

經濟發展與家庭婦女地位

台灣的家庭結構、婦女就業型態與家庭權力結構之關連

計畫編號：NSC83-0301-H-001-064

NSC84-2411-H-001-018

執行期間：83年 2月 1日

執行單位：中央研究院中山人文社會科學研究所

計畫主持人：伊慶春

共同主持人：呂玉瑕

研究助理：陳玉華、簡文吟

處理方式：一年後可對外提供參考

中華民國八十六年十二月

## 目錄

第一章	前言 .....	1
第二章	研究方法與過程 .....	14
第三章	The Composition of Family: Subjective versus Objective Analysis.....	33
第四章	家庭組織與婦女就業型態 .....	69
第五章	婦女家庭地位之研究：以家庭決策模式為例 .....	92
第六章	Parental Support in Taiwan: A Qualitative  Analysis of The Intergenerational Obligation .....	132
附錄一	抽樣調查問卷之次數分配表-妻子樣本 .....	172
附錄二	抽樣調查問卷之次數分配表-丈夫樣本 .....	216
附錄三	深入訪談問卷 .....	245
附錄四	焦點團體訪談題目大綱 .....	255
附錄五	Female's Family Status in Taiwan: An Analysis of the Household Expenses Decision-Making Pattern.....	256

## 第一章 前言

### 第一節 研究主旨

本研究計畫將探討台灣經濟發展所帶來的家庭權力結構之變遷以及婦女就業型態之多元對婦女在家戶內的決策權力和資源的影響。研究方法將包括三部份：（一）依都市化及社會經濟發展程度選定全省六個不同地區進行小團體訪談（Focus Group Interview）；（二）透過分層抽樣法在台灣地區抽選出五十對夫妻進行深入訪談（Debriefing In-depth Interview）。（三）依分層隨機抽樣，在台灣地區抽選出五百對夫妻以及五百位已婚有偶婦女做為抽樣調查（Survey Interview）之受訪樣本。

原則上訪問內容將包括夫妻雙方個人的社經、人口背景、家戶組成、家庭經濟狀況，以及夫妻雙方在家庭決策中所具有的權力為何，如何處理因家庭權力不均所引發之衝突，以及如何使用家庭或個人的經濟資源，同時樣本居住地的社會、經濟結構特性也將一併收集。為了檢驗一連串有關不同社經發展背景對婦女家庭權力和資源的影響假設，將利用多層次的統計分析來驗證假設。

本研究主要目的在於試圖了解經濟發展是否導致婦女家庭地位之上升或下降，同時亦藉由對家庭結構和婦女就業型態的剖析，以建立夫妻權力之測量方式，並進一步釐清其間之互動關係。

## 第二節 問題之背景與現況

數十年來有關經濟展對於婦女地位的影響即有各種不同的看法。有一派的論點認為：伴隨著經濟的發展，原來依附家庭關係所獲得的社會安全、老年支持的需求已降低，防禦性角色 (defensive role) 和工作角色所需體力之重要性也相對減少，而壽命的延長和嬰兒存活率的上升更使得大多數家庭中多出一個或兩個兒女，這些皆導致傳統兩性分工的方式有極大的改變。在這種情況下，家庭內的關係變得更為平等，而婚姻的關係也更傾向於尋求個人的伙伴而非求得一個生兒育女的妻子角色。由此觀點來看，發展的過程將使得婦女逐漸減少對其丈夫的依賴（Coode, 1963）。

至於另外一派則持相反的論點：他們認為經濟的發展只會使婦女在經濟上更加依賴家庭中的男性成員，進而降低婦女的地位（Bosrup, 1970; Saffioti, 1978）。

因為工業化發展的主要影響即在於將經濟性的生產功能由家庭中移出，於是妻子乃由家庭中的伙伴角色轉變為無薪或低薪的依賴者。而男性由於較早進入工業部門，首先佔有大部份或全部有權力的位置，這就意味著進入受薪部門（wage sector）

的女性，特別是年輕、未婚的女性，將只能獲得相對較低的薪水。導致這種結果的因之一，在於大部份的女性以家庭角色為重，在結婚之後離開勞力市場或進出勞力市場與家庭之間成為不穩定的勞動力。因此當已婚婦女大量進入勞力市場時，他們的薪水普遍會低於其丈夫的所得。

上述這種在已婚男性和女性之間就業及薪資上的差距，被認為是一種新的經濟不平等的形式，也造成妻子在家庭決策上重要性降低，已婚婦女可能大量投入勞力市場，並極力爭取薪資上的增加。然而在發展的早期階段，婦女因工作地點與家戶地點的分離，使其地位相對於丈夫而言轉為較低，此外，女性也因為進入男性固有的領域而遭受較不利的處境。

以上兩種不同的看法當然都有值得爭議之處，但亦有其合理的論點。不論如何，經濟發展的結果是否導致婦女的地位趨於降低或改善，仍然是一尚待考察之學術議題，不同的經濟發展型態 (style) - 如小資本家形式的經濟成長，或大型工業化形式的經濟發展 -- 對婦女地位的影響有何不同，也尚未有清楚的報告。

至於台灣的情況則必須從傳統中國婦女的經濟角色及其家庭地位做一檢視。在傳統的中國家庭制度中，婦女的主要任務即在傳中接代，以確保此一父子軸為中心之傳承 (Hsu, 1948)。婦女在家庭中居於次要地位不僅由規範中加以界定，亦由實際生活中加以侷限。年輕媳婦固然在婆婆的直接管轄下，更是在夫家所有年長男性甚至小叔的附屬之下 (Blitsten, 1963)。而以家為生活唯一場域亦進一步約束婦女所能參與的經濟活動 (Kulp, 1925)，以至於婦女多以育兒或從事其他較低層的服務工作為主。即使是從事粗重的農活或協助家庭的小商業經營，婦女的角色仍然被視為文化規範下必要的行為，亦即對家庭的義務，而非提高家庭生產能力之貢獻。

誠然傳統男女的分工必須符合社會期望，女性的經濟行為一方面限制在以家庭為主之無薪活動，另一方面則在折衷家庭或大家庭年長一代的監督下進行，這種深根蒂固的傳統隨著代間社會化的傳承而保留下來。時至今日，婦女就業型態已呈現多元化，家庭結構的變遷亦隨都市化而有相當的差異，但是婦女之經濟角色及其家庭地位間之聯繫尚缺乏有系統的探討，對應於上述兩大論點之證據亦嫌薄弱。

因此本研究計畫的目的及試圖檢視經濟發展對於婦女在家庭內的地位有何影響。具體而言，在經濟發展的脈絡下，婦女之就業型態不再侷限於家庭的範疇：而家庭結構所意含之實質上的居住安排亦有各種不同的變異。此兩概念對婦女在家庭

內的地位 --- 尤其是以家庭內之決策模式為指標 --- 將被視為重要的關鍵因素。  
以下，我們將就研究假設之重點內容做一說明：

本研究之焦點為妻子在家庭中之地位與資源。包括台灣在內的大部份東亞婦女，仍維持著結婚、育兒的連續程序，並未因結婚年齡提高或子女數下降而有所改變。因此這部份地區的大部份婦女在其成人生活中，大半時間都是扮演著妻子的角色，於是他們在家庭中的地位對於其個人福祉而言乃成為中心關鍵。

### (一) 家庭結構與婦女家庭地位

一般而言，東西方家庭在規範或組織其家庭成員生活方面的功能大不相同。西方家庭的存在主要是提供其成員一進入社會制度的預備環境；中國家庭則要求其成員進一切努力以承續家庭或增進家庭的福祉（Farber, 1975; baker, 1979）。中國家庭因此成為一可以影響其他社會制度之權力基礎。在傳統中國家庭的顯著重要性之下，研究婦女的家庭地位亦即考察婦女生活方式的組織模式，其學術意義十分深遠。以東亞地區而言，社會之經濟重分配過程主要發生在家戶單位內，雖然有愈來愈多的人外出就業，但非待在家庭企業（family enterprise）中以賺取養家的收入；但是家庭，而非國家或其他非家庭組織，仍是大多數經濟重分配形成之主要負責單位。這個事實對於女性而言有兩種寓意：（1）只要家庭是由男性所支配，那麼所有的決定都可能是傾向男性、有利於男性，且在經濟重分配的過程中對女性加以歧視。（2）在家庭決策中，妻子影響力的多寡，對於家庭內女性成員的經濟地位有極為重要的意義。因此，絕大多數的東亞婦女而言，他們在家庭決策中發言的份量，以及他們對於個人以及家庭資源的控制能力，都將影響他們在家庭中的福祉。因此，若欲對社會中婦女中的地位有普遍性的瞭解，首先針對家庭內已婚婦女資源與權力之分配進行研究實有其必要性。

一般而言，家庭內妻子的資源和權力深受該社會家庭傳統以及性別觀念所支配。台灣如同其他華人社會或東亞社會，一直是強勢的父權體制之儒家傳統。

家庭組織以男性為主幹加以延續，而家庭如果擁有產業時，即組織成一代代相傳並以男性為中心的生產和消費單位。在父系世系群的家庭組織中，男性的地位是與生俱來的，女性的地位卻是必須透過生育一男性後嗣才可獲致（Sung, 1981）。這意味著女性因結婚離開其出生家庭進入夫家後，必須生育一定數量的兒子，以維持夫家的男性繼承，以為女性（妻子）最重要的任務。同時，家庭財產的控制權也掌握在男性成員的手中，財產繼承人為兒子，唯一的例外，或許只在於女兒出嫁時可獲得的嫁妝（林南，1989）。在這種體制下，典型的父母較重兒子。舉例來說，

父母在兒子身上的投資多於女兒，兒子往往接受較高的教育及職業訓練；女兒則較早出外工作賺錢協助家計以造就其兄弟（Greenhalgh, 1985; Kung 1978）。在傳統體制下，女性婚後在夫家的地位仍低於男性。剛進入夫家的新娘通常是以一個陌生人的身份，未有任何資源或親信之人在夫家，生活上則主要受婆婆支配，由於婆婆主要的關注仍在他的兒子及父系家庭的事物方面，無暇顧及媳婦的福祉。而這種情況也只有在媳婦搖成婆之後，女性才能實現其生活中部分的權力，或主宰自己的生活。然而這些控制基本上仍時侷限在家庭中其他婦女及小孩上，而決策的範疇亦限於傳統女性事物方面。

那麼經濟發展對於上述傳統的父權體制，以及婦女在家庭中的資源、權力有何影響？第一個假設，主要立基於William J. Goode的主張，就是工業化的發展對於三代同堂的家庭具有催蝕效果，同時也會降低家庭中長女性（如婆婆）的地位。但相對而言，家庭中年輕的已婚女性之地位則較為提高。因此，這個假設認為婦女醫生之家地位，會隨著經濟發展所導致三代同堂之下降而逐漸上升。但是這個假設遭到研究台灣家庭變遷之質疑。以台灣而言，三代同堂的情形持續存在，但是經濟發展亦繼續進行（Thornton et al., 1993）。不過已有學者指出，年長一代的權威和權力隨著同住的比例的下降以及家庭內部的轉變而逐漸減低。

