any education at all. Recently, my Mum came here to visit me and said to me: ‘She was beaten seriously by her father-in-law because she allowed me to go to school.’ Previously, my family was united with my elder aunt-in-law as an extended family, which wasn’t divided into two families. Two sons of my eldest uncle were supported by my extended family financially to go to school. When the turn came for me to go to primary school, my grandfather rejected me going to school completely. One reason is that my mother is a sim-pua⁹(童養媳) of her foster family-in-law; another reason is a belief in my village that ‘It is useless for girls/women to have education’. In fact, my mother insisted that I had to have a proper education, like the boys. So she opposed her foster father (in-law) to allow me to go to primary school. As a result, my grandfather beat her. Therefore, I remember this incident very clearly. Otherwise, if I had better circumstances, I would have liked to study overseas. Unfortunately, in fact, I didn’t have this chance at all (Ami)

Traditionally, women in Confucian families are more easily excluded from their basic

⁹ Sim-pua(童養媳) means an adopted daughter-in-law. That was a custom of sex discrimination in Confucian societies, valuing sons more than girls. The daughters were normally adopted from a poor family, who could not afford to raise their unwanted female child. Previously, this kind of adoption was a common way of obtaining a bride for a son and a dutiful daughter-in-law for a patriarchal family in Taiwan. For further details, see Olga Lang (1946:232-233); Margery Wolf (1972:16-17); Hugh D.R. Baker (1979:44); Arthur P. Wolf and Chieh-shan Huang (1980:230-241); Catherine S. Farris (1986:15); Wu, Wan-Yu (1992:46)

education rights than their male counterparts based on the traditional belief that, as Ami states during interviewing (1998), "*It is useless for girls/women to have education*". Besides, daughters are also more vulnerable to exclusion from any further educational opportunities, like Lousia who was not supported by her father to pursue secondary schooling after completing her primary schooling, but instead was expected to work as a teenage factory female worker in order to support her family financially.

Initially, he (her father) did not allow me to go to junior high school at all. People in the village did not have any education at all. They believed that girls did not need any education. As long as girls finished their primary schooling, that was enough for them to work in factories as female workers. In fact, there were too many children in my family, but I did love to study more. So I cried all night begging to go to junior high school. Next morning, my mother said to my father: "Look! How much she loves to go to school! Why don't you let her go?".... So I continued to beg my father to let me go to junior high school. As a result, my father allowed me to go to junior high school. Thus I could finish my junior high schooling. After that, when I considered that the economic circumstances of my family did not improve at all, I dared not ask my father to support me to study more advanced education. Thereupon, I decided automatically to support myself to finish my senior vocational high schooling. That is the way I finished my senior high school education (Lousia)

These two lone mothers completed their senior high schooling by self-support on the one hand and contributed the majority of their earnings to support their younger sibling's education on the other hand, like other teenage female workers well documented in many studies about the Taiwanese female labour force (Arrigo 1980,

1984, 1997; Kung 1981, 1983, 1984, 1994; Kung et al. 1984). Such an unequal and externally imposed gender segregation in education made lone mothers more likely to have less skill and fewer qualifications than lone fathers. Their lower human capital is absolutely not a matter of their individual voluntary choice, but rather as a consequence of their inferior and powerless status of being a “family outsider” in a Confucian patriarchal family, where a girl/daughter usually did not have much say about whether she continued in school or went to a factory (Kung 1981; Chang 1996). Their experiences of “unequal educational opportunities” are in absolute contrast to the human capital theorist’s argument that *“Training and education decisions are based on the individual’s own expectations rather than on externally imposed hurdles”* (Bruegel 1983:156). For the human capital theorists, women “decide” to invest less in education and training as a consequence of their individual choice (Becker 1975, 1981). Accordingly, this approach argues that women get paid less than men because they have less skill and labour market experiences and fewer qualifications than men. This human capital explanation of gender segregation in the labour market has also been strongly criticised by Western feminist scholars (Bruegel 1983:148-169; Lewis 1984:170-173; Walby 1990:29-32, 1997:24-25; Okin 1991:147-148; Picher 1999:51-53; Bacchi 1999:75-80). In fact, this low human capital investment regarding unequal education certainly has trapped low-skilled and

less-qualified lone mothers into low-pay, low-status, dead-end jobs and unstable earnings in the labour market. However, the relative vulnerability in human capital of lone mothers has been well recorded in many Taiwanese empirical studies (Liu 1984; Shu and Chang 1987a, 1987b; Chuang 1991; Tong 1992:69; Chang 1994:63-66; Chang 1996:109). But none of them connected this poorer human capital with lone mothers' inferior status of being a daughter, seen as "belonging to other people", within the Confucian family. Thus it is no surprise that the rate of feminisation of poverty among lone mothers is always higher than lone fathers due to unequal educational opportunities and "the feminisation of work"(Blackwelder 1997).

Lone Mothers as Secondary Earners Experiencing Discontinuity in Employment

Disputing human capital theory, many Western feminists strongly argue that the relationship between unpaid work in the home and paid work in the labour market is a crucial and major element in the analysis of sex segregation in employment, such as the earnings gap, differential patterns of occupation, and continuity of employment (e.g., Meehan 1983; Okin 1991; Lonsdale 1992; Cobble 1993; Callender 1996; Hakim 1996; Walby 1997; Rees 1998; Bacchi 1999; Crompton 1999; O'Connor 2000; Warrant et al.2001; Blackburn et al.2001). Despite the increasing labour force

participation rate for married women, as Duffy and Pupo (1992) point out, "*Finally, the history of women's paid work reveals a changing life pattern of employment entries and exits. In the early years of this century, young single women worked for a few years before marriage. Once married, they often left the work force to devote the remainder of their lives to home and children and, perhaps, informal employment.*" (p.19; also see Hewitt 1993:11; Rake 2000: 113-126; Warren et al. 2001:482-484).

Confirming their views, almost all the female participants in the present study undertook full-time jobs before marriage. Once married (15) or cohabiting (1), over half left their full-time jobs and became full-time housewives caring for their children and doing housework often along with part-time jobs, or home work or as assistants in their husbands' work/business. As an enormous Western literature illustrates, childbirth or childrearing is the main cause for married women to withdraw from the labour market, or to break their continuous employment or to change their employment pattern into part-time (Bird and West 1987; Wimbush 1987; Dex 1987; Dex and Shaw 1988; Main 1988; Joshi 1991; Fine 1992). Some Western theorists further argue, "*Marriage as such has become a much less significant obstacle to women's participation in paid work*" (quoted in Fine 1992:147,155; also see Bird and West 1987:182; Duffy and Pupo 1992:18). According to the Survey upon Marriage, Childcare and Employment for Women aged between 15 and 64, conducted by

DGBAS¹⁰ (1994), 47.88 % of all working women quit their jobs on marriage and so did 37.7 % of them due to childcare. Thus Hu (1996) points out, these two dimensions made 85.2 % of all working women leave their paid work in order to implement their given domestic duties (p.207; also see Bird and West 1987:190). In contrast to women's employment pattern in the West, marriage has remained more highly significant obstacle to women's participation in paid work than childbirth/childrearing in Taiwan.

Some lone mothers took for granted withdrawal from their full-time work and combined part-time or homework with housework, childcare and childrearing. Two lone mothers in the current study were obligated under the Confucian Generation-Age-Gender hierarchy to resign their full-time work in order to be full-time but unpaid "health" carers for their seriously ill father-in-law, where this care for parents-in-law has long been viewed as a compulsory duty for daughters-in-law. One is Regina, described in Chapter Four; another is Viona. First, what job/occupation a wife does may be decided by her husband; secondly, the care for parents-in-law falls upon a dutiful daughter-in-law; and thirdly pregnancy or anticipated motherhood certainly moved Viona out of full-time work and into a

¹⁰ DGBAS means Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Executive Yuan in Taiwan, responsible for the national fiscal budget and expenditure and all the national statistics.

long-time break in her employment lifetime.

(The time her husband passed away), I was not working. In April 1992, I quitted my job.....Then my husband asked me to resign in order to prepare the National Examination for the qualification of a licensed accountant(for herself). In August of the same year, my father-in-law had a serious stroke and he had to stay in hospital. After receiving a warning notice about the critical health situation of my father-in-law from the hospital, I was supposed to look after him there for two months.... During the day-time, I looked after my father-in-law alone... Moreover, in the same year, I got pregnant, too. Thus I didn't work continuously (Viona)

A husband's supremacy over his wife's decision on whether to take paid work is also illustrated with Angela's *obedience* of "being a good housewife", interrupted work experience of being a "good mother", and changed job pattern of being a "good secondary earner".

After graduation from five-year junior nursing college, I had worked as a full-time head nurse at Tsang-Geng Hospital for two years. After marriage, my (ex) husband did not allow me to work outside any more... He didn't allow me to work. Instead he said to me: "You'd better stay at home and take good care of our children.. I have never accepted tying myself only within the family and staying at home all the time. When my children reached the age to go to kindergarten, then I was thinking of what job I should do next... I had to find a workplace close to the home and a job with earnings. At the same time, I could stay at home and did not need to work outside. I lived on the second floor. Finally I rented the ground floor shop of the same building and started to run my own business (Angela)

As Okin (1991) comments, *"the considerable influence that husbands often exert over their wives' decisions on whether to take paid work may be motivated not by a concern for the aggregate welfare of the household but, at least in part, by their desire to retain the authority and privilege that accrues to them by virtue of being the family's breadwinner"* (p.147). For Viona and Angela, the decisions of married women about their participation in the labour market and job/occupation patterns obviously are not "their own individual voluntary choices" as human theory seems to imply, but rather are their husbands' "choices and decisions". At the end, unfortunately, Angela was still accused by her "powerful" husband of failure to care for her parents-in-law, which has traditionally and historically been conceptualised as one of "Seven Outs" (七出)¹¹ to grant husbands legal rights to divorce their wives until the 1931 Family Law (Jordan 1972:163; Leslie 1973:105-106; Baker 1979:45). In addition, another form of domestic violence from her father-in-law made Angela see divorce as her only alternative.

¹¹ The so-called "Seven Outs"(i.e., 'outed' from the mother-in-law's family) are seven grounds for divorcing women and described as follows:

- (1) Barrenness
- (2) Wanton conduct
- (3) Neglect of Parents-in-law
- (4) Garrulousness
- (5) Theft
- (6) Jealousy and ill-will
- (7) Incurable disease

Under the so-called "Seven Outs", married women in their mother-in-law's families were easily divorced and "outed" from their husbands' home. Thus the position of wives in their mother-in-law's family was theoretically a very insecure one due to their powerless status (Jordan 1972:163; Leslie 1973:105-106; Baker 1979:45).

Lone Mothers as Returners After Long-Term Break

Women returners participate in the job market again normally after childbirth or childrearing (e.g., Bird and West 1987). By contrast, all lone mothers (16) in my fieldwork returned to take full-time paid work from necessity due to either the loss of their rice-winner or marriage crisis or a breakdown of their relationship. It is because they become solo and primary wage earners in their family. After a long period out of the labour market, a “return to full-time work” from unpaid housework may be another big issue for those interrupted-paid-work mothers. First, as a result of a long period out of the labour market, they may have lost contact with the social networks that are often vital for gaining a job (Challender 1987, 1996; Jackson 1991). The difficulty of seeking a full-time job became a big issue for Holi after becoming a lone mother.

I felt that I had been isolated from the whole society too long. During these 10 years, I got used to talking to my children. And my husband kept working outside of the home.... The way I had to adjust myself into the labour market became the key issue for me to find a job (Holi).

Secondly, their skills and qualifications may be outdated as Margaret found.

(After being a housewife and her husband's assistant for over four years), the first job I did last for three and a half years. Gradually I found out that I built up my self-confidence in my work. In the beginning, I could not operate any computer programmes at all.... I did not have any office/employment basic skills at all (Margaret)

Thirdly, they might lack a sense of confidence in themselves and their workplace.

This lack of self-confidence was exactly in accordance with Margaret and Holi's experiences as a consequence of a long period isolated from full-time employment.

I had lost my self-confidence completely. I had played the role of a full-time mother and housewife behind my husband for 10 years. I got used to talking to children, not to adults. The conversation terms I applied were suitable to children, but not for commercial people at work. Sometimes the terms working people spoke were different from mine. There was a big gap there. Then I lost my self-esteem completely. Thus I was afraid to look for a job again..... .. But in the first half year, I tried hard to overcome the fear in my mind: how could I rebuild myself and adapt myself into the workplace? (Holi)

Not surprisingly, some Western feminists strongly advocate: "*women returners need a boost in confidence and a positive self-image in order to challenge both the domestic division of labour and exploitation in the workplace*" (quoted in Bird and West 1987:191). Because of breaks from work for childbirth or for elder care, downward occupational mobility often occurs to women returners (Dex 1987). Lone mothers in Taiwan are often faced with the dilemma of combining rice-winning and child-caring. Then they "accept" the necessity to take full-time paid work, sometimes, without any

employment protection, and “sacrifice” their own welfare, wage and career prospects.

Lone Mothers as Uninsured Full-Time Workers

As Bryson (1999) argues, *“Despite equal opportunities policies in education and employment, all labour markets are highly segregated on gender lines. Horizontal division into male and female employment sectors (with women concentrated in caring, service and clerical work and in the public sector, and men in manufacturing and industry and in the private sector) has historically been combined with vertical segregation, whereby senior positions have been almost exclusively held by men and female employees have been concentrated in low-status, poorly paid jobs”* (p.137; also see Dex 1987). Echoing Bryson’s views, Cheng (1998) reports, *“about 63 percent of working women are employed in the service sector, compared with 46 percent of men”* (p.3; for a similar rate also see Hu 1996:209), wherein these women are more likely to be excluded from coverage in the National Labour Insurance Scheme under the Labour Standards Law. All the full-time working mothers in the present study were concentrated either in the service sector characterised by life insurance or in secretariat, such as secretary or assistant, except for Annie, a widow and a manager of her deceased husband’s company through inheritance. If they are self-employed

“bosses”, then their own business is small, almost always run by themselves alone and seldom paying someone else as an employee, but still concentrates on “women’s work” in relation to traditional female skills, such as cooking, clothing, caring and the like. Mary, working as a street vendor, is a typical self-employed woman in my fieldwork. Meanwhile, three lone mothers are covered under the Governmental Employee Insurance Scheme. Most of the others are nearly protected under the Labour Standards Law, except for Tulip, a never-married single mother with a young son.

Despite the expanded coverage of the Labour Standards Law in 1997 from so-called “nine-occupations”¹² to business lines¹³, certain groups of worker are still excluded (Cheng 1997). Furthermore, Hsiung (1996) strongly criticises this incomplete coverage by illustrating the fact that *“First, according to the law, only factories with more than thirty workers are required to make public in writing their regulations on*

¹² Article 3 of the Labour Standards Law states clearly that this law only can be applied to these nine occupations as follows

- (1) Agriculture, forestry, and fishing;
- (2) Mines industry;
- (3) Manufacturing industry;
- (4) Constructing industry;
- (5) Water, electricity, coal and gas industry;
- (6) Transportation, storage and communications industry;
- (7) Mass media industry;

(8) Certain industries regulated by the Central Government of Taiwan (Hu 1996; Lin et al. 1998)

¹³ The Council of Labour Affairs extended the coverage of the Labour Standards Law to include people working in 10 more business lines, which are credit cooperatives, department stores and supermarkets, care retailers, securities and furniture companies, and non-bank financiers. The others included civil engineering and construction firms, international traders, information providers, tourism hotels and medical firms. This extended coverage started in 1998 (Cheng 1997)

such matters as overtime, wages, promotions, routine breaks, vacation time, and the handling of disputes. Without written regulations, owners of the satellite factories enjoy more leverage and fewer constraints in organizing the workplace. Second, under regulations specified by the Union Law, only in factories with more than thirty workers can the workers organize a union” (p.61; also Cohen 1988: 129; Bello and Rosenfeld 1990:221). Unfortunately, Tulip, an unmarried single mother, in my fieldwork was doing a full-time job, but was not protected by the Labour Standards Law nor covered under the Labour Insurance Scheme at all.

Currently, the workshop I am working for is an individual workshop regarding art. There are only four employees in my workplace. Therefore the employer is not required to provide the National Health Insurance Scheme or the Labour Insurance Scheme to his employees. That is why I am not covered under the Labour Standards law (Tulip)

Like workers in the satellite factories, Tulip, as a full-time labourer, is deprived of the right to defend and protect her own welfare. For Tulip, expecting the law or union to protect her from oppressive labour participation has been, and continues to be, unrealistic. Her “choice” for the minimum-wage job without any employment protection should be understood in terms of certain circumstances faced by Tulip.

(When asked about the reason why she had to change her job and took the

current one) My salary would increase up to NT\$30,000 if I continued to work there until 9 February (1998) and simultaneously, I did not take any leave, either. Otherwise, usually my earnings would be NT\$27,000 per month... Currently my earnings are only NT\$18,000 (i.e., nearly a minimum wage for a full-time worker in 1998)..... Because of the transformation of my previous corporation, I was sent to work in another place, which is too far away from my home. This relatively distant workplace made me unable to fit in my son's school schedule and to pick him up from school. The time when I finished my work was always later than 6:00pm. It was too late for me to pick up my son. Meanwhile, the time to spend with my son became much less. All these reasons motivated me to change my job....Yes, it (her current workplace) is not only closer to my home but also to my son's school. Then I have more time to be with my son (Tulip).

As early as Whipp (1987) has pointed out, time is "*a key element of both the formal organization of work and the experience of labour*" (p.210). Different patterns of work time have long drawn Western social scientists' attention, particularly feminists'. In 2001, work time and gender are both treated together, perhaps for the first time, as social dynamics in the division of welfare regime typologies. By these dimensions, Mutari and Figart (2001) divide Western welfare states into four categorises: (1) *Male Breadwinner Work Time Regimes*, (2) *Liberal Flexibilization Work Time Regimes*, (3) *Solidaristic Gender Equity Work Time Regimes*, and (4) *Transitional Work Time Regimes*. Furthermore, Hochschild (2001) highlights that American working couples are more "*time bind*" to their work and workplace, and have "*time-debts at home*" as a consequence, leading to "*not only the parent-free home, but also the participant-free society and the citizen-free democracy*" (p.244). All these Western studies only focus

on either work time only or gender and work time together. Few of them have been found to briefly mention the “time-poverty” of lone mothers in Sweden without further explanation (e.g., Lewis 1992:170; Whitehead 2000 et al. 2000:216). Furthermore, Turner and Grieco (2000) argue, the “time-poverty” faced by lone mothers can be generated from differential access to transport and travel patterns between the sexes, which is closely linked with “gendered” economic and social resources. Very few Western literature highlights the “time-poverty” of working lone mothers and its impact upon their full-time paid work and their earnings, or “the time of transportation” to the workplace and its impacts upon their full-time workfare, which are faced by lone mothers in Taiwan as full-time paid workers, “restricting their own better-off workfare and career, sacrificing their own full-time employment rights and trapping themselves in great risks in the workplace without any basic employment protection” only in order to fit their work time into their children’s school hours. Furthermore, Like Pin-cyang, noted in the earlier section, Tulip is not only compelled to pay the higher rate of premium for her own NHI, but also another amount of money for her son’s NHI, while Pin-cyang’s children are covered under the 1980 Social Assistance Law due to her eligibility as a low-income family. Echoing Standing’s (1999) views on the one hand, for many lone mothers in Taiwan, “*full-time paid work and solo mothering are not compatible.*” (p.483). On the other hand, Standing (1999)

further argued that either part-time work or withdrawal from the labour market is the solution to this incompatible dilemma between childcare/childrearing and full-time work. Disputing her views, for most lone mothers in Taiwan, the only workable solution to this dilemma is neither to take part-time work, which coincides with school hours, nor to withdraw out of full-time employment. But Rather, for lone mothers in the Mother-Worker-Family-Outsider Welfare model, this “incompatible” dilemma of childcare/full-time paid work is “compatible” at the expense of lone mothers’ workfare of being full-time workers without any basic employment protection in terms of low wages, no pension rights, more risk of poverty in old age, no trade union, no paid maternity leave for childbirth and no paid parental leave for care of the young and sick children, but only a higher amount of “self-support” health care premium.

Lone Mothers as Unpaid-Parental-Leave Workers for Childrearing and Caring for Sick Children

Since the 1970s, lone parents regardless of gender in the Parent-Worker-Citizen Welfare Model have long been recognised by the Scandinavian States their parental rights based on citizenship by legislation concerning entitlements to absence from work in connection with, as Leira (1998b) argues, “(i) *pregnancy, parturition and the*

early period of the infant's life, and when a child is sick; and (ii) the provision of high-quality, state-sponsored childcare" (p.164). The legal recognition of the right to parental leave interlinks the concepts of "worker and carer", whereby Hobson proposed her welfare regime typologies by analysing lone mothers as a case, noted in Chapter Two. As Rothman (1998) points out, "*The most generous (parental leave) programs in the world are found in Sweden. The law there mandates the right to full-time leave for 18 months and the right to a reduced working day (6 hours) until the child is 8 years old. Parents are entitled to 450 days (15 months) pay at 90 to 100% of salary, and 60 days of paid child care until age 12 to cover care when the child is ill.*" (p.220; also Widerberg 1991:28; Siim 1994:296; Bradshaw et al. 1996:31; Gray 2001:195). In contrast to that in Sweden, the maternity leave legislation in Taiwan may be the worst in the world as another extreme.

Bradshaw et al. (1996) in their survey of the employment of lone parents in 20 countries found that "*in most countries maternity and parental leave is useful only at the birth of a child, and therefore is not strictly relevant to divorced, separated and widowed women in relation to their status as lone mothers.*" (p.30). The fragmented inequality of the social security system of the KMT state is reflected again in the parental leave programmes among lone mothers between military

personnel/government employees/public school teachers and non-military personnel/government employees/public school teachers. On childbirth, lone mothers in these two occupations are entitled to eight weeks full-paid maternity leave, like lone mothers in most countries noted by Bradshaw et al. (1996). From 1997 onwards, government employees with young children aged under three have been granted another two years unpaid parental leave for childrearing, which, if necessary, can be extended to another year whilst continuing to keep their occupation but not be present at work. After childrearing, they have the right to return to work and to their previous job (Chang and Chang 1997). During the period of separation, I-Chueng was the only participant in my fieldwork, entitled to this extra-unpaid parental leave for childrearing due to working as a public school teacher with a son aged under three. But in reality, this “privileged” parental leave for childrearing could not benefit her, because of its “unpaid” nature and her status as a solo rice-winner in her mother-only family. By contrast, this “privileged” unpaid parental leave is more likely to benefit two-parent families whereas at least mothers working as government employees and as a secondary earner have this extra-choice. If lone mothers, guaranteed the best employment protection and provision under the Government Employee Law, can hardly benefit from the “unequal but privileged” nature of this unpaid parental leave, can lone mothers working as full-time labourers be protected any better?

The answer is certainly “NO”, because those lone mothers under the Labour Standards Law have not yet been treated as “equally” as female government employees nor are they allowed to have this two year unpaid parental leave for childrearing. Without paid parental leave, lone mothers again have been trapped into another extreme dilemma of childcare/full-time paid work in the case of sick children. This dilemma once occurred to Margaret, as a full-time secretary in a private foundation. For Margaret, the strategy for coping with unpaid parental leave for caring for sick children is to “bring her son” to the workplace, and to do paid work and unpaid mothering together in the workplace.

