Research approach exploring integrating employment and family policy: Review of policy objectives for the Population Policy White Paper in Taiwan

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Research approach exploring integrating employment and family policy: Review of policy objectives for the Population Policy White Paper in Taiwan

(ii) Abstract in Chinese and English

中文摘要:

台灣人口政策白皮書的少子女化社會對策，將重點置於家庭政策的強化，試圖協助婦女解決工作與家庭生活兼顧之需要，以提振日益低落的人口生育率。然而工作與家庭之平衡，不僅與少子女化問題有關，更涉及了傳統男性家計承擔者模式中的文化與福利制度的扭曲等結構性問題。本文試圖從社會結構變遷對福利國家性別分工模式的衝擊出發，說明工作與家庭平衡的政策為何必須考量性別平等的理由。藉由承認與重分配之並重之性別平等觀點，以及對時間、收入分配和托育制度整合的討論，我們擬提出平衡就業和家庭政策的分析框架。該架構不僅有助於我們在既有工作和家庭平衡策略中作出更多元的思考，更有助於在未來的制度改革過程中，協助家計承擔者在就業勞動和家庭照顧的工作間，落實自由選擇和民主協商的可能。

Abstract:

One of the main purposes of the Population Policy White Paper in Taiwan is to seek solutions to the baby bust trend. Through strengthening family policy, the Population Policy White Paper in Taiwan tries to satisfy the need for a balance between work and family for women. However, the need is not only concerned with the baby bust problem, but also about the institutional and structural problems on culture and welfare systems under the conventional male breadwinner model. This article will explain the reason why the issue of work and family life balance should consider gender equality. Through the dual perspective of recognition and redistribution as well as the integration of time, income distribution, and child care, we try to provide an analytical framework for the balance of employment work and family life. The framework can help us think multi-dimensionally and, in the future process of institutional reform, enable us to assist breadwinners make a free choice between employment and family care work and participate actively in the democratic society.

(iii) Keywords in Chinese and English

中文關鍵字: 就業、家庭、工作與家庭的平衡、性別平等

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III.  Page 3

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(ii) Content
One. Introduction

The continuing trend of slipping birthrates has brought experts and the public to express serious concern. According to statistics, the birthrate in Taiwan reached a level of one couple to one child in 1984 and experienced a period of sharp drop in the 1990s. By 2010, the overall birthrate reached 0.9, which puts Taiwan among the countries with an extremely low birthrate. This phenomenon has brought along certain socioeconomic issues, which are directly reflected on the changes in the structure of family and employment (Li Mei-Ling et. al., 2007). Specifically, the aging population, changing family structure, and delayed marriage and pregnancy has been causing some social issues. The combined effect of imbalanced distribution of population in terms of the level of education and the shortage in working manpower is bringing the nation’s economy to a stagnant state.

In an effort to counter the problem of low birthrate, the Executive Yuan set off to review the nation’s population policies in 2005. In the process, the Executive Yuan took reference of the theories of demographic studies and brought in the opinions of the Executive Yuan Committee of Women’s Rights Promotion and The Foundation of Women’s Rights Promotion and Development, in aim to address the issues of birthrate, national productivity, economic power, and the basic needs of the child bearers-women. In March 2008, the Executive Yuan completed the Population Policy White Paper (Executive Yuan, 2008). Although the Population White Paper places focus on the issues of low birthrate, aging population, and migration, the target is still set to find a solution for the low birthrate (Chang Shrsyung et al., 2009: 208). The White Paper proposed the short (2008-2009) to mid (2010 to 2015) term goals for the balance of population policies based on the widely discussed concept of work and family balance.

The strategies proposed in the Population Policy White Paper intended to counter the problem of low birthrate is aligned to the axis of family policies. "The basic principle is to increase the rate of women's participation in the workforce, and... balance family and work (Executive Yuan, 2008:57).” But will the concept and principles proposed in the White Paper close the gap between the value of the stay-home childcare work and the jobs in the labor market, and will it achieve the goal of gender equality? The strategy of work and family balance is in fact the politics of recognition employed to handle that issues of gender equality (Taylor, 1992). When the job of stay-home childcare is not respected by society, having children not only brings extra financial burdens, it is also seen as an underappreciated work, and the coupled effect of these two factors are taking the society into a worsening situation of low birthrate.
In fact, the same problem has also been puzzling the administrators of the Western industrialized nations. The increasing rate of women holding long-term employment has brought the structure and functions of family to a major transitional point (Ellingsæter, 1999; Esping-Andersen, 2002; Hildebrandt and Littig, 2006). When women no longer face the duty of reproduction alone, the age of marriage and childbirth, as well as the rate of divorce, continues to rise, and this is reflected on the slipping birthrate and aging population. When population growth begins to dive into the virtually stagnant rate or even negative growth in the near future, reverse effects to the economy, such as contraction of market demand, slipping consumption, stagnant investment, and rising unemployment rate, will become inevitable (Mantel, 2001; Rosenzweing and Stark, 1997; commentary of Commercial Times 2008; Chung Chun-Wen 2004). Under such circumstance, the Keynesian theory of effective demand becomes the major basis for the worries towards the current trend of decreasing birthrate. Therefore, they proposed that the country should create the incentives through policymaking to solve the worsening problem of low birthrate.

The problem of low birthrate isn’t just related to the changing family structure; it is even more closely linked to the problem of employment. The former involves equal job-division between genders in a family, but the solution to this problem is often linked to equal opportunity in employment. This thesis focuses on how to solve the employment issue and overcomes the problem of gender equality brought about by changing family structure as the solution to the problem of population aging. This discussion starts from the impact of the changing social structure to the job-division model between genders in the welfare states to illustrate the “work and family balance” policy and explore the question of why “political recognition” must be taken into consideration when discussing the issues of redistribution.

This thesis will cover several topics in the following sections. First of all, in Section Two, we will start from Gøsta Esping-Andersen’s discussion on the reform strategies for the welfare capitalism, and illustrate the significance of political recognition for childcare through the balancing work and family (life) policy of the British Labor Party. We will also make an attempt to discuss the issues in the current reform program through Nancy Fraser’s perspective dualism and explore the requisiteness of the “recognition” in the retrospection of the reforms in the institutions and policies. In the third section, we will discuss the limitations in the main theory, claims, and goals of the work and family balance policy reform in Taiwan through a review on the relevant literature and analysis of the Population Policy White Paper of Taiwan. In the fourth section, we take a further step to reconstruct the path of employment and family policy integration and propose possible replacement theories.

Since the end of the 20th Century, economic globalization and post-industrial transformation have brought along the problem of unemployment, which has turned into a long-standing issue in the western industrialized nations. Several issues, including changing family structure, dissolution of marital relationship, and population aging, began to emerge under the overshadowing problem of unemployment and amass into a system of problems that are in urgent need for a solution. In the section below, we will analyze these issues through the concept of policy learning and dynamic multi-tier architecture constructed by the theory, institution, and policy (Huang Chih-lung & Chang Syrsyung, 2005; Huang Chih-lung, 2008). We will also discuss the possible disputes arising from the redistribution-based reform through the welfare capitalism-based reform strategies proposed by Gosta Esping-Andersen (system) and Jane Lewis’s review on the British policies of work/family (life) balance (policy). Furthermore, we will also illustrate the requisiteness of taking political recognition into reference for the relevant policy reforms through Nancy Fraser's perspective dualism (theory).

I. Welfare Capitalism to the reform of the male-breadwinner model: employment for women and gender equality

In fact, along with economic globalization and postindustrial transformation, the postwar traditional breadwinner model established through linking employment with welfare, where men were seen as the breadwinners and Lehman family caretakers in the social welfare policies, is no longer adequate to respond to changing social structure. Esping-Andersen responded to the criticisms on his omission of the gender equality issue in his earlier work, The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism (1991) through his book, The Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies (1999), and his article, New Gender Contract (2002). Esping-Andersen linked the issues of household economy, gender issues, and the continuance of postwar welfare state system and
proposed the currently possible reforms for the welfare states under postindustrial structural transformation.