事實上，有關工業化和核心家庭之間的連結已經有不少的論證。一方面，在台灣地區大小樣本的研究紛紛指出約有七成的老人與已婚子女（大多數為兒子）同住（賴澤涵與陳政寬，1980；詹火生，1989；蕭新煌，1991；Chen, 1992）。但是值得注意的是近十幾年來，不僅婚後與父母同住的趨勢逐漸降低（羅紀瓊，1987；孫得雄，1991）。視奉養父母為兒子之權力義務的觀念，也開始轉變為兒女共同負擔的責任（文崇一，1991）。另一方面核心家庭是否為人口轉型中之暫時現象，而非純粹現代化導致之行為和態度之必要改變，全省性樣本之調查結果基本上似乎不同意此一看法（齊力，1988，1990）。換言之，台灣的經濟發展，經由年輕一代和父母同住可能性之下降而對家庭核心化有正面效果。因此，不論從子女角度或父母的角度加以分析時，家庭核心化一直持續緩慢的發展。而若由態度傾向或經濟情況不受限制來與以評估的話（齊力，1989；伊慶春，1985），則小家庭更是普遍被接受的家庭類型。因此，經濟發展所伴隨的三代同住家戶之減少，並其與婦女在家庭決策和資源上之提昇乃成為一重要之研究課題。

然而台灣地區主幹家庭的普及率仍是不容忽視的事實。老人方面的研究一再指出，老人大多仍與子女同住，而且也願意保持這種外，台灣地區老人主要的支持來源還是家庭成員（包括配偶、兒子、媳婦等）（；林松齡 1993；胡幼慧，1992），其主要的照顧方式亦以在家庭為主（施教裕，1993）。換言之，對老人而言，目前台灣家庭

取向的居住模式明顯的佔優勢，而且在態度和行為層面皆然。於是我們可以進一步思考，是否在家庭經濟發展過程中，佔有重要地位的小規模家庭企業有助於維持主幹家庭的存在？或說依賴家庭事業為生？是否會導致家庭型態的維持不變以及婦女家庭地位的不同結果？過去研究發現妻子從事家庭企業者與在外獲取薪資工作者之家庭決策型態與無顯著差異（呂玉瑕，1992）。這可能受到家庭企業的種類以及妻子在其中所扮演角色的影響，而不是妻子參與家庭企業與否會影響到妻子的資源及家庭地位。然而由於這類研究所根據的樣本並非以婦女工作或家庭地位之研究而設計，因此無法清楚回答婦女在家庭之工作角色和家庭地位互動關係。很明顯的，首先必須針對不同家庭類

型做一比較分析，方能說明家庭企業 VS 大規模非家庭企業對婦女決策權力並家庭結構之間的關聯。

## （二）婦女就業型態與婦女家庭地位

本研究之另一個重點將是經濟發展所導致之婦女就業率之上升及其對婦女家庭權力與資源的影響。在經濟發展過程中婦女教育水準、就業能力皆提高，婦女勞動參與率亦顯著上升。此外在台灣，勞力市場對女性勞力的需求亦促進婦女勞動參與率快速增加。Yoon(1990)指出在發展中國家，國家的貿易策略極顯著的影響婦女勞動參與。在外銷主導的經濟發展策略下，以勞力密集為主要經營方式的製造業大量擴充，女性勞力低廉且彈性高，適合工業發展需求，此為在這些國家婦女勞動參與率快速上升的主要因素。

婦女 -- 尤其是妻子 -- 就業是否導致他個人家庭地位的提昇？一般來說，只要當妻子對家庭收入的貢獻與其丈夫相較之下顯得較少，起其生產（工作）所得對家庭而言，仍是輔助性或是被視為家庭的傳統義務，而不當成是他獨立生涯的一部份時，那麼婦女的就業對於提昇其家庭權力與資源其實並無多大意涵。至於一般的婦女就業行為與其夫妻權力之間的關連，以往台灣地區的研究發現不太一致。Gallin(1984)以台灣鄉村的資料說明婦女的勞動參與未能真正影響他們在家庭中的地位。全省性的樣本亦顯示相似的結果：家庭主婦與就業妻子在決策權力和家務分工方面並沒有顯著的不同（呂玉瑕，1984）。這些研究指出傳統性別角色規範仍持續影響家庭內兩性角色及權力結構是女性家庭地位未隨著資源增加而提高的主因，而傳統型態的持續存在是當台灣資本主義經濟制度下的結果（Gallin, 1984; Kung, 1976）。但是針對台北都會區 48 對夫妻的研究分析則顯示就業妻子比家庭主婦有較大的家庭決定權（伊慶春與蔡搖玲，1989）。由於過去有關研究尚未有一致的結論，而且在家庭地位的測度上亦尚未發展出較準確反應家庭權力結構面貌的工具，妻子就業與否與其家庭地位間之關係如何值得深入探討。

在眾多可能影響上述不一致結果的因素中，妻子的就業型態或其職業內容較常被提及是可能的主要關鍵。很明顯的，區分妻子有無就業只是剖析就業行為的初步嘗試。各種不同的就業型態及職業上所附予的權力、福...等等，都可能對妻子的家庭決策權有某種影響。由於過去的文獻較忽略婦女就業的影響，而其就業內容或許比就業與否有更重要的意義。因此，這一部份的研究重點將是視妻子不同的就業類型如何影響他們在家庭內的權力和資源。

台灣以家庭組織為基礎的社會結構下，經濟發展的特點是以家族經營中小企業為重心的產業體質。自 1961 年以來台灣的中小企業家數約佔台灣全體企業的 98% (吳惠林等，1988; 中小企業統計，1986-90)。以從業員工來看，中小型家族企業吸收了大部份的勞動力；根據勞動力調查，民國 79 年 53% 的勞動力在十人以下的工作場所，68% 在三十人以下的場所。小型企業在台灣得以蓬勃發展亦根植於台灣以家族組織為基礎的社會結構特性 (Hamilton & Biggart, 1989; Hwang, 1983)。小型企業通常家族經營，經營權與所有權不嚴格區分。資金形成、生產經營、人事安排、網絡關係的建立主要由家族的主要成員決定。家族企業中家庭成員的參與極普遍，而家庭勞力中尤以女性最多，根據歷年人力資源統計資料，以家庭企業中的無酬家屬來看，女性所佔比例一向偏高，在民國 64 年至 79 年間，無酬家屬中女性的比例約在 68% 至 73% 左右，比雇主、自營作業者及薪資工作者女性比例高出數倍。由於家庭企業在台灣蓬勃發展以及女性在家庭企業中之重要性來研究關於女性就業型態之考慮重點，將是從事自己家庭企業工作的婦女與從事薪資工作的婦女之間其家庭權力或資源是否有差異？對於這個假設，理論上正反面都有可能。目前來看，只要在家庭企業中工作的婦女未能獲得獨立的薪水，他的權力或資源的提昇就被假定為不如外出工作或受薪階級的女性來得高。相反的，如果婦女成為丈夫工作上不可或缺的夥伴，那麼他在家庭事業或家庭決策上的重要性及可能大於其他外出就業的婦女。過去有關家庭企業婦女之研究甚匱乏，Greenhalgh (1991) 根據六個國家的人類學個案研究資料出，參與非正式企業可能不會強化女性的權力。因為女性在非正式的行業中的機會深受家庭制度和性別意識的制約；因此，從某一方面來看，非正式企業其實是相當程度的重複社會大制度之下之不平等規範。換言之，以家庭企業之從事者角度來看，婦女似乎並不因有助於家庭企業之經營而得到較大的家庭決策權或提高其家庭地位。然而該研究並未就代表性的樣本做系統性的分析，亦未深入探討從事家庭企業與薪資工作婦女之間的差異。關於後者，最近在台灣的研究發現妻子從事自家企業工作與在外從事薪資工作的家庭決策型態並無顯著差異 (呂，1992)。然而由於該研究所根據的樣本原先並非以婦女工作或家庭地位研究目的而設計，因此這樣的發現尚需進一步的探討。此外，一個可能的假設是家庭企業的種類以及妻子在其中所扮演的角色，比妻子是否從事家庭企業對於妻子的資源及家庭地位有更大的影響。因此本研究將考慮家庭企業之性質、工作組織內性別分工及妻子在其中所扮演的角色對於妻子資源及家庭地位的影響。



### （三）權力之概念及測量

就微觀層面的系統性研究而言，"權力"在測量上仍有許多困難。因為權力是一種動態的關係，牽涉到兩人間的共有資源，而且不易以具體物質加以測量（例如：銀行存款可以表現財富的多寡，卻未必表現權力的高低）。而權力關係尚包含一些複雜的分工，而這種分工通常是較有權力的一方將其不感興趣的部份授權給弱勢的一方。因此，再授權與實際執行之間使權力的測量更加不易，因為前者通常是研究者所觀察不到的部份。

此外，權力難以測量的另一原因即：不論是掌權的一方或無權的一方都傾向於隱藏事實。因為太過於暴露權力易導致權力受到威脅，而無權力又有失顏面。事實上，這正是抽樣調查時所面臨的嚴重問題，因為皆由受訪者回答，而非藉由實際直接之觀察。

在大型調查中測量夫妻權力最普遍的方法就是問受訪者各種類型的決策是由丈夫？妻子？夫妻兩人決定？一起決定或分開決定？而後將各類型的決策加總以得到一概括性的家庭決策者是丈夫或是妻子（伊慶春與蔡瑤玲，1989）。對此一連串的決策類型加總方式（battery-of-decision）已有研究者予以部份修正。例如：有些研究的選項為了包含所有可能發現的狀況，將既非丈夫也非妻子做決策的選項加入。另外選項也脫離二分的方式，而給予較多的等級（完全由丈夫做決策、通常由丈夫做決策、通常由太太做決策、完全由太太做決策）。

除了上述選項的修正外，決策類型問題面臨的另一困難在於對某一特定決策，丈夫與妻子是否對它的重要性有一致的看法。為了解決這個問題國內曾有研究要求受訪者去評估某一決策的重要程度（伊慶春，1993）。而這些評估的重要性則再用以加權至受訪者的決策分數以計算到底丈夫或妻子才是家中的決策者。然而這種修正的方法雖然可以解決部份的問題，但是一般而言，丈夫與妻子對家庭決策重要性的看法還是取決於切身的事務，因此不見得會認同家庭中的某些決策是最重要的，結果什麼決策才是最重要的仍是不易解決的問題。

事實上，使用這種"一連串式的家庭決策"問法的另一問題即是"做決策"。通常是一個很含混的說法，特別是涉及一般化的決策類型。例如：子女教育的決策可能包含了量、方式、對每個子女所花的時間、或是對不同子女教育的各種分配等。在此情況下，夫妻兩人都可能表示他們做了有關子女教育的決策，但是真正的決策者在此時可能被隱藏不易發現。因此，所謂"平權模式與共同決策方式"（伊慶春與蔡瑤玲，1989），可能真的夫妻兩人一同決定子女的教育事項，也可能是丈夫做決策，但是由妻子確認在可接受

的範圍內該送子女去哪個學校。因此，當回答夫妻一起做決定時，所表達的或為平等的決策方式，也有可能是一種分工方式的決策，而在此決策類型中，妻子所扮演的是類似「從屬者」的角色。