Unconsciously, I gave him (Margaret’s son) pressure. For example, I always said to him: “Whenever you attend your kindergarten, after-school-club or primary school, due to moving to a new residence to live, I could take one day off only to help you settle down at your new school. Not more than one day. So within a day you have to settle down and adapt yourself to a new environment. I cannot take more than one day to help you any more.”....I remember once I brought him to work when he got a high fever. I found a couch for him to lie on at the back of my office, and I worked very hard in the front of my workplace. I often had to check how his fever was going while I was working. The pastor I worked for knew my situation (of being a lone mother) and also accepted what I was doing (as mother and worker)(Margaret)

Working lone mothers in Taiwan are treated more strictly in terms of parental leave for care of sick children in contrast to their counterparts in the most countries, noted

by Bradshaw et al. (1996:30-31). This combination of full-time paid work and unpaid childcare for sick children without paid parental leave in the workplace can be workable only under certain circumstances. First, this is based on the “goodwill” of Margaret’s employer, not based on “a full-time worker’s employment rights”. Second, children must not be so critically ill as to be hospitalised. Third, the workplace of full-time working mothers should be a safer and more secure environment for young children to stay, like Margaret’s “indoor office”. Otherwise, dangerous workplaces can trap working mothers and their young children into uncontrollable risks. The negative impact of no paid parental leave for care of seriously ill children is of the greatest significance to casual workers, like street-cleaners. First, their workplace is undoubtedly not a safe area for children; second, unlike full-time female workers, they do not have the right to paid maternity leave at childbirth; third, like full-time workers they are not entitled to any paid parental leave for caring for their ill children; fourth, their income certainly will be cut vitally because of taking days off for caring for hospitalised children and being paid on the basis of a day-to-day-wage; fifth, they become more vulnerable to be blamed for “mothering badly”, particularly by their mothers-in-law, whereas lone mothers in the UK are often stereotyped by the general community, the media and some politicians as “irresponsible mothers” (e.g., Brown 1989:24).

Every time when my second young daughter has a routine operation, I find it very hard to cope with, for I do need someone else to take turns with me to look after her at the hospital. But in effect, I have to live with it, although I feel so hard..... If you deducted 4 days from 26 working days, because I had to stay at the hospital to look after my daughter, then my wage reduced to NT\$11,000 (£203)....(By taking four days leave to look after her daughter at the hospital)(She could have) no wage at all.....While I am working, I am worried about them (her three children) very much, because I couldn't have any idea about what they are doing at home alone. Will they play with knives or fire or any dangerous things, such as gas? If I really didn't have any choice, then I would bring them all out with me to work on the roads/streets. But my mother-in-law usually criticised me about the way I brought my children out to work on the streets. Meanwhile, she blamed me for what I did.....If I let them stay at home alone and something bad happens to them, who is going to be responsible for this? Except me only (Pin-cyang)

The parent/women-friendly states in Scandinavia, particularly in Sweden, have long recognized social rights of "citizens-parents-workers" based on the ideological context in which paid employment and parenthood/motherhood are not seen in contradiction. Consequently, the high level of employment among lone mothers in Scandinavia is made possible by providing a comprehensive, publicly funded childcare system, a long-period of paid parental leave for childbirth and childrearing, paid parental leave for care of sick children, and shorter-hours working days for parents (Widerberg 1991; Siim 1994). Ironically, the high level of participation in the labour market among lone mothers in Taiwan is also made possible by an extremely selective and residual public childcare, a short-period of paid maternity leave only for

childbirth, no paid parental leave for childrearing and care of ill children, and frequent overtime working days for mothers. The strategies for these two lone mothers coping with unpaid parental leave for sick children and maintaining their employment continuity is “to bring their children and care for them in their workplace”. The cost of this high employment in the Mother-Worker-Family-Outsider Welfare model is the exploitation of lone mothers’ employment protection in terms of the exclusion from protection by labour legislation and labour insurance, no pension, low-wage and deducted wages because of taking parental leave for care of hospitalised children from necessity, and the neglect of the well-being of their young children, who are ill and may be cared for in the workplace instead of at home based on employers’ “good-will”, whilst their solo working mothers do not have any entitlement to any parental leave to care for them, whether paid or unpaid.

Lone Mothers as Unemployed

Like most Western countries, the labour force participation rate of married women with children has been increasing rapidly up from 31.70 % in 1978 to 46.50% in 1998 in Taiwan (DGBAS 1998:4). But women’s unemployment is seldom taken seriously into account on the basis of the assumption of their status of being dependent wives or

secondary earners mainly relying on their male rice/bread-winners (Land 1975). As Dex (1985) has argued, *"It was thought to make little sense to ask women about their not-working experiences. Men's not-working activity has been extensively considered under the heading of 'unemployment'"* (p.47). Following this, Callender (1996) continued to criticise, *"women's experiences of unemployment are rendered invisible or marginalized and not considered a problem or worthy of comprehensive policy response, unlike men's unemployment"* (p.38). There is no wonder that men's unemployment rate is always higher than women's across countries because of underreported female unemployment or the complete neglect of it (Callender 1996). Similarly, the 1998 male unemployment rate (2.73%) is higher than that (1.80%) of their female counterparts in Taiwan (DGBAS 1998:8). This lower rate is closely linked with the ideological context in which the employed women have been assumed to have few problems with unemployment because at least they can become unpaid housewives working inside at home and depending on their employed bread/rice-winners. This certainly cannot be the case for lone mothers in Taiwan. For this special group, without a paid job, there is no income and furthermore, there is a serious economic crisis regarding the whole well-being of all the family members in the Taiwan Confucian Welfare State, whereas the lack of National Unemployment Insurance remains the same as before, noted in Chapter One and compared with the

much earlier implementation of Unemployment Insurance in the UK in 1911, in the USA in 1935, and in Norway in 1966 (Thane 1982:95; Abel-Smith 1992:7; Pierson 1995:309; Rothman 1998: 182-183; Leira 1993:60)

However, the unemployment rate in Taiwan has always remained very low, roughly below 2.34% compared with that in Western industrialised countries (DGBAS 1998:3, 1999:64; Shen 1998; Free China Journal 1st January 1999). In fact, two of the lone mothers in my study were unfortunately unemployed, although temporarily, at the time of interview (1998). There are no unemployment benefits for them both to claim to support their family. It seems that living on their small savings and tightly controlling their family expenditure are the only ways for them to cope without earnings due to their joblessness.

(During the period of unemployment, when asked about how to cope with such a circumstance without any earnings) I still have got some savings left to live on, and soon I have to work again. I won't allow my family and myself to be starving to death (Joy)

Currently, I am unemployed...Under such a circumstance, I must have a more frugal life than before, because of no more earnings from my paid work to supplement my family.. So I have to do my best to control my expenses within my budget. Certainly, I still could not manage it perfectly; sometimes, I still would take out an overdraft (Holi)

Besides, another great risk faced by these two unemployed lone mothers is the lack of coverage of Labour Insurance in terms of lump sum old age pension, death

compensation, injury and the like. As Tulip mentioned above, they became uninsured yet are still not exempt from paying the National Health Insurance premium for their children and themselves.

Lee: While you were working, you were covered under the Labour Insurance Scheme. Since you are unemployed, have you still been covered by it?

Holi: No, no, I am not covered by it but rather I have to pay the National Health Insurance premium (Holi)

Currently, I am not covered under the Labour Insurance Scheme; so I do not have to pay its premium, but I have to pay the premium for National Health Insurance for my mother, my two daughters and myself. Totally, it costs me NT\$2,300 (£46) per month (Joy)

For these two unemployed lone mothers, there are neither male rice-winners nor “welfare state” nor “secure employment” to rely on. Even worse is having no rights to be exempt from compulsory, but contributory health care. They are a good example of “active citizens” whom some Western governments and scholars, particularly pro-new rights or pro-Third-way, have strongly promoted and emulated through social welfare policies by withdrawing state interventions for lone mothers and encouraging them to “take up their individual citizenship responsibilities” via participation in the labour market. Whilst many Western scholars found the feminisation of poverty among lone mothers, it can be argued here that the experiences of “feminisation of poverty” among the unemployed lone mothers in Taiwan is certainly institutionalised by the “inactive state”. This institutionalised feminisation of poverty has a great negative impact upon the unemployed mother-only families. Whilst solo unemployed

mothers are in poor health, this “unemployment” eventually can turn awfully into “a disaster”, especially for mother-only families, due to “too extreme inactivity of the Confucian state” in Taiwan. Dependent children from unemployed lone mother families, motivated by the belief of “filial piety”, become “incredibly eager and willing” to take up part-time work or casual jobs in order to “rescue” their “workless household” without income. Instead they are easily “caught” into child pornography and child prostitution, like Joy’s eldest daughter aged 13.

In fact, my eldest daughter cannot wait to work straightaway even temporarily if she is allowed to do so now. Since the age of 12, while studying at the 6th grade of primary school, she began to take up some casual or temporary work already, even though I never allowed her to do so... She always feels that I am very poor...If my health is going well, I may return to work as a nurse again so that I can earn more money...Then the living standard of my family will be much improved, but nobody can look after my children. They always go wherever they want....My eldest daughter once went out to work as a temporary labourer. Eventually I am very worried about her because she is still a child labourer. The only workplace to accept her to work as a child labourer and casual worker is the place involving pornography and the sex industry... I did not lie to you seriously! This summer vacation, she did go out and work as a teenage waitress in a sex-industry tea shop. For us, it is very easy to distinguish which tea shops are running pornography and sex businesses. All the waitresses working there are young teenage girls and they are used to attract the customers for sex. Of course she wouldn’t have any idea about that. Working as a waitress in tea shops is a very easy job for her to do and earn money (Joy)

The explanation in the “eagerness” and “willingness” of Joy’s eldest daughter to participate in the temporary labour market should be understood under certain

circumstances in four ways: (1) Joy's long-term ill health of cancer; (2) her long-term insecure and poor income; (3) her contemporary unemployment; and (4) the popular belief of "filial piety". These four interplaying dynamics became great "work incentives" for Joy's eldest daughter to make every effort to earn as much money as possible. Particularly, there is a history of elder daughters who enter prostitution in the Confucian social context in order to support their poor natal family based on the notion of "filial piety" (Wolf 1972; Kung 1983, 1994; Hwang 1995). Ignoring the situations where children are involved in the commercial sex trade, further blame is placed on such children as "child prostitutes by choice" and stigmatising them as "delinquents or criminals", as Kane (1998) strongly criticises, "*It is a sick world that puts the blame for such prostitution on the children who might well have chosen not to enter the sex trade*" (p.57). Labelling children of lone mothers as "delinquents or problem children" has often occurred in Taiwan and in the West as well (Huang 1997; Lee 1997; Lu 1997; Wang 1997; Brown 1989). Confirming Kane's view, the same critique of the mass media stigma upon children of lone mothers involved in delinquency or the sex industry is given by Joy.

So I took her back. And I said to her employer: "I do not allow my daughter to work here!". That tea shop boss asked for my signature to agree to my daughter working for him. He won't have trouble if the police come here to check his business. I replied to him: "Why should I sign? I strongly oppose letting my

daughter work here!”. Furthermore, if the mass media found out that my daughter worked in tea shop, as usual, they always start to stigmatise all children from lone mother families as delinquents and problem children again and again (Joy).

Without the recognition of the special circumstances faced by lone mothers in terms of unemployment, ill health, no income, no unemployment benefits, no state benefits, no male rice-winner, and the belief of filial piety of dutiful elder daughters in the Confucian family, their children are blamed as delinquents or criminals. In fact, such a stigma is “*victimising the victims*” in Kane’s terms (1998:110). There is no surprise that these two unemployed lone mothers are expecting to re-enter full-time paid work as soon as possible as they say they have no choice. It is because full-time employment is their only alternative to support their family in the Mother-Worker-Family-Outsider Welfare Model, as Holi said.

It is more likely that I will work again soon. If I don’t work properly and soon, my daughters will lose their security (She is laughing).. If I work properly, they feel more secure in finance...That is what they feel about my job (Holi)

Lone Mothers as the Objects of Sexual Harassment in the Workplace

Sexual harassment in the workplace has been well documented in Western literature (MacKinnon 1979, 1982, 1987; Leeds 1983; Walby 1990; Kemp 1994; Reskin and

Padavic 1994; Stanko 1988, 1996; Stockdale 1996). But it is seldom linked with lone motherhood in the West. In fact, it becomes another form of sex discrimination in the workplace faced by lone mothers regardless of their marital status in Taiwan. As Reskin and Padavic (1994) point out, "*Sexual harassment involves sex differentiation and power, two gendered aspects of work; this, it is a fundamental form of gendering... Power imbalance facilitates harassment; even though women can and do sexually harass subordinates, because men usually hold positions of authority, it is more common for men to harass women.*" (p.129). Unfortunately, three lone mothers had experienced sexual harassment in the workplace due to being lone mothers. The power imbalance between female employees and male employer facilitated sexual harassment for Lousia.

In particular, at my workplace, I had experienced something extremely awful. My colleagues surrounding me kept asking me: "You must be very lonesome, since you have become a widow at such a young age (24)". Especially, my boss would think so. I hadn't told him about the real situation of my background, but I guessed, he could realize easily my widowed lone motherhood for I had worked with him for years. He always gave me a sexual hint...But, on the contrary, he didn't show his kind concern about me properly. Instead, he always hinted that I did need sex. Sometimes, while I was typing alone with him in my office, he often came close to me and said: "You must be very tired because of typing so hard. Do you need me to do a massage for you?" As long as he came to me, I would get goose pimples immediately.. After hearing that, I always could feel exactly the same as what he really meant: "I do need sex." (Lousia)

By the physical and verbal behaviour of her employer, Lousia had experienced being “*objectified and symbolized women for sex*” due to her status of widowed motherhood (Kemp 1994:311). Another case in which an employer failed to recognise that the environment within which lone mothers have to work is sexist due to the early working hours (officially from 5:30 a.m.), the workplace on streets and the female gender. Thus female street-cleaners become more vulnerable to sexual harassment at the workplace.

Officially, as a street-cleaner, I should start to work at 5:30 am... But usually I went to work earlier than that (approx. 4:30 a.m.) Even though I was not allowed to do so formally, then I did it in fact, because, afterwards I had to go home to get everything done for my children for school....It was because, as a street-cleaner, I had to get up and clean up the streets in the very early morning. I had met a lot of perverts who always exposed their sexual organs to me. Once I was so scared that I left my brooms right away and ran home as quickly as I could. I couldn't work there any more.... Another time it happened around 4:00 a.m. A drunken man was approaching me. He also did the same thing to me. Again, I left all my cleaning tools and ran home as soon as possible. I was too terrified by coming across these two such guys (Pin-cyang)

The blindness of her employer to the sexist workplace and gendered work hours facilitated such harassment to Pin-cyang in her workplace. Still in Taiwan no relevant legislation tackles sexual harassment in the workplace and protects working women from it in contrast to their counterparts in the USA, who are protected under the 1986 *Meritor Savings Bank* case, being held that an employer is liable for sexually

harassing behaviour of a supervisor (Kemp 1994:318). Unfortunately, Pin-cyang's employer is the "State" which should regulate legislation to protect working women from suffering such harassment but who instead facilitate it.

Since the passage of the 1984 Labour Standards Law, the protection of working women has been controversial. But the KMT state has not only adopted a passive attitude to enforce the Labour Standards Law, but also a reluctance to revise it to protect female workers against sexual harassment. With tireless efforts from Taiwanese feminist groups, Article 83 of the *Social Order Maintenance Act*, promulgated on 29th June, 1991, was incorporated reading: "Whoever is guilty of teasing the opposite sex with any obscene language, act or manner shall be fined not more than NT\$ 6,000 (£120)". This article only provides fragile legal remedies but in effect still cannot prevent working women from sexual harassment in the workplace. Thereafter, in 1987, another further action was taken by Taiwanese feminist groups¹⁴ to organise a group as an "Equal Employment Act Drafting

¹⁴ The Awakening Foundation is one of these feminist groups who established an "Equal Employment Act Drafting Committee" in 1987 to promote more protections on women's employment rights. In 1987, the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall in Taipei City, supervised by the Ministry of Education, forced 57 female employees who were pregnant or those aged over 30 to resign. In this case, several feminist groups, lawyers and mass media with those female government employees against sex discrimination in the workplace and for their equal employment rights in recruiting, employing, promoting, job training and lay-off. Thus the Awakening Foundation established an "Equal Employment Act Drafting Committee" in the same year. Three years later (1990), the Equal Employment Act drafted by such a committee was handed in with joint signatures from 39 legislators to the Legislative Yuan for formal discussion. Over a decade, the Act has not yet been passed in Legislative Yuan and until the time of writing (September 2001).

Committee” in order to promote and enforce more employment protection for working women. Under such pressure, the *Equal Employment Act* was successfully drafted by the Council of Labour Affairs (CLA), regulating the prohibition of sexual harassment in the workplace. Unfortunately it was turned down by the Premier, Lian Chan, in February 1995, only to transfer it into a formal discussion in Legislative Yuan dominated by the KMT Party (Chang 1995; Wang 1995:111-114). Recently, an amendment of the Criminal Code was approved to tackle sexual harassment, firstly at schools¹⁵, but not particularly in the workplace. No relevant legislation has prohibited sexual harassment of women in the workplace (Chang 1999a & b). Any such legislation is unlikely to protect female part-timers from sexual harassment. Instead it is more likely to exclude them, like the Labour Standards Law, typically failing in the protection of full-time and part-time workers whilst being working solo mothers.

6.3 Summary

Like housing, the Generation-Age-Gender hierarchy in the Confucian family and

¹⁵ The reason why Taiwanese feminist groups started their campaign against sexual harassment from campuses is the incident of “Women in Little Red Hats”, in which a male professor was suspected to sexually harass one of his female students at National Tsinghua University in Hsinchu county. In light of the above, the campaign of “Women in Little Red Hats” emerged to tackle sexual harassment at campuses since 1992. For further details, see Yu (1994) and Chang (1995)

society affects lone parents in the labour market differently. In response to the debates upon engendering citizenship, Pateman (1989) has noted that employment has become the key to welfare citizenship in the West. Although the social security system in Taiwan is quite highly work-oriented, similarly to Bismarkian social welfare in Germany, in effect it is still not yet complete but rather is underdeveloped due to the lack of National Pension Insurance and National Unemployment Insurance, unlike Germany. On the one hand, this incompleteness and underdevelopment implies explicitly that the citizenship of the employed, particularly those non-military personnel/government employee/public school teachers, has not yet reached fully through all sections of employment, unlike Pateman's argument based on the Western capitalist social context. On the other hand, it is intimately in accordance with the very reluctance and inactivity of the Taiwanese state's intervention in welfare provision for its citizens. These 55-years-dominated-by-the KMT Party State have persistently and promoted "the family as a cornerstone of social welfare policy" by viewing its all citizens not as "individual citizens" but rather as "family members", consolidated under Confucian education and ethics, noted in as Chapter One.

As Okin (1991) has argued, *"What happens in domestic and personal life is not immune from the dynamic of power, which has typically been seen as the*

distinguishing feature of the political. Power within the family, whether that of husband over wife or of parent over child, has often not been recognized as such, either because it has been regarded as natural or because it is assumed that, in the family, altruism and the harmony of interest make power an insignificant factor."

(p.128). In effect, despite the "crippled" recognition of citizenship through employment, lone fathers are certainly viewed as "full and permanent family members" within the Confucian family, and benefit from Generation-Age-Gender-structured family resources and investment, particularly in terms of education, free care for children and elderly parents, housing inheritance, and more recognition of security through money. In contrast, lone mothers as "family outsiders" do not have equal opportunities with their male counterparts within the family but carry more sexually divided domestic work, unrecognised by the family and the State. In this sense, care for children and elderly parents-in-law from lone mothers are supposedly self-regulating within the family and thus beyond the range of state intervention. Non-recognition of the Mother-Carer as "*family membership and full citizenship*" has doubly deepened their disadvantaged position in the labour market in terms of more part-time work undertaken by low-income mothers, little or no employment protection, intermittent employment history, unemployment and becoming victims of sexual harassment in the workplace, which lone fathers seldom

have experienced or which is little recorded for lone mothers in the West. First, lone mothers have been deprived of their full family membership within the Confucian family and are entitled to lower family resources investment and distribution, in terms of education and properties. Second, they are exploited more in the labour market due to “crippled worker-citizenship” despite participation in full-time employment. Absolutely, employment is not the key to full welfare citizenship for them either in contrast to Pateman’s argument. As parents and workers, lone fathers have benefited from their permanent family membership in terms of childcare and housekeeping, family resources investment and distribution, which directly or indirectly increase their advantages in the labour market. As mothers, carers, workers and family outsiders, lone mothers have suffered more than others in Taiwan and in the West. Certainly, the Confucian Welfare State is more workable for lone fathers, as “permanent family insiders”, than for lone mothers as “lifetime family outsiders”.

Chapter 7 Lone Mothers and their Solutions

Obviously, in Taiwan, economic necessity is the key work incentive for the participation of lone parents in the labour market whether part-time or full-time. Unfortunately, as Gordon and Kaupinen (1997) point out, "*Combining work and family has created considerable problems for women--problems that are not typically experienced by men*" (p.1). These "unsolved dilemmas" of caring responsibilities and inevitable employment have affected lone parents differently: It can be assumed that lone mothers are more at risk of poverty than lone fathers in Taiwan, as in other countries. Unsurprisingly in the Mother-Carer-Citizen Welfare model, several feminists have suggested that marriage/remarriage or repartnering may offer solutions to the material, practical and emotional problems of lone parenthood (Burgoyne and Clarke 1984:11; Cherlin 1992:80-81). Following this, a number of Western studies also confirmed that remarriage/re-partnering seemed to be the most accessible route out of poverty among female-headed households (Millar 1989; Uhlenberg 1989; Maclean 1991; Ermish 1991; Rowlingson and MacKay 1998). The remarriage rate among lone mothers remains high and is increasing over 50% (Wallerstein and Kelly 1980; Burgoyne and Clark 1984; Uhlenberg 1989; Coleman 1989; Kiernan and Wicks 1990; Maclean 1991; Goode 1992). Furthermore, Kiernan et al. (1998)

explicitly point out, *"There are two main routes out of lone parenthood: starting to live with a partner in a cohabiting or marital union, and children growing up and becoming independent"*(p.51). Re-partnering via cohabitation is undoubtedly one of the pathways out of lone motherhood in the West (Blanc 1987; Kiernan and Estaugh 1993). But it can hardly be the way out for lone parents in Taiwan while it is still extremely unacceptable in the Taiwanese social context despite its increasing rate among the younger generation. Marsh (1996:293-294) suggested that the percentage of his respondents in Taipei City favouring "love-marriage" has remained almost the same (over 75.5%) from 1963 to 1991 because education has become the modern conservative force in mate selection instead of the old-fashioned family background. This finding implied explicitly that **love-marriage** is still located at the heart of the modern Confucian family and society in Taiwan instead of love-cohabitation outside of marriage. Thus, is re/marriage another solution for lone mothers to escape the risks of poverty and end their lone motherhood, like their counterparts in the Mother-Carer-Citizen Welfare regime? The present chapter is an attempt to explore what solutions they have conceived to cope with mothering alone, compared to lone fathers.

7.1 Lone Fathers and Their Solutions

Looking for the Haven Back

As shown in Chapter One, the family in the Mother-Worker-Family-Outsider Welfare model has persistently been promoted by the Taiwanese Confucian State as the heart of its welfare policies, but in contrast, Western white feminists have continuously criticised the family as the primary source of gender inequality (Barrett 1988; Barrett and McIntosh 1991; Gordon 1991; Oakley 1997). Furthermore, as noted in Chapter Two, the family in the Confucian social context is socially structured not only around gender but also generation and age. Thus women/men, wives/husbands and sons/daughters do not experience their families in the same way. These differential experiences divided under the Generation-Age-Gender hierarchy certainly will bring lone parents differential future prospects of re/marriage. It is because, as Dahl (1987) argued, "*The marriage contract carries different implications and consequences for men and women*" (p.115; Bernard 1976:19-41; Burgoyne and Clark 1984:10; Sørensen and MaLanahan 1987:685; Baxter 1992:245-246; Jackson 1993:192).