Esping-Andersen (1999) discussed the crisis in contemporary welfare states and the possible reform options from two aspects—household economy and maintaining the growth in employment. The former refers to de-familization, which liberates women from the work of family care, and the latter refers to releasing the work of family care into the public domain and job market to solve the problem of insufficient job opportunities in the service-based economies. Under the changing social structure, the rate of women participating in the labor market is increasing. However, under the traditional family model, women are seen as the main family caretaker, and often have problems when they try to develop their personal careers. In a different aspect, the increasingly unstable marital relationship has brought even greater risk to the social security of women, which they once gained relying on men. Therefore, as we are facing the fast development of de-familization, the government should declare the statutory rights that de-commoditize women through social policies, and this should be achieved through expanding eligibility for social insurance, as well as legislating purchase of welfare services under a household-based system, or the country should supply welfare services to give women more time for employment.

However, the high cost of the family care work often brings limitations to such exchange relationship, and that is why Esping-Andersen must advocate handing over the family care work to the public sector or the market, in order to solve the problem of affordability. On one hand, he advocates supplying job opportunities through handing over the family care work to the public sector and the market, and, on the other hand, giving the time and possibility to women for career development through shared responsibility on household economy, while the work of family care is out-contracted. Esping-Andersen (2002) further argued that the goal of gender equality lies not on equal sharing of family care work but whether the woman in the family can develop her career. However, such career development should be focused on not only helping women to gain more flexible schedules, but also the differences in income, and the divergences in the occupational structure that have the potential to affect the time arrangement.

Esping-Andersen’s theories discussed above has been further reflected in his 2009 book, entitled “The Incomplete Revolution” (Esping-Andersen, 2009). He thinks that although some women have gained higher socioeconomic status in society through the process of participation in the labor market, some women with mid to low level of education are still the principal family caretakers when they participate in the non-typical employment. The risk of possible interruption of employment brought by
childbirth is likely to drive the birthrate in the downward direction, and insufficient investment in children’s education will instigate uneven distribution of household income, insufficient workforce in the welfare states, decreasing employability in the children, and even risks in the elderly income in the foreseeable future. Therefore, Esping-Andersen proposed three solutions: female perspective in men’s life course, investment in children, and reconstruction of the generational contract. The first two points placed the focus on liberating women from the work of family care.

The traditional breadwinner model has also undergone a reform in the welfare states. As the representative of the social democratic welfare regime, Sweden has moved forward to transform the traditional system to the dual breadwinner model after World War II and reinforced men's participation in the work of child care through a reform in family policies (Bogenscheider, 2000; Borchorst and Siim; 2008; Lundquist, 2011; Melby et al., 2008). As the representative of conservative welfare regime, Germany has also set its policies to transform the nation into the dual breadwinner system after reunification, in aim to relieve the pressure from decreasing birthrate (Honekamp, 2008; Mätzke, 2010; Ostrner, 2010; Rosenfeld et al., 2004). The US did not escape from this trend, either. Although the United States has long upheld the separate sphere policy, emphasizing the traditional social and economic role of women, they also faced the pressure to reform the family policies under the shifting trend away from the traditional breadwinner model (Berggren, 2008; Kamerman and Kahn, 2001; Levy and Michel, 2002; Wisenale, 1997).

Simply put, Esping-Andersen linked the gender equality issue in a household to the changes in the political-economic structure of contemporary welfare capitalism. Along with the postindustrial transformation, the forms of employment are also changing. Taking the factor of household economy into consideration, women in employment has become a significant issue which must be addressed in the contemporary welfare capitalism system. Removal of the obstacles on the way to women's employment will not only help a family to achieve a stable goal in family economy; at the same time, releasing the work of family care into the public sector or the market solves both problems of insufficient job opportunities and gender equality in one goal. More importantly, the ideology of the welfare capitalism can be maintained after globalization and during the process of postindustrial transformation. Therefore, the framework of analysis and connotation of the theories of the welfare capitalism sees employment for women as a significant tactic capable of solving the problem of gender equality incurred from the traditional male-breadwinner model.

The key to the question is that whether the issues of gender equality can be solved by promoting employment for women alone? Between the work of family care and
employment in the labor market, is it possible to bring women more time for career development through commoditizing the former, or is it another form of gender inequality when the labor market forms gender-based classes in the process of commoditizing the work of family care? Similarly, when we make an attempt to solve social issues instigated by the changing social structure through the work and family balance policies, especially for the phenomenon of low birthrate currently occurring in Taiwan, what does it mean by achieving the goal of gender equality? This is a question worth further discussion.

II. Inequality in between the values of employment in the labor market and the family care work: The dilemma of the British Labor Party’s policy reform

Does the de-familization policy, which is targeted to promote employment for women, have any effect on the achievement of gender equality? In the section below, we will illustrate how the subject of gender equality is overlooked and seen through a gender-neutral stance, whereas inequality is continued in the process of policy reform through the British Labor Party’s work/family (life) balance policy.

The British Labor Party began to introduce the Work and Family Balance policy reform program into its political system in 1997. British prime minister, Tony Blair, once addressed the issue and expressed that “Much more can be done to make work and family life compatible” (Lewis and Campbell, 2008: 527). The policy emphasizes flexibility in the labor market and the concept of parents making their individual choices to balance work and family under the help of the administration. The focus of this policy is placed on flexibility and fairness. After 2000, this policy was reorganized into Work and Life Balance, and the focus was shifted to flexibility and choice. It emphasizes that individuals who have responsibilities outside of the family also have the right to choose a balance between work and life (Lewis and Campbell, 2007: 9). The British policy reform changed the name from “work and family balance” to “work and life balance”, which also implies there are changes in the family structure and the individuals’ choices outside of work is becoming more diversified. Nonetheless, the focus of the policy still lies in measures related to a between balance work and family.

The first problems encountered in the planning of the Work and Family (Life) Balance Policy are the existing male-breadwinner model and repositioning of the women’s role. Statistics show that there are great divergences in the number of average weekly work hours between men and women. Men work an average of 48 hours per week, but women work less than 16 hours (Lewis and Campbell, 2007: 10). In other words, the male-breadwinner model is predominant in England. The British Labor Party was aware that women are playing an increasingly important role in the
maintenance of the household economy but still shoulder the responsibilities of family care. This policy is an attempt of the Labor Party, aiming to increase the rate of women’s participation in the labor force and reduce their load on the responsibilities of family care.

The Labor Party’s Work and Family (Life) Balance policy can be discussed from two aspects: conceptualization and policy implementation (Lewis and Campbell, 2007: 9-12). Before 2000, the policy emphasized flexibility and fairness, but after 2000, this focus was shifted to flexibility and choice. Through the “flexibility” in the labor market, remuneration gained from participation in the labor force is deemed the best benefit of all and this model helps to create growth in the job market, as well as the economy. Under the concepts of “fairness” and “choice”, everyone (including the businesses, society, children, and parents) is benefited from the flexibility (emphasis on “fairness”); at the same time, the parents are asked to make individual “choices” for the balance between work and family under the help of the state.