另外在使用「一連串式決策」問法的難題是：很難獲知當夫妻意見不合或有衝除時之解決方式。有些研究試圖解決此一困難，提出不同的衝突解決徑，以提供受訪者回答（伊慶春與楊文山，1992；伊慶春等，1993）。但是這種方法仍有些問題，尤其問到一些強烈受到傳統性別角色社會化、被教導要順從男性的妻子時，在社會規範期望下，多會表示他們夫妻的決策並無衝突，因此分析時只得歸諸於父權規則之運作影響。

因此本研究在測量夫妻權力時，除了沿用一連串決策方式（伊慶春與蔡瑤玲，1989）討論衝突處理模式外（伊慶春，1993），將著重在團體面談及 debriefing 階段所收集的質化資料。這些資料除了提供上述作為建構問卷項目之基礎外，尚有助於剖析之權力基礎、過程、及其結果之動態關係。藉由夫妻針對不同家庭決策事項之重要性認同之差異及其原因，並深入追求任何衝突處理模式之因素 - 包括同住家人之角色、夫妻資源之影響等，我們可由受訪者所報告之夫妻權力的價值觀念和實際執行方式，推展到傳統規範以及現代經濟在家庭結構、婦女就業型態、和婦女家庭地位方面的交互影響效果。此外，研究發現可作為試圖回答經濟發展究竟導致婦女家庭地位之提高或降低之爭論，並進一步驗證不同論點在解釋台灣地區婦女家庭地位之通行性與適用性。

### 第三節 研究目的

經由上述問題背景的說明與相關文獻的探討，本研究之研究目的主要如下：

1. 本研究試圖建立經濟發展和婦女家庭地位之初步理論架構。經由家庭結構之改變以及婦女就業型態之多元模式，可仔細考察其對婦女在家庭權力結構中的影響。
2. 發展一套系統化的家庭決策權力之測量，以作為分析婦女家庭地位之指標。經由一系列重要家庭決策事項的決策方式、決策衝突處理模式之分析等資料，將有助於釐清夫妻間權力之概念，並進而確立適用於台灣樣本中夫妻權力之測量。
3. 經由家庭結構層面切入，以剖析婦女在家庭決策的功能與角色，將有助於了解家庭互動過程的運作模式，亦可深入檢視與年長父母同住之安排對年輕一代婦女家庭角

色扮演的影響效果。

4.針對就業型態與婦女地位之探討，將可提供性別階層理論建立上之重要資訊。此一議題乃是家庭社會學與婦女研究者所共同關注之研究焦點對家庭內性別階層化現象之說明將有所貢獻。

5.考察婦女在職業部門和家庭部門的關連，意涵著試圖結合勞動力市場之性別分工與家庭內部性別階層化之一嘗試，對婦女之性別階層化將提供重要之參考資料。

#### 第四節 章節安排

本研究報告在研究成果的呈現方面，第二章主要針對研究方法與過程做介紹；第三章至第五章為量化的研究報告，主題分別是關於家庭結構、婦女就業模式與婦女家庭地位的探討；第六章是質化研究論文，主要是歸納六場焦點團體訪談結果，從主觀與客觀組成這二層面切入檢視台灣社會在奉養父母觀念與實行的情形。

## 第二章 研究方法與過程

### 第一節 設計研究

本研究之主旨為探討經濟發展對於婦女家庭地位的影響，研究焦點將集中在經濟發展如何透過家庭結構的變遷，以及婦女勞動力參與就業市場而影響婦女在家庭中的地位。因此婦女地位為本研究之主要解釋變項，其具體指標則初步擇定為婦女的家庭決策權力。

台灣地區的文獻顯示，以夫妻權力而言，家庭決策的模式一向是主要的考察目標。過去研究有些只針對鄉村地區的樣本（呂玉瑕，1983；劉清榕，1976；賴爾柔，1973）；都市方面的樣本較早時侷限在家庭主婦（張曉春，1974），近年來則同時以夫妻為分析單位（伊慶春和蔡瑤玲，1989）。基本上，研究發現的共通處就是夫妻共同決策為最普遍採用的方式，而且這種平權模式在都市裡似乎更為明顯。既然在一般家庭中，丈夫的權力仍然佔有優勢，這些結果隱含了家庭決策項目之外的社會規範之慣行。因此，有學者建議家庭中丈夫權力的基礎或許還來自傳統文化的認可，以致於無法正確反映在以家庭決策為指標之分析中（呂玉瑕，1984；伊慶春和蔡瑤玲，1989）。

由於夫妻權力之概念包含權力基礎、權力過程、以及權力結果三大面向，除了討論基礎權力（通常以個人資源為測量指標）和權力結果（亦即家庭決策）之外，決策過程更是不可忽視的一環。近年來的相關研究指出，在討論權力基礎和權力過程間之關連時，文化規範下之父權優先規則必須和個人資源之高低互相配合，方能說明夫妻權力模式之差異（伊慶春，1992）。至於權力基礎、過程、及其結果之互動關係，目前台灣研究發現傾向於支持在丈夫樣本方面的關聯（伊慶春與楊文山，1992），同時亦再度指出父權規則的重要性。

因此，台灣夫妻權力的研究顯示夫妻平權模式愈來愈明顯。由權力動態模式所涵蓋之三大要素之相關研究結果來看，父權規則所附予之丈夫權力仍有其文化規範之基礎。而在社會變遷之過程中，個人擁有的資源高低亦是影響夫妻權力分配之重要因素。另一方面，夫妻權力之消長與傳統家庭父（夫）權優勢之互動關係仍待進一步的系統化分析，以瞭解具體之運作模式。

至於實際的研究執行方式仍將以抽樣調查為收集資料之管道。在研究過程中，我們發現大部份的研究對於婦女在家庭中的權力缺乏完整的測量，也因此難以深入剖析婚姻關係中內涵之不平等權力之複雜性。奠基在國內外有關夫妻權力的研究基礎上，一般而言夫妻間或在家庭中男性與女性間權力的區分大致可以幾個面向加以區分。一般以人際取向來進行測量的話，可以由其中一方是否比另一方更害怕、擔心去激怒對方，或失去對方物質上或情緒上的支持加以衡量。另一種測量指標則是彼此有無使用強制性的手段相互對待，例如：其中一方傾向於施予對方身體上的威脅（如毆打），或扣留重要的物資資源等。另一個面向是測量相對於對方的個人自由自主權，例如：在做某種決策或採取某一行動時必須得到對方允許的程度為何。此外，尚有一重要面向即是經濟的自主權，亦即夫或妻掌管或控制家庭收入的程度或是自由使用金錢時所需獲得配偶、家庭成員允許的程度。另一相關的面相則是家庭資源的分配規則 -- 依照性別或初生序、代等，舉凡食物份量的分配及其決定權；小孩受教育之優先考量及真正決策者；婚姻或家庭成員死亡時之家產分配及其決定者等等，皆包含在此一類別之中。

因此在本研究計畫中，為們首先將羅列家庭內可能含有的各種面向的權力 --- 特別是夫妻之間的，以判斷妻子在家庭中之權力和資源的高低。原則上，我們考慮以團體面談的方式獲得一些具體的權力指標，以進一步建立丈夫和妻子對彼此間權力和義務的態度，並藉此發展出權力之特殊具體面向。這些討論的內容將予以錄音，透過這些資料或許可以發展出一套家庭權力關係的測量新方法。

此外，本研究另一個測量重點 "就業型態"，亦即希望了解受訪的婦女，其就業型態是屬於從事家庭內商品的生產工作，或是在家庭外從事薪資工作。至於妻子的受雇地位

則分為：為自己家庭企業工作者（有酬或無酬）屬於家庭企業工作者；妻子個人自雇或自為雇主屬於自顧型態；受家庭以外的人雇用者則屬於薪資工作。

由於本研究計畫欲探討在台灣經濟發展模式下，對於婦女在家戶內的決策權、權力分配即資源的獲取有何影響，因此利用大規模的全省性抽樣問卷調查是不可或缺的研究過程。但是為了避免過去類似研究於使用問卷調查時，常未能針對研究主題設計出適當的問題，或是因為問題含混未能獲得正確的回答將依地區別進行焦點團體訪談（focus group interview），以及預試時針對題目內容所作的深入訪談（debriefing in-depth interview），以收集家戶內的相關資料作為後續大型調查的參考。

## 第二節 研究方法與施行的步驟

### （一）焦點團體訪談（focus group interview）

由於家戶內夫妻之間權力關係的實際運作與測量一直是相關研究無法突破的重點。因此本研究在焦點訪談之前，將預先羅列出家庭內可能包含各種力的面向（特別是夫妻之間的權力關係）作為團體討論時的主題，而藉由包含夫妻在內的小團體進行面對面的討論，並透過這些討論的內容來協助研究者獲知較具體的權力指標，進而發展出較理想的家庭權力測量方法，以彌補過去未能將權力之動態關係完整涵蓋的缺點。至於以往研究中可行的測量方式仍將保留。

此外因本研究亦欲瞭解經濟發展模式對婦女家戶中之權力與資源的影響，故這種焦點團體訪談將根據台灣北、中、南、東之地區性分佈共挑選六處辦理座談會，依社經發展程度又分為都市地區和鄉村地區。都市地區共四場次，包括台北市、台中市、高雄市、花蓮市，分別代表台灣北、中、南、東四地區。鄉村地區則選定高雄縣美濃鎮及彰化縣西湖鎮，這兩個鄉鎮也分別代表台灣的兩大族群（前者主要居住者為客家人，後者為閩南人）。

每場焦點團體訪談座談會，大致邀請六至八位受訪者參加，每場會議的受訪者都不同，但同一場次內之受訪者在部份特質上會有類似之處，而在性別的分配上，有三個場次男女同時進行訪問（台北市、花蓮市、美濃鎮），另外三個場次則邀請單一性別的受訪者（台中市、高雄市、溪湖鎮）。除邀請受訪者外，皆安排一個主持人與一至兩位助理，主持人負責整場座談會的進程序，以及引言、發問的工作，主持人分別由本計畫的主持人及共同主持人輪流擔任；而研究助理主要是負責座談會中錄音與記錄的工作，以及會前的聯絡、安排工作。由於焦點團體訪談的特性是針對具有類似特質的受訪者進行團體訪談，因此每一場焦點團體座談會的受訪者即預先設定不同的個人特質、社會背景，而後再利用學校家長網絡的關係邀請合適的受訪者，因此座談會舉辦的地點多選擇當地國

中、小學的會議室。每場焦點訪談座談會的時間多在二至三小時之間。

六場焦點團體訪談的參與對象之特質分別如下：

(一) 台北市 (8人)

性別：男性 (4)、女性 (4)

年齡分佈：30-40歲

教育程度：大專、大學及以上

職業狀況：男：商 (3)、公務員 (1)

女：家庭主婦 (2)、商 (2)

會談地點：幸安國小校長室

註：本是訪談對象是透過台北市幸安國小校長協助邀請，因此這八位目前皆有子女在該國小就讀，彼此並不相識。

(二) 台中市 (5人)