When asked about the willingness and the possibility of re/marriage in the future, all

the 10 lone fathers held a very positive attitude to it, and over half were even eager for it. This preference and eagerness for re/marriage should be understood in a social context that *marriage both means different things to men and women and also has very different consequences for the two sexes* (Bernard 1976:19-41). These differential consequences coincide with the ways lone fathers, as family insiders, have benefited more from their patrilineal family in this study. The first benefit for lone fathers from the family is power. A wealth of evidence has persistently shown unequal power and differential access to family resources in Western traditional nuclear families consisting of two-parent families with dependent children (e.g., Burgoyne 1990; Delphy 1984; Wilson 1987a & b; Morris 1990, 1993a; Pahl 1983, 1989; Volger 1994; Volger and Pahl 1994; Lennon and Rosenfield 1994; Nyman 1999). The husband's power over his wife not only benefited David's housing ownership but also the husband's supremacy over his wife guaranteed half of the lone fathers in this study priority of housing ownership within marriage, as noted in Chapter Five. Bearing this concept of privileged power within marriage in mind, Chung-zeng, a widower, strongly criticised those modern young women full of self-awareness who prefer more "rights" than traditional "obligations/duties".

Nowadays, young women have a stronger sense of self-awareness but less ability in patience and tolerance. I often feel that modern women would only

like to have rights but put obligations/duties away... We have still got some traditional virtues, such as a family.. Within the family, women should prefer to do more housework. But unfortunately young women do not think in that way nowadays any more... I prefer to look for a family-centred woman who would like to contribute all her efforts to the family in all aspects. This is the most important to me. She should not be bothered at all with what and how much she has contributed to the family (Chung-zeng)

Second, the sexual division of domestic labour has benefited lone fathers more within marriage in many ways. Husbands as bread/rice-winners carry fewer care and housework responsibilities while men's domestic tasks consist only of repairs (Henwood et al.1987; Charles 1993). As Charles (1993) points out, "*if men do take a more active role in the home, it is defined as 'helping' their partners, the underlying assumption being that the responsibility for household tasks is women's*" (p.70; also see Oakley 1974; Henwood et al. 1987; Charles and Brown 1981; Hood 1983; Lennon and Rosenfield 1994:506; Hardill et al.1997: 314). This greater "freedom from care" at home and less housework in the family was experienced by Gwo-chung.

When I became a lone parent, my youngest son already was aged 6. I felt much better. Otherwise I would be completely exhausted if my youngest child was only 1 or 2 years old. ..Otherwise I would have had to pay someone else to do childcare for my youngest son. So I did appreciate my wife very much for taking good care of my youngest son during her illness... At that time she did not work outside of the home. Instead she did all the housework, childcare and childrearing. In addition, she also did some handcraft work at home (as a home-worker) (Gwo-chung)

Not surprisingly, much Western feminist analysis has identified that most men benefit from the material advantages of having women undertake various servicing roles, care of children and of dependent elderly relatives and also from the present organisation of the family (Barrett 1988; Nyman 1999). More precisely speaking, despite social stigma upon married women's earnings as "pin money", this money is often in fact the only means of making ends meet in the family (Zelizer 1989:366-371). Thus, like other lone fathers, Gwo-chung, as the rice-winner, benefited not only from unpaid childcare, childrearing and housework but also secondary earnings contributed by his wife as a home-worker. Unfortunately, lone fatherhood does mean the great loss of these advantages due to the loss of mothering and homemaking or housekeeping caused by death and divorce. Unsurprisingly, the loss of an unpaid child-carer and of the housekeeper/homemaker were the main constraints faced by lone fathers in Taiwan as Chung-zeng described his biggest constraint.

7
My biggest problem is the lack of a wife (Chung-zeng)

There is no wonder that for lone fathers, "happiness" is the recovery from such a loss of a wife and the return to the normal two-parent family through remarriage. This perception of "happiness" is confirmed with Ming-chung's active participation in a

variety of match-maker clubs and programmes in order to recover his motherless and wifeless family into a nuclear two-parent one, properly organised through a male rice-winner with dependent children and wife, sometimes working as secondary earners, “*and as a haven beyond the public realm and commerce and industry*” (Barrett 1988).

Shortly after the death of my wife, I made every effort to try hard in order to bring that happiness back (whereas his deceased wife worked as unpaid homemaker and care-giving mother inside at home). It took me a bit longer to find someone else and bring her into my motherless family (Ming-chung)

Thus the search for another unpaid carer and housekeeper/homemaker becomes the main remarriage incentive for lone fathers in order to constitute a “*haven in a heartless world*” as Lasch (1977) has called it.

More Money, More Time and More Energy

Following this, over half of the lone fathers in this study, regardless of marital status, age and education, have taken part in a variety of commercial match-maker clubs and subscribed a certain amount of money for membership, while none of the lone mothers in my fieldwork has ever done this. These efforts are confirmed with

Turtledove's multiple participation in these clubs and activities.

Yes, I have (actively participated in the search for a potential remarriage partner). I even joined the Programmes of "I Love Match-maker"¹ and other re/marriage agencies. ... All these agencies are commercial groups. Eventually I have been there at least five times (Turtledove)

These efforts in the search for remarriage are made possible only because of the lower risks of "time-, money- and energy-poverty". Money-poverty among lone mothers in the Mother-Carer-Citizen Welfare regime has been well documented in a rich wealth of Western feminist literature (e.g., McLanahan and Booth 1989; Harris 1993). Meanwhile, work-time in association with time on housework and caring work between the sexes has constantly been examined in an enormous Western literature (e.g., Coverman 1983; Baxter 1992; Hewitt 1993; Gershung 2000). But time-poverty among working solo mothers appears relatively little and is more likely to occur in the Parent-Worker-Citizen welfare model (Lewis 1992:170; Whitehead 2000:216). In fact, Turner and Grieco (2000) have strongly argued time-poverty among lone mothers is not only "*a consequence of the disproportionate level of household tasks they are required to perform*" but also is vitally interplayed with their "*fewer financial resources to buy in assistance to reduce the burden of their time poverty*", as

¹ The Programmes of "The Match-maker" is very similar to the British TV Programme, Blind Date on Channel 3. But this programme is especially made for those preferring marriage/remarriage.

compared with men (p.130). In other words, this argument implies that men have less risk of time-poverty as a result of less care responsibilities and housework and of more financial resources. First, it is noteworthy to look closely at a domestic division of housework and childcare and its impact upon lone fathers.

A rich Western evidence on the domestic division of labour clearly reveals the resilience of unequal distribution of housework and caring work between mothers and fathers: “*women do more household and caring work than men*” (quoted in Pilcher 2000:774; also see Maynard 1985; Hewitt 1993; Windebank 2001). Accordingly, women spend much more time in doing household tasks and unpaid caring work and less time in their paid work (Hartman 1981; Scott 1984; Berk 1985; Grant et al.1990; Pilcher 2000). Moreover, Lennon and Rosefield (1994) further found that “*employed women report doing 33.2 hours of housework each week, almost twice as much as employed men.*” (p.517; also see Maynard 1985:138; Berardo et al. 1987; Ferree 1990:875). Men’s participation in unpaid household and caring work does not change rapidly, even once they became lone parents. Unsurprisingly, George and Wilding (1972:73) found that lone fathers are more likely to access childcare from their patrilineal relatives, particularly paternal grandmothers. Similarly as shown Chapter Four, in Taiwan, lone fathers as sons are more sure of access to childcare from their

patrilineal family, particularly paternal grandmothers. Lone fathers are relatively easily exempt from housework and caring work for children and the elderly, but instead more likely to be granted housework services and childcare provision even from their family-in-law, particularly their mothers-in-law, as Peak noted in Chapter Four, without involving any domestic conflicts or sexual harassment. As Ribbens (1994) argued in her feminist study of childrearing, *"Time is a resource, like money...Thus, just as spending money on someone can denote caring, so also spending time with someone is central to many parents' notions of caring for children"* (p.169-170). In fact, it is more likely for lone fathers to "save more time" due to their greater freedom from care work and housework in the Confucian gender division of labour: *men work outside; women inside*. This sexual division is very similar to the conventional Western assumption that women have primary responsibility for the management and performance of the household and caring work necessary for day-to-day life, whilst men have the key responsibility for financial provision via their paid work (Hewitt 1993; Pilcher 2000). Furthermore, when the family is unavailable for childcare and housework services, lone fathers may be able to hire someone else to do housework or childcare or childrearing with their better earnings, as Ming-chung and Feng-yang mentioned in Chapter Six. As a result, they are unlikely to be "time poor" as a consequence of the disproportionate level of

household and caring work which women are required to perform within the family.

Besides this “time saved”, lone fathers are also more likely to “save more energy” due to this relatively easier access to childcare and housework substitutes whether from the family or the market. It is because housework, childcare and childrearing are widely recognised as “*labour-intensive, requiring extraordinarily long hours of work, and fatiguing*” in an enormous Western feminist analysis (quoted in Barrett 1988:208; also see Oakley 1974; Armstrong and Armstrong 1984; Bielby and Bielby 1988; Hochschild 1989; Bonney and Reinach 1993). Meanwhile, Lennon and Rosefield (1994) confirmed that “*the division of labour inside the home remains largely unchanged. Although estimates vary somewhat, employed married women do around two-thirds of the household chores*” (p.506). Moreover all the lone fathers have taken only one full-time job, unlike some lone mothers taking double, sometimes triple, part-time jobs or homework or one full-time and one part-time job together. Compared with lone mothers they are at much less risk of energy-poverty. In addition, as noted in Chapter Six, first, lone fathers are in wage-earning work in every age bracket of a working lifetime whereas lone mothers had usually intermittent work experiences. Secondly they tend to be more stable wage-earners, staying longer in one job, concentrating on men’s work with better pay and being entitled to better

employment protection. Thirdly, they are all full-time wage earners whereas lone mothers are sometimes part-timers and home-workers. Accordingly it can be argued that men in Taiwan, as in most Western countries, earn considerably more than women (Baxter 1992). With better income lone fathers are more able financially to invest in the search for potential remarriage, as Reng-shen did in order to bring his haven back.

It (the economy) is OK. But in fact I have spent a lot of money in finding a good girlfriend. Unfortunately, nothing has happened yet. My main concern is to find someone else to be their stepmother,... Thereupon, I am so eager for remarriage that I have taken every action I could do (Reng-shen).

In sum, lone fathers, in contrast to lone mothers, tend to undertake little housework and caring work and to spend less time and energy on household labour. In other words they tend to be able to spend more in leisure time, money and energy in their relatively active and costly participation in the search for potential remarriage.

Confucian Gendered Marriage favouring Men

As Baxter (1992) has argued, *“after marriage men have the domestic support provided by wives enabling a greater involvement in paid work. For women on the*

other hand, marriage and children entail a drop in earnings” (p.245-246). Marriage prospects are different among lone parents due to their unequal positions in the labour market. Thus men’s advantages in the marriage market usually increase with age, whereas women’s decrease in turn (Uhlenberg 1989:77). These marriage advantages granted Dust, a divorced lone father having secure employment and a stable income, a great number of chances of courtship and valued him as a “treasure man” in the marriage market.

I have had a lot of dating/courtship experiences, including currently dating with Ms.Huang. Enthusiastically, I try hard to find someone else. On the one hand, I am very keen and active in looking for the right woman; on the other hand, I have been introduced by my friends to many potential women.... I have joined a lot of match-maker clubs for those who are single and want to marry, managed by some groups.... I have become a beloved “treasure man” among my colleagues. Basically, my employment is quite stable and I haven’t had any bad habits at all. Thus I have become a good object for single female colleagues to look for and to marry (Dust).

Besides, men’s remarriage is more encouraged within the family and more acceptable in Confucian society, compared to women’s. This differentiation favouring men’s remarriage is closely linked with the Confucian ideology of sex division, deeply underpinning Taiwanese family law and social customs. In the West, most feminists would agree that sexuality is socially constructed (e.g., Haavind 1984). Richardson (1993) pointed out, *“If a woman had sex outside marriage there was no way that her*

husband could be sure that any children she had were his rightful heirs. This was one reason why great emphasis was placed on the need for female chastity.” (p.75-76).

Echoing her views, men have always been exempt from such a requirement within family and society, but in contrast are often encouraged to marry again in order to keep the continuity of their patrilineal father-son family in case no children are left or to find another new homemaker for themselves and a child-carer for their dependent children. Unsurprisingly, all the lone fathers in this study have been encouraged to remarry not only by their paternal family members, but also by their family-in-laws, whilst some lone mothers were often discouraged in relation to any potential remarriage activities. Bu-fan has always been encouraged by his patrilineal family and family-in-law since becoming a lone father:

My parents-in-law would encourage me to remarry...All my paternal family members, including my own elder brother and his wife and my elder sister, do often encourage me to remarry.. Even all the relatives of my family-in-law all encourage me a lot to remarry.. They all thought that I am a man who cannot do well in balancing paid work and caring work together. From their point of view, it is impossible for a man/father to take good care of children. Thus they all agree and do hope that I can marry again as soon as possible (Bu-fan)

Marriage, as Jackson (1993) pointed out, “*lies in its history as a patriarchal institution*” (p.194; also see Leonard 1978). Thus it institutionalises the nuclear, heterosexual two-parent family life as a socially and legally valid foundation in most

Western societies by law or by state welfare policy. Meanwhile, marriage also establishes certain patterns of rights and responsibilities within the nuclear, heterosexual two-parents family, where a man/husband is more likely to establish rights in the person and property of his wife (Leonard 1978). Comparatively, a man/husband/son/father is more likely to establish rights in the person and property of his woman/wife/daughter/mother under the Generation-Age-Gender hierarchy in a Confucian social context than in the Western society. Not surprisingly, there is the prevalent acceptance of remarriage as “men’s rights”. Particularly these rights have long been normalised in the Taiwan social context, where there is a long patrilineal polygamy history on the basis of Confucian ideology of sexuality (Liu 1980; Lai 1982; Chen 1994). This ideology has long been embedded into Family Law since 1931 despite its on-going partial reform. Precisely speaking, Article 987² and Article 994 explicitly prohibit divorced women from remarrying within 6 months after their formal divorce (Lin et al., 1998; Chen 2000). This implies that violating divorced women’s right of remarriage is intended to maintain the continuity and purity of men’s biological father-son kinship. In contrast, these two articles have never operated to prohibit divorced men from remarrying within such a certain period. Taiwanese Family Law apparently continues to promote Confucian chastity and

² The intention of the legislature has been to ensure that a divorced woman would not get married while pregnant with her ex-husband’s child, and determine paternity.

loyalty upon women, but not upon men, and maintain Confucian patrilineal lineage well for men/fathers/husbands/sons and the inequality between the sexes in terms of remarriage. It certainly can be argued that this legal inequality may create relatively higher probabilities of men's remarriage although this has long been under fire from Taiwanese feminists³ (Yang 1995:11, 1998:13; Lin 1995; Liu 1995).

Furthermore, Glick and Lin (1986) found in the USA that "*remarriage rates for men are higher than those for women age for age, at least in part because men have a tendency to marry women who are even younger than themselves*" (p.739; also see Leete 1979; Wallerstien and Kelly 1980; Uhlenberg 1989; Coleman 1989). However, cultural explanations for this phenomenon are ignored in their survey. But echoing their views above, the lack of a chastity expectation upon men could widen lone fathers' options of potential remarriage partners, including younger single women, and increase their probabilities of remarriage. Chung-zeng, a widower, preferred to marry a younger single woman so as to avoid the stepfamily complexity via remarriage, well documented in the West (e.g., Coleman and Ganong 1990; Cherlin 1992), while none of the lone mothers in my study has ever had the same preference.

Like me, a widowed lone mother also has her own family with children. If two

³ See <http://Taiwan.yam.org/womenweb/current.htm>

families unite as one via remarriage, it would be extremely complicated. Furthermore, in case if she also brings two children into my family, the circumstances will be very complicated. For example, how do her children get along with mine? This complexity caused by marrying another widowed lone mother should be seriously taken into account. Thus, if only a young single woman enters my family via marriage, the situation will become much more simple. Thereupon, I have tried hard to exclude any probabilities of remarrying with a lone mother as much as I could... Thus I have a number of single female friends who can go out with me and have a good time together (Chung-zeng)

During the interview, three lone fathers confirmed that remarriage is their solution in the near future, following the establishment of a stable relationship with their girlfriends, in order to constitute their “complete families” of two-parents with children.

Summary

George and Wilding (1972:25) found that lone fatherhood is not necessarily a permanent condition. Lone father families in the West could return to two-parent families either through their partner/wife's return or cohabitation or re-marriage. In Taiwan remarriage is the most accepted way for lone fathers to bring their haven back. Thus George and Wilding concluded that over half of lone fathers (60%) had been lone parents for less than four years (George and Wilding 1972:25). Confirming their views, it also can be argued that the duration of lone parenthood for men is more

likely to be shorter than for women in Taiwan. It is because lone fatherhood is a temporary status for men, and remarriage, as the pathway out of lone parenthood, is more workable and more acceptable for lone fathers than for lone mothers in the Taiwanese social context.

7.2 Lone Mothers and the Institution of Marriage

According to their multilevel analysis of the relationship between welfare and the rise of lone mother families in the USA, Lichter et al. (1997) have illustrated that “*the multiple causes of the rise in female-headed families is especially appropriate at a time when state and federal welfare reform initiatives seek to restore ‘strong families’, reduce nonmarital fertility, and promote economic independence among poor women.*” (pp.134-135). In other words, their study clearly indicated that areas with larger declines in welfare benefits had significantly slower increases in the percentage of unmarried single mothers (Lichter et al.1997:135). From their points of view, generous welfare benefits contribute to the retreat from marriage, the decline in the two-parent families and the rise in female-headed families among low-income women

by providing a “surrogate husband” in the form of a steady but modest source of income. This may be true in the case of the USA, but certainly cannot be the case in Mother-Worker-Family-Outsider welfare regime of Taiwan. As shown in Chapter Five, never-married single mothers in Taiwan are excluded from any public housing. Instead, they are assumed to make ends meet via their paid work along with welfare support from their maternal family. For lone mothers in Taiwan, the retreat from marriage is certainly not associated with state benefits, but rather something else. As Coleman and Ganong (1990) argued, “*remarriage for women appears more likely when they have been raised or live in a culture more tolerant of divorce and remarriage*” (p.926). Echoing their views, this section is going to explore the Confucian social context, where lone mothers have been raised and lived, in relation to their retreat from re/marriage.

The Search for a Rice-Winner? No, a Father for Children

Unlike lone fathers, lone mothers in my fieldwork are divided into two groups. Nine of them are pro-re/marriage, including four never-married single mothers, and the rest prefer to maintain lone motherhood permanently. These varied attitudes to re/marriage should be understood from their various perceptions of “the family”. Those

preferring the marriage institution still firmly value the family of two-parents with children. This familism coincides with Karen's value of the marriage institution, while being asked whether or not to exclude marriage opportunities.

In fact, I am eager for marriage. I haven't felt disappointed about marriage and family life. By contrast, I confirm both of them very positively. I am still hoping my child can live within a "normal family" which conforms to social norms. Moreover, I still feel worthy to have a good relationship with someone else (Karen)

However, even some Western studies found that same-sex lone parent households would not bring negative influences: fathers can provide as strong a role model to girls as to boys, just as mothers can be models to boys and to girls (Kelly 1988; Warshak 1992; Cherlin 1992; Powell and Downey 1997). But in fact, the worry about the lack of a father role became one of the main incentives for two lone mothers preferring re/marriage, regardless of having same-sex or opposite-sex dependants. The need of a father role as "housemaster" for daughters is the key motivation for Holi's pro-remarriage. Meanwhile, such sex roles underpinning Holi's family value exactly reflect the Confucian gender division of domestic labour. That is, the mother as Chia-tze (家慈), the symbol of kindness and love, deals with their children on the grounds of affection, feeling and emotion; the father as Chia-yen (家嚴), the symbol of dignity and sternness, on the ground of showing them honour and discipline (Lang

1946:24-30).

What I am worried more about is that my children (daughters) lack a “male housemaster as father” while they are growing up. The absence of a father role would affect their personality definitely... From my in-depth perspective, what they have learned from me is always about “femininity”. I was told that the key person vitally affecting children’s personality is the “father”... The lack of a father is imperfect for my children. So, currently I am dating with Mr. Shi (Holi)

However, some Western studies have illustrated that remarriage is the most effective way to improve the economic well-being of lone mother families particularly in the Mother-Carer-Citizen welfare regime (Duncan and Rogers 1987:57; Bradshaw 1989; Maclean 1991:65-81; Kiernan et al. 1998:143-144). Unfortunately, economic needs seem not to be the incentives for lone mothers to prefer re/marriage, but rather their emotional needs. Jackson (1993:192) clearly argues that women often have a divergent expectation of marriage from men, but desire to be valued and loved, by ignoring the inequitable distribution of work and resources in marriage. In fact, this desire for “a close exchange of intimacy” in marriage is another key impetus for Margaret to prefer remarriage along with her main concern about the lack of a father role for her son.

My son is keen and eager indeed to have someone to be his father. For instance, sometimes when he goes to church, he will become very “adhesive” to someone

(male) and he cannot help it at all. Actually I would prefer to remarry.....Emotionally, I would like to share something with somebody else..... I feel, it is very important for myself to have someone else sharing something with me (Margaret)

However, this view of marriage as the way of re/constituting a normal family of heterosexual and patrilineal two-parent household composition is common among those pro-marriage lone mothers. But, in fact, none of them had never ever taken any action in participating in any commercial match-maker clubs and programmes in contrast to those lone fathers who had made every effort in the search for remarriage.

Valuing Permanent Lone Motherhood

Except for those nine preferring to constitute “a normal family” via marriage, the rest of the lone mothers (21) intend to eschew marriage as much as they can. As Hardey and Crow (1991:145) argue, lone mothers’ attitudes against remarriage are apparently affected by their previous experience of marriage, particularly the breakdown of their marriages. This argument is not completely correlated with the negative attitudes of those lone mothers against remarriage in my study. Divorced women experiencing domestic violence within their previous marriages and widows having happy marriages and harmonious relationships with their mother-in-law’s family all oppose

remarriage. In contrast, some divorcees, having experienced the breakdown of marriage and sometimes domestic violence from their mothers-in-law's families, still desired to remarry if possible and available. Their exclusion of remarriage is critically connected with their experiences of the family. In fact, lone motherhood may have granted them more positive experiences, which I shall explore below.

More Power, More Freedom and More Independence

MacLanahan and Booth (1989) found out in their research a differential perception of independence between lone mothers and married mothers. Too little empirical research in East and West has highlighted the positive strengths of being lone mothers from their own perspectives, although a few studies briefly mentioned positively some enjoyable feelings of independence, freedom and autonomy (Sharpe 1984:205; Hardey and Crow 1991:147-151; Pong and Chang 1995:79-81; Peng 1995). The preference for permanent lone motherhood and the rejection of the marriage institution were certainly confirmed by most lone mothers (21) in my study. In effect, lone motherhood has given them more power, freedom, and independence. As a result, they rejected entering the marriage institution again, in which "*the traditional family*" will be reconstituted via marriage and they would lose again this greater status of

being “*free, automatic, single and independent*” lone mothers. Albeit encountering financial pressure, Thekla still preferred to maintain her lone motherhood permanently and enjoy these positive strengths compared with those of currently married wives/mothers.

I haven't thought about it (the probabilities of remarriage). I enjoy myself being a single and free woman. In comparison with those married couples, I feel I am much better off than them. You know, I don't have a terrible burden of financial pressure upon me. In the meantime, I have got freedom to do what I want. It is very good for me to be a “single” widow (Thakla).

These great strengths of lone motherhood have been experienced in three ways: first, more automatic power over family decision-making; second, more financial independence from their employment; and third, the greater sense of freedom.