The concepts described above have been translated into actual policies in 2000, which include childcare service, leave scheme, and working hour policy (Lewis and Campbell, 2007: 12-21). For childcare service, there was a continuous increase in the number of childcare facilities for children between age three and four. In 2010, the government increased the free pre-education hours to 20 hours per week 38 weeks per year. In 2008, the government launched a free part-time care program targeting on 12,000 children age of two in the disadvantaged areas. In 2010, the government began to offer fee-paying family counseling services from 8:00am to 6:00pm, targeting on children age 3 to 14. In the area of parental leave scheme, the government increased the period from 18 weeks in 1999 to one year in 2010. Those on parental leave without pay may apply for extensions and are eligible for renegotiation of labor contract upon return. Starting from 2000, low-paid women without stable employers (without continuous work for one year) are supplied with non-fee paying maternity subsidies of 30 pounds per week based on the employment records. For men, starting from 2003, male workers who have a stable employment for over one year and children under six are eligible for six weeks (not exceeding four weeks per year) of non-paid parental leave, as well as two weeks of maternity or adoption leave. In 2006, the eligibility for the parental leave scheme was further opened to people with six months of stable employment, but this extended benefit is only available to the mothers. If the mother returns to work before the full term of parental leave, the father may take over the mother’s unused leave after the child is 21 weeks old. This is called extended maternity leave. As for the working hours, the government implemented the policy of flexible work hours for families with adult dependants in 2006.
However, the British Work and Family (Life) Balance Policy is strongly oriented on employment and economic growth without addressing the issue of gender equality. From the aspect of policy goals, the goals of economic growth and international competition in many ways overlooked and ignored the father’s role in family care. Thus, work and family balance became the responsibility and choice of the mother. Secondly, increasing employment as a policy to restructure the society and solve the problem of poverty often misaligns with the needs of the enterprises; this in turn creates conflict of time in between the activities of family care and employment in the labor market (Lewis and Campbell, 2007: 12). From the content of the policies, although there was a large-scale increase in the number of childcare facilities from 1999 to 2003 (a total of 626,000), a large number of the facilities was closing down at the same time (a total of 301,000). Especially in poverty-stricken areas, it was even more difficult to maintain such services without long-term financial support from the government. From the aspect of the parental leave schemes (Lewis and Campbell, 2007: 14-17), even though the paid maternity leave targeting full-time female workers was gradually extended, the childcare leave for the father was still implemented under the short-term and non-paid mode, and their paid maternity and adoption leave is still at a distance from the paid leaves for the mother. The father oriented non-paid childcare leave, plus the extended maternity leave appended from the mother’s, is hardly an incentive to encourage enthusiastic participation from the father. As for the flexible work hours (Lewis and Campbell, 2007: 17-21), the policy has never given the childcare applicants the rights to apply for flexible hours under strong objection from the businesses.

The statistics further revealed the gender problems in the British work and family (life) policy (Bell and Bryson, 2005: 36-44). From a comparison of the England social tendency survey in 1994 and 2004, we found that there were substantial increase in both the percentage of the inclination and actual utilization of the flexible work hour scheme. But, when the variables of gender and parental role were factored into the analysis, we found that a far higher percentage of women perceived subjective availability to the flexible work mode (the percentage of tendency to utilize flexible work hours) than men. Take the concept of partial work hour for an example; 80% of mothers surveyed engaged in partial hour works in 1994 and 81% in 2004, and 63% of non-mothers surveyed engaged in partial work hours in 1994 and 75% in 2004. Men,

1 Some readers argue that the information abstracted for the discussion in this section is not controlled in terms of employment or other resources for single parent or couples and therefore it is rather difficult to claim that the results have been influenced by the factor of gender. Although the Bell and Bryson analysis does not specify the control over the above variables, the result appears to have certain degree of significant differences from both the subjective and objective aspects of acceptance. In other words, it is hard to eliminate the influence of gender.
on the other hand, have less than 50% of participation in partial hour works in all year, except for 2004, which is only slightly higher than 50%. From the aspect of objective utilization (referring to the percentage of actual use of the flexible work mode), 54% percent of the mothers surveyed in 1994 have used the flexible work mode, which rises to 61% in 2004, and the percentage of non-mothers rises from 29% to 36%. The percentage of fathers, on the other hand, rose slightly from 6 to 9%, and non-fathers from 29 to 36%. The utilization rate of flexible work mode in other categories also presents the same gaps between the different genders. From the demand for flexible work mode, we found that mothers and other women have far higher demand for flexible work hours than fathers and other men. This implies that gender gap still exists in the implementation of the Work and Family (Life) Balance Policy in England.

Simply put, the work and family (life) policy implemented in England is still unable to see the problem in the traditional gender relationship replicated from the welfare system, so it treats the gender issue from a neutral stance (Lewis and Campbell, 2008: 534-536). In policy practice, it becomes a tool, which, on one hand, pursues liberation of the female labor force and higher labor participation rate, and, on the other hand, diversity in the work modes. This in a way actively integrated the men into a new balanced relationship of work and welfare in a welfare state. However, if the problem of gender inequality between the paying jobs and the non-paid family care work is still not addressed, implementation of these policies will only replicate the gender inequality in the welfare states and form another twisted gender relationship.

The British Work and Family (Life) Balance Policy also reflects the problem in handling the issues of gender differences and equality. To the traditional women under the industrial social structure, the work of family care is, on one hand, molded into a vocation of women in the culture, and, on the other hand, creates differential treatment to women in the process of participation in the labor market under the industrialized mass-production system (men work outside and women take care of the family). However, in the changing social structure brought about by globalization and postindustrial transformation, such theory of function is no longer sufficient to respond to the demand for equal treatment. Therefore, the neutral stance taken in the employment and welfare system reform launched by the British Labor Party reflected the goal to answer women’s demand for equality. However, as long as the gender differences and the different needs between genders exist, such “equal” appeal only covers up the problem of gender equality and allows the existing differential structure to be replicated over and over again in the system.
III. Perspective dualism in recognition and redistribution

When discussing the issues of employment and family relating to women in the labor market, the subjects are often linked to the concepts of women’s financial independence and the economic growth of the nation. The former refers to the non-paid job of family care and low social status of the stay-home women. The latter refers how the nation promotes growth in the nation’s economy and competitiveness, as well as increasing tax revenue, through women’s participation in the labor market (Esping-Andersen, et al., 2002; Lewis and Campbell, 2008: 526). Therefore, most of the literature places the focus on how to liberate women from the burdens of family care when entering the labor market through the support of the system.

However, such strategic thinking of accomplishing both entering the labor market and care for the family pins a negative value to the care work. Even when the care work is released into the public sector or the market, the phenomenon of occupational segregation still exists and the labor force involved in care work will continue to be dominated by women and labeled with the image of certain social class (Chen Chian-Chi, 2002; Tseng Min-Chie & Hsiao Shu-Man, 2008). In fact, along the development of the capitalism, the work of family care became unrewarded labor because it does not have the same exchange value as the other jobs in the labor market. Separation of home and workplace and labor commoditization turns the factories into the places where people earn a living and family, on the other hand, becomes a private domain where services are free. Such practice, labeling employed labor force with a positive image and the care work negative image, is not only instilled in the culture and values; it is further implied in the welfare system.

When women have more education, higher participation rate in the labor market, and higher level of financial autonomy, the burdens of the family care work are not removed from the shoulders of women immediately. Even through the public welfare services or shifting of the market, the care work is still seen as the “women’s work” or women’s specialty. From the patterns of participation in the labor market, a large population of women participates in non-typical employment as in response to the flexible labor market, but to what degree did they chose such mode of employment out of their own freewill or is it in fact compulsory altruism? Most of the women in the low-paying partial work hour jobs made the “sensible” choice under the premise that they can take care of the family at the same time (Orloff, 1993). From the aspect of occupational categories, most women participate in the works that are seen as typical “women jobs” and jobs extended from the role as the family caretaker (Hartmann, 1976).

In other words, the care work done by women, in the form of services offered
through the public sector and the market, has never been given a recognition in its value. Care work done by women is often denied of any value when it’s a non-paid job, and care work offered in the form of services through the public sector or the market is still lacking a recognition for its value even though the process of labor force commoditization makes an attempt to give such work a price-service relation. Lacking a recognition for its value, the care work is inevitably picked up by women again and never escape the vicious cycle of being classified or marginalized as a job of certain social class.

To Fraser, discussion of the gender equality issue in the modern society is a discussion of two issues: redistribution and recognition (Fraser, 2004: 227). The former refers to the phenomenon of gender-based social class stratification in terms of resource acquisition (Fraser, 2004: 233-234), and the latter refers how men and women see the differences between them. Fraser thinks that when we see these two issues, we often see them as independent subjects without any connection in between (Fraser, 2004: 228). The phenomenon of uneven resource distribution between men and women (men as the salaried family provider and women as the non-paid caretaker) is often seen as the root of the problems of gender-based social class stratification and unequal power sharing. Gender-based job streaming (men are more suitable to enter the labor market and women take care of the family), on the other hand, is categorized as an issue of gender identification.

The past industrialized welfare states only addressed the issue of redistribution in the subject of gender inequality and overlooked the significance of recognition (Fraser, 2004: 228-231). The male-centered cultural values segregated and devalued women through the system. Take the family care work for an example; the value of gender segregation becomes recognized as objective and normal through the daily practice of devaluing the care work and public propaganda. The care work is widely recognized as women’s responsibilities and specialty through denial of the legal rights and equal rights protection. The traditional gender-differentiated job-division may seem like an equal treatment in the socialist reform programs (e.g., Esping-Andersen’s (1999, 2002) family care work in the public sector and commercial market); the possibility of achieving men-women sharing of the family care work diminishes in the process of labor commoditization, and what replaces it is an expansion and extension of the gender-based social class stratification in the labor market.