性別：男性

年齡分佈：40-50歲

教育程度：國中、高中

職業狀況：公務員 (1)、貨車司機 (1)、商人 (3)

會談地點：省新聞處會議室

註：本次訪談對象皆是透過台中市居仁國中校長協助邀請，因此這五位男性受訪者目前皆有子女在該國中就讀，但有其中兩人是舊識，其他人並不相識。

(三) 高雄市 (5人)

性別：女性

年齡分佈：30-40歲

教育程度：高中

職業狀況：家庭主婦（1）、空中大學學生（1）、公務員（3）、  
會談地點：市立體育場場長室

註：本是訪談對象是透過高雄市立體育場場長的協助邀請，因此這五位婦女的丈夫  
皆是市立體育場員工，故彼此稍微相識。

#### （四）花蓮市（6人）

性別：男性（3）、女性（3）  
年齡分佈：35-45歲  
教育程度：大專程度及以上  
職業狀況：男性：鐵錄局公務員、國小教師、印刷廠老闆  
女性：國小教師、音樂教室教室、職業婦女  
會談地點：花蓮市中華國小校長室

註：本次訪談對象是透過花蓮市中華國小校長協助邀請，受訪者除了兩位是  
擔任該國小現任教師外，另外三人目前都有子女就讀該國小，同時也擔任  
學校的家長委員會或是義工媽媽，而另一位受訪者則是校長透過其人際  
關係邀請，雖然彼此認識，但是受訪者仍踴躍發言表達看法。

#### （五）高雄縣美濃鎮（6人）

性別：男性（3）、女性（3）  
年齡分佈：50-65歲  
教育程度：無、國小  
職業狀況：家庭主婦（1）、空中大學學生（1）、公務員（1）  
會談地點：美濃鎮 美濃愛鄉協進會

註：本次訪談對象是透過美濃愛鄉協進會的人員代為邀請，？？？

#### （六）彰化縣溪湖鎮（6人）

性別：女性  
年齡分佈：50-65歲  
教育程度：無、國小  
職業狀況：工廠女工（1）、家庭主婦兼葡萄農（5）  
會談地點：溪湖鎮溪湖國中校長室

註：本次訪談對象是透過溪湖國中校長協助邀請，分別來自當地兩個不同的村落，來自同一村落的受訪者彼此認識，不同村落的受訪者並不相識。

## （二） 深入訪談 (debriefing in-depth interview)

藉由上述焦點團體討論所獲得的初步權力關係內容，將作為建構問卷之基礎。在步擬定問卷內容後，將先就此一問卷之項目進行五十對夫妻的深入訪談，並採行夫妻分開的方式進行，依台灣地區之北部地區、中部地區、南部地區、東部地區各訪談十對夫妻，而台北是因都市化程度與人口組成特性與其他地區較為不同，因此台北市亦訪談十對夫妻。

在深入訪談的過程中，將採用較仔細詢問 (debriefing) 的方式進行訪問，也就是說，對受訪者問完某一個問題之後，將繼續追問他對於這個問題有什麼看法？他內心對於這個問題真正的看法是什麼？是一種開放式 (open-ended) 的問題詢問方式，以瞭解受訪者對一般調查問卷中結構是問題之主觀詮釋。而這種針對特定問題的詢問方法，也較有主於研究者瞭解這些受訪者對其家庭內權力運作方式或問題的看法與作法。

深入訪談的內容除了上述家庭權力外，還包括家庭組織的其他面向，如家庭結構、家庭經濟狀況、家庭互動關係，以及妻子工作狀況和妻子的教育背景、個人工作史、目前就業狀況。若有家庭企業則包括家庭企業性質、經濟狀況、工作組織內之分工、以及妻子在家庭企業內之角色，這一部份的資料均是進一步修正假設以及進行下一步問卷調查內容的基礎。

深入訪談部份共計訪問五十對夫妻，為配合焦點團體訪談的區域分佈，深入受訪者的分佈也將依台灣地理區域之北部地區、中部地區、南部地區、東部地區各訪談十對夫妻，因此分別選定台北縣板橋市、中和市、五股鄉為北部地區代表，中部地區為台中市及台中縣，南部地區則選定高雄市、鳳山市、美濃鎮、東部地區則為花蓮市及吉安鄉。而台北市因其都市化程度和人口組成特性與其他地區不同，因此台北市亦訪談十對夫妻。

由於深入訪談與焦點團體訪談在受訪者的選擇上完全不同於抽樣調查，受訪者的選擇主要是根據研究者的需要與規畫加取選，因此並不符合抽樣調查的原。在這次樣本選擇過程中，受訪夫妻的條件先由研究人員依地區性質、年齡、教育、職業等特性先加以限定，因此五個主要地理區中，都盡量包括各種年齡層、教育程度的受訪；至於職業



分佈，主要的考慮即在於自雇者與受雇者比例的分配各半，在自雇者中希望能同時包含家庭企業與家庭農場的工作者該企業的所有權使用者。這種作法與考慮，主要就是希望在這些少量的深入訪談樣本中，能盡量包含類特性的受訪者以彌補樣本數不足缺乏代表性的缺點。受訪者特性規畫完畢之後，研究者再透過各地區人際網絡的關係，依各種規畫條件選擇可能接受訪問的對。而實際進行深入訪問的訪員的遴選，在台北部分，由於尚在問卷修改、測試階段，因此完全是由計畫主持人與研究生助理搭配進行訪問。至於其他四個地區，則在該地區遴選相關社會學系的學生，由計畫研究人員與研究助理進行短期訓練，以充分瞭解研究主旨與重點，並熟悉問卷內容，以及各種訪問技巧、問題解決方法之後，在當地實行深入訪問。訪問過程採全程錄音方式，並於訪問完成後整理出完整的訪問文字稿，以利於後續的研究分析

各地區深入訪談受訪者的特性如下：

### （一） 台北市

因台北市各區的都市化發展並不一致，造成各區內的人口結構、就業型態有很大的不同。為了能包含各種特性的受訪夫妻，所以在市中心的部分選擇五對居住在大安區（文教區）的夫妻，以及一對居住在大同區（舊商業區）的夫妻。在都市外圍部分則選定三對居住在南港區的夫妻接受訪問，以及一對居住在北投務農的夫。以下即是各對夫妻的資料：

訪問地區	受訪者	年齡	教育程度	職業
南港區	陳先生	61	日據 2 年	打零工（建築裝潢）
	陳太太	58	無	電子工廠女工
北投區 竹子湖	曹先生	47	國小	家庭農場
	曹太太	39	國小	（花卉）
南港區	簡先生	43	高中肆	福利事業
	簡太太	36	高中	賓館櫃檯
大同區	趙先生	43	大學	家庭事業
	趙太太	37	大學	（中藥店）
南港區	林先生	60	國中	退休

	林太太	50	國小	家庭代工
士林區	陳先生	45	研究所	公務員
	陳太太	43	護校	家庭保母
士林區	范先生	34	大學	農會信用部
	范太太	29	大學	化妝品銷售
大安區	吳先生	53	專科	營造業總經理
	吳太太	51	商職	家管
大安區	陳先生	40	專科	西藥房老闆
	陳太太	40	大學	西藥房老闆
大安區	賴先生	48	研究所	公務員
	賴太太	47	大學	電腦分析師
士林區	劉太太	51	小學肆	家庭保母
*(失敗樣本，丈夫拒訪)				

## (二) 北部地區

北部地區的樣本分佈狀況，其中有七對夫妻住在板橋市，兩對住在中和市，另外一對住在五股鄉。由於受訪者是透過板橋某國小的輔導室代為尋找，因此其中部分受訪者有同事關係，但由於訪問過程完全分開，因此並未有干擾的情況。

訪問地區	受訪者	年齡	教育程度	職業
板橋市	張先生	60	大學	公務員
	張太太	56	高中	會計
中和市	賴先生	48	初中	自營果菜承銷商

	賴太太	43	國小	自營果菜承銷商
板橋市	王先生	38	士官學校	郵局外務員
	王太太	37	高中	銀樓老闆
板橋市	盧先生	40	高中	股東兼業務經理
	盧太太	40	高職	家庭代工
五股鄉	施先生	40	大學肆	業務副理
	施太太	37	高中	小學雇員
中和市	陳先生	52	高中	小學職員
	陳太太	45	國小	家庭保母
板橋市	江先生	34	高中補校	汽修技師
	江太太	29	高商	麵包店會計
板橋市	伊先生	61	國小	成衣工廠老闆
	伊太太	46	國小	成衣工廠老板娘
板橋市	吳先生	51	初中	食品公司董事長
	吳太太	41	初中	食品工廠老板娘
板橋市	鄭先生	40	高中	汽車業老闆
	鄭太太	40	國小	家庭主婦

### （三）中部地區

中部地區的樣本分佈狀況，有五對受訪者住在台中市都會地區，而另外五對分佈在台中縣的鄉鎮地區，包括沙鹿鎮、清水鎮、東勢鎮、大甲鎮、以及龍井鎮。其中清水鎮的受訪者資料不全，故視為失敗樣本，再加一對新的受訪夫妻及大甲鎮的林姓夫妻。

訪問地區	受訪者	年齡	教育程度	職業
------	-----	----	------	----

台中市	陳先生	33	大學	建設公司經理
	陳太太	29	空大	行政文書
台中市	孫先生	57	大學	會計科長
	孫太太	44	大專	家管
台中市	苟先生	39	高中	廚師、股票買賣
	苟太太	36	高中	家管
清水鎮	陳先生	33	研究所	東海大學教師
	陳太太	30	研究所	東海大學職員
東勢鎮	游先生	50	專科	銀行經理
	游太太	46	初中	接線生、打雜
沙鹿鎮	陳先生	60	小學	務農
	陳太太	60	不識字	家管
沙鹿鎮	楊先生	35	商專	中小企業專員
	楊太太	34	高商	建築公司襄理
台中市	劉先生	49	高中	台電外線技術員
	劉太太	48	小學	家管
台中市	高先生	48	高職	台糖員工
	高太太	47	高中	電子公司員工
龍井鄉	蘇先生	53	高中	小吃店老闆
	蘇太太	46	小學	小吃店老闆
大甲鎮	林先生	35	高中	飲料中盤商
	林太太	38	高中肆	飲料中盤商、傳銷商

#### (四) 南部地區(高雄縣、市)

南部地區的樣本分佈狀況，包含都會地區、城鎮地區及鄉村地區，有六對受訪者居住

在高雄市都會地區，二對居住在鳳山市，二對居住在美濃鎮。

受訪地區	受訪者	年齡	教育程度	職業
美濃鎮	鐘先生	48	農校肄	務農
	鍾太太	41	小學	務農
美濃鎮	陳先生	40	高職	公務員
	陳太太	38	初中肄	務農
高雄市	鄭先生	50	大學	電信局班長
	鄭太太	45	高中	家管
高雄市	陳先生	38	國中	傭工
	陳太太	34	高商	家管
鳳山市	曾先生	61	國小肄	工人
	曾先生	58	日據 2年	清潔工
鳳山市	陳先生	57	大學	鳳山商工教師
	陳太太	51	高職	鳳山商工職員
高雄市	柯先生	32	高中	中藥及命理
	柯太太	31	高中	醫院工友
高雄市	葉先生	76	識字	香火店老闆
	葉太太	72	識字	香火店老板娘
高雄市	王先生	44	高中	電器配件店老闆
	王太太	41	小學	電器配件店老板娘
高雄市	陳先生	47	研究所	高中教務主任
	陳太太	42	研究所	高中教師