As constantly noted in previous chapters, unequal power within the traditional nuclear family in the West is thought to be affected by gendered positions in the labour market, which has frequently been analysed in a great amount of feminist literature (e.g., Pahl 1983, 1989, 1990; Volger 1994; Volger and Pahl 1994; Arber 1999). Nevertheless, Volger (1994) further found that “*married women are most likely to manage finances single-handedly in low-income households where financial management is likely to be a burden rather than a source of power*” (p.243). Despite this burden, lone mothers

conversely re-gained power over financial decisions. This power is re-gained by Deborah since becoming a widowed lone mother.

About the power of making any decision, it really confused me in the beginning, which I have mentioned before about the power of financial management. Gradually I feel that I have got more power of self-determination. If my husband were still alive, it would be more difficult for me to buy a car, because he was such an economical person. But anyway, I did buy a car....If he were still alive, he wouldn't allow me to do it at all (Deborah)

Besides, lone mothers are more likely to be exempt from the subordination of the Generation-Age-Gender power hierarchy, underpinned by the notion of Confucian filial piety and fraternal love, and experienced by some lone mothers, such as Joy and Angela. Lone motherhood has transformed their power position from the most marginalised into the centre of the family. In other words, re-obtaining the decision-making power over family affairs and finance has become one of the great achievements of their lone motherhood. This great sense has been experienced by Mary, who compared herself with other workers.

Compared with other people, such as constructors and plumbers, I am better off. For example, when they became unemployed, I could still afford to hire a female casual worker to help me at rush hours, in particular, at lunch time..... If I compare myself with those factory workers, obviously, I am much better off (Mary)

Pahl (1989) argued that women's power over financial decision-making increases when they have an independent income from employment. Echoing her views, however under great financial pressure lone mothers in Taiwan are obligated to participate in the labour market like their counterparts in Scandinavian welfare regimes particularly. Meanwhile, this participation has led them to have not only independent incomes but also a great sense of achievement and self-esteem from their paid work. This financial independence and great sense of self-esteem have been experienced by Ami and She-fong

Compared with other women, I am the luckiest one, because I received senior high schooling....By now, however, I still cannot pay off all my mortgages for two houses in Tu-cheng. Furthermore, I have to pay another new mortgage for the new flat where I live now. Compared with other lone mothers, I am better off because I have always been independent financially.. If I were not financially independent, I wouldn't know how to support my family (Ami)

About my employment, I feel satisfied with my job of being a bus-driver. By contrast, I have a sense of achievement from my present job. In my workplace, I do not feel any inferiority at all, compared with my male colleagues. Meanwhile, I enjoy my capability of being a bus-driver (She-fong)

The result of more power and more financial independence obtained by lone mothers is conducive to more freedom in doing what they were not allowed to do but they can do currently. This freedom of being able to go out alone without asking permission

has seldom been found in the Western literature either regarding married women or lone mothers, although two studies in the West have slightly mentioned it (Sharpe 1984:205-210; Hardey and Crow 1991:148). However, this freedom has been granted to all women in Taiwan under the Constitution to women, but in reality is limited ideologically, for example, by the patrilocality, whereby married women were assigned by the Article 1002 of the Civil Code to take the domicile of their husband as their legal residence unless otherwise agreed upon. Under acid criticisms from feminist groups, on April 10, 1998, the Council of Grand Justice declared Article 1002⁴ unconstitutional (Free China Journal, 24th April, 1998; Lin et al.1998; Lin 1998:21; Yang 1998a). This patrilocality, underpinned by the Confucian Generation-Age-Sex power hierarchy, constrains married women from having a final say in their moving and residence within their marriage. Furthermore, the social relationship of married women would be mainly concentrated on the husband-dominated familial and social relationships due to patrilineality, patriarchy, and patrilocality. Too little study has examined these constraints faced by married women in Confucian societies (Huang 1996). In effect, lone motherhood has given this freedom in moving and action but has also established women-centred familial and social relationships. This freedom might be lost again within remarriage and it

⁴ By this Article, husbands could change their legal residence without giving any notice to their wives, and then manipulate the so-called "living obligations to the marriage" in order to get divorced successfully without paying any alimony (The 1997 Judicial Statistic Yearbook, 1997).

becomes a big concern for lone mothers, like Purple-clouds, who chose to be a permanent lone mother instead of remarriage.

Marriage? I have not thought about it. But I do think that remarriage is a tiring work. To be honest to tell you, I have been a lone mother bringing up my children alone for years. When I want to go somewhere else, I can go there as I want.. I feel very much freer to do that. If I have someone else, he will be my obstacle. It is because when I want to do something or to go somewhere else and he does not, then that will be my obstacle (Purple-clouds)

No More Extra-Care for all within Confucian Family and State

The meaning of the marriage institution is different among lone parents between the sexes. Marriage is "happiness" for lone fathers, as has been shown above. But conversely, it is rather an unbearable bondage for those lone mothers preferring a permanent motherhood in Taiwan. This unbearable bondage is experienced by Huei-lin, a young widow aged 31, while being interviewed about her personal reasons for exclusion of remarriage.

It is because marriage eventually is a bondage... Previously I contributed a lot to my own marriage. In the end, everything I gave previously is transformed into emptiness.. Instead, the duties I have to carry on became heavier and heavier. So, now I am scared of it (marriage) (Huei-lin)

The idea of “*marriage as bondage*” from most lone mothers’ perspectives is certainly connected with married women’s duties/responsibilities in the Confucian patrilineal family. As Maynard (1985) strongly argued, “*Women’s position in the family is regarded as comparable to serfdom. Marriage is a labour contract.*” (p.148). For those excluding remarriage probabilities, marriage is more likely to be an extensive care labour contract beyond that which they can bear any more. Within the Confucian family, all care duties and housework go to women, as mothers/wives/daughters/daughters-in-law. In contrast, all the rights and welfare provisions usually go to men as fathers/husbands/sons. All the “citizens” in the Taiwanese Confucian Welfare State are presumed permanently as “full family members”, whereas households operate as collective decision-making units inside and all family members have equal access to power over decision making, equal access to financial resources, and thus share the same living standard and the same care duties and housework. This assumption completely ignores the complexity and conflicts within the family behind its superficial harmony, well documented in Confucian family literature (e.g., Snow 1967; Chao 1985; Ku 1989; Wah 1991). In fact, women have been placed under the Generation-Age-Sex power hierarchy into the most inferior, powerless and lowest position, where they are supposed everyday to “carry on” the heaviest caring work and unending housework for all their family members

from young children to elderly parents-in-law. Nevertheless, an enormous Western literature has indicated that the increase in married women with children in the labour market does not inevitably lead to a change in the traditional division of responsibility in the home, where even full-time working women are the primary homemakers and carers for children (e.g., Newell 1993; Hewitt 1993). Even "in the most equal country in the world" -- Sweden, as Nyman (1999) argued, the deeply rooted and culturally defined traditions, norms, and values regarding gender identities are central to an understanding of unequal access to intra-household financial resources and power. Moreover, this double burden combining paid work with unpaid caring and housekeeping work among married women in dual-career families and in the Mother-Carer-Citizen Welfare model is labelled as "*the superwoman syndrome*" (Friedan 1981; Newell 1993). Then these multiple burdens upon lone mothers in solo rice-winner families and in the Mother-Worker-Family-Outsider Welfare regime should be called "*the superwoman disaster*". For lone mothers in Taiwan, remarriage is more likely to bring two lone parent families from the past into a newly reconstituted two-parent family, where the traditionally domestic division of labour remains gender specific as before. Thus remarriage does not imply "happiness" at all for lone mothers, but rather the double expansion of their multiple domestic responsibilities: caring for her newly wedded family, including her husband, children

of her husband from any previous marriage and her newly wedded elderly parents-in-law; her existing multiple paid work and caring duties for her own family, including her children and sometimes, her own frail parents or her surviving parents-in-law from her previous marriage, in the case of widows. This is one of the main incentives to explain the retreat from remarriage of lone mothers in Taiwan. Most lone mothers in my study do realise that they can benefit from nothing other than more extra domestic care duties and housework, and more care for mother-in-law's family from a newly reconstituted patrilineal family via remarriage, due to their status of wives/mothers/daughters-in-law, who are expected to be the basic welfare provider in the Confucian family and state. The rejection of remarriage is demonstrated by Mary with her interpretation of "a carer for all within the Confucian patrilineal family".

I really don't want to be bound to marriage again. If someone else really is delighted to take good care of me, I will be quite happy to live with him and treat him as my partner for old-age. But he must not bind me to the marriage institution... If he requires me to marry him, for me, "marrying him" is equivalent to "marrying his whole family", including his parents, grandparents etc....I don't want to have the marriage institution to fetter me again. If I "marry" my boy-friend, then it means that I become one of his family members and I have to take care of all his family. In fact, he has still got his parents and children, too... His family relationship must be very complicated for me. Why should I get involved in such complicated family and social relationships? (Mary)

In addition, the assumption of the patrilineal family as the most basic welfare provider, stressed by the previous KMT government, is critically challenged by Regina.

When I reviewed the functions of marriage and family, the welfare functions of both should be included and done with within welfare policies. From my thinking, the welfare provisions should be offered and implemented in principle by the State, but rather the family and marriage. If we have this understanding of the welfare function of family and marriage, why should I marry again? Simply, this is what I am thinking about marriage. Enormous welfare functions have been operating within the marriage institution. From my point of view, lone motherhood may be only a temporary stage (for many lone mothers). Thus many lone mothers would like to re-marry. But based on this ideology (of welfare functions within marriage and family).... In fact, the modern family model has changed a lot. Nowadays, it is very hard to maintain the two-parent family pattern. Have you thought about two lone parents with their own children? If they get married again, their new reconstituted family relationship will certainly become very complicated, probably more than they could manage well... For me, it is impossible to marry again. I wouldn't expect to have all my welfare provisions through marriage and within marriage (Regina)

In addition to the critique of the familial welfare provisions within marriage, Regina also strongly promoted the idea that state intervention in welfare provision should replace the family. In fact, she hardly dared expect to obtain welfare provisions within marriage and the family, where married women always carry on welfare responsibilities for all family members, but are seldom welfare beneficiaries. Therefore, a permanent lone motherhood is her best choice and everlasting status.

The Barriers to Re/marriage

No Money, No Time and No Energy

Lone motherhood brought about some advantages on the one hand but also some disadvantages regarding re/marriage on the other hand. Whitehead et al. (2000) has recently shown that British lone mothers are at very high risk of money-poverty due to the inadequate up-rating of social security benefits to meet the needs of families with children, inadequate provision of affordable childcare services and underdevelopment of employment policies which allow parents to combine paid work with their caring responsibilities. A higher risk of money-poverty among lone mothers in the Mother-Carer-Citizen welfare regime has been well recorded (e.g., Bergmann 1986). But more risk of time- and energy-poverty among working solo mothers has relatively seldom been explored, because lone mothers as child-carers in the Mother-Carer-Citizen welfare regime are more tolerant of staying at home doing full-time mothering without compulsorily participating in the labour market. Meanwhile, social policies in the Parent-Worker-Citizen welfare regime have helped to prevent Swedish lone mothers from exposure to poverty and joblessness and given them autonomy with extensive, high quality, affordable daycare for children,

family-friendly employment policies and social security support adequate to meet the needs of families with children. Despite less risk of money-poverty compared with their counterparts in the Mother-Carer-Citizen welfare regime, conversely "*lone mothers in Sweden suffer from time poverty*" (quoted in Whitehead et al.2000: 216; also see Lewis 1992:170). This is more likely because lone mothers in Sweden are assumed to work as equally as male breadwinners. All these risks occur to lone mothers in the Mother-Worker-Family-Outsider welfare model. As a result, remarriage probabilities are declining and less workable. First, Lampard and Peggs (1999:456) have suggested that financial constraints affected repartnering opportunities of lone mothers. Likewise, such higher risks of money-poverty constrained Margaret from having surplus money for her date even though she wanted one. This extra-cost of a date was too "expensive" to spend at all for Margaret.

Having a date needs surplus/extra energy and money. My work has made me exhausted very much, and my financial ability cannot afford the dating cost. As you know, going to a cinema or having a night snack would cost me too much. Due to such financial pressure, I do not have a good mood to have a date with someone else. So forget it! (Margaret)

Second, more risks of time-poverty and energy made Lucy view a date as a "luxurious product", which is too costly and beyond her reach.

Yes, for me, having a boy-friend or date is a sort of "luxury", which is nothing to do with me at all. So I dare not think of it so that I can save my time and energy... I do not want to waste any of my time and energy thinking of such a thing any more. At present, I just would like to save my existing energy and time to do what I should do and to complete what I should finish, such as raising my two children and making them happy (Lucy)

The poverty of money, time and energy certainly detained more lone mothers in permanent lone motherhood and reduced their re-entering of another new marriage and family, compared with lone fathers in Taiwan.

Confucian Gendered Chastity Devaluing Lone Mothers

As has been shown above, Confucian gendered marriage favours lone fathers re-entering marriage, but conversely deters previously married women from doing so. Despite rapid modernisation and industrialisation in Taiwan, the traditional ideology of Confucian sexuality is prevalent and deeply rooted, either held by lone mothers themselves or their family members, particularly their mothers, who always have had the most powerful influence upon their daughters. By Confucian chastity and loyalty for gender, "men have a right to re-marry, but women have no right to marry twice in their whole lives " (Chen 1994:48; also see Liu 1980; Lai 1982). In the past, remarriage would usually dishonour once-married women as shameful objects so that

it was always very disapproved by “honourable” families (Hsu 1949:103-106; Wong 1978:256; Baker 1979:47; De Bary 1998:118-133). This deeply internalised belief of Confucian gendered chastity is a powerful ideology for the retreat from dating and remarriage. When asked about remarriage probabilities, Lucy expressed directly the disapproval not only from herself but also her own mother.

Never. Some people have tried hard to introduce a boyfriend to me, but I rejected all the proposed dates... My mother said to me: “For a woman, she is allowed to marry only once in her whole life, not allowed to marry more than once.” (Lucy)

While remarriage of widows through matrilocal marriage⁵ often occurred in Taiwan during Japanese colonisation, however, the official practices of honouring chaste widows, have long operated and coincided with the annual glorification of motherhood on Mothers’ Day in Taiwan (Diamond 1973; Eberhard 1975; Wong 1978; Lai 1982; Ku 1989). These “model mothers”, selected and praised in public, are always those widows with a large number of children, who self-sacrifice all their own well-being, including remarriage, and bring up their children on their own (Ku 1989:13). Furthermore, as noted previously in Chapter Four, widows should leave their children behind in their mothers-in-law’s family by customary law in case of

⁵ If a widow decided to remarry out of her family-in-law, then she should have to return all the portions allocated to her deceased husband to her family-in-law. By contrast, if she remarried by matrilocal marriage to “call in” someone into her family-in-law instead, then she has to succeed her husband’s family line. For further details, see Chen (1970).

remarriage. As a result, this contradictory dilemma between remarriage and children could weaken their incentive to remarry and meanwhile, detain them in widowhood longer or permanently.

In sum, remarriage is a right for men; chastity is a duty for women. Certainly, this double standard regarding re/marriage affects lone mothers and lone fathers differently. In the West, the remarriage rate for lone fathers is always higher than that for lone mothers (Leete 1979; Wallerstein and Kelly 1980; Glick and Lin 1986; Uhlenberg 1989; Coleman 1989). Likewise, the differentials in remarriage prospects between lone mothers and lone fathers would be certainly stronger than the gap in remarriage rates in the West.

Where is “Mr. Right”?

Furthermore, whether preferring marriage or not, another barrier faced by lone mothers is “Where is ‘Mr. Right’?”, which is one common response from eleven lone mothers in my study to the question about future re/marriage probabilities. However, some Western scholars argued that the presence of dependent children does not necessarily lessen lone mothers’ remarriage chances (Wallerstein and Kelly 1980:155;

Haskey 1983). But, in contrast, other Western studies confirmed that having children from their previous marriage eventually made lone mothers less attractive to many men (Gittins 1993:89; Friedman 1995:100). Echoing these views, the presence of dependent children certainly would make a big difference for lone mothers in Taiwan regardless of marital status. Despite the stigma upon unmarried single motherhood across countries, there is a long history of social stigma attached to widows and their children, of whom the latter are labelled “T’o-You-P’ing” (拖油瓶)⁶. Not surprisingly, for Thekla, a widow with two dependant daughters, remarriage is “a mission impossible” in the Confucian social context. There is no such man willing to marry a widow with children.

Where is the man who doesn’t want a single unmarried woman rather than a widow with her two “T’o-You-P’ing” (the children from her previous marriage) (拖油瓶) (Thekla)

In addition, there has existed another long history of discrimination against divorced women under the traditional “Seven Outs”, as shown in Chapter Six (Lang 1946; Snow 1967; Jordan 1972; Leslie 1973; Baker 1979; Chen 1997, 2000). Under this “Seven Outs”, divorced women are easily suspected of being involved in one of these “seven offences” and thus are more vulnerable to be blamed for their “failure” in

⁶ “T’o-You-P’ing”(拖油瓶) means the children from the previous marriage or from the deceased husband as well. This term is full of discrimination against widows’ children and themselves.

marriage and labelled as “bad or dangerous women” (Wallerstein and Kelly 1980; Hsieh et al. 1989; Chuang 1991; Gittins 1993). This stereotype of divorced lone mothers is experienced by Regina, a divorcee.

I have been discriminated against many times...In these days, I have taken part in the campaign calling for revising the Family Law. I have to join many TV programmes to explain what should be done. People I met always said to me: “All lone parents and all divorced women are problematic. But you are different from them completely. You are very unique. Therefore, we wouldn’t look down upon you at all.” They made a mistake, logically. That is, they cannot separate me from all lone mothers and divorced women. Indeed, the discrimination against lone mothers and divorced women exists clearly there (Regina).

Certainly, this gendered stereotype reduces the remarriage possibilities of divorced lone mothers. This unlikelihood of remarriage is recognised clearly by Angela, albeit her preference for remarriage.

Of course, I would like to have a date with someone else. But the problem is that *no man* wants to have a date with me (Angela).

However, teenage lone mothers have long drawn attention from Western politicians and academics, and become social problems in the West (Hanson et al. 1987; Speak et al. 1995; Burghes and Brown 1995). Four never-married single mothers participating in the current study are neither teenaged nor unemployed, never relying on state

benefits nor being housed in the public housing sector. Despite their keen preference for “a normal family of two-parents”, never-married single motherhood makes marriage impossible. At the time of interview, Tulip was the only mother, enthusiastically expecting a coming marriage after her participation in an arranged date. A few months later, it was confirmed in her letter that her “beautiful dream” of marriage was turned down due to out-of-wedlock motherhood.

Where is A Good Mother-in-Law's Family?

As Stone (1974) points out, marriage in Britain has long been “the *result of the free choice of the individual man and woman, united primarily on the basis of romantic and sexual attraction, and a harmony of tastes and interests*” (p.175). In other words, marriage is only two individuals' choice and relationship. Likewise, romantic love-marriage is the mainstream social phenomenon in Taiwan on the one hand, noted in the beginning of this chapter. But it is not only two individuals' free choices but also two individual families' relationship by taking a bride out of the natal family into the mother-in-law's family. Bernard (1972:55-57) long ago found that a husband upon marriage maintains his old life routines, with no thought or expectation of changing them to suit his wife's wishes, but in contrast, a wife tends to make greater

adjustments to her husband. Particularly, the Confucian family has long emphasised patrilinealage, preferring the primogeniture despite the rapid change of family patterns in Taiwan. The presence of children can really work against re/marriage prospects of lone mothers. Unwillingness or inability to bear children is also a critical variable against the likelihood of lone mothers' remarriage. Infertility or no more capacity for childbearing certainly decreases the remarriage probability of lone mothers, expressed below by Angela.

I dare not think of it (the probability of remarriage)... because a lot of problems have to be solved out ahead of remarriage, ...If he is single, having no child, and then expects me to give birth to a child to him. In fact, I cannot have any babies any more .., In spite of my preference for it, it won't work out (Angela).

Particularly, in the case where the potential remarriage partner is the eldest and only son in his family, patrilinealage, patriarchy and primogeniture certainly work together to exclude remarriage for lone mothers if they insist on no more childbearing. Considering these together, the retreat from remarriage becomes Lousia's only choice.

You know, he is the eldest son in his family. Take this into account. If I marry him, how complicated a situation I would have to encounter! Once I tested him deliberately by saying: "If I marry you, firstly, I am not going to have another baby any more, because, I thought, having another child would cause more trouble to you and me. Secondly, you have to consider what opinions your own parents have had about a widow with a child from her previous marriage."..

Definitely, it is very difficult for them to accept that a woman who is going to marry their son is a widow with a child from her previous marriage. Moreover, I am not only a widow with my daughter from my previous marriage, but also I am not going to have another baby any more. It would be too difficult for them to accept any widows, like me (Lousia).

7.3 Lone Mothers and Their Solutions

Motherhood Comes First

In her research in Japan, Peng (1995:323) argued that fear about valuing choices between a new husband and their children is one of the main reasons for lone mothers to retreat from remarriage. But such a fear was not found among lone mothers in my study. Whether preferring re/marriage or not, all the lone mothers always prioritise their parenting role above their own needs and desires even though they might be running the risk of sacrificing their own future happiness. Motherhood is sincerely taken by Karen above her own future happiness of marriage, shown below.

The answer I always gave is that if someone else will “accept” my child, then I am congenial with him and I will marry him (Karen).

However, Lampard and Peggs (1999) found the same priority, taken by “especially

women” (p.458) while analysing the data from the 1991/92 British General Household Survey, but in contrast, they still argued that “*However, mothers are typically looking for partners for themselves rather than fathers for children*” (p.443).

Disputing their argument, those pro-re/marriage lone mothers are looking for a potential partner, motivated more for their children’s welfare, whereas lone fathers are motivated in their need of a carer for their children and a housekeeper for themselves. Furthermore, as Marris (1958) much earlier suggested the anxiety about failure in mothering and meeting children’s welfare needs is more often cited as the main condition against remarriage. Similarly, motherhood prioritising children’s welfare above their own welfare and future marriage probability is only common sense among all the lone mothers in my study based on the Confucian familial and social context. Such motherhood at the high cost of “self-sacrificing” lone mothers’ own welfare is however their first identity and solution.

So I decided not to get involved in any possibilities of remarriage and let my daughter be the first priority in my whole life. So I often tell my daughter that I completely gave up any possibilities of remarriage because of considering her well-being..... When I see my daughter grow up already, I feel that the decision I made (to give up remarriage since becoming a widow at the age of 24) is quite right. In fact, I have sacrificed my own happiness (remarriage etc.) and my youth days (Lousia).

Employment Improvement Strategies

Coping with a high likelihood of being permanent lone mothers, a variety of improvement strategies in employment seem to be the only way for most lone mothers, and these will be explored below.

Increasing Human Capital via Education

Some lone mothers in my fieldwork have taken action to improve their employment at the time of interview. As shown in Chapter Six, human capital theory would prove inadequate in explaining women's occupational segregation (e.g., England 1982; Watson 1993). Education might not be completely a process of investment in human capital, but certainly it is a key dynamic in gaining higher earnings from employment (Rake 2000:18-25). The strategy of improving educational level is taken especially by those two low-education mothers who were not given any further educational opportunities due to poverty in their childhood. The solution of increasing human capital through joining an evening school along with her daytime work is adopted by Thekla at the time of interview, demonstrated below. In fact this is workable for Thekla only if childcare provided by her younger brothers-in-law is available during

her school time.

Presumably, I am supposed to be a primary-school graduate. But currently, I go to a junior high school every evening. I am now a first-grade mature student of this evening school... Then I feel that I need to study more advanced courses, which I was supposed to finish when I was a little child but I couldn't (Thekla).