To escape the above dilemma, Fraser proposes forming of a complete theoretical structure of social norms through cross examination of the issues of recognition and redistribution (Fraser, 2004: 241-249). First of all, from the redistribution economic policy covered in the concept of recognition, gender inequality represents the
subjective perception between men and women, which in turn forms the order of affiliation. Women are often confined in the domain of family care in terms of social participation and men in the labor market, displaced from the domain of household work. Such restricted social participation is not only reflected in the cultural norms, but also highlighted through unequal distribution of economic resources. Inequality in social class, on the other hand, represents the order of affiliation formed from the subjective perception on each other. Through paid and professional participation in the labor market, men gain the needed increased remuneration to provide for the family, and women are subjected to unfair resource redistribution due to their participation in the non-paid family care work or the low-paying general care work. Such unfairness in resource distribution is once again likely to have been linked to the cultural system.

Other than the unfairness in economic distribution and differentiated social class between the genders, the theory of perspective dualism highlights the significance of shared participation (Fraser, 2004: 235-241). From the perspective of redistribution, the existing gender-based job-division in the economic structure obstructs shared participation in the labor market and the family, and unfair resource distribution discourages people from willing participation. From the perspective of recognition, the value of social class stratification not only discourages men from participating in family care work, but also creates a barrier blocking women from participating in the labor market.

Inequality in the household power relationship seems to have originated from deprivation of women’s opportunities to participate in the labor market. Therefore, giving women the same opportunities as men have will indeed achieve certain level of income redistribution. However, before the value of the care work is treated fairly, women’s participation in the labor market not only brings no benefit to the sharing of household work between men and women; women may be added with the extra burden of work under the shaping of such cultural value. Even when the family care work can be released into the commercial market to relieve women from the burdens, they still need to face several issues: gender-based occupational differentiation in the labor market, interruption of career due to the unavoidable maternity and childbirth leaves, and the situation which favors the families with higher or dual salaries and disfavors the women with mid to low level of income in the process of commercialization of the care service market.

A review of perspective dualism highlights the fact that dual-career development focuses only on the employment activities and overlooked the problem of family care work being commercialized and marginalized. What’s more important is that such model may cause the family care work to remain as women’s work (be it women stay...
home to care for the family or women working in the commercial market for the same work), instead of increasing men’s willingness to participate in the family care work. From the design of the general breadwinner model, this model sees the family policies as a tool which assists participation in the labor market, instead of providing the choices and possibilities in men-women shared family care. Such family policy-centered work and family balance strategy only focuses on women’s acquisition of means for redistribution and ignores the cultural aspect (recognition) in the system that segregates and passively denies men from sharing the family care work.

Thus, the more important objective of perspective dualism is to place all options on the same scale for free choice during the interaction between the man and woman in the same household through imparting and recognizing the equal value of the jobs in the labor market and in the family, and, at the same time, bring the actual value of the two categories of jobs closer in the process of redistribution through reform of the relevant systems. To the members who share the duty to maintain a family, recognition and redistribution helps an individual to choose freely and negotiate democratically. When differentiation of paying/non-paid, core/periiphery no longer exist between the jobs in the labor market and in the family, individuals can choose without being pressured by external forces, and family members coordinate with each other with shared responsibilities. More importantly, freedom of choice ensures that the power relationship in the family is balanced and promotes the ideal of democratic negotiation in the family.

Three. Review of the work and family balance policy in the Population Policy White Paper

Esping-Andersen’s de-familization strategy and Lewis’s review on the Labor Party’s policy enlightens us that when employment is the main subject to the discussion of redistribution, the subject of gender differences in the discussion of work and family balance is often missing. Fraser’s perspective dualism, on the other hand, attempts to bring back the significance of recognition, in order to solve the problem in gender differences. In the section below, we will review the work and family balance policy related discussions in Taiwan with focus on the policy principles stated in the Population Policy White Paper to explore the possible issues in the process of achieving gender equality.
I. From the discussions on the work and family balance policy in Taiwan to the Population Policy White Paper

Before the Executive Yuan published the Population Policy White Paper, the academic society had started discussions on the subjects of employment, family, and gender equality. These discussions can be classified into three categories: the first category includes empirical studies on the status of sharing the childcare work in the family, the second category is women’s participation in the labor market, and the third category includes explorations in the development of family and social policies. Summarizing the first category studies, between men and women in Taiwan regarding the attitude towards caring for young children in the family, most fathers still incline to take the role of the leader and education, and the mother the actual caretaker in family life ((Mo Li-Li, 1997: 30). In the aspect of doing the actual caretaking work, only 24.4% of the couples expressed that they share the chores ((Lai Er-Rou & Huang Hsin-Hui, 1996: 13). Women’ career development is still limited by “gender differences”, and the work of family care is still seen as the main responsibilities of women (Mo Li-Li & Wang Hsing, 1996). Forming of such gender differentiated house chore sharing attitude is closely related to the values received from the family of origin (Tang Hsian-Mei, 1998). It is often a replication of the gender-based job-division learned in the family of origin. From the perspective of long-term development (Chang Ching-Fen & Li Yi-Hui, 2007), we can see that access to resource and flexible time are seen as the main reasons women engage in several categories of household work. In other words, equality between women and men in the distribution of family care work is influenced by the factor of culture, as well as redistribution of resources and time.

The phenomenon of gender-based job-division not only reflects the inequality in sharing of the family care work, but also reflects the special employment participation mode adapted by the women in Taiwan. Results of the 1995 survey conducted by the National Science Council shows that married women not only choose to exit the labor market in order to balance the conflicting roles between work and family after children arrive, but also transfer themselves from the typical to the non-typical workforce in order to take care both work and family without interrupting employment (Chian Wen-Yin & Yi Ching-Chun, 2001). From an analysis on the long-term statistics of the 1980, 1990, and 2000 Women Childcare and Employment survey, the results indicate that 51.9%, 48.2%, and 52.3% of women in the age group from 40 to 49 fall into the category of traditional (left the labor market since marriage or childbirth or has never worked before and after marriage) and interrupted (left the labor market due to marriage, childbirth, or other reasons and is now working) labor participation mode (Li Ta-Cheng & Yang Ching-Li, 2004: 122). These researches pointed out that women’s participation in the labor market of Taiwan is affected by the family life journey. In
recent years, married women are inclining to choose “delaying employment interruption until the childbearing stage and early return to the labor market” (Chian Wen-Yin, 2004), but the reason is still connected to the need of maintaining the stability of family economy. In summary, the phenomenon of women choosing early return to the labor market is related to the stability of family economy, but the option of choosing career development is often limited by the demand of family and child care, and such demand often puts them in the dilemma of having to choose one from the other (You Mei-Hui & Ke Po-Sheng, 2008; Ma Tsai-Chuan & Ye Yu-Ching, 2007). Furthermore, results of empirical studies (Tseng Min-Chie & Hsiao Shu-Man, 2008) also indicated an increasing trend of women’s participation in the base-level jobs, marginalized industries, and certain public sectors, and this trend is revealing the formation of occupational segregation.

From the perspective of gender equality, women encounter limitations in career development and choices of occupation and even face the issue of impoverishment. These phenomena are closely related to the inadequate employment and welfare systems. For a long time, the government family policies is planned based on the traditional family stereotypes and no attempts in the policies have been made to influence the operation of family. The government has not had a plan to tackle the fast development of population aging, and in the system lacking family related social protection and encouragement for women’s participation in the job market, it often becomes very difficult for women to juggle between work and family (許雅惠, 2000). Such dilemma of having to depend on marriage, children, and the fragmented public welfare system may be improved to a certain degree through reinforcing women’s employability (Wang Li-Jong, 1999; Hsu Ya-Hui, 2002; Lu Chao-Hsian & Cheng Ching-Hsia, 2004).