（五）東部地區（花蓮市、吉安鄉）

東部地區的樣本分佈狀況，有六對受訪者住在花蓮都會地區，而另外四對分佈在花蓮縣吉安鄉的鄉鎮地區。

訪問地區	受訪問	年齡	教育程度	職業
吉安鄉	林先生	52	高中	鐵路局公務員
	林太太	52	小學	飯店清潔工
吉安鄉	徐先生	38	國中	家具工廠老闆
	徐太太	34	國中	家具工廠老板娘
吉安鄉	劉先生	41	國中	土木模版工
	劉太太	36	國小	餐飲業雇工
花蓮市	魏先生	52	國中	維修技師
	魏太太	47	國小	家庭保母
花蓮市	張先生	55	國小	台泥機護領班
	張太太	52	國小	家管
吉安鄉	梁先生	46	高農	運輸檢車助理
	梁太太	43	國小	家管
花蓮市	沈先生	36	醫校	藥劑生
	沈太太	36	醫校	藥劑生
花蓮市	洪先生	38	國中	土木包工老闆
	洪太太	31	國中	家管
花蓮市	陳先生	41	高中	水電行老闆
	陳太太	41	高職	水電行老板娘
花蓮市	陳先生	46	國小	美容材料行老闆
	陳太太	38	國中	美容材料行老板娘

### (三) 問卷調查 ( survey)

當家庭權力關係的測量方式透過焦點團體訪談及深入訪談方式被修訂，確定後，研究者將發展一包含權力測量、家戶內相關資料的調查架構，用以決定妻子不同形式的權力和資源類型。其中家戶資料包括：配偶雙方的社經地位、個人特質、教育背景、就業歷史（包括就業方面的特性、經歷、受雇地位、就業型態等）、家庭自營事業的相關資料、婚姻及生育史（包括如何選擇配偶、透過誰介紹、是否因婚姻關係而產生經濟交換過程、婚後與自己父母和公婆間的關係為何等等），以及對於性別角色、權力的態度。

原則上，在擴及全省性的大型抽樣調查中，將以年齡、教育程度作為分層抽樣的標準選出五百對夫妻。我們之所以同時包含夫妻為受訪者，主要是試圖由夫妻雙方的資料比對上來驗證對夫妻權力的感受及實際的慣行。以往有關的研究大多以妻子為單一的研究對象，此一方式最為人詬病之處即是在於夫妻權力乃互動之共同結果，不是個人單獨的差異所能完整說明的。所以近年來國內外相關研究皆以夫妻為考察夫妻關係之基本分析單位（伊慶春，1991；伊慶春等，1993；Thomson & Williams, 1982）

此外，為配合本研究另一主要議題 "婦女就業型態與婦女家庭地位" 相關資料的收集，預計將在抽樣選出五百位已婚婦女，連同上述五百位妻子，共有一千位已婚婦女樣本。如此，我們將可對不同的研究假設進行各項多層次分析 ( multi-level analysis )，亦可由收集之資料驗證性別階層化之各項假設。

而為了使正式抽樣調查時使用問卷題目能適合實際調查與訪問，除了利用前面提及的焦點團體訪談與深入訪談獲得之初步資料用以試擬問卷外，也在八十三年十二月以此問卷作一小規模的預試調查。調查的範圍以台北縣、市為主，包括台北市的文山區、南港區、北投區、以及台北縣新莊市、新店市共計訪問一百對 20-64 歲的夫妻。調查時間約持續一個月，再根據獲得的資料進行初步分析並用以修訂問卷，作為後續之大規模全省性抽樣調查之訪問問卷。

#### 一、抽樣方法

##### (一) 母體定義

在台灣地區具有國籍，設有戶籍，年齡在二十歲至六十四歲間未被褫奪公權的國民（民國 20-63 年出生），但不包括設籍在離島及所有山地鄉的居民，亦不包括軍事單位

、醫院、療養院、學校、職訓中心、宿舍、監獄等機構內之居民。抽樣設計採分層三段等機率抽樣原則，第一階段抽出鄉鎮市區，第二階段自中選鄉鎮市區抽出鄉里，第三階段自中選村里抽出樣本人。

## （二）抽樣方法

由於本計畫研究主題著重於探討已婚婦女的家庭結構、就業型態以及家庭權力關係，所以在樣本的選擇上限定在戶籍資料上已婚有偶者，樣本的抽選將會以夫妻配對的方式抽出。此外關於年齡的限制（二十至六十四歲）則主要是針對女性樣本，其配偶年齡將不受此限。

預定用於研究分析之樣本數將包括五百對夫妻與五百位已婚的有偶婦女，因此將抽出一千對夫妻，其中五百對夫妻將同時訪問丈夫與妻子，而另外五百對則只訪問妻子。此外為顧及失敗樣本的發生，抽出之樣本數將原先預估的一千對夫妻膨脹一點五倍，總計抽出二千五百對夫妻，並依抽樣架構中每一抽選出之鄉鎮市區皆選出兩個村里，抽出總數並無法滿足正取樣本一千對夫妻的預期，所以推估結果正取樣本數為一千零八對夫妻。各層人數數分配請見下表。

台灣地區共有 359個鄉鎮市區，除去離島及三十個山地鄉之外（蘭嶼是山地鄉也是離島）計有 321個鄉鎮市區。依照院轄市、省轄市以及羅啟宏之「台灣省鄉鎮發展之研究」中之分類標準，將 321個鄉鎮市區分為以下九層，並依照各層人口總數之百分比分配樣本。（註：括號後面的鄉鎮市區是本次抽樣選出的鄉鎮市區）。

第一層——台北市（松山區、信義區、大安區、中山區、中正區、大同區、萬華區、文山區、內湖區、士林區）

第二層——高雄市（左營區、楠梓區、三民區、新興區、苓雅區、前鎮區、小港區）

第三層——台灣省五省轄市（新竹市、嘉義市、台中市）

第四層——新興新鎮（彰化縣花壇鄉、台南縣仁德鄉、台中縣烏日鄉、台中縣太平鄉、新竹縣湖口鄉、桃園縣平鎮市）

第五層——山地、坡地鄉鎮（南投縣國姓鄉、宜蘭縣頭城鎮、新竹縣關西鎮）



第六層——工商市鎮（三重市、板橋市、中和市、永和市）

第七層——綜合性市鎮（桃園市大園鄉、台中市東勢鄉、彰化縣員林鎮、  
南投市南投縣）

第八層——偏遠鄉鎮（彰化縣芳苑鄉、線西鄉、苗栗縣後龍鎮、桃園縣觀音鄉）

第九層——服務性鄉鎮（彰化縣鹿港鎮、屏東縣東港鎮、台南縣佳里鎮、高雄市  
岡山鎮）

抽樣過程是各層獨立進行，以鄉鎮市區為第一抽出單位（Primary Selection Unit, PSU），村里為第二抽取單位，人為最終抽取單位。其中各層鄉鎮市區以及其所屬的村里排序乃是按高中以上教育程度人口數佔該鄉鎮市區或村里總人口數之比例進行排序，在根據此順序進行等距抽樣。由於本次抽樣採抽取率與單位大小成比例（Probabilities Proportional to size, PPS）方式為之，雖然各段之抽取率不同，但每人抽取率仍然相同。抽樣架構是由本計畫研究人員與中央研究院調查研究工作室之抽樣小組合作完成，並決定抽樣的原則及方法。樣本抄錄工作則由調查研究工作室及助理訓練抽樣員，在由抽樣員前往各地戶政事務所依擬定原則抽樣。

依照各層人口總數之百分比等比例分配樣本，分配之各層樣本數：

層 別	鄉鎮市區數	總人口數	百分比	各層抽取數
（一）台北市	12	1653092	13.72%	$20 \times 7 = 140$
（二）高雄市	11	831808	6.90%	$10 \times 7 = 70$
（三）台灣省五省轄市	27	1408285	11.69%	$5 \times 2 \times 12 = 120$
（四）新興鄉鎮	43	1725173	14.40%	$6 \times 2 \times 12 = 144$
（五）山地、坡地鄉鎮	79	1024997	8.51%	$3 \times 2 \times 15 = 90$
（六）工商市鎮	9	1688463	14.01%	$5 \times 2 \times 14 = 140$
（七）綜合性市鎮	22	1195718	9.92%	$4 \times 2 \times 12 = 96$
（八）偏遠鄉鎮	67	1241657	10.30%	$4 \times 2 \times 13 = 104$
（九）服務性鄉鎮	51	1271530	10.55%	$4 \times 2 \times 13 = 104$
合計		12050723	100%	1008

註：1.  $A \times B \times C$  其中 A 表鄉鎮市區數，B 表村里數，C 表一村里內樣本數。

- 2.總人口數資料取自內政部台閩地區八十年人口統計（八十一年十二月出版）。
- 3.共計抽出 47個鄉鎮市區，92個村里。其中台北市與高雄市直接抽出村里。

全省性調查完成後，成功問卷中共包括 516對夫妻配對樣本資料，以及 442位個別已婚婦女的訪問資料。訪問過程中由於不易同時獲得夫妻雙方同意接受訪問，因此大量使用備取樣本，但是仍然採用備取樣本依序遞補的方式進行訪問，以維持隨機抽樣的要求，並達到本研究要求的最低樣本數五百對夫妻及五百位已婚婦女。

### 第三章

#### The Composition of Family: Subjective versus Objective Analysis\*

With a cultural heritage of familism, Chinese family studies have always received great attention among international scholars. For the last decades, significant contributions to family research in Taiwan were made by anthropologists, historians, demographers, sociologists, psychologists, and other social scientists. From the published reports, each discipline appears to have its favored research focus, research loci as well as its preferred research methods. Family sociology in its regard, have moved from the traditional problem-oriented research (Chu, 1979) to structural and interaction aspects of the family (Yi and Lu, 1993). In fact, family structure and family organization was rated as the most researched issue among family scientists in Taiwan in the 1980s (Yi, 1993). This is mostly due to the existing context of rapid social change. Consequently, the principle question examined is the relationship between social change and family structure as well as factors accounted for the variation in different patterns observed.

With the overwhelming influence of Western culture, a natural response is to investigate whether family systems in Taiwan have maintained its tenacity. Despite rare exceptions (Chuang and Yang, 1991), most studies agree that the fundamental values especially the continuity of patrilineal generations and the paternal authority have been relatively preserved (Tsai and Yi, 1995; Chang, 1994; Hsu, 1985; Arnold and Kuo, 1984). Although some changes in the family

system seem inevitable, the existing document that these changes are usually expressed either in a compromised format or simply a matter of quantitative difference. For example, support for the elder parents may develop into a meal rotation arrangement (Hsieh, 1985) or financial support from the adult children

is favored over co-residence pattern by both parties (Sun, 1985; Chang, 1994). However, the support of elderly parents remains an unchallenged responsibility of children shared by all. Similarly, as married women's labor force participation results in their increased autonomy in selective areas of family power in Taiwan (Yi and Tasi, 1989), the final authority endowed from the culture norm still lies on the parents member of the family (Yi and Chang, 1994).