Setting up a Self-Employed Small Business

In the West, the self-employed small business has recently become a topic of considerable debate in academic and public policy circles (Linder 1983; Hakim 1988; Bögenhold and Staber 1991, 1993; Meager 1992; Granger et al. 1995). Some empirical studies found a strong and positive correlation between self-employment and unemployment, and further suggested that unemployment leads to self-employment (e.g. Linder 1983; Bögenhold and Staber 1991, 1993). Disputing this notion, Meager (1992) argued that “*‘unemployment push’ is not at least part of the explanation for the rapid increase in self-employment*”(p.128). Taking gender into account, Granger et al. (1995) found that “*the males in our sample demonstrated a notably higher propensity than their female counterparts to have been propelled into self-employment via redundancy and therefore to feature as members of our ‘refugee’ grouping. Women, on the other hand, showed a notably stronger propensity than men*

to membership of the 'trade-off' type, usually driven by a desire or need to combine paid work with domestic duties" (p.513). Echoing their views, lone mothers in Taiwan are also driven only by "a desire or need to combine paid work with domestic duties".

Such a desire and need is expressed enthusiastically below by Joy.

Yes, (she would like to set up her own small business). I would like to establish a home-based childcare centre for several children with help from a primary school teacher. She can show me how to teach young children playing the piano. The quality of this work is much better... I have arranged all the preparatory work. It is more likely for me to transform my employment towards a self-employed small business. Then I can combine my paid work with caring work for my children as well (Joy).

In addition, for lone mothers in Taiwan, the incentive to form a self-employed small business is also propelled by a need to improve their fragile finances. This is the way for Quietness in hoping to improve her vulnerable finances as a solo female rice-winner. All their self-employment career dynamics are certainly not pushed by unemployment.

What I would like to do is to set up my own small business. That will be a more practical strategy (to improve her finances) (Quietness).

Taking One Part-Time Job along with a Full-Time Work

Adding one part-time job into existing full-time paid work is another way for lone mothers in Taiwan to improve their insufficient income. After the purchase of a home, I-chueng has to increase her earnings in order to pay her loan and housing mortgage. Taking another part-time job in the evening with her full-time job is her solution.

In the coming semester, perhaps I may not have enough money to pay all the family expenses (including housing mortgage and loan). Then I will have to take a part-time job working as a family tutor (I-chueng).

All these strategies mentioned above have been or are going to be adopted by some of the lone mothers in this study in order to cope with permanent lone parenthood particularly.

7.4 Summary

A recent survey⁷ has just indicated that women's levels of satisfaction with marriage are much lower than men's (Wu 2000). Meanwhile, this survey has also suggested that modern men in Taiwanese society are obviously burdened with traditional values,

⁷ This survey was conducted by Academia Sinica, the nation's highest research institute, in conjunction with the Millennium Cultural and Educational Foundation, and interviewed men and women aged 20-65 across Taiwan and collected 3,178 valid replies. 76 percent of men compared with 58 percent of women in Taiwan are satisfied with their marriages and 24.3 percent of women would like to spend the rest of their lives alone, for further details, see Wu (2000).

and they rely heavily on their family and spouses. In this sense, it can be more understandable why lone fathers in the current study were relatively keen on remarriage and the family, and even viewed it as their solution compared to lone mothers. By contrast, most lone mothers preferred to remain in their present status, even further to refuse any probability of remarriage. Traditional stereotypes of lone mothers, regardless of their marital status, made them less valued in the marriage market so that the extremely low rate of re/marriage among lone mothers still remains the same as before despite rapid industrialisation and modernisation in Taiwan since the 1970s. The more westernised lone mothers are, particularly via education, the more they prefer to be independent of men. As many lone mothers clearly expressed, the marriage institution is a bondage for them. Therefore, marriage/remarriage can hardly be acceptable pathways out of lone parenthood for lone mothers in Taiwan. It might be more workable for lone fathers in Taiwan and their counterparts in the West. It is because lone parenthood is a transitional status for lone fathers in Taiwan and lone mothers in the West, but more likely to be a permanent identity and status for lone mothers in the Mother-Worker-Family-Outsider Welfare regime.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

8.1 Whose State? Whose Family and Whose Market?

As noted in the Introduction, the key concern of this study is *the impact of a Confucian Welfare Regime upon lone mothers in Taiwan*. In other words, *can lone mothers make ends meet within the family as the KMT state has explicitly and implicitly presumed?* The qualitative findings of this study have confirmed lone mothers' everyday experiences in the Taiwanese Confucian social context that *in fact they are viewed as permanent family outsiders in the family, treated as unprotected secondary rice-winners in the labour market and recognised as "cripple citizens" in the KMT state*. In other words, these findings from qualitative, feminist and East-Asian perspectives have found a threefold source of failure of social policies in supporting lone mothers from their experiences within the family, the State and the market. First, the experiences of most lone mothers participating in this study have illustrated that the Confucian family is more likely to fail in welfare provision to women as family outsiders but instead to create more constraints or confrontations and to impose more caring work upon lone mothers in turn. Furthermore, the retreat

from the marriage institution and the reconstitution of the family, and the preference for permanent lone parenthood, held by most of the female interviewees in contrast to male respondents, have argued against the assumption of the KMT state that the family is the cornerstone of its welfare provision. Secondly, the experience of lone mothers within the State has shown that the KMT state has not only neglected the well-being of lone parents but also excluded them from means-tested state benefits, public and social housing, publicly founded childcare as much as possible. The failure of the family in welfare provision and the lack of comprehensive state intervention in welfare provision in cash or in kind give lone mothers too little choice but rather to participate in the labour market. Thirdly, the experience of lone mothers in the labour market has confirmed that sex segregation in the workplace reflects the sexual division of domestic labour, and is the result of the combination of mothering and rice-winning alone, and the core causes of low wages, low status in occupational hierarchy, more part-time jobs, dead-end occupations, less or no employment protection. While government policy has claimed Confucianism as a key welfare support, this study argues that it is a key source of welfare failure experienced by lone mothers in Taiwan, in State, family and market, as will be explored carefully below.

Whose State? Neither, Lone Parents'

As shown in Chapter One, the number of lone parent families has risen dramatically in the last decade. Particularly, the number of lone mother families is increasing at least three times as rapidly as that of lone father families is declining. This gap between the rise in female-headed families and the decline in male-headed families will be widened dramatically due to the on-going reform of Family Law and the differential attitude to the marriage institution and the reconstitution of the family, which is held by lone mothers and lone fathers in this study. Despite this rapid rise in lone mother families, unfortunately, the issue of lone parents has long been neglected on the political agenda in Taiwan in contrast to the debate on their counterparts at the top of the political agenda in many Western countries in the 1990s (Lewis with Hobson 1997:1; Clark et al. 1999:83). The first explanation for neglect is in the failure of the Taiwanese Welfare State to recognise the subordination of individuals, such as lone parents, and consisting of the majority (85%) of Taiwanese, including Hoh-Lo, Hakka and aborigines, to the legitimacy of the KMT State, led by the minority of elite Chinese-mainlanders. Doling and Finer (2001:301) clearly note "Confucian values" of deference to superior authority and of subordination of the individual to the interest of the group (i.e., the family, the corporation and/or the State). Unfortunately, the experiences of 40 lone parents participating in this study hardly confirm these views

of the Taiwanese Welfare State. In fact, “Confucian values” were promoted, publicised and implemented by the KMT Party-State as a vital key to social stability, political order, and economic growth, but with the high price of consecutive political oppressions over democratic and social movements organised by most Taiwanese people, striving for full citizenship, who demanded to be treated equally with those privileged groups closely related to the stability of the KMT rule. Two among many vital incidents were the massacre of Taiwanese leaders in the 228 Event¹ in 1947 and the long-term imprisonment of Taiwanese political dissidents in the Formosa Incident² in 1979, marked as “the two landmark events”³ in the history of Taiwan’s democratisation, only in order to gain “full citizenship” classified by T. H. Marshall (1950; also see Marshall and Bottomore 1992). With the rapid rise of democratic and

¹ After a century of colonial subjection to Japan, the six million Chinese-descended natives of Formosa were generally enthusiastic at the prospect of “returning to Chinese rule”. Unfortunately, their hopes were quickly crushed against the scandals of Chen Yi’s administration, which systematically took over all industries and properties by Japanese enterprises but, instead of developing them and restoring war-time damage, kept them under their control as their own estates. Native Taiwanese/Formosans who had been treated as secondary citizens under the Japanese colonisation found themselves again pushed aside by newly arrived Chinese-mainlanders and the situation became worse than the rule of Japanese rule. Thus a rapid tension between Taiwanese and Chinese-mainlanders rose and mounted until, on February 28, 1947, an incident took place involving an attack by Chinese-mainlander police upon a native woman peddling cigarettes without the licence demanded by Chen Yi’s administration. Thereupon, an angry crowd formed and the officer fired, killing one of the bystanders. This incident precipitated a series of violent events. Thereafter Taiwanese leaders were seized, detained and often executed on charges of having participating in the uprising. This event greatly affected the development of the Taiwanese identity from Chinese identity and Taiwanese Independence of China. For further details see Riggs (1952) and Cohen (1988).

² The “Formosa Event” is also marked as the “Kaohsiung Incident”, occurring in Kaohsiung City where I came from and grew up. At that time, as a teenage pupil at Kaohsiung Girls Senior High School, I was taught at school that all these political dissidents were rioters and gangsters. Among them, Lu, Hsiun-lien (Annette Lu), being elected as Vice-President in March 2000 and initiating the feminist movement in the 1970s, was labelled as a “bad woman”, advocating promiscuity instead of women’s rights and welfare. This was the education controlled by the KMT Party-State I learned about the Formosa Event. The same views were also confirmed in Cohen (1988).

³ For further details, see Footnotes 3 & 7 of the Introduction.

social movements in the late 1980s, there was no way for the KMT State to escape undertaking more welfare responsibilities under a great demand from a variety of social groups and of political competition from the DPP. In fact it did lose power in the 2000 presidential election to the pro-welfare DPP Candidate, Chen, Shui-bian, who promised better and more comprehensive social policies regarding housing, pension, unemployment and childcare and so on (Aspalter 2001).

The subordination of the individual to the legitimacy of the KMT State resulted in hindering the organisation of lone parents as lobbying groups in forms of collective power to demand state intervention in social provision. This is because, as Fullinwier (1988) points out, *"In the martial state, the coincidence between common good and personal good arises not because the common good serves the independent ends of individuals but because individuals identify their own good with the goals of the state"* (p.176). In the past, individuals were oppressed to "identify their own good with the goals of the KMT state" preferring economic growth over welfare development. Not surprisingly, the growth of voluntary agencies concerning lone parents and their children has occurred rapidly along with the rise of political and social movements since the early 1990s, particularly after the lifting of martial law in 1987. This rapid rise of organisation of lone parents as lobbying groups exactly

reflects that full citizenship is a corollary of the principle of political justice (Fullinwider 1988). As Walzer (1983) claimed: "*if they (men and women) are subject, they must be given a say, and ultimately an equal say, in what the (state) authority does*" (pp. 60-61), individuals regardless of sex, age, race, class and religions in Taiwan are granted such a final say particularly from the late 1990s onwards. In effect, the long-term political suppression of full citizenship made lone mothers in Taiwan difficult to fit into any Western welfare regime typologies based on the concept of citizenship, being invisible and marginalised from political agendas, as mentioned in Chapter Two. This non-recognition of full citizenship among lone parents in Taiwan has been reinforced by the KMT State *deliberately* by promoting Confucianism via the education system in order to legitimatise its authoritarian control in Taiwan. This is also confirmed with Fullinwider's (1988) argument: "*The first function of civic education, then, is to ensure the requisite identification and to encourage the readiness of each individual to find fulfilment by subordinating his will to the collective goal*" (p.176). Some Western mainstream/malestream scholars have found that the Taiwanese Welfare State does not conform to any of the Western capitalist typologies, particularly Esping-Andersen's ideal types, but rather is possessed of too much social/central direction and too little sense of individual rights, including minimal social rights (e.g., Jones 1993:214; Doling and Finer 2001:297-298). But

there has been too little understanding of the role of the Confucian context, and too much ignorance of the voices of Taiwanese people unable to express their demands for rights in this Confucian subordination of the individual to the superior authority of the KMT State in order to obtain “full citizenship and equality for all”.

Furthermore, the subordination of the individual to the authority of the State coincides with the KMT Welfare State’s failure to recognise social rights of lone parents in welfare development concerning childcare, elderly care, housing, employment, and income support. In other words, the social welfare expenditure in supporting this group costs extremely little, as described in Chapter One. This similar view was confirmed with Doling and Finer’s (2001) study comparing social policies between Britain and Taiwan by arguing: “*social welfare expenditure, in terms of GDP per capita, remained small by comparison with that of European industrialised countries.*” (p.298). This extremely low cost of social welfare expenditure has attracted some Western scholars and politicians to learn “lessons from Confucian Welfare States” (e.g., Jones 1993; Blair 1996:57-62; Finer 1997). Despite a number of critiques from Western social policy scholars, nearly all Western governments seek to “roll back” the responsibility of social provision from the State into the family, the market and the voluntary sector in order to reduce lone mothers’ dependence on State

benefits. By contrast, this can hardly be the case in Taiwan, where the KMT State intervention in welfare provision has remained on a piecemeal level based on non-recognition of social rights of lone parents and has always taken a reluctant attitude in order to escape its welfare responsibility, described precisely in Articles 152 to 157 of the Constitution. Particularly, the revision of the Constitution in 1997 announced more specific welfare measures and protections for women, the disabled, children, and minorities (Ku 2001). In fact, the findings of the current study confirms that lone parents in Taiwan have never been granted entitlement to state benefits in exchange for unpaid caring work compared to their counterparts in the USA: as Lewis (with Hobson) (1997) clearly notes, "*where the backlash against lone mothers has been stronger than in any European country, 1996 legislation in the form of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act ended lone mothers' entitlements to welfare payments*" (p.1; also see Waldfogel 1996). If the backlash against lone mothers in the USA, as Lewis (with Hobson) (1997) argues, has been stronger than in any European welfare states, then it can be argued in Taiwan that the backlash against lone mothers in the KMT Welfare State has never been weaker than in any Western country, particularly in the USA.

The subordination of the individual to the superior authority of the KMT State has

further located *"basic social support within the family context and not as public obligation. The state will not intervene when there is a family (conceptualised as a 'traditional' family) that can offer support. This then results in the lack of a comprehensive or universal system of social support or a social wage for lone mothers"* (Strell and Duncan 2001:160). This is the main institutional factor to explain lone parents' "self-reliance" from the KMT State, first because of the assumption of the family as a main welfare provider and second because of the lack of a universalist system of social support or a social wage for lone parents in Taiwan. This "self-reliance" from the State was confirmed with lone mothers' experiences in how very few of them were recognised as eligible, how difficult it was to claim any social support from the KMT State, how insufficient Low-Income Family Allowance was to support their children, how it excluded lone mothers themselves, and how impossible it was to be rehoused in social housing. The lack of a universal system of social support or a social wage for lone parents in Taiwan completely coincides with the assumption of the Confucian family as the main welfare provider, rather than the State. Not surprisingly, family welfare responsibilities have persistently been promoted and emphasised by the KMT State in the way of strengthening "Confucian values" to replace public welfare obligations. Highlighting the importance of the family in European countries, Lewis (1993) has argued that *"the family has always been the*

main provider of welfare in all of them (European Welfare states)” (p.4). Comparing her views and the European welfare states, it can be argued that the family in the Taiwanese Welfare State is the “*super-main provider*” of welfare in this regard. It is because welfare provision in the Taiwanese social context has been much more deeply “familialised” and consolidated through “Confucian values”, compared to any Western countries. Thereupon, lone parents in Taiwan have been viewed by the KMT State as “family members” instead of “individual full citizens” as in Hobson’s welfare regime or has regarded lone mothers as “dependents of strong/modified/weak male breadwinners” as in Lewis’ welfare typology. As a result, lone parents in Taiwan are assumed to make ends meet exclusively within their individual family, where each family member is presumed to be equal in its share of resources, power, and responsibilities. Men and women in the Taiwanese Welfare State are hardly viewed as “individual full citizens”. This non-recognition of lone parents as “individual full citizens” coincides with its extremely underdeveloped, residual, and selective social security system, which has a great negative impact upon lone parents.

Whose Family? Lone Fathers’, but not Lone Mothers’

A second source of failure, experienced by lone mothers in this study, has been in the

blindness of social policies to the subordination of women to patriarchal authority in the Confucian family. This has resulted in worsening lone mothers' situation more than lone fathers'. The KMT State was reluctant to intervene in welfare provision because of its Confucian values of the family as the cornerstone of its social policy and as the ultimate happy home for individuals. In fact, this is more likely to be the case for lone fathers in comparison with lone mothers in the present study. The imbalances of power, resources, and responsibilities between the sexes within marriage and the family have been historically and persistently documented in the Western context, as repeatedly mentioned in the previous chapters of the present study (e.g., Pateman 1988a & b; Okin 1991, 1995). These domestic differentials in power, resources, and responsibilities are assumed on the basis of the traditional family, consisting of two-parents with dependent children, and of the conventional marriage, comprising of two heterosexual individuals, in the West. By contrast, as shown in Chapter Two, the power hierarchy in a Confucian family is not only based on gender, but also generation and age, of which the priority is "*generation prior to age, then age prior to gender*". This pecking order in the Confucian family in turn has resulted in remarkable differentials in domestic resources, rights and responsibilities among all family members. The most central kinship between father-son within the Confucian family grants lone fathers a permanent family membership inside their patrilineal

families. As sons, they are entitled to an equal share of their paternal estates, while the eldest son or only son is often entitled to another extra-portion on behalf of the eldest grandson compared to other younger sons. This “equal” entitlement among sons ensured that two lone fathers obtained housing ownership without any mortgage payment and one father inherited a piece of land in the current study. In addition, none of the lone fathers have experienced poor educational opportunities to develop their human capital. Furthermore, they benefited more from childcare, childrearing and housework provided by their own families and family-in-laws, particularly if grandmothers or in-law are available, without becoming involved in domestic conflicts regarding children’s custody and marital properties. As husbands, six lone fathers benefited from the first priority of housing ownership and a husband’s power over his wife within marriage. Thus, since becoming lone parents, this priority allowed men to avoid most marital inheritance issues, unlike those faced by lone mothers from their deceased husbands. In effect, the family is, for lone fathers, the cornerstone of welfare provision, wherein lone fathers are more likely to benefit in terms of housing, childcare, childrearing, housework and economic resources. Remarriage became the main pathway to reconstitute such a family and revive its welfare function, and was perceived by lone fathers as the solution to the loss of a carer for their children and their elderly parents, and of a homemaker for themselves.

Furthermore, Confucian gendered marriage favouring men makes remarriage among lone fathers more possible. Particularly, remarriage has historically and customarily been conceived as a right for lone fathers, and chastity as a duty for lone mothers. Unsurprisingly, some lone fathers have taken action, searching for remarriage and three confirmed this as a possibility in the near future at the time of interview.

An enormous literature in the East and West has persistently found that women have always been at the heart of childcare, elderly care, and housework within the family (e.g. Equal Opportunities Commission 1982; Hendry 1993; Uno 1993; Land 1999).

Unfortunately, lone mothers in my study could not be exempt from such triple domestic duties, resulting from the denial of their full membership within the Confucian family. According to Walzer's views of "spheres of justice" (1983), membership "*determines with whom we make those (distributive good) choices, from whom we require obedience and collect taxes to whom we allocate goods and services.*"(p.31). Furthermore, he distinguished differences between membership and non-membership, for example, in the market, by saying: "*Non-members are vulnerable and unprotected in the marketplace. Although they participate freely in the exchange of goods, they have no part in those goods that are shared. They are cut off from the communal provision of security and welfare. Even those aspects of security*

and welfare that are, like public health, collectively distributed are not guaranteed to non-members: for they have no guaranteed place in the collectivity and are always liable to expulsion. Statelessness is a condition of infinite danger" (Walzer 1983: 31-32). Similarly, family membership of the lone mothers in my study is unlikely to be fully recognised but rather they are "temporary members" within their natal families before marriage, and "non-members", by being strangers within their mother-in-law's families after marriage. Without permanent membership they do not belong anywhere. In certain circumstances, they might receive hospitality, assistance, and goodwill from the Confucian family in terms of childcare, childrearing, housing support, and financial aid, but certainly they have no guaranteed and permanent place in the Confucian family and no part in the collective goods and resources that are shared equally among "family members" as sons exclusively do. Buxbaum (1978:218-219), as noted in Chapter Two, argued that legal reform of Family Law does not automatically bring about social change of the customary law in Confucian societies. Echoing his views, lone mothers have been guaranteed by Taiwan Patrimonial Law since 1931 to have the equal right to share her parents' estate as their brothers, in fact they seldom claim such equal inheritance right, but rather to accept a "temporary shelter" provided by their natal family in the case of houselessness crisis. Furthermore, although the partial reform of Family Law has been enacted under

pressure from feminist groups, married women are seldom protected to access equally to family economic resources and marital properties, while the gender hierarchy within marriage and the family, consolidated by the Confucian customary law (Confucian values), has not been profoundly challenged and changed. This denial of family membership from "Confucian values" has trapped lone mothers into more vulnerable and unprotected circumstances in terms of childcare, elderly-care, housing, employment and the marriage market and forced them to have little choice but increased self-sufficiency. The unequal distribution in power, rights, investments, and resources within the Confucian family disfavours daughters/wives/mothers/daughters-in-law can hardly benefit lone mothers. But rather this imposes more care work, such as caring for elderly parents or parents-in-law, upon lone mothers. In addition, this inequality resulting under the Generation-Age-Gender hierarchy is more likely to create more domestic conflicts involving children and housing inheritance particularly for widows in Taiwan. Furthermore, they became more vulnerable and unprotected from sexual harassment from their mother-in-law's family members. Meanwhile, this form of sexual harassment faced by some lone mothers in my study has rarely been explored in Taiwan and Western countries.

As shown in Chapter One, the family is presumed by the KMT State as the centre of social welfare policies and is very valuable to the Confucian society as a happy home, within which, presumably, everyone is equal and everyone does the same sorts of things and gets the same share of resources. In fact, for lone mothers, the family is the centre of care responsibilities for the young and the old, the heart of endless unpaid housework, the battlefield of domestic confrontations and sexual harassment, and the altar of sacrifice of individual welfare. Even after becoming lone mothers, they, as daughters, are neither exempt from the care for their sick elderly parent nor as daughters-in-law, from the care for their elderly parents-in-law. This care for elderly parents or in-law faced by lone mothers in Taiwan can seldom be found in the Western literature. It is sure that lone mothers are not the primary beneficiaries of the family in contrast to lone fathers, but rather the primary welfare providers within it. More precisely, lone mothers in Taiwan have never been exempt from unpaid informal care for all family members even while the Taiwanese Welfare State has been forced to acknowledge its welfare responsibilities since the early 1990s. This tendency is completely in contrast to that of Western welfare states, seeking to shift welfare responsibilities from the State to unpaid informal care provided by mostly female family members (Wistow 1999: 47). As some materialist feminists in the West argue, the family is still the site of women's oppression (Delphy and Leonard 1992).

Similarly, for lone mothers in Taiwan, the family is central to inequality resulting from the Generation-Age-Gender hierarchy, rather than separate from it. Marriage between heterosexual couples remains the most acceptable pathway into this unequal system. Unsurprisingly, the majority of the lone mothers in the study opposed re-entering it as their solution out of lone parenthood, but rather preferred to maintain permanently their contemporary status of being lone mothers, despite their difficult experiences of supporting themselves as lone mothers in Taiwan, with low paid work and less employment protection.