The above appeals for the opportunities to employment have been successively reflected in the Gender Equality in Employment Act (Liu Mei-Chun, 2008), relevant daycare policies (Wang Shu-Ying & Sun Man-Wei, 2003; Tu Miao-Ru, 2003; Ma Chu-Lin, 2005; Feng Yan, 1998), and the Population Policy White Paper mentioned since the beginning of this thesis. The Gender Equality in Employment Act reflected that the pursuit of feminist movement no longer stops at gender equality in the legal sense but also gender justice, especially on the issue of sharing the duties of the breadwinner and caretaker (Hung Huei-Feng, 2003). In addition, the daycare policy further liberates women from the burdens of family care and increases the possibilities of achieving gender equality.

However, in the daycare service system, there have been several long-standing issues, including the apparent gap between supply and demand, uncoordinated policies
and regulations, and unclear management in the daycare personnel, functional positioning, and responsibility sharing (Feng Yan, 1998). Most women do not trust the public daycare system, and under the situation of insufficient information on the daycare resources, they can only rely on the family-based non-official resources to search for childcare services (涂妙如，2003). The nation’s policies in the recent years have also been increasingly implemented under limited schemes, including ruling out people of certain financial capabilities, and such “residual” childcare policies (Wang Li-Jong, 1999; Wang Shu-Ying & Sun Man-Wei, 2003), on one hand, pushed the daycare institutions to compete in the commercial market and, on the other hand, created hurdles on the women’s way into the labor market. Therefore, the government set out to compile the Population Policy White Paper, aiming to promote women’s participation in the labor market while giving them sufficient incentive to bear children, such as taking care of their needs and preventing negative influences from entering the labor, economic, education, and social welfare system through a reform in the relevant family policies.

After implementation of the Population Policy White Paper and relevant policies, a series of family policy reform programs have been successively launched, including paid parental leave, setting up of daycare facilities, and subsidies for daycare. For the parental leave scheme, the 2009 amendment of the Employment Insurance Act offers each of the parents, who have been insured for over one year and with children under age three, six months of subsidies for parental leave calculated based on the applicant’s average insured monthly salary based on the Gender Equality in Employment Act. Since the program was launched in 2009, there has been an increase in the number of male applicants from 4,808 in 2009 to 6,500 in 2010, but the ratio remains at the range from 18 to 19%. The number of women applicants has also been increasing from 21,664 in 2009 to 27,718 in 2010 and the ratio remains around 81% (source: Council of Labor Affairs).

From the aspect of daycare facilities, official statistics indicate that the growth in the number of daycare facilities in Taiwan has been quite limited. In 1995, there were a total of 3,288 registered daycare facilities, and 3,343 in year 2000. In year 2005, the number grew to 4,307, but it dropped back down to 3,825 in 2010. The total number of children placed in the daycare facilities was 223,353 in 1995. The number grew to 309,639 in 2000 but dropped back to 233,688 in 2010. Among the daycare centers, private establishments take up a higher percentage. For example, in 2010, there were only 275 public daycare centers among the total of 3,825. There were even fewer community daycare centers, only 12 in 2010 (there were still 1,931 community daycare centers in 1995; source: Child Welfare Bureau, Ministry of the Interior).
To solve the problem of low birthrate caused by insufficient childcare resources and the associated high costs, the Taiwan government began to launch a series of childcare subsidy related programs, including the 2008 Nanny Management and Daycare Subsidy Program, Education Program for Children Under Age Five (this program consolidated the 2000 children education voucher program, 2003 children daycare subsidy program for families of mid to low income, and the 2005 daycare subsidy program for the aboriginal children), and the 2011 expanded enforcement of the Free Education Program for Children at Age Five. In June 2011, legislation of the Children Education and Care Act was completed, which focuses more on the consolidation of kindergarten and daycare facilities and the management of the teaching faculties. The above program covers almost all children under the age of six, with restrictions to rule out families above certain income levels. The researchers (Fu Li-Ye & Wang Chao-Ching, 2011; Liu Yu-Hsiou, 2011) think even without a social consensus, Taiwan still successfully instilled the concept of public childcare into the national policies through advocacy of the women's groups and their collaboration within the administrative system and achieve gender equality through raising the rate of women's participation in the labor market, as well as creating sufficient employment opportunities.

From the above literature review and policy implementation, we found that both academic discussion and policy planning see employment as an important tactic for solving the problem of gender inequality. Such strategies are based on the idea that financial independence promote power interaction and balance in the family and increase the possibilities of sharing the care work in the family when both men are women are participating in the labor market. The literature review also reflected another phenomenon (Wang Li-Jong1999; Hsu Ya-Hui, 2002; Lu Chao-Hsian & Cheng Ching-Hsia, 2004): even when women become a significant source of income in the family through employment, sharing of household work by men is still rather limited, and the work is apparently gender differentiated. From the implemented policies, we can see that paid parental leave, childcare facilities, and childcare subsidies may take over some of the responsibilities traditionally shouldered by women; it is still a dominating trend that women are the main caretakers in the family.

In other words, women in employment is, at most, a sufficient condition for the achievement of gender equality, not a requirement. Social policies cannot depend only on promoting employment and empowerment for women to accomplish the goal of gender equality. The impact brought by the changing social structure brought the issues of sharing responsibilities in both the labor market and family care. Therefore, how to link the policies to the issues of gender equality has the same significance for
both the changing western welfare states, and the nations at the cross-road of social reform, like Taiwan.

II. Goals of the responding strategies for countering the problem of low birthrate and gender equality in the Population Policy White Paper

From the content of the Population Policy White Paper, we can see that the policies are focused in the strategies for the problem of low birthrate. Seven responding schemes were proposed in this document, including creating a comprehensive family childcare system, providing economic support to families with children, creating family friendly workplaces, improving the non-paid maternity and childcare leave policies, creating a healthy childbirth and medical care system, creating a comprehensive childcare system, and creating more marriage opportunities, as well as advocating the public value of children (Executive Yuan, 2008). The detailed content indicates that the first four items are closely related to the policies of family support.

In fact, at the preparation stage of the Population Policy White Paper, the pilot study on the strategies in response to low birthrate in Taiwan (Li Mei-Ling et. al., 2007) showed that the problem of low birthrate is closely related to the phenomenon of women becoming liberated from the traditional family relations, yet are still seen as the bearer for major share of the costs of household labor. On the other hand, women participating in the labor market are often forced to leave their jobs due to marriage and childbirth. This has caused women’s participation in the labor force to enter a stage of stagnant development. Therefore, in order to promote employment for women and, at the same time, encourage childbirth, family policies should be set to assist women to transfer the family care work into the mode of public sharing. The concept of encouraging women to enter the job market contains the intent to increase birthrate, as well as the possibility to fill in the insufficiency in labor force caused by population aging. From the intent to change the breadwinner model, the Population Policy White Paper makes an attempt to shape the dual-earner model (universal breadwinner model) in Taiwan.

From the social strategies employed to counter the problem of low birthrate, the goal of increasing women's participation in the labor market aims to solve the shortage in the labor force brought about by the aging population (Executive Yuan, 2008: 15-16). Although the research team took the factor of gender mainstreaming into consideration during the process of compiling the white paper with the aim to prevent gender inequality in the process of solving the problem of low birthrate, the main focus of this strategy still aims to reduce the burdens of family care work on women.
Based on the above strategy, the Population Policy White Paper focuses the problem of low birthrate on the following four strategies: creating a comprehensive family childcare system, providing economic support to families with children, creating family friendly workplaces, and improving the non-paid maternity and childcare leave policies. The above four strategies can be further divided into several concrete policies, such as daycare service, parental leave, and flexible work hours. In the area of daycare service, the white paper advocates increasing the services and accessibility of the community nanny system and establishing a home daycare management system and partially subsidized services (Executive Yuan, 2008: 59-61). Subsidies for children also helps to reduce the costs of raising children (Executive Yuan, 2008: 62-63). In the area of parental leave, the policies encourages parents to apply for unpaid parental leaves before the children reach the age of three and offer subsidies for maternity and childcare leaves (Executive Yuan, 2008: 66-67). Finally, in the area of work hours, the policies emphasizes the flexible work hour system, which encourages both men and women to share the responsibilities of childcare (Executive Yuan, 2008: 64-65).