Among various familial effects of the modernization process, change of family structure in Taiwan is probably the most noted one. Family structure is commonly operationalized by family types, family forms, or number of family members. Previous efforts in this realm of research have generated a vast amount of literature and the debate between nuclear family and stem family as the most significant family type in contemporary Taiwan has not been fully settled (Lai and Chen, 1980; Yi, 1985; Chen, et al, 1989; Chi, 1990; Chang and Chi, 1991; Yi and Chang, 1994). An examination of the definition employed in the above demographic and sociological reports shows that family is conceptualized as a household in the official census or self-report family composition in a typical survey.

While the data is of the best quality available, these studies have suffered from the lack of conclusive conceptual definitions. A typical criticism would come from an anthropologist who points out that Chinese family is a multi-level concept with extensive lineage implications and complex family organizational background, which are more or less neglected by other social scientists in general. On the other hand, the defense from a sociologist or a demographer would probably argue that family should not be emphasized as a conceptual unit only. Although elements of common property or ancestral worship are of vital importance, a viable family unit in contemporary Taiwan as demonstrated in numerous large sample surveys is probably equivalent to the present living arrangement or whatever appears in the official registration.

It is clear that an attempt to integrate diverse emphases of various disciplines

on the definition of family may be immature at this stage. However, it is also significant that some efforts be put on the clarification of different content embedded in each concept of family employed. This would allow us to examine with systematic measures as to the extent of difference among various family definitions as well as their implication in the interpretation of research results. Moreover, if family is regarded as the most intimate primary social group, then to understand the subjective definition of family will provide us importance toward this aspect of the family system.

Therefore, this paper will first explore the objective composition of family by using four most frequently employed definitions in research. Comparisons will be made in terms of degrees of difference observed as well as the resultant family type variation. Secondly, the subjective composition of family will be examined from answers to two defined situations: family member composition from personal and subjective accounts, and family members to be included in the most significant family reunion occasion--the Chinese New Year's Eve. With both objective and subjective definitions of family available, we will be able to establish patterns of Chinese family composition in various contingencies, which hopefully will help the future interdisciplinary dialogue among scholars.

### Chia and the Family

In almost every research report of the Chinese family structure, the operational definition of the family has to be specified. The scope of possible repertoire ranges from single individual unit as appeared in the census (e.g., Hsu and Liu, 1989), the conventional basic family types--nuclear, stem, extended--gathered from the survey (e.g., Wen, et al., 1989), or the inclusion of lineage concerns in the classification of coresidence patterns as shown in most papers using the KAP data (e.g., Thoon et al. and Lin, 1994; Chang, 1994). There are obviously other considerations to distinguish various family types, such as using the number of nucleus (Fei, 1982), the timing of family fission (Fei, 1983; Cohen, 1976), the actual function of the elderly parents (Chuang, 1972), the common property shared by males of the same lineage (e.g., Wolf, 1985), or the baseline of conjugal pairs in the establishment of family (Chen, 1985). In order to avoid the conceptual complexity of the definition of family, social scientists who rely mostly on survey data have chosen household of present living arrangement as the analyzing unit. This certainly points out the necessity to clarify the very basic concept of

the Chinese family among social science researches.

It has been argued that family translated as Chia-Ting Chinese is in fact a foreign concept (Wen, et al. 1989). Chia which so far has no equivalent English translation is the real essence of the "family". Family scholars have also reached a consensus on the flexibility in defining chia as proposed by Fei Hsiao-Tung in 1947. Chia may be subjectively confined to members of the immediate conjugal unit only; or chia may extend to include members of the same clan as well as others from the same geographical origins or from similar political interests. Besides the implication of Chia as a flexible concept, Wang (1985, 1991) further illustrated the different nature involved in the concept of chia-ting (domestic unit) and chia-tsu (family). According to Wang's anthropological perspective, the structural characteristic embedded in the Chinese family system lies in the fundamental difference between these two related concepts. Chia-Ting or the domestic unit is a product of the family fission and is thus exclusive in nature regarding its significant role as the inexorable basic unit of social organization. Chia-Tsu or the family, on the other hand, is a conceptual unit resulted from the natural developmental process of family fusion and is hence elastic or unfixed in nature. Since family fusion has its original root on the Fang of married brothers, patrilineal inheritance serves as the basic rule in the definition of chia-tsu's membership (Wang, 1991). Therefore, clan based on common surname or any relationship based on the patrilineal networks can be included in the concept of the family.

In this regard, the family (Chia-tsu) in Wang's definition corresponds to Fei's concept of Chia in that both emphasize the inclusive nature developed from the social relationship manifested beyond the level of domestic chia-ting. This line of thought is echoed by other local scholars (Chuang and Chen, 1982; Wen, et al., 1989) either regarding the flexible classification of family organization or defining chia from the possible membership recognized by the extended family qualifications. In other words, despite debates between lineage and clan or diverse classification of family types, there are generally at least two levels of family organization that ought to be considered: the inclusive or non-fixed notion of chia which appears to vary according to individual contingencies; the order is the more intimate family unit often with a relatively fixed range of membership and may vary depending on the actual constraint existing in the present living conditions.

The above dichotomy of conceptual versus partial family unit is perhaps best regarded as another possible baseline to the study of complex family structure in Taiwan. It has no intention to neglect the importance of economic factors--namely, the family property--in the classification of family structure. In fact, both type of economy and system of inheritance have been documented as significant determinants of family structure at a cross-culture level (Osmond, 1980; Winch, 1977; Goody, 1976). Chinese family organization is clearly no exception to this universal pattern. The family as a property-holding unit (Wolf, 1985; Greenhalgh, 1984), the imperative role of corporate property in the agnatic social (Freedman, 1966), the effect of economic dependence in the process of family division (Cohen, 1985, 1976), as well as relationship between change of economic system and the change of family structure in the farm area (Fei, 1991) have been illustrated in many family researches. These influential works repeatedly stress one common theme that family property is a crucial element in the study of family structure in Chinese society.

However, due to the physical constraint of most survey data and partly due to the different emphasis of various disciplines, the economic aspect of the definition of family structure seems to be treated with considerable flexibility in actual survey research. To take typical examples from sociological and demographic analyses, it becomes apparent that household or family household has become the core unit in most reports. Thornton and Lin (1994) in their conclusive book of the family change in Taiwan during the last three decades use co-residential household as a basic unit of family structure. Their discussion on the family economy mainly deals with the laborpooling to Wage-pooling transition (Ibid). Specially, *chia* is considered as "... (a) group of kin who have rights in common property whether or not they technically coreside under a single root (Thornton and Lin, 1994:26). Household, on the other hand, refers to the co-residential unit which may or may not correspond to the *chia*. Although ownership of the property is not a necessary condition of *chia*, the remaining analyses show that this economic aspect is not closely followed and is at best served as a common background in the interpretation of the result. Furthermore, the assertion of flexible family forms observed in a variety of contingencies actually justifies the employment of household as the ultimate analyzing unit throughout the book.

In the similar vein, Chi (1990) defines his basic family unit as the family household which is comprised of kin members eating and living within the

same household. By including kin relations in the household, Chi extends his concept closer to the meaning of chia-tsu. Nevertheless, the importance of chia-tsu in the family system is positioned in the conceptual level only, just as the common economic expenses as a criterion in distinguishing family forms is recognized but considered infeasible (Chi, 1997:73). Other related surveys on family structure in Taiwan often restrict the data to the self-report from the respondent on who are residing together at the time of the interview (Yi, 1987; Chang and Chi, 1991; Chang and Yi, 1994; Yi, et al., 1995). Overall, coresidence is probably the most used principle of classification in the study of family structure mainly because of its clarity in the measurement.

In short, it is clear that the above argument on the content and the definition of family structure appears to fall into two separate categories. Firstly, the qualitative field work predominated in anthropology provides rich information on the complexity of chia. These field notes shared with other historical accounts inform us that it would be too simplistic to limit the concept of family structure to the living arrangement. Property rights as well as subjective inclusion of family members for various contingencies ought to be considered in the classification of Chinese family structure. Since the typical source of these data pertains to the small sample of rural areas, studies focus on the contemporary urban samples attempt to discover another valid and easier indicator. The answer up to now seems to rely on the data available from a typical survey which suggests that household or co-residential unit is probably close or equivalent to the family structure that researcher has defined.

In this paper, we will address our research question to the difference between objective versus subjective family composition. The objective family composition is the partial or actual family unit objectively defined by the researcher with a specific measurable indicator. The subjective family composition is the conceptual unit subjectively defined by the respondent with an assumption of taken into account various contingencies. It is clear that objective family leans toward the household concept as discussed above, while the subjective family reflects the notion of chia.

We must note, however, that previous review indicates that family (chia-tsu) defined by Wang is a large unit than the domestic economic unit of chia-ting (1991). Since most studies have translated family into chia-ting, the above argument of Wang's may cause some confusion for unnoticed readers. Therefore, to respect the common usage and to avoid possible additional misunderstanding,

we shall employ the concept of "chia" as a subjectively defined unit in the family system; while "chia-ting" will be regarded as a contemporary concept learned from the West with its equivalent English translation of family in the text. Obviously, chia has similar meanings as referred by Fei (1947) as well as the definition of chia-tsu used by Wang (1985). Family, or chia-ting, will be treated as an objective unit with similar meanings as household or domestic unit. In other words, chia is operationally defined as the subjective family composition; family instead is the objective family composition as employed in various survey at the aggregate level.

## Patterns of Family Composition in Taiwan

One of the most prominent change in the Chinese family structure is probably the gradual transition from the extended family to the nuclear family. The modernization process accompanied by massive rural-urban migration has been documented as the underlying structure focus (Tsai and Yi, 1995; Chang and Chi, 1991; Chen, et al., 1989; Freedman, et al., 1982; Lai and Chen, 1980). In general, conclusions drawn from studies utilizing aggregate data will point out the persistence of patrilineal living arrangement in addition to the seemingly dominance of separate nuclear families. Co-residence pattern of the elderly parents is thus proposed and evidenced as the key element in studying family structure changes in Taiwan (Yi and Chu, 1993; Thornton and Lin, 1994; Tsai and Yi, 1995).

Using three different datasets--a village survey in 1943 mainland China, census data of a northern district in Taiwan (before 1945), and four consecutive KAP islandwide surveys (1968-1986), Chang and Chi have shown that there are roughly three historical stages in the change of household structure in the 20th century Taiwan (1991):

### 1. During the Japanese Colonialization and Before 1960s

Complex family types dominated with a stronger tendency to form extended families, especially during later years of the colonization.

### 2. From the 1960s to the 1970s

A drastic decline of extended families as being replaced by stem families, and demographic factors as well as attitudes toward co-residence are suggested to be responsible.