Lone mothers are hardly viewed as permanent family members in the Confucian family in the way that lone fathers are. Without permanent membership, they do not belong anywhere, whether in the maternal family or particularly in the mother-in-law's family. The lack of permanent family membership faced by lone mothers has been ignored and has trapped them into more disadvantaged circumstances in terms of childcare, childrearing, child support, housing, marriage, and employment whilst social policies of the KMT State are based on the assumption of the family as the centre of welfare provision. In fact, the family is more unlikely to offer accessible welfare provision to women as family outsiders in contrast to men as family insiders. And the inequality of access to welfare provision within the

Confucian family has been long ignored by the KMT state. Furthermore, this inequality makes the assumption of the super-main welfare provider—the family—a myth for lone mothers, and forces lone mothers to have little choice but to participate in the labour market. Obviously, the KMT's assumption of the family as the main welfare provider has completely ignored a question about whose family. Certainly the Confucian family is not lone mothers', but rather lone fathers' because of its dynamic of father-son kinship.

Whose market? More likely Lone Fathers' but certainly Not Lone Mothers'

A third source of failure of social policy for lone mothers has been a failure to address the discriminatory labour market and its consequences for social entitlements. The consequences of the repression of labour in the interests of the corporation, protected by the KMT government from the rise of working-class consciousness and unionisation of the labour until the lifting of the 38-year-old martial law of 1987, have been ignored (Cohen 1988; Bello and Rosenfeld 1990). This tight control of labour results in the incomplete social security system, still lacking national pension insurance and unemployment insurance, as briefly mentioned earlier in Chapter One and well documented in the Taiwanese literature (e.g., Cohen 1988). As Leitner (2001)

has recently pointed out in the European Union (hereafter EU), “*All countries established earnings-related (pension) schemes, most of them in combination with additional benefits for spouse and/or survivors which refer to married heterosexual couples*” (p.103). Similarly, survivors of workers are entitled to a lump-sum payment, but it is insufficient to support widows’ families upon the working husbands’ death, while survivor benefits of military personnel/governmental employees/public school teachers in Taiwan and in most countries of the EU are granted a “lifetime income” adequate to support widows’ families without participation in the labour market. This inequality of survivor benefits gives widows of workers in Taiwan little choice but to participate in paid work, like the rest of lone mothers via separation, divorce and out-of-wedlock, who are not entitled to any State benefits while lacking the support of male working rice-winners.

Furthermore, this is also a crucial circumstance faced by lone mothers in Taiwan to criticise welfare regime typologies proposed by Western feminists, which are based on the male-breadwinner and female-homemaker family model (e.g., Lewis 1992, 1997; Lewis and Ostner 1995; Fraser 1994; Strell and Duncal 2001). Instead, the Mother-Worker-Family-Outsider regime model is proposed in Chapter Two to contextualise lone mothers in a Confucian welfare regime mainly based on “the

family”, traditionally consisting of patrilineal three generations living in the same household, which differs from the traditional family in the Western social context, within which lone mothers are hardly welfare beneficiaries but welfare providers, and which most lone mothers oppose re-entry via marriage. Therefore, employment improvement becomes their main strategy to cope with permanent lone motherhood.

Marriage, family and fatherhood are unlikely to present serious employment dilemmas for men keeping the continuity of employment and promotion in occupation (Wajcman 1998). This is more likely true for the lone fathers in this study while childcare, childrearing and housework services are much easier to access from marriage and the family. As a result, the characteristics of lone fathers’ life-cycle careers are continuous employment with better earnings and higher positions in the occupational hierarchy in combination with full contribution payments. This leads lone fathers to better employment protection and higher-level social security entitlement whereas those lone mothers in the study experience discontinuous employment, more part-time jobs with piece-rate-payment homework in combination with unpaid caring work or full-time work with another part-time job, and with less employment protection so that they are worse off (Lewis 1992; Leitner 2001). Before becoming lone mothers, women’s employment had generally been “broken” or

“interrupted” in order to have and to care for children and elderly parents or in-laws due to domestic caring duties, imposed upon mothers, daughters and daughters-in-law. Since becoming lone mothers, women’s employment concentrates more on part-time work or homework in combination with unpaid caring work; lower wages in combination with full-time and part-time jobs, and lower positions in the occupational hierarchy. This results from the lack of paid parental leave for the care of young or sick children, the lack of social wage for families with dependent children, and the lack of equal opportunity legislation and policy in the workplace. Furthermore, the lack of a national unemployment insurance has trapped lone mothers into great risks: their children, motivated by the notion of filial piety, are eager to participate in paid work in order to rescue a family without any income from the labour market, the absent father or the State. Discontinuous employment and the non-coverage of the National Labour Insurance in combination with incomplete or intermittent contribution payments leads lone mothers to a low-level of social security entitlements. In addition, the lack of National Pension Insurance certainly increases high risks of poverty among lone mothers and dependence upon their adult children in their old age. Essentially, marriage, family and lone motherhood have presented serious employment dilemmas and risks for women compared to men in Taiwan. Despite these disadvantages in the labour market, most lone mothers in my study still

preferred to maintain their current status and to improve their employment in combination with mothering alone. In fact, some lone mothers have made every effort to increase their human capital via more advanced education, to establish self-employed small businesses and to take more part-time jobs along with their full-time work. Others were preparing to do so at the time of interview.

8.2. The Social Policy Implications

When the pro-welfare DPP came into power in May 2000, as Ku (2001) clearly notes, *“Taiwan is now at the crossroads: to be or not to be a welfare state.”* (p.45). Meanwhile, this also implies that social policies regarding lone parents in Taiwan are also at the crossroads. Furthermore, as Ku and Chen (2001) argue, *“Since the establishment of National Health Insurance (NHI) in 1995, Taiwan has been moving towards an institutional welfare system”* (p.95). In other words, the Taiwanese Welfare State has been pressured during the last decade to shift welfare responsibilities from the family and the market to the State. This development of social policies in Taiwan is indeed converse to that in the West, but really coincides with the development of the Taiwanese political democracy, social reform and

economic growth. Within the last decade, Taiwan has changed remarkably from the authoritarian KMT-Party State into a genuine democratic state, currently led by the DPP. At the same time, its economy has continued to grow slowly and its society remains relatively stable and orderly (Tsang and Tien 1999). But women and ethnic minorities in Taiwan have benefited least from such political democracy, economic growth and societal change (Cohen 1988). Echoing Hobson's (1994) and Strell and Duncan's (2001) views, lone mothers seem also to provide a sort of 'litmus test' or indicator in examining a Confucian Welfare State based in Taiwan. Their unique situation allows for a pointed analysis of the nature of the Taiwanese Welfare State and particularly social rights of women with dependent children alone, and hence provides the insights into the KMT policy logic focused around the family.

In order to achieve women's economic independence and solve the dilemma between paid work and unpaid caring work, Lister (1994) suggested in the British context that *"decommodification needs also to be complemented by that we might call 'defamilialisation', if it is to provide a rounded measure of economic independence. Welfare regimes might then also be characterised according to the degree to which individual adults can uphold a socially acceptable standard of living, independently of family relationships, either through paid work or through the social security*

system” (p.37; Lister 1995:29; also see McLaughlin and Glendinning 1994:66, 1996).

In comparison with Western welfare states, Taiwanese Welfare State is much deeply familialised, whereas the family is “the super-main welfare provider” mentioned above. In fact, the access to welfare provision in terms of childcare, elderly care, housing, income support and the other in kind is more available from the family than the State for lone parents in Taiwan. But the family welfare provision is more accessible for lone fathers than lone mothers. If the concept of “defamilialisation” in Lister’s terms (1994, 1995) is pursued from analysis of nature of welfare regimes towards a policy agenda, social policies need to take into account not only the imbalance of gender power but also of generation and seniority hierarchy. At the same time it also should achieve equality between generations, seniorities and sexes. Then each individual family member should uphold a socially acceptable standard of living independently and equally regardless of family relationships among father and son, husband and wife, brothers and sisters, and sons and daughters and the like. Thereupon, each family member should be valued by the Taiwanese State as “individual full citizen” more than rather only “family members” in order to eliminate the differentials between family insiders and family outsiders, to break down the Generation-Age-Gender hierarchy, and to achieve the justices and equalities within the Taiwanese family because of the shift from welfare responsibilities mainly

from the family to the State through uniting all segregated social security systems and completing its underdeveloped nature towards a comprehensive social protection system. .

As shown in Chapter Two, the concept of decommodification has proved to be the most problematic for Western feminist researchers concerned with incorporating a gender approach into welfare regime analysis, due to its neglect of the family (e.g., Hosbson 1994; Mahon 2001). Similarly, it has also become the biggest problem to integrate a Confucian dimension into an East-Asian welfare regime analysis. Except for gender, not all the employed, even men, are equally protected and entitled under the incomplete and selective social security system, which has disfavoured labourers, farmers and fishermen, but favoured military personnel/government employee/public school teachers. As Pateman (1989) argued in the West, "*paid employment has become the key to citizenship*" (p.184). But paid employment has not yet granted all working men and women in Taiwan entitlement to unemployment benefits and an old-age pension. A comprehensive social security system needs urgently to be implemented to terminate the inequalities, for example, between labourers and government employees based on the notion of "equal and full individual citizenship".

Following this, decommodification should be complemented in Taiwan. In the Mother-Worker-Family-Outsider welfare regime, Low-Income Family Allowance is extremely low, associated with social stigma, and granted with a compulsory participation in casual work. This social relief system not only compelled all the lone parents in the study to participate in the labour market as full-time workers, but also forced those desperate female casual workers to take more homework or part-time work. As Esping-Adersen (1990:22) points out, decommodification certainly strengthens labour but weakens the absolute authority of the capitalist employers, which were always protected by the KMT State preferring economic growth over welfare development. Particularly, when the preference for participation in the labour market is the main strategy for most lone mothers in my study to cope with permanent lone motherhood, decommodification of their labour becomes more critical for those working lone mothers. Furthermore, in response to their hope in improving their employment and their earnings, the *Equal Employment Act*, similar to the Equal Opportunity Act in the UK but frozen by the KMT government in the Legislative Yuan nearly for 11 years, needs urgently to be passed. It is because by this act, all workers regardless of gender would be granted paid parental leave for care of young children aged from 4 to 12 and shorter working hours for care of children aged under

3. Under this act, all female workers would be entitled to paid maternity leave for childrearing, equal recruitment, pay and promotion, and protected from sexual harassment in the workplace (see <http://taiwan.yam.org.tw/nwc/nwc4/papers/99nwc-201.htm>). Among all workers, lone mothers regardless of occupations may benefit most from the passage of the Equal Employment Act and its policy.

If the voices of the lone mothers in my study can be heard seriously enough as a 'litmus test' in the analysis of the Mother-Worker-Family-Outsider welfare regime in Taiwan, for lone mothers as permanent family outsiders, the Mother-Worker-Family-Outsider welfare model needs to be "defamilialised" and the status of family outsiders should be transformed into full individual citizenship so as to achieve justice and equality within marriage and the family regardless of generation, seniority and gender. Furthermore, for lone mothers as less or un-protected working women, the Taiwanese State needs to complete its underdeveloped social security net towards a comprehensive social security system by adding National Pension Insurance and National Unemployment Insurance and by eliminating segregation, for example, between labourers and government employees. For lone mothers as solo female rice-winners and carers, the Taiwan State needs to be decommodified by

adapting “women-friendly” welfare policies in recognition of needs for affordable and prevalent childcare, elderly care, paid parental leave for young and sick children, and the value of housework, and in balancing the dilemma between solo rice-winners and sole carers. Thus the Taiwanese State is being pressured to develop its role of welfare provider instead of being a “regulator” or “patriarchal capitalist”, but also to increase state intervention in welfare provision and to develop towards comprehensive social security system as much as in economic growth. In sum, the Confucian Welfare Regime in Taiwan has to transfer into the **Parent-Worker-Full-Individual-Citizen Welfare Model**, where lone mothers are no longer treated as family-outsiders/secondary earners/ unpaid carers for the young and the old/ less or un-protected workers, but rather as “full individual citizens/primary rice-winners/equal parents and paid carers/fully protected workers entitled to universal state benefits for family with dependent children, the high quality of publicly founded childcare, public housing support in cash or in kind, comprehensive employment protection in terms of pension and unemployment benefits, paid parental leave for the care of children and paid carer leave for the care of the elderly. Hopefully, lone mothers can be transferred not only from family outsiders to full family members, but also further to “full individual citizens” along with lone fathers, equally and fully protected in the **Parent-Worker-Full-Individual-Citizen Welfare Model** in Taiwan.

8.3 Recommended Future Research

Like other studies, this study has its own strengths and limitations due to the researcher's background and its own research scope. Thus the following research dimensions, strongly recommended below, have not yet been carefully explored or closely examined, and need to be further studied in the future.

Who Sees? Ethnicity and Lone Mothers

As noted clearly in Chapter Three, more qualitative researches are strongly recommended to explore the constraints and opportunities faced by aboriginal lone parents in Taiwan, whose language, identity, familial and societal structure are entirely different from those lone parents participating in this study and the researcher herself. Thereupon, this study does not entirely reflect the reality of aboriginal lone mothers' lives in Taiwan. Criticising "white feminist thoughts", Roberts (1995) argues, *"Black single motherhood and white single motherhood, however, have never had the same meaning in America"* (p.198; also Solinger 1992:24-25). Likewise, Confucian lone motherhood and aboriginal lone motherhood have never had the same meaning

in the Taiwanese social context, mainly influenced by Confucian culture for four centuries and by Japanese and Western culture for the last century. The official invisibility of aboriginal lone mothers certainly contributes more to their disadvantages and constraints due to their gender and ethnicity, compared to that of Confucian lone mothers. Historically, they have been suppressed most by all the colonising authorities from the Japanese military administration and the Chinese Nationalist Government to political integration, social assimilation and cultural extinction into Chinese-led politics, capitalist-dominated society and Confucian-influenced culture until the rapid rise of aboriginal movements after the lifting of martial law (Hsu 1990). The most exploitative form of oppression of aborigines may be “pawning” teenage aboriginal girls into prostitution in Taiwan (Hwang 1995). While this study has aimed to have Confucian lone mothers’ voices heard, it is very worthwhile to make another effort to have the invisibility of aboriginal lone mothers seen in future research.

Who Cares? Health and Lone Mothers

The burgeoning interests of Western literature in the carer’s well-being have gradually emerged (e.g., Equal Opportunities Commission 1982; Guberman 1988; Jee 2000). In

effect, caring responsibilities can result in a number of common disadvantages, which unite those caring for other people, whatever their degree of handicap or dependency. Particularly, those disadvantages can lead to serious events in women's lives, such as the interruption of career, the loss of employment, emotional depression, social isolation and the like. Poor health may be one of these disadvantages faced by carers, but has seldom been explored. Graham (1993:174) found that the combination of caring responsibilities with poor circumstances could undermine women's health, particularly those lone mothers living in temporary accommodation. Similarly, the combination of caring for children alone along with rice-winning could certainly undermine lone parents' health. In fact, a critical dilemma faced by three lone parents in my fieldwork is: "*Who cares for the carers?*" When a lone father was hospitalised due to a surgery, he was well cared for by his family-in-law. By contrast, in the same situation, when a lone mother needed care, the State and her mother-in-law's family objected to providing care for her. Acknowledging this dilemma, some lone mothers regardless of their marital status in my fieldwork have kept a fear: in the event that they need care due to chronic illness or long-standing poor health, who would care for them and their young children? Particularly this fear has worried two lone mothers with cancer terribly. A further fear of death caused by serious illness has driven some lone mothers in my fieldwork to have well-arranged childcare and childrearing plans

written into their wills. This fear about who cares for lone mothers as carers and rice-winners with poor health and their young children really deserves another study focusing upon the impact of poor health upon lone mother families, particularly in the Taiwanese social context.

Who Listens? Children of Lone Mothers

This present study is not designed to listen to the voices of lone parents' children. Obvious discrimination against children of lone mothers was mentioned often by most female participants but seldom by the male respondents in my fieldwork. This differential may be closely connected with the Confucian father-son kinship. Children inheriting the family name of their fathers and living with their fathers confirms patrilineage, patrilocality and patriarchy. By contrast, children living with their mothers and, particularly, inheriting the family name of their mothers violate such a Confucian familial and societal order. They are easily discerned and labelled as children of "bad women", compared with children of lone fathers. In addition, the economic vulnerability of lone mothers has a great impact upon their children, in particular in case of unemployment, in terms of educational prospects. Acknowledging this financial disadvantage, children are often motivated by the

notion of “filial piety” and “volunteer” not to pursue an advanced education after completing their basic schooling. Among these children, the elder ones, particularly the eldest daughter, were most likely to intend to leave school at an early age. Some lone mothers in my fieldwork also clearly expressed their inability to support their children in finishing higher education. Without family support, it is hardly possible for anyone in Taiwan to finish any schooling, especially higher education. Blau et al. (1998:363-365) clearly points out “*education as the pathway to empowerment*”, particularly for women in developing countries. Echoing their views, education certainly enhances the potential of lone mothers’ children for entry into the labour market, and raises their potential earnings in order to avoid repeating the vicious circle of disadvantages faced by lone mothers. Furthermore, previous Taiwanese literature concerning the welfare of lone parents’ children always employed a quantitative approach. Therefore, another qualitative approach concerning lone mothers’ children is strongly recommended here, due to the lack of a deeper exploration of children’s welfare in this study.

8.4 In Conclusion

Currently, lone parents in Taiwan certainly benefit more from the family and least

from the State, but mainly rely on the labour market. Within the family, lone mothers are more vulnerable and unprotected due to their status as permanent family outsiders, compared to lone fathers as permanent family insiders. This vulnerable and unprotected situation extends to the labour market and worsens their participation in paid work, either with no or less employment protection. And this less-protected or un-protected position in the labour market has trapped lone mothers in great risks and disasters in terms of houselessness, double caring responsibilities for young and old, unemployment, life-long poverty, poor health and the like. First, social rights of lone mothers should be properly recognised based on the notion of “full individual citizenship” instead of “family outsiders”. Second, the rights of lone mothers as workers should be implemented in such a way that National Unemployment Insurance, National Pension Insurance and Equal Employment Act are passed and realised urgently. Third, the parental rights of lone mothers as carers should be acknowledged in a way that provides paid parental leave for caring for young and sick children and for childrearing, prevalence of affordable childcare and elderly care, and universal State benefits for families with dependent children should be realised as well. Certainly, the development of social policies in Taiwan from the Mother-Worker-Family-Outsider Welfare Model to the Parent-Worker-Full-Individual-Citizen Welfare Model will bring back a “haven in

the world”, “the sexual-equality labour market” and “the women-friendly state” to lone mothers in the Taiwanese Welfare State.

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Appendix

Appendix 0.1: The Development of Partial Reforms of Family Law (Book IV of the Civil Code) in Taiwan

Year	Feminist Movements	Reformed Act	Topics
1931		The Family Law, promulgated	The freedom of marriage, equal inheritance between sons and daughters. The ban against polygamy, etc. but still the enforcement of patriarchal family value. e.g. all the matrimonial property was regarded the property of the husband's.
1972	led by Annette Lu initiating the concept of "new feminism" and calling for human rights for women		calling for reform of Family Law and Nationality Law
1979	Formosa Incident requiring citizenship: freedom of speech, organization and the like.		Lu's imprisonment had a strong impact upon feminist movement so that it became more reluctant to get involved into political and democratic issues for a decade.
1982	Awakening Magazine ¹ began to publish.		
1985		Article 1042-1043 abolished	Women would maintain ownership rights on property right, which they acquired on their own either before or during the marriage. But as a retroactive provision was not included, the 1985 revision failed to protect the

¹ Awakening Magazine was initiated and published monthly by a small group of professional women led by Li Yuan-chen, some of whom had worked with Annette Lu, in order to raise female consciousness, encourage female self-development and voice feminist opinions. Under martial law, such a group could not set up their organization. Instead, they published their discussion into "Awakening Magazine". After the lifting the martial law, the group successfully raised NT\$ 1 million to meet the KMT-led Taipei City government's requirement to register itself as the Awakening Foundation. Such a group has contributed a lot in feminist movement, particularly the reform of Family Law and the Equal Employment Act.

			property rights of women married prior to 1985. But such an amendment to the Family Law still automatically placed man as the head of the conjugal family by preserving his authority over the management of the conjugal property, place of residence, and the child's name and custody
1987	The lifting of martial law; feminist movement for prostituted girls		
1988	Establishment of Awakening Foundation		
September, 1994		Article 1089, giving the fathers priority in the enforcement of parental rights, amended to give both parents equal priority with regard to parental rights and obligations to minor children, and also give the court the final say in resolving disputes of children's custody(Wang 1996; Su 1996; the R.O.C Year Book 1997; Lin et al.1998).	The equal parental rights and obligations in resolving disputes about children.
September, 1996		Article 1051, prioritising fathers custody of children in the case of divorce, abolished and then Article 1055, amended to give equal access to the custody in the case of divorce.	The equal right to obtain the custody of children in the case of break-down marriage
April, 1998		Article 1002,giving husbands the final say in designating a family's place of legal residence, abolished.	The equal in deciding the matrimonial residence.
April,1999	An amendment to the Family Law which strengthens the property ownership of women was proposed by KMT-led Executive Yuan (Chang 1999).		Equal matrimonial property right for married women

Appendix 0.2 The Voluntary Agencies for Lone Parent Families

Name/Year	Objectives	Activities
The Warm Life Association for Women in Taipei (WLAW in Taipei), established in 1988	(1) To united widows and divorced women in order to find support in a time of need and to learn to become self-support and independent. (2) To eliminate discrimination against divorced women. (3) To strive for divorced women's human rights and economical equality under the law. (4) To persuade the government to assist in the education and overall well-being of children from single-parent families in order to reduce their social predicament. (5) To encourage widows and divorced women to expand their personal interests to more general ones; to accommodate society by participating actively in work that benefits the community.	Their target groups do not focus not particularly lone mothers rather on divorced women. In 1996, it was commissioned by DPP-led Taipei Metropolitan City Government as Lone Parent Family Centre, offering some counselling courses and some activities for divorced lone mother families.
The Warm Life Association for Women in Taichung (WLAW in Taichung), established in 1990	Almost the same as the above one.	
The Warm Life Association for Women in Kaohsiung (WLAW in Kaohsiung), established in 1991	Almost the same as the above one.	As a pressure group, it made the Measure to Support Lone Parent Families possible in Kaohsiung City in 1997.
One-Leaf Orchid Association for Widowed Family (OLAWF), established in April,1995		Concerned only widowed families.
Taipei Li-Hsin Charity Foundation (TLCHF), established in 1995	1. To help families to expand their social network; 2. To develop human capital for family members; 3. To offer a information centre for parents and children 4. To unite community resource and strengthen the community network.	In 1995, it was commissioned by DDP-led Taipei Metropolitan City Government to set up "Children Welfare Service Centre in Wan-Hua District", concerning children of low-income families.
The Single-Parent Educational	1.Short-range: (1)To set up single-parent family information centre. (2).To issue single-parent family journals	In 1998, it held a international conference focusing on lone parent

Foundation, established in May 1996	<p>(3).To sponsor school teacher seminars</p> <p>(4).To team up with primary schools to hold single-parent families related seminars, growing groups.</p> <p>(5).To compile and print single-parent family related educational handbooks.</p> <p>(6).To set the contents of Single-parent families information centre online with libraries of all primary schools of the country.</p> <p>(7).To develop volunteers and mutual-support systems</p> <p>(8) To promote single-parent children problems related seminars throughout the country.</p> <p>2. Mid-range:</p> <p>(1) To set up interchange and social connection systems for single-parent families.</p> <p>---Set up assisting and consulting stations, taking districts as the units.</p> <p>---Provide consultation services for single-parent families on the phone.</p> <p>(2) To sponsor a variety of activities to enhance interrelations in appropriate intervals.</p> <p>(3) To set up and promote 'legislative team for better welfare to single parents'.</p> <p>(4) To set up ' Mutual-aid nursery schools for single-parents in communities'.</p> <p>(5) To hold international academic conference and seminars.</p> <p>(6) To assist single-parents in employment and career consultations.</p> <p>3.Long-range:</p> <p>(1) To complete and assess performance of the Single-parent families information center.</p> <p>(2).To purchase permanent headquarters for the Foundation.</p> <p>(3) To provide information to help the Legislative Yuan review the 'single family welfare policies' and cause the enactment.</p> <p>(4) To hold international social connection seminars for outstanding single-parent children.</p> <p>(5) To launch interchanges with educational & cultural organizations of the United Nations.</p>	families
The Catholic Lucy Service Centre in Tainan	Concerning teenaged unmarried single mothers and offering adoption service, too.	
Mutually-Support Lone Parent Association in Taipei (MSLPAT),established in January 1996	This group is set up and sponsored by Buddhist believers.	Offering some activities for lone parents, such as seminars discussing the problems between parents and children.