However, the solution to the problem of low birthrate consolidated from the policies of flexible work hour, parental leave, and daycare services still cannot escape the core idea of continuous employment. In the aspect of time, the actual implementation details of the flexible hour scheme are still not clear, and the arrangement for leaves still centers around the eight-week maternity leave for women. Although both parents with children under age three are eligible to apply for a period of childcare leave up to two years, the lack of active policy intervention (e.g., encouraging fathers to apply for parental leaves during the subsidy period), coupled by the gender-based occupational differentiation, makes it very difficult for the fathers to apply for the leaves. And along with the increasing number of non-typical employment, it is getting harder and harder to enforce the above full-time employment based flexible hour scheme and parental leave.

From the perspective of income, the childcare subsidy is only offered to workers with official records of employment (insured by occupation-based social insurance). To those without a stable employer or women working in non-typical employment to take care both career and family become ineligible for the subsidies. Furthermore, the current Employment Insurance Act grants six months of subsidies to each parent in the family without overlapping the time (60% of the insured salary range), but this policy comes without substantial incentives and the subsidies are rather limited. Under such setup, it will difficult to see any substantial growth in the number of male applicants.
Therefore, from the perspectives of time and income, the design of the employee based parental leave policy, under the premise of being unable to give the family caretakers the right to compensation, will become a policy that forces men and women into employment, which will bring the effect of misplacing the means with the ends.

In the area of daycare service, expanded system of community nannies and subsidies for childcare and children may help to relieve financial burdens, but without taking the factor of non-typical employment into the considerations of time and income, such daycare service only benefits the dual-income families with stable employment, leaving out the increasing population in the non-typical employment market. Furthermore, the majority of the daycare service jobs are still taken by women. Under such system, the care work is only repackaged into commercial products and will not benefit either men or women in terms of the job sharing in both the labor market and family.

**Four. Recognition and Redistribution: Consolidation of employment and family policies through perceptive dualism**

The Population Policy White Paper advocates balancing the conflict between work and family for women from planning adequate family policies. However, transformation to such a universal breadwinner model still poses certain difficulties in terms of providing women with the freedom of choice to engage in family care work and increase men’s willingness to participate in the work of this category. Although this model ensures equal opportunity in employment, it fails to address the multi-dimensions of gender differences. To solve the above problem, we will illustrate, through Nancy Fraser’s (2004) perspective dualism, how both the issues of gender differences and equality can be simultaneously addressed through interplaying the concepts of recognition and redistribution. Furthermore, we will also take a further step to illustrate why consolidating the labor market and family policies is necessary in the process to achieving balance between work and family (or life).

I. Freedom of choice and democratic negotiation- Perspective dualism in the balance of work and family

This thesis focuses on how to achieve equality in the meaning of recognition and redistribution and impart the concept of participation in the work and family balance policy. Ellingsæter (1999:41), Gornick & Meyers (2004), and D’Addio & Whiteford (2007) indicated that, in principle, work and family balance is constituted by three
major policy elements: (1) sufficient time, (2) sufficient income, and (3) supply of care services. Integration of the different choices of work hours and the different levels of welfare subsidies has a determining effect to whether the men and women can integrate the commitments of work and other social participation (Anxo et al., 2007).

The research of Anxo et al., pointed out the main system factors that influence the balance between work and family life. Especially, the control of work hours in the national system and the flexibility of work hours in the family policy has detrimental influence to whether women can continue their employment while taking care of their families. The eligibility to welfare subsidies and the level of protection also plays a significant role in determining whether women can continuously participate in the labor market. However, if we see it from the perspective dualism, the current eligibility for redistribution, in a way, confines men and women’s participation within the scope of commercial activities. Thus, the value of family care work cannot be recognized, and the work and family balance policy can never escape from the problem of whether the policies remain gender neutral in the process aimed to achieve gender equality.

The challenge we will be facing is how to ensure gender equality through the designs of time, income, and daycare systems involving in the employment and family policies, and the key to solving the problem lies in how the nation instills the value of gender equality in the daily activities of employment and family through the macro channeling system and policy design. Therefore, through adjusting the time, income, and daycare system, a couple is given freedom to choose and negotiate the distribution of the relevant resources in the activities of employment and family care. This is the core concept to be taken into consideration when designing the system.

Similarly, we can find further clues of system reform in the extension of Fraser's perspective dualism. Fraser (2005b) thinks the problem of recognition and redistribution is closely related to the concept of misrepresentation, which is reflected at two different levels (Fraser, 2005b:76-77). The first level is called the ordinary-political misrepresentation, and the second level is called misframing. The former identifies the problem that the existing rights to political participation cannot solve the problem of recognition and redistribution, and the latter signifies that the results of policymaking exclude those without the rights to political participation. To Fraser (2005b: 76-79), it is the result of the democracy by representatives, who unilaterally misinterpret the issue of gender equality as women’s fight for employment or salaries for household works. Furthermore, existing employment and family policies also unilaterally exclude men or women from the scope of employment or family policies and sacrifice their rights to free choice of employment or family care work. Even more so, this exclusion is transferred to the citizens of the Third World countries.
in the forms of migrant workers and new migrants.

Fraser (2005b:81-86) thinks that, under the trend of globalization, the old Keynes-Westphalia framework must be updated. As Fraser said, we are still on the road fumbling to find a new framework that can solve the problems of recognition and redistribution, but, under the all-affected principle (Fraser, 2005b: 82) (referring to the "who" that will be affected by the relevant policies and system) (Fisher, 2005b:87), we will be able to include all individuals affected by the social structure and system and rethink the issues of recognition and redistribution. This principle should be used to not only solve the problem in the structure of insufficient or inadequate political representation, but also expand the influence to the dimension of "how" (referring to the content of the system and policy and how the individual stakeholders should be brought into the process of decision-making) (Fraser, 2005b: 87).

The reason why Fraser’s perspective dualism is so important is that it avoids the issue of gender equality that could not be solved by the policies emphasizing redistribution or gender neutrality. The concept of recognition and redistribution emphasized in the theory brings us to focus on the employment related welfare system (redistribution), these systems' lack of recognition to the work of family care (recognition ) and even the issue of men-women joined participation in employment and family care (participation), by which, the relevant policy goals and principles can be re-model. However, undeniably, this framework is still under development. Fraser did not propose concrete and operable policy tools. This thesis makes an attempt to propose possible amendment to the Population Policy White Paper through discussions on the protection of basic income based on the perspectives of Fraser.

For the purpose of this thesis, the time, income, and daycare systems should be reviewed based on the principles of recognition and redistribution, and more importantly subject is whether a couple has the room for democratic negotiation when deciding how family resources are to be distributed. On the issue of time, the different breadwinner models reflect the different time allocation for sharing of the responsibilities in household economy. There should not be a unified time allocation model set by the nation’s systems; instead, it should be negotiated by men and women based on the distribution of time in employment or family; preserving room for democratic negotiation, including the distribution of time, relies on the recognition by an income protection system. It must be given unconditionally through social citizenship to protect every person throughout every stage of the life course, so that people will not lose the eligibility of income protection no matter whether they choose to stay in the labor market or stay home to take care of the family. The design of the daycare service must recognize the value of the people engaging in the care works, and
such recognition will reinforce the open possibilities for an individual to choose freely between employment and family.

II. Recognition based consolidation of employment and family policies: rethinking the Population Policy White Paper

The goal of this thesis is to explore how to consolidate employment and family policies into a system that promotes joined participation in the labor market and family care works, and, at the same time, pulling the values of these two categories of works closer through forming of relevant welfare systems, in expectation to reinforce the willingness of the man and woman in one household to give each other the freedom of choice (please see Figure 1). Figure 1 illustrates the consolidation of employment policies, family policies, and the concepts of recognition and redistribution. In the section below, we will first discuss how the concept of balance between employment and family care works can be combined with the theory of perspective dualism. At the same time, we will use this consolidated framework to review the theories and principles of the social policy designed to solve the problem of low birthrate in the Population Policy White Paper.