### 3. In the 1980s

While stem families maintained its dominance (from both the proportion of population live in and the proportion of household types), the rapid increase of nuclear families has become a significant phenomenon. The rise of nuclearization is further contended as an independent trend, beyond the by-product of stem families (i.e., after controlling for the availability of qualified members, nuclear families continue to increase).

The general trend of the drastic decline of extended families, the relatively stable stem families, and the clear increase of the nuclear family has been observed in rural areas of mainland China (Fei, 1991) as well as in other island-wide surveys in Taiwan over the last few decades (Yi and Chang, 1994; Thornton and Lin, 1994; Chi, 1990). An overall examination of the different focus that each major discipline has contributed to our understanding of the family change in Taiwan indicates that anthropologists provided us with detailed accounts of the viable, compromised, physically efficient,

and subjectively variant family structure (Chuang, 1972; M. Wolf, 1972; Cohen, 1976; Wolf, 1985; Hsieh, 1985; Chen, 1985). Demographers, especially Chen and his colleagues, taking the population transition as a baseline argument, strongly suggested that the stem family has always been the most important family type in Taiwan (Lai and Chen, 1980; Chen, et al., 1986, 1989). Sociologists, on the other hand, appear to endorse the modernization theory as well as to favor the urban-family linkage perspective, and the consequent result usually shows the tendency toward family nuclearization in Taiwan (Carish, 1978; Shu and Lin, 1984; Yi 1985; Chi, 1989; Chang and Chi, 1991; Chang, 1994; Yi and Chang, 1994).

Factors proposed to associate with changes in the family structure in Taiwan has been a focal point in the sociological analysis. Although it is expected that demographic factors such as age, education, and the urbanizational level are significantly associated with the increase of nuclear families (Yi, 1985; Hsu and Lin, 1989; Huang, 1990; Sun, 1991; Chang, 1993), migration (Chi, 1989), low income (Chang, 1992), and ethnicity (Chang, 1993) are also proposed to be important factors to be considered.

Since co-residence with elderly parents is the key to distinguish stem versus nuclear families, as stated above, several studies have documented the difference

between attitudes and behaviors in this issue(Yi and Lu,1993).Specially,there is a strong preference toward separate living arrangement or nuclear family on the general attitudinal level,but the personal attitude toward living arrangement after retirement leans clearly toward the stem family(Yi,1985).In other words, attitudes regarding personal expectation coincides more closely with the present living arrangement in that approximately 70% of elderly sons(Lo,1987;Chen 1992).However,further studies point out that attitudes toward co-residence and financial support of parents do not correspond with each other(Sun,1991;Chang,1994).Although both adult children and aged parents favor financial support more than co-residence,and parents express stronger attitudes toward independence on both aspects,nevertheless,Children prefer financial support of aged parents more than actual living together(Ibid.).It is clear that from the children's perspective, to contribute part of parent's living expenses is considered a feasible of the traditional support system(i.e.,to live together).This also signifies an important compromise under the existing physical constraint of the family which may develop into an institutionalized pattern in the future.

Thornton and Lin(1994) in their vigorous and conclusive book on social change and family change in Taiwan point out that educational expansion,both premarital and marital nonfamilial work experiences,and premarital nonfamilial living arrangement contribute to the changing organization in Taiwan.Furthermore,in the following

persuasive and compelling presentation,premarital exposure to nonfamilial contexts and interaction,e.g.,work activities,autonomous decision-making,independent living experience,migration,etc,is argued to be determinants of co-residence with husband's parents(Ibid).Although co-residence at marriage as well as duration of co-residence after marriage are declining,there are still half sample who reside with husband's parents six years after marriage.These empirical findings on attitudes and behaviors of the family process indicate that values toward elderly parents have undergone some changes,but the actual living arrangement are kept relatively intact(Yi,1994).

In short,patterns of family composition in Taiwan have shown a general picture accepted by most researchers in this field:the declining extended family has been replaced by the stable stem family,while the increase of nuclear family has simultaneously occurred.Despite variation in explaining this process,future research on the change of family structure not only should take the difference between attitudes and behaviors into account,it ought to explore effects of both physical and

nonphysical factors(e.g.,willingness of coresidence of different generations, psychological feeling toward independent living,etc.)on change of co-residence patterns in the future.

Nevertheless,with regard to change of the family structure in Taiwan,the fundamental question on the conceptual variation of the basic analyzing unit--Chia or family--remains unresolved.This paper intends to focus on one aspect of this vexed issue by delineating the subjective chia and objective family compositions as reported by the large sample.Different of patterns observed enable us to clarify the possible notion of Chinese family as a non-fixed or loosely structured social group which may be subjectively defined according to various contingencies allowed.

## Data

Data are taken from "The Economic Development and Female's Family's Status: Family structure,Female's Employment Patterns,and Family Power Structure in Taiwan"(NSC 83-0301-H-001-064;NSC 84-2411-H-01-081).There are three types of data gathered for the above research project:survey interview,focus group interview,and in-depth interview.Regarding survey interview which serve as the basis of the following analysis,1000currently married females aged 20-64 as well as

half of their husbands(i.e.,500 couples)randomly selected from the island-wide registration data comprise the sample.Three stage stratified sampling procedures were employed in spring 1994 and nine levels of developmental types were formed,of which our primary selection unit was individually classified into an appropriate level.958wives and 516 husbands completed the interview and became our final sample.

Data gathered from the focus group interview as well as in-depth interview are expected to serve as the supplementary information in the interpretation of findings.Three focus groups were scheduled at Taipei,Taichung,and Kaohsiung urban areas.Eight interviews(four males and four females)of college education,five males of middle-school education,and five females of high-school education participated in our interview at the respective location.These respondents have an age range of 30-50 and have different occupational backgrounds.It is expected that group interaction will vary according to different compositional characteristics of groups as focus.

## Variable

## The Objective Family Composition

Social Scientists who rely on arrangement data have traditionally taken census or the official record as the most valid data source available. Taiwan is particularly noted for its well-kept household registration data. Other quantitative analyses usually employ the conventional survey method with question designed for specific research purposes.

It has been suspected that the discrepancy between the official record and survey data has gradually increased. Hu (1989) in her field work at Taipei evidenced that the inconsistency of one demographic variable, namely the marital status, in registered official record versus the self-report answer at the survey was as high as 11.6%. The majority of the gap occurred at the categories of unmarried and divorced. For example, out of all registered divorcees, approximately one third reported themselves to the interviewer as in other marital status. In the same study, Hu also indicated that the living arrangement of unmatched respondents actually coincides more closely with the self-reported marital status (Ibid.). Another research on out-migrants also found an average of 7.4% disparity between members of the household registry and of the actual living arrangement (Chao, 1994). In counties with less urbanization (e.g., Yunlin, Chiayi, Taitung), as high as 18% of out-migrants still maintain their official registration at the natal family.

Similar reports and observations have prompted us to a relevant question-- the extent of discrepancy among different indicators used in the study of family structure. In this paper, four definitions derived from the literature will be employed as indicators of family structure. Those registered at the census are undoubtedly the official family (household); those live together at present are clearly the de facto family; those who not only share residence but actually eat together are considered a more valid/reliable indicator or the real family; and those who share living expenses together whether as supporter or as dependent are argued to possess the essential qualification of the Chinese family. The economic aspect inherent in the last definition needs to be emphasized here. Previous anthropological studies point out that to have separate stoves or to separate living expenses is the first stage toward family fission (Cohen, 1976; Wang, 1985). The reverse implication would be that shared economic expenses is a significant dimension of family fusion. Therefore, information collected in this respect is expected to enable us to define the inclusive nature of the family unit by

taken into account the economic aspect which is often neglected in many studies.

### Chia or The Subjective Family Composition

As discussed above, chia in a typical Chinese mind is a relationship bounded but unorganized social group (Wong, 1991). Chia may be considered as a flexible unit defined under the principle of differential hierarchy (Fei, 1947) which allows membership to expand from small to large sizes. Hence, depending on the situation or the existing constraint, chia is not a notion of fixed boundary, but rather a concept which may be extended in a concentric circular manner. On the other hand, except rare instances such as soliciting voters with any possible distant network relations, members to be included in chia are usually governed by the accepted cultural system. In other words, albeit the flexible nature of the definition of chia, there is a relative normative guidance in terms of who are the corresponding chia-jen (family members) in various occasions.

Therefore, two indicators are decided in the "measurement" of chia. It should be noticed that chia is defined in this study as the subjective family composition expressed by the respondent which may have variance due to different occasions or particular aspect specified. The two indicators chosen are firstly, a direct open-ended question probing the subjective inclusion of family members with an emphasis on purely personal views. The other subjective family composition indicator is restricted to the most important family reunion occasion -- the Chinese New Year's Eve. Respondents

are asked to list members who he/she thinks should be eating the dinner together, despite the physical restraint in geographical distances. Female samples are expected to provide different answers from males in their subjective definition of chia. Because by focusing on the personal conception of one's intimate group, each respondent is allowed to go beyond the traditional definition of the normative, prescribed family unit. In other words, the psychological importance of lineage, especially the matrilineal influence, may be expressed in these two subjective and somewhat abstract questions.

### Results

Table 1 shows the result of all objective family compositions reported by the female respondents. Family composition of 500 husbands' sample is assumed to be the same as their wives. The overall pattern of family types indicated by present living arrangement, shared economic expenses, registered membership in the household, as well as shared meal and residence clearly points out that there are six basic family types to be distinguished--nuclear, stem, joint, extended, parents only, and others. Among them, the nuclear family is the most dominant type with a proportion ranging from 58% to 68%. Stem families are also consistently ranked the second major family type across four indicators (21% - 29%). Joint families of same generation households, extended families of three generations and above, parents only households, and other types do not exceed one tenth of the proportion.

Since our focus is on the similarity and disparity among these different indicators, Table 1 provides us with clues to compare patterns demonstrated in each composition. From unreported analysis, 77% (737) of respondents answered all four indicators with exactly the same family members. 23% (221) has one or more different answers among the four indicators used. The comparison between any two indicators points out that family composition indicated by shared economic expenses is the most similar to the present living condition (94% similarity); while census has the highest disparity in comparison with the shared meal and residence (82.5% similarity) (see Table 2). If we only look into shared economic expenses, its other similarity index is followed by shared meal and residence (90.3%) and census (82.8%). In other words, if only one indicator has to be selected for the family structure, our data seem to suggest that shared economic expenses is perhaps the closest to the present living condition of the family as appears in most surveys. On the other hand, family composition registered in the census is obviously the most different from the other three indicators in that lowest similarity index are found when census data are compared with shared economy

(82.8%) and with living arrangement (85.2%). This implies that official record of the family composition is indeed different from other self-report responses.

Another finding shown in the last row of Table 1 is the average number of family members reported in each indicator of the objective family composition. As expected, the number varies with different indicator examined. The ranking order indicates that living arrangement has the highest average number of family members (5.49), census

next (5.0), followed by shared economy (4.96), and shared meal and residence the last (4.87). It is clear that using different measurement in the definition of objective family composition will derive different results. In the past research of family structure, the concept of average family members connotes equivalent meanings to household size, and has thus been used to calculate possible family types (Lai and Chen, 1980). Here our data provide another proof that due to the fact the number differs according to the operational definition employs, future studies ought to consider and to specify various family composition indicators so that results may be more accurately compared.