Appendix 1 Table1.4 The Reasons for Divorce Cases in
Local Courts

Unit:%(persons)						
Reasons	Adultery	Abused by the partner	Abandoned by the partner	Partner in penalty	Others	Total (person)
Year						
1981	9.9	15.3	63.2	8.6	3.0	100.0(711)
1986	6.4	11.7	69.1	10.7	2.1	100.0(1363)
1987	5.3	9.7	73.3	9.6	2.1	100.0(1349)
1988	5.6	12.4	69.7	8.9	3.5	100.0(1449)
1989	5.3	12.0	65.4	14.5	2.8	100.0(1569)
1990	5.1	12.1	64.5	15.5	2.7	100.0(1935)
1991	5.3	11.1	64.2	16.5	2.8	100.0(1983)
1992	4.9	12.9	59.2	21.1	1.8	100.0(2265)
1993	3.7	11.7	54.1	28.9	1.4	100.0(2467)
1994	4.0	10.5	49.9	33.5	2.1	100.0(2694)
1995	4.4	11.8	51.9	28.9	3.1	100.0(2726)
1996	3.4	16.2	51.7	25.3	3.5	100.0(2485)

Made by Taiwan Women web. Yam
Source: The 1997 Judicial Statistic Yearbook

Appendix 2.1 The Wife of Chiao Chung-ch'ing

(A Peacock Fries West of South 孔雀東南飛)

Ballad

A peacock flies East of South,
Flies five li, flutters back and forth.
(The young wife speak to her husband:)
"Ten and three could weave silk threads;
Ten and four learned to cut out cloths;
Ten and six hummed lines of Classics: Poems, Writings;
Ten and seven became wife of my Lord.
Now, in heart's centre, is often bitter grief.
My Lord had become Prefect's Clerk,
Preserving chastity, my passion never alters,
Lowly wife remains in empty bridal chamber.
We see each other, indeed, but rarely,
You come, can never bear to go, bear to go.
At cock-crow I enter loom to weave,
Nightly, nightly, do not attain to rest,
In three days cut off five rolls of silk.
Not because my weaving is slow, but
Because they dislike me, Husband's Honoured
Parents reprimanded.
In my Lord's household 'tis difficult to be a wife.
Unworthy One cannot endure being ordered, driven
Like a beast;
'Tis vain to stay; --useless!
Pray tell Honoured Father, Venerable Mother,
Time has come, I should be sent away, returned to
father's household".

Prefect's Clerk, on hearing this,
Ascends Gust Hall to tell the Mother:

"Son assists with salary that is but poor,
Yet has good fortune in possessing such a wife.

She knotted hair, came to my pillow, sleeping-mat;
Until descent to Yellow Springs, we shall join hands
in companionship.

Three or two years she has lived with, served us,
From life's beginning, to its end, is a long time,
Wife has acted without deceit, disloyalty.
What are your wishes? Why is affection not thick?"

The Mother answers Prefect's Clerk:

"Why so much chatter, chatter?
This wife has no knowledge of Rites or honourable behaviour,
Herself takes initiative, assumes to discriminate.
My ideas have long been treasured in my bosom,
Heart is divided in hate.
Your! Do you have your own way?
In household to East is a virtuous maiden
Calls herself Lo-fu from Land of Ch'in.
Her body is admired, unequalled!

I, The Mother, will beg her for you.
Then an quickly send away this one;
Send her away, let her go, be cautious, do not keep her".

Prefect's Clerk kneels a long time; speaks:

"I lie prostrate in order to inform my mother:
If this wife be sent away,
To end of old age, will not take another."

The mother, hearing these words,

In rage, pounds bed with her fist:

"Is miserable son without veneration?
How dare he utter aid-wife words?
Already, toward me, you fail in gratitude, rule of right conduct.
You will not follow me!...indeed?"

Prefect's Clerk maintains dark silence, without sound.

Once more lifts two hands in reverence, returns, enters bedroom door.
Begins to utter words, to converse with young wife,
Grief grips throat, he gulps, cannot speak.

(Commanding himself says:)

“I, myself, do not drive away Loved One,
Compelling, insisting, there is... The Mother.
For a short time, only, shall my Loved One, to father's house retire.
I must now serve in Prefect's office,
Ere long should come back, return home.
When I come back will go out to meet, will take you.
This thought treasure deep in your heart,
Act carefully, do not oppose my words.

(The young wife says to Prefect's Clerk:)

“I cannot come a second time; perplexity,
confusion would result from repetition.
Formerly, sunlight time of year's revolution, I first
Left father's house, came to your honourable gateway.
Began work, complied with wishes of Honourable Father,
Venerable Mother.
Careful of every thought, could I dare make my own decisions?
By day, by night, exerted myself to the utmost;--then rested.
Am lonely, depressed; bitterness, evil fortune, are knotted in my heart.
Words I have spoken are without guilt or fault.
To the end, have sustained, nourished, the parents; fulfilled all obligations.
Now suffer being driven like a beast, sent away.
How ay, come a second time, return?...
Unworthy One has embroidered short coat;
it reaches the hips.
Leaves and hill-flowers shine thereon, are brilliant.
Has red openwork silk gauze, bed-curtain,
At four corners hang fragrant bags of perfume.
Has bamboo boxes, six or seven tens,
Leaf-green jade beads strung on bright silk cords.
Each thing, each thing, in itself is different,
Of its class, of its class, at centre of perfection.
If my person be unworthy, the things also are poor,

Not good enough to present to my successor.
Nevertheless retain, keep them; I leave them to be used.
From now on, no reason for our meeting;
Forever, forever, may your be peaceful, tranquil,
Long, long, may we not die in each other's hearts."
Cock crows, in sky is light of sun about to rise,
Young wife leaves bed, dresses with care, puts on make-up,
Dons long embroidered skirt.
For own use, for own use, takes four, five of all her possessions.
Below, on her feet, treads on gleaming silk shoes;
Above, on her head, wears shining shell combs.
Her waist is supple as lustrous white silk;
In ears are bright moons, ear-pendants of pearls linked to jade.
Fingers like pared roots of the leek,
Lips like vermilion of cinnabar.
Dainty, dainty, she takes tiny footsteps,
The essence of beauty! World holds not her pair.
Ascending Guest Hall to The Mother she raises hands in reverence.
Anger of the Mother has not ceased.

(Young wife speaks:)

"Formerly, in childhood, girlhood, time,
At birth, when small, came out from hamlet in the wilds;
Had, originally, no teaching, nor did I hear flowing words of instruction.
Felt, therefore, demon of shame in my heart
at marrying son of high household.
Received from Mother many gifts of silk and of gold,
Cannot endure Mother should drive me away as a beast to the battue.
This day I go, returned to father's house,
I think of you, Mother, bearing toil and trouble of all within the home."

She then takes leave of husband's little sister;
Tears drop, a string of pearls:
"When first I came, a new wife,
Husband's little sister was protected in her pen.
This day, when I suffer being driven forth, sent away,
Husband's little sister is as tall as am I.
Exert your strengths, with all heart sustain
Honourable Father, Venerable Mother,

Lovingly care for the parents.

In first half of moon—seventh day, in second half of moon-ninth day.

When playing games, do not forget me.”

She goes out from door, steps into hooded cart-- departs.

Tears fall one hundred and more lines.

In front, Prefect's Clerk rides his horse;

Behind, young wife drives in hooded cart.

Now he hears, now he hears not, iron-bound wheels,
rumble, rumble.

Together they meet at mouth of Great Road.

He dismounts from horse, steps within covered carts,

Lowers head to her ear, whispers:

“Take an oath! we shall not remain in separate lands,

For a brief day you must return, must, to father's house, go,

While I to Prefectural office repair.

Not long, should come back, return home.

Take this oath! Heaven will not requite us with evil.”

Young wife says to Prefect's Clerk:

“My Lord stirs passion his love, his love, is treasured in bosom;

As he sees the records, my Lord already knows

It is not long till I may hope he comes.

My Lord is a rooted rock,

Unworthy One is sweet flag, is grass growing in the river bed.

Soft as floss silk is sweet flag, is grass growing in the river bed.

Not turning, not stirring, is the rooted rock.

I have an elder brother, son of my own father,

In nature, and behaviour, scorching heart of his cruelty is
fierce as thunder.

Perhaps he will not like thoughts treasured in my bosom,

To harass my affections, he may oppose.”

She raises hands in reverence to say farewell,

long he consoles, he consoles.

Two lovers unable to part, unable to part!

Young wife passes through Great Gate,

ascends Guest Hall in father's house,

Enters, draws back; is without "face," lacks right behaviour.
The Mother strikes hands together in great annoyance,
Did not expect daughter thus repudiated.
"Ten and three taught you to weave,
Ten and four you could cut-out clothes,
Ten and five swept strings of *k'ung bou* lyre,
Ten and six knew Rites, correct behaviour.
Ten and seven bequeathed you in marriage,
Words were spoken, an oath cannot be broken.
Now what is your fault, your crime,
That you are not kept, a wife; are thus returned home?"

Lan Chih—Fragrant Spear-Orchid—mortified,
says to the Mother:
" Daughter is truly without fault, without crime."
Greatly grieved, scornful is The Mother.

Ten and more days after young wife's return to father's house,
District Magistrate calls go-between to come,
Says: " Have number three young son,
Elegant, refined, the world has not his pair;
His years, ten and eight or nine,
His words, many—his talents quick."

The Mother speaks to The Daughter:
" Daughter may go, accede to this proposal."
The Daughter restrains tears, replies:
" At time when Lan-Chih—Fragrant Spear-Orchid--first returned,
Saw Prefect's Clerk who repeated three times
An oath that we knotted: never to separate, to part.
Would you, to-day, oppose love's right action?
Fear this affair is utterly shanless.
Your, yourself can cut short the letter received,
Quietly, quietly, you can say thus..."

The Mother tells Go-between Person:
" Poor, unworthy, is this daughter.
Was married, was returned to door of father's house.

If unable to be wife of Prefect's Clerk
How could she, with District Magistrate's young Lord, unite?
Luckily you can ask, widely, for another bride,
It will not do for me to make a promise."

Go-between Person leaves. Several days later
Comes an Assistant Magistrate, as messenger, seeking.
Says: "In household of Lan--Spear-Orchid—there is a young woman,
Her forebears on register are statesmen, are statesmen."
Says: "There is number five young gentleman,
Proud, refined, not yet has he taken bride at dusk.
Assistant Magistrate is commanded to act as go-between,
To speak words with her father, the Deputy official.
In truth I refer to great Prefect's family
Which has this young Lord, worthy of regard.
They already desire the Knot of Great Rightness
Have ordered me to enter your honourable gate."

The Mother thanks Go-between Person; speaks, saying:
"My daughter has sworn an oath,
How can an old woman reply?"

The Elder Brother hears of this,
Perplexed, in heat's centre burns fire of rage.
Lifting up words speaks to the Young-Sister:
"Why should you not discuss this plan?
In first marriage obtained Prefect's Clerk;
In second marriage obtained High Officer;
Unimportance of one, importance of other are wide apart
as Earth and Heaven
Proposal is sufficient to glorify your person.
If you do not act rightly, marry, how is it becoming?
What is your desire? Where will you dwell? Speak!"

Lan-Chih—Fragrant Spear-Orchid—life head, replies:
"Custom is truly as Elder Brother says:
Withdrew from father's household, served The Son-in-Law.
Midway on Life's Road, return to Brother's gate.

He may judge, decide; will satisfy my Brother's thoughts,
How should I assume responsibility of decision?
Although the Prefect's Clerk and I agreed
To unite forever, we have no affinity."

Now, The Brother and The Go-between make harmonious accord,
Promise to arrange marriage at dusk relationship.
Go-between Person steps down from seat of honour, withdraws;
Nods assent, nods assent, again agrees, agrees.
Enters Official Residence, tells Lord Prefect:
" Lower Officer has fulfilled your orders, your commands.
Words, fires of discussion, had real affinity."

When Lord Prefect hears this report
In heart's centre greatly he rejoices. Happily
Looks at Calendar, consults Books:
" Convenient, profitable, within this very moon,
Cyclical signs are correct, are in mutual accord.
Good fortune comes on three tens day,
It is already two tens and seven.
My staff may go, complete wedding plans."

The words spoken, quick the preparations,
Incessant like silk threads joined, like silk drawn out,
 speedy as driven clouds
Black water-bird, red-head crane boats lashed in squares;
At the four corners hornless dragon banners
Flitter, flutter, curl, follow the wind.
Gold chariot with wheels of jade,
Dancing, prancing, dark-dappled horses,
Saddles flower decorated, gold engraved.
The square-hole cash despatched, three times
 one hundred times, ten thousand,
All strung on bright green cords.
Varied silks, three times one hundred rolls.
In the markets buy rare meats for many guests.
Serving people four hundred or five
In crowds, in crowds, come to Prefectural Gate.

The Mother speaks to The Daughter, says:
"Lord Prefect's writing, this moment, is received.
Bright morrow comes to lead you out.
Why are upper garments, lower garments, nor yet made?
You cannot, not accomplish affairs which are arranged.

The daughter, silent, without sound,
Covers mouth with kerchief, gulps down sobs;
Her tears flow, like water running in channels.
Moves her couch. Inlaid with strass figures,
Takes it out, places it, beneath front window.
Left hand seizes scissors, measure,
Right hand grasps damask, openwork silk gauze.
At daybreak make long embroidered skirt,
At nightfall makes unlined gauze robe.
Dusk, dusk, sun will soon be hidden
Thoughts sunk in grief, goes out from door, weeps.

Prefect's Clerk hears the news, alters his plans,
Begs leave of absence to go home a short time.
Has not traversed two or three *li*
When saddled horse piteously neighs.
Young wife recognise sound of horse
Treads on her shoes, sees him, whom she did not expect.
Unhappy, very, from afar gaze at each other,
She knows it is her beloved who has come.
Lifts hand, strikes horse's saddle,
Sighs, moans, Clerk's heart is wounded.

(She says:)

"Since my Lord parted from me, and after,
Affairs of men cannot be computed.
It is, really, not as we first intended,
Nor that which my Lord understands,
I have kinsmen, father, mother,
Who urge me, force me, as do my brothers.
They make me promise to another person.
How could I hope, for my Lord's return?"

Prefect's Clerk says to young wife:

"Congratulate my Loved One, she has high promotion.

Rooted rock in its place is firm,

Can there remain one thousand years and more;

Sweet flag, grass growing in the river bed, are soft as floss silk,

What they will do at day-dawn, at nightfall, is undetermined.

Loved One has this day, triumph, riches;

I, alone, face Yellow Springs."

Young wife says to Prefect's Clerk"

"What is the meaning coming from these words?

Both of us have suffered urging, forcing,

As my Lord acts, so Unworthy One will act.

At Yellow Springs, below, we will see each other.

Do not, not fulfil this day's words."

They clasp hands, then take divided roads,

Each, each, return to household door.

When living people undertake "until death parting,"

The misery, the misery, who can describe?

Of those who consider, within this world parting,

A thousand, ten thousand, do not carry it out.

Prefect's Clerk returns to his home,

Goes up to Guest Hall, raises tow hands in reverence to

The Mother, says:

"This day great wind is cold,

Wind harms trees, plants.

Fears frost may kill "spear-orchid" in the court.

Son goes, this day, to Shadow World, Shadow World,

Hereafter will mother be alone.

The reason? She made a plan; it was not good.

Cease to annoy my spirit, my soul.

May your life be long as Southern Mountain rocks,

May your four limbs, in death, lie straight."

The Mother, hearing this,

Scatters tears, makes moaning sounds; says:
"Your are son of a great house,
Of scholars, officials, at Palace pavilion.
Verily, you should not die for a wife!
Passion of the high, the low, can fade.
In house to East, there is a virtuous maiden,
Exquisite, refined, she captivates all in city, in suburbs/
I., The Mother, will beg her for you,
Between dawn and dusk, it shall be done."

Prefect's Clerk raises hands, in reverence, goes:
Long he sighs, in empty bridal room;
Makes his plans as he stands there,
Turns head, moves toward door,
Grief in heart urges, drives him.

This day oxen low, horses neigh.
Soon after yellow dusk, young wife enters bright green rent
At margin of stream, at margin of stream.
Silent, silent, all people are at rest.

 "My life is this cut short,
 Soul goes, body long remains."
Grasps skirt, slips off silk shoes,
Raising body walks into clear green pool.

Prefect's Clerk hears of this happening;
Heart knows separation, division has come.
Turns his head, walks back and forth beneath a tree;
Hangs himself from the Southeast branch.

Two households beg they be buried together,
Buried, together on Flower Mountain slope.
East, West, plant pine and cypress tress,
Left, right, sow seed of 'Wu-tunt' trees,
Branches, branches, join in canopy,
Leaves, leaves, interlock each other.
In the centre, fly a pair of birds,
Their names 'yuan-yang'-birds of love-

Lifting its head, each to the other calls.
Nightly, nightly when Fifth Watch is reached,
Passers-by halt their tread, listen....
Widowed wife rises, walks, is irresolute, doubts where to go.

After world people we tell of these happenings,
That they be warned, this tale do not forget
(quoted from Ayscough 1938:250-262; also see Lang 1946:40;Chao 1983:94-97)

Appendix.3.1. A List of The Previous Empirical Studies on Lone Parent Families in Taiwan

Year	Author & Topic	Methodology & methods to access samples	Sample's resource	Sample' size
1979	Lu, Bau-gink, Social Adjustment for divorced women in Taipei Metropolitan City	Survey (quantitative) & Random	from 16 Districts of Taipei Metropolitan City	207 persons
1984b	Shu, Leung-hay & Lin, Chung-cheng, Family Structure and Social Change: Comparison between Single Parent Families in Taiwan and in USA	Document (Statistic analysis)	The Labour Force Survey of Treasure Bureau of the Executive Yuan	
1984	Liu, Shuh-nan The Support Network of Widowed Families and their Adopted Strategies for Living	Survey (Quantitative) Purposive selection	From CCF in Taipei	100 low-income widows and 30 middle-class widows
1987	Hong, Gio-yeh The Support Network of Lone Mothers and their Adopted Strategies for Living	Survey (Quantitative) Purposive selection	* Widows from CCF in Taichung; * Lone mothers from fatherless children of 8 primary schools in Taichung	
1987	Shu, Leung-hay & Chang, Yin-chen Single Parent Families in Taiwan: Their Problems and Prospects	Purposive selection	* from CCF in Taipei; * WLAW in Taipei	27 lone parents from CCF(5 male;22 female);13 lone mothers from WLAW in Taipei
1988	Cheng, Li-zeng, Burdens of Low-Income Lone Mothers and their Support Network	Purposive selection	from CCF in Taipei	130 persons

1989	Hsien, Chio-feng & Ma, Zong-zek Welfare Needs for Divorced and Widowed Women in Taipei Metropolitan City	Survey (quantitative) Random and purposive	From CCF in Taipei, WLAW in Taipei; Less-five-year-long divorced and widowed women in Taipei Metropolitan City	317 households (160 widowed and 157 divorced households)
1989	Shu, Leung-hay A Model to Analyse Single Parent Families in Taiwan	document analysis	From CCF in Taipei; From WLAW in Taipei	
1989	Chen, Feh-gieng The Pressures, Social Supports of Lone Mothers and Their Relationship to their children	Survey (quantitative) Random	Children aged 11-12 and their mothers located in Taichung city and county, and Chang-Hwa county	270 widows
1991	Wang, Shau-shen The Social Support Network for Lone Parents and Their Daily Lives	Survey (quantitative) & In-depth Interview Random and Purposive Selection	from each one primary school located in Taipei Metropolitan City & Taipei county	285 lone parents
1991	Chuang, Shu-ching The Problems of Lone Mother families	Document analysis		
1992	Tong, Shiao-chuh Economic Constraints of Lone Mother Families	Random	from the 1990 lone-income families in Taiwan Province; from the personal income data of 1990 Treasure Bureau of the Executive Yuan	453 households (male 176; female 277)
1992	Chen, Yi-Lin Analysing Housing Policy of Patriarchal Family Ideology and Its Implementation	Document analysis	Low-income lone mothers living in public free apartment provided by Taipei Metropolitan City	
1992	Lin, Wan-I & Chin, Wen-li The Problems of Lone Parent Families and Their Coping Strategies in Taipei Metropolitan City	Survey (quantitative) & Document Analysis random	School pupils at primary and junior high schools in Taipei City and the cases of The Bureau of Social Affairs of Taipei City Government	206 households

1993	Wu, Chih-fang The Daily Adopted Strategies of Lone Parents between the Sexes it's the Relevant Social Policies	Survey (quantitative) random	Lone parents of primary and Junior High School located in Taipei Metropolitan City	206 households (male 72;134 female)
1993	Hong, Li-feng, The Strategies adopted by Low-Income Lone Mothers to adjust their Lives-A Case Study in Taipei Metropolitan City	less structured interview (qualitative) Purposive and random	* Social Affair Bureau of Taipei Metropolitan City; * the 1992 low-income lone mothers in Taipei Metropolitan City	18 households
1993	Huang, Feh-li, The Childcare Strategies for Lone Parent Families in Taipei Metropolitan City	Random	Lone parents of primary or Junior High School pupils located in Taipei Metropolitan City	206 lone parents & 95 children
1994	Chang, Lin-yo, The Analysis of the Patriarchal Factors as the Causes of Lone Mothers' Poverty	Statistics Document analysis		
1995	Chang, Chin-fu ;Sheh, Tsen-Tai and Chow, Yuh-chin, The Contemporary Situation of Lone Parent Families and Their Adopting Strategies	Structured survey, in-depth interview and data analysis Random and purposive	* from CCF in Taipei, WLAW in Taipei, Ching-Hwa Cultural and Education Foundation and Hsin-Lu Charity Foundation; * lone parent families throughout Taiwan	41 lone parents for in-depth interview; 477 households for structured survey
1996	Chang, Li-feng, The Formation Procedure of Low-Income Lone Mother Families	Less structure interview Purposive	from the 1993 low-income lone mother families located in Taipei Metropolitan City	25 households
1996	Huang, Shuh-gieng Patriarchal Society, Family Ideology and the Social Relationship of Lone Mothers	Participant Observation, Focus group and unstructured interview		22 households (7 male; 15 female)
1996	Social Affairs Bureau of Taiwan Province Government, survey Report on Welfare Needs of Lone Parent Families in Taiwan Province	Survey		

1997	Lee, Wen-wen The Social Adjustment and Support Network for Lone parents	Structured survey (quantitative) Random	lone parents located in The Great Taipei Area	655 households
1997	Hsieh, Mei-er, The Problematic Concern about Childcare for Lone Parent Families	Document Analysis		
1999	Hsieh, Show-feng & Lee, chung-han, Single Mother and Social Welfare Policy	Statistic Document Analysis		

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- *Page 522 -523 Participants names*

Appendix 3.3 The Interview Guideline

1. Interviewee's background

- 1.1. Could you tell me something yourself and your background? (The name you want to be identified in my research, gender, current age and marital status, religions, educational level, current occupations, and sibling's order)
- 1.2 What reasons or events, do you think, led you to become a lone parent?
- 1.3 What is the most difficulty you have faced since becoming a lone parent?