Different from welfare capitalism, based on the concept of economic cycle, in which the labor force is de-commercialized and protected of the basic spending power, we make an attempt to treat the values of the works both in the labor market and the family fairly through reshaping the systems. On the other hand, taking the increasingly frequent switches between the care works and employment in the labor markets, the core of system reform lies in how to help individuals to successfully transit on one category of jobs to another. In the emerging risks brought by economic globalization and postindustrial transformation, successful reform of the social welfare policies and systems is closely connected to the issues of transition between employment in the labor market and care works.

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4 Fraser’s perspective dualism acknowledged that the issues involved are often closely related to the culture of gender-based job division, which refers to how the traditional value of gender-based job division (men work outside and women work in the family) is fixed into the existing welfare system. The review of the goals and principles of the policies in the population policy white paper discussed in his thesis is indeed an attempt to break this stereotype cultural model and advocate enforcement of the diversified forms of gender equality.
In the traditional Keynes-Beveridge system of welfare states, the gender-based job division (men work outside and women work in the family) and the concept of labor force de-commercialization are leading the designs of social policies, which manifest the effect of regulation that influences the progress of a person's life course. That is, through the system norms of social insurances and aid, as well as effectively managed goal of need-based sufficient employment, adult male becomes capable of providing for his family with sufficient remuneration and protected by the social security system during short term unemployment. Men's participation in employment activities has been encouraged under the influence of the norms of the social security system. Women, on the other hand, are expected to become the caretakers for the families and gain accessibility to social welfare through dependence on the men.

However, after economic globalization and postindustrial transformation, the above-described life journey is now disintegrating. Flexibility in the labor market not only prompts men to take on more risks in the journey of career development, but also enables women to actively participate in flexible employment outside of their duties in the family. Hakim (2000) constructed the ideal types of work-lifestyle choices in the 21st century based on the personal preference theory to describe the female population in developed nations. The three ideal types include the home-centered women, adaptive women, work-centered women. This research not only reflected the possible influences of the different designs in the social policies of different countries, but also
highlighted the possible choices for the individuals in a household under the preferences of the national policies.

In Taiwan, a study targeted to predict the possibility of the house husband trend conducted a survey on a group of college students (Liu Wen Hsin & Yang Chung Li, 2007). Results of this study show that men’s perception on family and career still stays at the image of the traditional gender roles. Women, on the other hand, have been highly devoted in the pursuit of financial independence. Over 60% of college students who are about to enter the job market expressed their intent to pursue full-time careers. As the career oriented value is becoming the mainstream in the society, there are still 20% of males and nearly 28% of females inclined to pursue a career in the family, and 14% of males and 6% of females expressed the interest in flexible careers. This shows that under the changing social structure, men and women in Taiwan have other preferences and choice beyond the traditional full-time career.

Such personal actions under the changing social structure, on one hand, altered the molding effect of the national systems in the traditional welfare states to the individuals’ life course, and, on the other hand, forced the society to adjust its social policies in order to respond to the increasingly diversified formats of life course. One question arises. When we are confronted with the deconstruction of the traditional gender relationships, how are we going to reconstruct gender relationship that will rise above the issues of labor force commercialization and gender-based social class stratification formed under the past welfare capitalism system? To the purpose of this thesis, the concept of gender equality based on recognition and redistributions will not only help the individuals to re-systemize the diversified forms of life course and, at the same time, solve the long-term problem of inequality in gender-based job division formed in the welfare states.

Solving the problem of gender inequality formed under the traditional culture has become one of the focuses in the gender mainstreaming policies. However, implementation of such policies unavoidably brings the public authority into the private domain, especially in the issues of gender-based job division in the labor market and family care work and the concept of freedom to choose discussed in this thesis. In the analysis of this thesis, the public authority focuses not on direct intervention to the traditional culture of gender-based labor division, but on the possibilities of providing support through respondings policies and resources to promote achievement of gender equality based on the various options and possible combinations (e.g., Hakim’s three ideal types of women). A nation’s intervention through policies and public authority is not set to achieve the goal of gender equality through molding a dual-breadwinner model, but to ensure the freedom of choice in the
household free from the manipulation of the traditional gender roles.

The traditional non-paid family care work cannot be liberated from the unequal value of the traditional labor force through care work commercialization and redistribution policies. The case of “2008 Nanny Daycare Management and Daycare Subsidy Program Implementation Guidelines” releases the work of childcare into the public sector. This may provide certain help to women in the sense that it facilitates women’s participation in the labor market, but the residual social security system and the low-remuneration problem that comes with such policies will inevitably bring the majority of the women in the mid to low income family into the situation of not being recognized for the value of their labor and the issue of unequal distribution (Huang Chih-lung, 2012). The above problem of women not being recognized for the value of their work must be addressed through active intervention of national policies before there will be a chance to develop the possibilities of joint responsibility sharing in employment and family life. On the other hand, the traditional model of linking income redistribution with employment not only denies the value of family care works, but also deprives the time for men to participate in family care activities under the traditional gender-based job division culture. In other words, the past policies of income redistribution still touched on the effect of time redistribution. Therefore, when handling the issues of income redistribution, the individuals in a household should also be allowed to take time redistribution into consideration.

The author of this thesis thinks that, in the social structure after economic globalization and postindustrial transformation, the basic income system helps the enforcement of time and income redistribution and, at the same time, reinforces the commitment to joint responsibility sharing in employment and family care works. The so-called basic income refers to unconditional protection for a certain amount of income given without any prior asset investigation or demand for work. The subject of such income protection is the individuals not the household. It is not only unrelated to personal wealth or other sources of income but also given without demand for work performance or any inquiry on the willingness to accept job opportunities offered by the government (Van der Veen and Groot, 2000). The pure form of basic income system is still in the stage of academic discussion. Van der Veen and Groot (2000) think that, from the link between labor market policies and social security system, the concept of basic income is closer to the concept of participation income enforced in some countries. Participation income is a protection for individuals who participate in social activities outside of their jobs. This protection allows the individuals to smoothly transit from a paying job to a non-paid job and vice versa. Therefore, in actual policy practice, subsidies for parental leave, paid leave, and early retirement can
be considered as participation income.

However, the current participation income system is incapable of providing the room for time redistribution at the same time of income redistribution to increase the possibility of joint responsibility sharing. Take the example of the current parental leave subsidy; it links the eligibility for the subsidy to the criteria of being employed in strict terms. This in a way degraded the value of the family care works and provided no help for expansion of the options for time redistribution. The childcare subsidy currently under planning may force women to choose the option of staying home for childcare because of their disadvantaged position in the stratified labor market and in turn deprived them of the option for time distribution since they have exited the labor market. This policy may even twist the value of the choice to have children or even exaggerate the collective benefit that comes with having children (Wax, 2009: 13-15).

Conferment of civil rights through the unconditional basic income system will not only promote redistribution of time and income but also ensure that each individual in the household has the freedom to choice. From the aspect of time redistribution, unconditional basic income provides the individuals the option to cut down the time spent in employment and put in more for family care. From the aspect income redistribution, this system also indirectly encourages the individuals to participate in activities outside of the employment and help them gain the right to redistribution. To the household, when time and income distribution are ensured, men and women are given the freedom to choose and negotiate democratically from the options of participating in employment or family care work. From the aspect of social structure, under the trend of rising non-typical employment and slowdown in the growth of job opportunities, the basic income system helps to solve the potential problems of the working poor and unemployment.

Therefore, starting from the above policy theories, the existing flexible work hours, parental leave, and daycare services may be readjusted in the following directions: Flexible work hours should not be restricted to the concept of flexible adjustment for the work hours of full time employment. Along with the increasing scale of non-typical employment, more and more workers in Taiwan (especially the young adults entering the labor market for the first time) are forced to engage in non-full-time employment activities in the secondary labor market (Li Yi-Jun & Ku Yun-Wen, 2007; Hsie Wen-Yuan & Li Yi-Jun, 2007). Therefore, the focus of policies should be placed on how to include more flexible employment modes into the system and how to meet the needs of the participants for the flexibility that will allow them to participate in the family care works. For parental leave, fathers should be encouraged to participate in the care-centered parental leave through the power of the system.
manifested through policies, and the role of the caretakers should be recognized by the relevant social security system through protecting the participants’ eligibility to welfare protection.