2. The Family Income

- 2.1. Could you tell where your family incomes come from?
What are your main incomes? (probes: earned wage, financial aids from which family or from voluntary agencies or the State)
- 2.2. Besides earnings, where and whom can you access other income? probes: earned wage, financial aids from which family or from voluntary agencies or the State, friends)
- 2.3. If you have received such incomes, how do you receive them? How often will you have them and based on what reasons the extra-income will pay you?

3. Employment

- 3.1. Could you describe what is your employment situation? (The present type of work, part-time, full-time, casual or permanent jobs)
- 3.2. In what situation have you to change your job in order to cope with becoming a lone parent? And what reasons have led you to do so?
- 3.3. What do you think about your earnings from your current employment, which is enough to support your child/ren and yourself?
- 3.4. If not enough, what and how do you do about it? (e.g. working extra-hours)

3.5. In what situation have you even taken more than one job and for what reasons had/have you to do so?

3.6. Whom else do you need to support except for your own child/ren? (e.g. your parents-in-law, or your own parents)

3.7. Which social insurance schemes have you been covered because of your occupation or paid work? (Probes: National Labour Insurance, Military/governmental employee/ public educator Insurance Scheme, Farmer/Fishermen Insurance Scheme, National Health Insurance Scheme)

4. Children

4.1. Could you tell something about your children? (the number, age, gender and education of your children)

4.2. What do you deal with childcare for your young children when you go to work? Where and whom can you access childcare for your children when one of your children is very ill?

4.3. What problems are you worried most about your child/ren?

4.4. What conflicts involving your children have you ever encountered with your family (-in-law)?

5. Housing

5.1. Could you tell me something about your housing situation?

5.2. Where do you live now and why do you live there?

5.3. Whom else do you need to live with except your child/ren and why do you need to do so?

5.4. Since becoming a lone parent, what reasons led you to change your residence if you have to do so?

- 5.5. How often did you need to change your residence before settling down in the present residence? And what reasons are you concerned about to live the present residence? (e.g. cheaper rent, close to the natal family, free offered by which of your family, inherited from the patrilineal family etc.)
- 5.6. Why did you need to change your residence? What problems involving in your housing have you ever encountered with your family (in-law) when you decided to change your residence, if you have encountered such problems?
- 5.7. What do you think about your present housing?
- 5.8. If you don't feel satisfied with it, what are problems about your housing? From where and whom can you access housing support when you are in need of housing?
- 5.9. Who have the ownership of your current housing?
- 5.10. If you own the ownership of your current residence, in what ways have you obtained it and what factors led you to access it?
- 5.11. If you don't, why can't you have it and what housing solutions do you have to own a housing for your own family in the future?

6. The perception of solutions for their future

- 6.1. How long have you been a lone parent? (the age of being a lone parent)
- 6.2. What are your opinions about re/marriage for yourself and your future?
- 6.3. What are your reasons if you are unwilling for re/marriage?
- 6.4. What are you concerned about re/marriage if you are willing to re/marry?
- 6.5. What difficulties will you face, even when you are willing to marry (again)?
- 6.6. What do your family (or-in-law) think of your re/marriage from your own perspective?

6.7 What do you think in what way to improve your present situation?(Employment)

**7. The perception of the State support and voluntary agencies
for lone parents from their own view of points**

7.1. What can the State do for you and your own family from your own perspective?

7.2. What can the voluntary groups do for lone parents from your own opinion?

Appendix 3.4 The Themes

Care responsibilities

Care for children

- Uselessness of childcare policy from the State
- Voluntary childcare from the natal family
- Conditional Childcare provision from family-in-law
- Conflicts involving children
 - Children as control
 - Children as inheritor
- Conditional child support from absent parent
- Stigma upon children

Care for the elderly parents (or in-law)

- Income support for the elderly parents-in-law
- Care for the elderly parents

Housing

Who can benefit from Public Housing? Lone Mothers?

- Extremely restricted access public housing sector
- The Public housing for purchase and for better-off families
- The most extremely restrictive eligibility
- The quality of public housing sector
 - Space
 - Location with poor environment

Engendering access to housing from family sector

- Temporary shelter
- Permanent home form patrilineal family for lone fathers
- Temporary shelter vs permanent home from family-in-law
 - Less control of their housing due to non-ownership
 - Difficult to implement ownership
- Housing condition of family sector
 - Size

Almost no rent required

Unequal access housing support from family of origin based on gender

Commercialising access housing from the private sector

Private rented sector

Insufficient space

Ownership from private sector

Family law decreasing ownership rate of lone mothers

Mortgage favouring governmental employees and military personnel

Ownership possibility

Ownership as Achievement

Income & Employment

Can Lone Mothers Rely on the State?

Low-income family allowance

Casual labour instead of charity/benefits

--Low wage and uncertain income

--Great vulnerabilities at work

Employment in the Labour Market

Unequal Welfare provisions Between Military-official-educator and non-military-official-educator

--3 years-unpaid maternal leave

--Low-interested housing mortgage

--Education supplement benefits to children

--Unequal pension scheme

Labour Market in Private Sector

--Vulnerable Human Capital

--Gender Inequity at workplace

--Unemployment disaster

--Sexual harassment at workplace

Family Aids

Irregular Financial supports from the family of origin

Regular supports vs. Sexual Harassment from the family-in-law

Filial Daughters/Daughters-in-law

Maintenance payment from non-resident parent

Women's solutions?

Marriage/remarriage prospect

For marriage/remarriage

Barriers for marriage/remarriage

No time, no money and no energy

Confucian gendered chastity and loyalty

Where is "Mr. Right"?

The strengths of being a lone mother

Against re/marriage

Motherhood comes first

No more carer for all within Confucian family and State

Autonomy, freedom and independence-yes; remarriage-no

Women's coping strategies

Dependency on a male bread/rice-winner as a solution?

Dependency on patrilineal family as a solution via marriage?

Dependency on the State as a solution?

Dependency on oneself as a solution?

Enhancing human capital

Creating their own career

Appendix 3.5 The Chinese Inform Consent

研究論文方案之摘要

研究的主題：儒家福利國家的一個問題——什麼是台灣單親家庭適應日常困境的策略？

一、研究人的基本資料與研究動機：

李明玉 女士，本人目前就讀於英國 Nottingham 大學，已婚育一男，名字叫陳元瀚，四歲多，就讀於英國 Nottingham 大學附設幼稚園，明年一月滿五歲，將正式進入英國國小接受義務教育，在台灣時曾參與過關懷雛妓與婦女的社會工作，在從事這些工作的同時，讓我意識到自己對社會工作與社會福利的認識尚待改進，於是 1995 年決定出國再充實自己的欠缺，因此，選擇進入 Nottingham 大學的社會政策系就讀。

在攻讀碩士期間曾選了一堂「婦女與社會福利政策」，並驚訝英國政府針對婦女之需求所執行的社會福利措施，不論在教育、現金補助、兒童福利、房屋福利等等，第一次在課堂認識好幾位單親媽媽，驚訝她們也可以再度進入大學接受高等教育，有一次好奇請問她們諸多問題，例如，誰付她們的學費？如何安排拖兒照顧？如何負擔拖兒費用？為什麼再選擇接受高等教育？英國的單親媽媽之所以有「能力」對她們的生涯有較多的自主權或選擇，是她們擁有比台灣較好的社會福利措施，保障了她們的基本生活需要，如住的問題，她們可以申請國民住宅⁷，或租私人住宅，便可申請到房屋津貼(Housing benefits)，還有英國的現

⁷ 英國的國民住宅稱為 Council house，不同於台灣的國民住宅，這些國民住宅優先給弱勢人士，如單親媽媽，有時是免費，有時須繳納廉價的租金，或她們住在私人的住宅，同時可申請房屋津貼，以補貼房屋租金，大致情形約如此。

金津貼中，其中有一項目稱為「單親津貼」(lone parent benefits)，專門撥給單親家庭，也只有單親家庭可以獲得補助，以保障單親家庭的基本生活。

歐美福利國家針對單親家庭之需要所提供的福利措施，一直都是政治與社會關心的重點，就以 1997 年 5 月英國大選三大黨(工黨、保守黨與自由民主黨)都有自己的單親福利措施，環觀諸先進國家與政府對單親家庭之重視，常常讓我自省台灣單親家庭之特別需要又知多少呢？台灣「殘補式的福利政策」到底能對單親家庭提供多少幫助？爲了澄清諸多的疑惑，便決定自己的博士論文研究題目鎖定在台灣單親家庭，盼望通過這項研究不僅能獲得來自單親朋友的賜教，又能與他們一步步著手改善單親所需求的福利政策。

二、研究的目的與問題

就台灣單親家庭之研究最早有徐良熙與林忠正(1984)，新近有張英陣與彭淑華的研究，大部份接受研究的單親對象僅局限在喪偶或離婚的單親家庭，或許與分居或未婚的單親家庭相形之下，喪偶和離婚的單親家庭在台灣社會裏是比較可以接受的單親族群，但仍是值得探討的課題。

本研究的研究對象含蓋喪偶、離婚、分居與未婚的四種不同單親家庭，研究的目的是在於了解他們各自經濟上、社會上與文化上的問題，以及他們如何克服問題的策略何在，最後在於他們對於他們需要什麼單親福利政策之看法，故本研究之問題約分爲下列三大問題：

- (一) 在經濟、社會與文化層面上單親家庭的問題何在？
- (二) 單親家庭克服問題的策略何在？
- (三) 單親家庭需要什麼樣的福利措施？

三、研究設計

3.1 研究對象

不似英國早在 1974 年當時執政的工黨便組成「單親家庭委員會」，便著手研究探討單親家庭的困境，並反省國家針對該族群之需要當提供什麼的福利，因此，英國中央政府早有其官方對單親家庭的定義⁸，且在其中央政府每年的統計資料裏，或政府的預算與支出中，「單親」是一項重大的項目，如 1991 年全英國單親共有一千三百萬戶(DSS 1993:18)，國內雖然也有不少學者，如林萬億與秦文力(1992)與新近，張英陣與彭淑華(1995)，都曾分別由台北市政府或行政院國家科學委員會委託，做過相關的研究，但學者對於單親所做的定義亦不相同，台灣既缺乏官方明確界定何者為單親家庭之外，中央政府曾否評估過全國單親家庭有多少，以及他們的需要何在，都有待進一步的查證。

本研究的單親家庭係指「由單一母親或父親，沒有同居的配偶或同居人，只與其尚未滿 16 歲以下或 16 歲至 18 歲間全職學生的子女之家戶」。其中包括喪偶、離婚、分居(含配偶是囚犯)和未婚之單親家庭。本研究希望了解到在經濟、社會與文化層面上單親家庭所面對的問題，他們解決問題的策略何在，以及他們需要何種的福利措施，研究的對象可能來自相關團體的介紹或親朋的引薦，希望有 40 位單親家長願意與我分享他們艱辛的單親旅程，本人將不甚感激！

3.2 研究方法

本研究所採取的研究方法是「質化的訪問」(qualitative interview)，也就是一

⁸英國的單親家庭係指由單一母親或父親，沒有同居的配偶或同居人，只與其尚未滿 16 歲以下或 16 歲至 18 歲間全職學生的子女之家戶。

般所謂的「深度訪談」(In-depth Interview)，非量化的問卷調查，通過訪問者與受訪者雙向「有目標的聊天」(conversations with a purpose)(Burgess1984:101-122; Kvale 1996:124-143; Rubin and Rubin 1995:122-144)，來獲得研究的資料。聊天式的訪問是由受訪者願意與訪問者分享他/她經驗或他/她自己世界的深層看法與感覺，故本研究採納「質化的訪問法」，以便了解受訪者對自身問題的界定，以及他們所採取的策略，還有來自他們對福利需求之看法。

聊天式的訪問是建立受訪者與訪問者兩人良好的互動關係上，彼此須有互信的基礎上，特別是受訪者必須能信賴訪問者，訪問者必須能信守保護受訪者個人的隱私，爲了建立受訪者對訪問者的信任，本研究的訪問過程分爲兩個階段：

第一階段：

訪問者會向受訪者自我介紹，並向他/她說明本研究的動機與目的何在，聊天式的訪問不僅訪問者可以提出問題，連受訪者有任何疑問也可尋問訪問者或要求訪問者再度澄清問題，通過初次與訪問者的聊天，受訪者覺得可以信任訪問者，然後再決定接受訪問。該階段的訪問不會使用錄音機。

第二階段：

該階段的訪問約須三小時，在徵得受訪者同意之前題下，第二階段的訪問會全程錄音，因爲訪問者無法記錄或記得所有受訪者所分享的所有內容，因此，需要錄音機來協助以免漏失重大的信息或曲解受訪者的重大意見。

爲了保護受訪者的隱私權，及避免受訪者受到傷害，本研究不僅會以匿名方式記錄或謄寫所有的訪談資料，同時訪問者本人會在初次碰面給每位願意接受訪問的單親家長一份書面的聲明，以表明本人願意信守承諾與受訪者願意接受本人的訪問。

3.3 研究倫理

傳統的研究倫理都假設研究者做任何研究時必須保有「價值觀中立」(value-free)，且研究的態度必須是「客觀非主觀」，與他/她所欲研究的對象間的關係必須是「和善但不過份社會化」，以免因個人「主觀的偏見」扭曲事實的真象(Burgess 1984:101)。可是如此的假設不僅受到詮釋主義(interpretivism)更受女性主義(feminism)的研究者嚴重的挑戰，持詮釋主義的研究者認為，不論研究者或研究的對象都孕育於社會文化中，多少都保有該社會文化的價值觀與看法，不同的人對同一事件也會有不同的看法，不同時空的人也有不同的價值觀與解釋法，因此，連研究者本身也不可能是一位「沒有價值觀的人或價值觀中立的人」，完全「客觀性的研究」是不可能實現的，只能有「相對的主觀性研究」(Inter-subjectivity)方可達(Rubin and Rubin 1995:34-35)。

持女性主義的研究者主張「毫無偏見與價值觀」的研究方法論是不可能達到的；研究者是不可能不採取立場來作他/她的研究(Roberts 1981:15-16)，還有某些女性主義的學者更是直接闡明她們的研究不僅要以婦女為研究對象(about women)，更是為婦女福利而做(for women)(Oakley 1981; Finch 1984; Yllö 1990)，因此，女性主義的學者認為了解事實的真象往往從「身經其境」的人身上來研究，只有「身經其境」的人或關懷這些「身經其境的人」之社會工作者才是「專家」，如此的研究方法，打破一般社會上所認知的「專家、學者」之學術權力(academic power)，並試著建立研究者與研究對象權力的平等，同時持女性主義之學者強力主張研究者對研究對象該負有社會的使命(Social commitment)，以期能改善研究對象的不利現況，並增進其自身之福利(Yllö 1990:41-48)。

本研究的研訪問倫理會採納詮釋主義與女性主義所主張的研究倫理，所有的訪問會徵得受訪者之同意，並會時時注意訪問者與受訪者間權力之平等問題，為了保護受訪者的隱私權，本研究凡記錄或騰寫所有受訪者之資料一概以匿名方

式，訪問過程如碰及私人問題或受訪者就某些事件不願意被錄音下來，亦會尊重受訪者之決定。本人並非是我欲研究主題的專家，所有的台灣單親媽媽或爸爸才「身歷其境」的專家，只是一位願意了解、傾聽單親家長的經驗與想法之「學習者」，也希望在未來對單親福利的制定盡點身為台灣婦女與媽媽應盡的社會使命。

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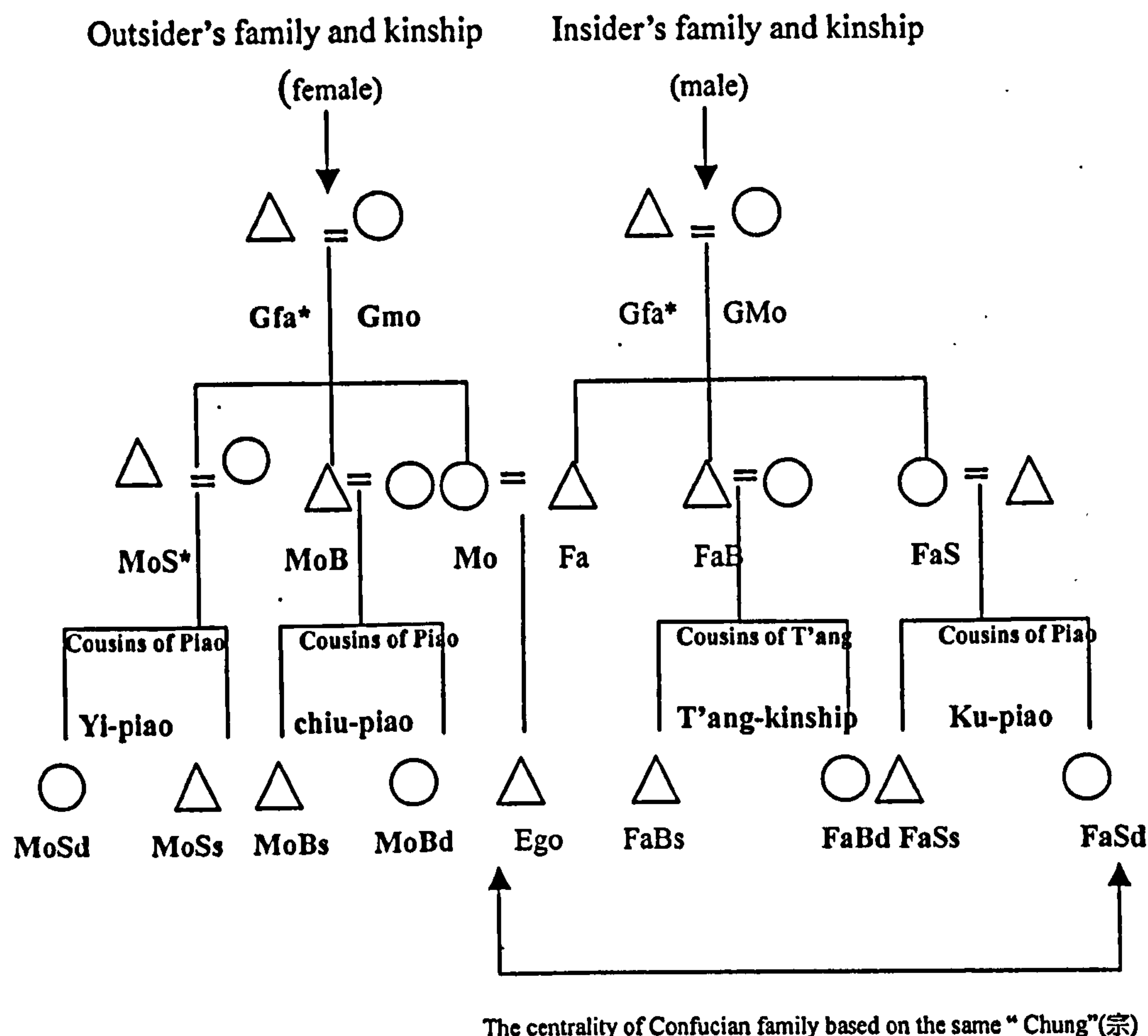
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Appendix 4.1 The Differentiation of Confucian Family Kinship from Women's Standpoint



- *Gfa: grandfather
- *Gmo: Grandmother
- *MoS: mother's sister
- *MoB: mother's brother
- *FaB: father's brother
- *FaS: Father's sister
- *MoSd: the daughter of mother's sister
- *MoSs: the son of mother's sister
- *MoBs: the son of mother's bother
- *MoBd: the daughter of mother's brother
- *FaBs: the son of father's brother
- *FaBd: the daughter of father's brother
- *FaSs: the son of father's sister
- *FaSd: the daughter of father's sister

(1). Basically, the Chinese word we have rendered as clan is Tsu (祖), which is patrilineality,

patrilality and patriarchy, and a group organized by and composed of numerous component families. These family can trace their parilineal descents from a common ancestor. Thus the paternal relatives descended from males through males are differentiated from those descended from female through males. This is carried out by differentiating mother's maternal family in the term of "Wai" (外) and father's paternal family in the term of "Nei"(內). The term of "Wai" means "outside or external". Thus, the families of wives are differentiated and named as "outside-tsu"(外祖) or "outside relatives"(外家親戚). The differentiation also extends to the distinction between father's brother's sons(T'ang Hsiung-ti'堂兄弟) and their descendants from father's sister's sons(Ku-Paio Hsiung-ti 姑表兄弟) and their descendants. Bother's sons (Chih 姪) are differentiated from sister's sons (Wai-sheng 外甥), son's sons (Nei-sun 內孫) from daughter's sons (Wai-sun 外孫) in ascending, descending and collateral lines. Further details, see Thompson, Laurence G. (1969), *Chinese Religion: An Introduction*, Belmont, CA: Dickenson Publishing Company; Ahern, Emily M.(1973), *The Cult of the Dead in A Chinese Village*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press; Chao, Paul(1983), *Chinese Kinship*, London: Kegan Paul International; Ahern, Emily M.(1973); Lee, Yi-yuan(1988)," Chinese Family and its Culture', *Chinese: Belief and Behaviour*, ed. Wen, Tsun-I and Hsiao, Hsing-huang, Taipei: Chu-Liu Company.

(2)The generation of a married woman or mother, who is incorporated into her husband's family through marriage, is categorised into a junior generation, exactly the same generation as her children (Freedman 1979:245).

(3) T'ang (堂) means "Hall", i.e. a ancestral hall, which is believed the home of the wooden tablets inhabited by the spirits of all the clan's deceased members, and where the ancestors' tablets are placed and worshiped by their male descendents of a common ancestor bearing the same surname, and including their wives and children. The relationship with children of father's brothers is built on the same patrilineal clan, bearing the same surname and worshipping the same ancestors in the "same Hall". As a result, the children of father's brothers are called "cousins of "T'ang" (堂), differing from cousins of "Piao"(表)whose ancestors are different on the basis of Confucian father-son kinship. Thompson, Laurence G.(1969), *Chinese Religion: An Introduction*, Belmont, CA: Dickenson Publishing Company; Ahern, Emily M.(1973), *The Cult of the Dead in A Chinese Village*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press; Chao, Paul (1983), *Chinese Kinship*, London: Kegan Paul International; Ahern, Emily M.(1973).

Appendix 5.1 Five Public Free Flats for Low-Income families in Taipei Metropolitan City (only for temporary period)

Title of social rented housing	Completed in which year	Number of households	Storey	Space for each household by pings	Space for each household by square meters and square feet
Fu-Der	1970	504	3 or 4	8	24.4 m ² (288sq.ft.)
Ta-Tung	1971	60	2	8	24.4 m ² (288sq.ft.)
An-Kang (A)	1972	544	4	14	46.3 m ² (504 sq.ft.)
An-Kang (B)		384	4	12	39.67 m ² (432 sq.ft)
Fu-Ming	1978	340	5	14	46.3 m ² (504 sq.ft.)
Iang-Gieh	1979	120	5	10	33.05m ² (360 sq.ft.)

Sources: adapted from Table 6 of Chen (1995), but slightly modified by the researcher.

Appendix 5.2. A Variety of Administrative Units of Taiwanese Central Government for Various Housing Policies

Housing Item	Lead Administrative Unit
1. Public Housing (for sale)	Construction and Planning Administration of Ministry of Interior
2.Housing for Government Employees and Public School Teachers	Bureau of Personnel Administration under Executive Yuan
3.Remodification of Military Dormitories and Military dependents Housing	Ministry of Defence
4.Social Rented Housing for Low-Income Families	Bureau of Social Affairs of each Local Government (probably only Taipei City and Ksohsiung City)
5.Housing for the Labourers	Council of Labour Affairs under Executive Yuan
6.Housing for Employees of the Private Sectors	
7. First-Home Buyers	Ministry of Finance
8.Relocated Families Housing caused by public construction	All Public Works Agencies

Sources: adapted and modified from Table 5 of Chen (1995),
and added with social rented housing by the researcher.