Imparting the eligibility for social security to flexible workers will protect the parents who choose to engage in childcare work from losing the relevant protection simply because they choose a different mode of employment or there is a structural change in the labor market. This protection gives participants in all modes of employment the necessary protection. For parental leave, the relevant programs should reinforce the incentives to encourage participation of the fathers. This will help to change the long-term practice of assigning the mothers into the role of family caretakers. Therefore, when the issues of protection for the flexible workers and the incentives for the fathers’ participation are addressed, the value of the care works will come to a level closer to the jobs in the labor market. At the same time, encouraging fathers to participate in family care work will give the man and woman in a household the freedom to choose from engaging in employment or staying home to take care of the family and the twisted result of gender-based social class stratification in the labor market will be prevented.

In the aspect of income, parental leave subsidy should not be restricted to the employees with stable jobs. The focus here is how to expand the eligibility through the policies and design in the system to include workers under both the fixed and flexible employment and even those who work as home as full-time family caretakers. The universal breadwinner model discussed in the Population Policy White Paper emphasizes the eligibility of employment-based childcare subsidies. However, from the practice implemented in Northern Europe, we found that such system did not reinforce men’s willingness to stay home for the care works (the number of male applicants is lower than the female on a long-term basis), and redistribution of the responsibilities occurred between the state and the women, between the wealthy women and poor women, and even between the white women and other non-white women (Zelleke, 2008:4). Therefore, this thesis advocates the concept of basic income guarantee, which will protect all individuals participating in all employment activities and even the basic values of the care works.

The protection of basic income and the reassurance and expansion of the eligibility for social security emphasizes reassurance of the values of participation outside of the labor market and impartment of the rights to redistribution. Under the protection, the value of participating in activities outside of the labor market is reassured, and, when the participants are recognized of the value for their contribution and imparted with the right to redistribution, the power to negotiate in the scenario of
household job-division is reinforced. Take Hakim’s (2000:158) three ideal-type work-lifestyle choices for an example. A certain level of unconditional basic income protects individuals when they choose to engage in other forms of employment activities outside of the typical career path. Therefore, participants in the increasingly popular modes of non-typical employment will have a chance to receive supplementary income and the problem of polarizing wealth distribution will be moderated to a certain degree.

As for the daycare services, the service system should take the needs of both full-time workers and stay-home caretakers into consideration. The former should be based on the community nanny system and aim to ensure non-interruption employment for the women, while creating job opportunities. However, while the care works are commercialized or taken over by the public sector, the value of such work is still not comparable to other salaried jobs in the labor market; that is, the system still cannot escape the issues of gender-based social class stratification. The latter may have provided a replacement for the commercialized care services, but when such works are not paid in comparable terms to salaried employment, we can expect that the majority of the people choose to apply for the childcare subsidy will still be the women since women usually receive lower pay and are placed in more disadvantaged position. This is similar to the de-commercialized system design in the traditional welfare states. This system in a way individualized the responsibilities for the care works and denied the general responsibility to participate (Zelleke, 2008:5). Therefore, the author of this thesis advocates that, beyond reinforcing the daycare services and providing the choices for participation in employment activities, flexible work hours and unconditional protection of basic income guarantee will reinforce the incentives to both men and women for choosing the care works.

Releasing daycare services to the commercial market or public sector transfers the responsibilities of family care from the family to the community or the commercial market, which does not address the issue of sharing responsibilities. Besides setting up affordable daycare services, the most important task is to provide other choices, especially giving the incentives to participation in the care works. Therefore, in policy principles, we think lowering the level of conflict between employment and family care works, establishing a smooth transit between these two modes, and reinforcing the incentives for participation in family care works will make both men and women the willing parties to share the responsibilities, and such consensus will make democratic participation and negotiation in the households possible (please see Table 1 for policy comparison).

Table 1: Problems in the Population Policy White Paper and adjustment strategies
Comparison of strategies to counter low birthrate proposed in the Population Policy White Paper and adjustments recommended by this research:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy structure</th>
<th>Strategies to counter low birthrate proposed in the Population Policy White Paper</th>
<th>Adjustments recommended by this research</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Policy theory</td>
<td>Participation in the labor market under the dual-breadwinner model</td>
<td>Free choice and democratic negotiation emphasizing recognition and redistribution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy principles</td>
<td>Flexible work hours and parental leaves</td>
<td>Imparting eligibility for social security to workers under the flexible work mode and encourage fathers to take parental leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Full-time employment based flexible work hour and parental leave systems</td>
<td>Protection from the basic income scheme and recognition/expansion of the eligibility for social security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Employment insurance based parental subsidies</td>
<td>Moderating the conflict between employment and care works and reinforcing the incentives for participation in the care works</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Employment based care services provided by the commercial market or the public sector</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: compiled by the author.

Five. Conclusion

This thesis started from a discussion on the strategies designed to counter the problem of low birthrate in society in the Population Policy White Paper. We pointed out the deeper layer trilemma behind the claims of the policy goals- balancing work and family to increase the birthrate (refer to figure 2). To women, employment indeed helps them to escape from the stereotype role of being a dependant on the men and, at the same time, solves the problem of labor shortage that comes along the phenomenon of population aging. However, participation in employment activities causes low birthrate and in consequence shortage in the supply of labor force and lowered spending power (the policies addressed the issues of employment and gender but fails to see the problem in family care). The measures implemented to encourage childbirth have recognized women’s role in the traditional sense of caretakers and child bearer,
but the unequal value between employment and family care activities are likely to drive some women away from childbirth and childcare activities; this has become an issue even within the female population at different strata of society (the policies addressed the issues of family care and gender, but fail to address the inequality in the values for employment and family care works). However, if we continue to see the issue through the gender-neutral perspective when handling the differences between employment and family care works, the traditional male-breadwinner model (men work outside and women in the family) will soon become insufficient to respond to the fast changes under the postindustrial social structure.

Behind the trilemma, the root problem comes from the conflict in the values of recognition and redistribution. Simply put, the difficulties in achieving gender equality in the labor market and family are closely related to the contemporary capitalism market, which reassures the value of employment and ignores the value of family care works. Male-based labor market, on one hand, monopolized the majority value of market redistribution (redistribution lacking recognition), and, on the other hand, replicated the inequality in between employment activities and family care works through the protection and recognition in the social welfare systems (redistribution lacking recognition). To the family care works, which, for a long time, have been seen as the responsibilities of women, the non-paid household works not only become incomparable to the salaried employment activities (redistribution lacking recognition); absence of redistribution policies targeting on the family care works makes it difficult to increase men’s willingness to participate in family care activities (recognition lacking redistribution). The case of Work and Family (Life) Balance Policy implemented in England illustrates the fact that the gender-neutral policy inevitably induces replication of the traditional male-breadwinner model.
Figure 2: The three-way dilemma among gender, employment, and care work

The Population Policy White Paper proposed in Taiwan encounters the same problems experienced by the British Work and Family (life) Balance Policy in the theories and actual policies. This thesis proposed a system reform model based on the perspective dualism of recognition and redistribution, focusing on the protection provided by basic income guarantee. This model reviewed the three main components emphasized in the Population Policy White Paper: flexible work hours and parental leaves (time), compensations for parental leaves (income), and daycare services and made recommendation for policy adjustments. This model covers the eligibility of the flexible workers for social security and the incentives for parental leaves taken by the fathers (ensuring flexible work hours and reinforcing the incentives for fathers’ participation in the family care works), protection through a basic income guarantee scheme (reassuring and supporting citizen’s participation in various activities, especially the employment and family care activities discussed in this thesis through the support of income), and reviewing the goals of daycare services (ensuring that the citizen have the freedom of choice for whether to participate in certain employment activities).

However, the above-discussed basic income guarantee is not an omnipotent antidote to the trilemma. A scheme of unconditional income supplement is often taken
as “free lunch” and the issue of national financial balance is a high hurdle to jump, especially, when there is still the question of whether citizenship-based empowerment can induce the citizens into voluntary participation and active negotiation. A policy lacking the spirit of active citizen participation will reversely deprive women of the choice to become liberated from family care works and force them to stay home. In other words, the design of the basic income guarantee based system opens the possibilities to solve the trilemma, but how to induce the development of active citizen participation while ensuring that recognition and redistribution are imparted in the system will be a question worth further discussion.
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