In terms of the subjective family composition, as stated above, chia is explored by two indicators: a personal inclusion of family members in chia and members who should be present at the Chinese New Year's Eve. Table 3 is family members subjectively considered in the composition of chia, listing from the most reported member in order. For wives' sample, there appears at least two natural breaks in the list: husbands (98%) and unmarried children (90%) which comprise the typical nuclear family ranked far ahead of their categories; parents of both husband's (53%) and wife's own (48%) are close in the ranking; married sons (30%) and grandchildren (28%) of successive generations as well as unmarried brothers (20%) and sisters (19%) of wife's natal family, along with other relatives share relatively lower proportions in the subjective definition of the family. The last lists are also more variant in the component as expected.

It is interesting that wives tend to report their subjective chia-jen not necessarily in conformity with the traditional definition practiced in the patrilineal family system. From wife's report on Table 3, at least three aspects worth our attention. Firstly, from the most listed family members, it is clear that nuclear family and stem family of both lineages are the subjective chia for the wife sample. Secondly, among categories listed in the last section, two patterns emerge with unmarried siblings of wife's (20%) ranking higher than married siblings of hers (12% and 13%) on the one hand, and matrilineal relatives more important than patrilineal side in general as shown by both of husband's married (11%) and unmarried (10%) sibling being in the last. Thirdly, the

difference of married sons (30%) and married daughters (12.5%) clearly demonstrated the emphasis on male descendant in the subjective family composition.

In other words, the subjective reports of chia-jen by the wife sample point out that lineage and marriage are after all significant principles in the definition of family. When a female is married into a patrilineal household, her status at her natal family will seriously decrease as reflected in the consistently lower ranking of married children and married siblings of wives' in contrast with unmarried counterparts. Nevertheless, the interplay between lineage and marriage is more intriguing in that these wives, although they are married daughters in their own natal families, obviously still regard their maternal lineage as a significant component in their subjective perception of family. Hence, the bilateral stem family appears to be well accepted because parents of both lineages are in a relatively equal status. In addition, wife's own siblings are included more often than husband's siblings in the subjective family composition.

With regard to the husband's sample, Table 3 shows interesting comparisons with the wife's sample. For husbands, the natural break is clear as well but the cutting point leans toward the top three categories--wives (95%), unmarried children (90%), and husbands' parents (82%). These are the most common members in a typical patrilineal stem family. Unmarried brothers (32%) and sisters (29%) as well as married sons (30%) and grandchildren (24%) or grandparents (24%) follow, which seem to indicate a strong patrilineal component in the subjective identification of family members. Furthermore, wife's siblings, whether married or not, are considered the least in husband's subjective family composition. Since the generation and the unmarried status involved does not interfere with the traditional definition of typical patrilineal stem families, lineage is inferred to be the most important concern for our husband's sample.

The significance of patrilineal lineage for husband's sample is further evidenced by two more facts: wife's siblings, whether married or not, are considered the least in husband's subjective family composition; wife's parents also do not receive important ranking (9.5%), especially when compared with wife's ranking of the patrilineal parent (53%).

In addition, marriage is viewed as a significant dimension in the definition of family from husbands' reports. Table 3 points out that in addition to the much higher importance of unmarried children over married children to be included in the subjective family, unmarried siblings (29% and 32%) are also ranked higher than married brothers



(17%) and married sisters (11%). Again, married daughters (10%) are no comparison to their married brothers (30%) in the inclusion of family members as reported by fathers.

In short, Table 3 offers interesting patterns of the subjective family composition reported by wives and husbands. The similarity of both samples lies on the importance of lineage and marriage as the basic principle considered in the inclusion of family members. However, wives clearly exhibit a tendency to possess the concept of bilateral family system in their subjective perception; while husbands maintain a strong patrilineal preference. Therefore, unmarried siblings are consistently ranked higher in the hierarchical order by both husbands and wives, but siblings of spouse's lineage actually have the least likelihood to be included in the subjective family composition by either husband or wife.

As to the subjective inclusion of family members who should be present at the family reunion on the Chinese New Year's Eve, Table 4 indicates that the relative order of membership categories are basically similar to the subjective definition of family composition as presented in Table 3. But the percentage difference of the wife's sample in these two subjective indicators is noticeable, especially in categories where the ranking in the hierarchy has been changed. For wives, nuclear and patrilineal stem family constituents of husbands, unmarried children, and parents-in-law are undoubtedly members who ought to be present at the New Year's Eve dinner. But the order of married sons and matrilineal parents changed from parents being reported by almost half of the wife's sample (48%) in the general subjective family composition to 32% in the family reunion occasion. This may imply that the matrilineal preference, although becomes manifest in wife's personal definition of the family, is somewhat subdued under a specific incidence such as the New Year's reunion which has been characterized by the strong cultural norms.

Another evident change comes from husband's siblings being promoted to the ranking of middle importance in wife's inclusion of participants at the reunion dinner. It was discussed in Table 3 that for the wife, patrilineal siblings are considered the lowest possible family members to be included in her subjective *chia*. However, regarding the traditional norm exercised in the most important Chinese holiday, Table 4 shows that patrilineal values become overriding and husband's siblings rather than wife's own are considered family members who ought to attend the dinner.

The comparison between wife's general perception of subjective chia-jen shown

in Table 3 and her idea of family reunion members listed in Table 4 indicates that, the bilateral stem family and the matrilineal family composition are probably inherent in wife's definition of the chia. However, when specific cultural norms are taken into account in an occasion like the New Year's Eve dinner, patrilineal influence becomes evident and wife demonstrates a stronger tendency to follow patterns delineated in the patrilineal family structure.

Results on the husband's sample points out that membership categories listed regarding who should attend the family reunion are almost exactly identical as who are included in the subjective definition of family members (Table 4). The percentage reported as well as the order in the hierarchy of two tables exhibit similar patterns. The patrilineal stem family (wife, unmarried children, husband's parents) has the unquestionable dominance in the ranking. Patrilineal relatives of husband's unmarried siblings as well as his married sons and grandchildren follow. Notice that these are family members next to the immediate nuclear families in the traditional family structure. Apparently, patrilineal concern is still husband's major inclusive criterion in defining his subjective family composition.

Compare husbands' reports on two subjective indicators of the family composition shows that the only change of ranking order is between married brothers and patrilineal grandparents. But the percentage difference is not large and both categories fall into the last group. Moreover, wife's siblings remain the least important family members to be included in the subjective definition of chia, either measured by husband's general perception or by his list of participants to the New Year's Eve dinner.

Therefore, for the husband's sample, both indicators of the subjective family composition shows similar patterns or orders in terms of who are considered his family members. Lineage receives unanimous support in this regard that husbands tend to delineate his subjective families from close to distant family group boundaries under the basic principle of patrilineal considerations. Marriage is also proved to be important concerns in the subjective definition of family composition. Hence, there is a clear pattern for husbands that unmarried family members and patrilineal relatives have closer membership than married and matrilineal counterparts in their subjective

inclusion of family compositions.

From the personal definition of chia or the subjective family composition portrayed by the respondent, husbands and wives seem to have different conceptions

of the family structure. The most noteworthy finding is perhaps that bilateral family composition is indeed inherent in wife's subjective inclusion of the family. Since the two subjective indicators are expected to show answers of a general personal view of who are his/her family member versus answers more or less governed by the existing cultural norm toward a specific family reunion occasion, a cross examination of patterns expressed in the above two contexts will enable us to delineate possible differences in the subjective definition of family composition.

Table 5 indicates family types reported on two subjective definitions of the family: family members defined by personal inclusion (chia) and the expected family members present at the New Year's Eve dinner. From the report of each respondent, lists of family members may be organized into eight family types. It can be seen from Table 5 that the first four of nuclear, stem, joint, and extended corresponds to family types used in the objective indicator; while the bilateral, matrilineal stem, and matrilineal extended are products from the subjective analysis. It is clear that despite actual living arrangement or economic functions of the family denoted by the objective indicators, subjective definition of chia is not always consistent with the present family structure.

Regarding personal definition of chia-jen, bilateral family is the most dominant type (27%) for wives (Table 5). Nuclear (20%) and stem (19%) families ranked second subjectively while extended (17%) and matrilineal stem (13%) family types closely follow. Since there is a substantial proportion of wives including both patrilineal and matrilineal parents in the answer and thus falls into the extended family type (???), the pattern indeed evidences the importance of matrilineal inclusion among the wife sample.

On the other hand, in terms of family members attending the New Year's Eve dinner, traditional patrilineal values become dominant and wives tend to submit themselves to the expected pattern. Hence, extended family (29%) and stem family (24%) are more likely to be reported in consistent with what should be expected in a well defined cultural event, such as the family reunion. But we should point out that

bilateral family (17%) of which wife's parents are major component still remains to be an important type, even higher in ranking than the nuclear family (14%).

Therefore, if we compare wife's reports on family types of a general definition and of a specific occasion, it is not hard to see that subjectively, her lineage attachment to her natal family is expressed directly in the first unconditional question and indirectly or inherent in the culturally specified context. In fact, if we combine all

family types with matrilineal component (i.e., bilateral, matrilineal stem, matrilineal extended, and some of extended families), the significance of matrilineal inclusion for wives is no doubt the most interesting finding that requires serious attention.

Patterns observed from the husband's sample indicate that normative effects appear to be stronger on their subjective definition of family composition. Discussions on Table 3 and Table 4 have already pointed out that patrilineal concerns are the basic principle for husbands in their lists of subject family members. Here, it is shown again that husband indeed demonstrates a different pattern from their counterpart. As can be seen from Table 5, stem family and extended family are clearly the most important family types in the subjective definition of family members, either in the general conception (47% and 31%) or in the family reunion dinner (38% and 48%). Other types including the nuclear family (11% and 10%) are evidently much lower in importance in the subjective definition of who are family members by our husbands.

The above analyses on the objective family composition of four most frequently used indicators reveal that family types classified by members who actually share economic expenses appear to have higher association with the other three indicators as shown in Table 2. Findings regarding the subjective family composition point out the importance of matrilineal inclusion for the wife's sample (Table 3-5). Hence, an analysis of the relationship between the objective and subjective family composition of wives will allow us to further examine if there is a significant association between these two conceptually different indicators.

Table 6 shows that among the three major family types--nuclear, stem, extended, there is a relative correspondence between the objective and subjective family compositions. 28% of those who are presently in the nuclear family reports nuclear family as their subjective family composition. 27.6% and 32.5% of those who are in

stem and extended family compositions also report the same family type as their subjectively defined families. Although these numbers are not overwhelmingly large, the substantial proportion certainly indicates that for the wife sample, objective family compositions coincides with her subjective family definition in a non-negligible way.

However, it should also be noted that the bilateral family along with other matrilineal family types have become significant constituents in the definition of chia for wives, regardless of their present family composition. Adding together the matrilineal component (i.e. bilateral, matrilineal stem, and matrilineal extended), 45% of wives living in the nuclear family, 44% of those in the stem family, and 45% from

the extended family include their matrilineal relatives in the subjective definition of family composition. From unreported results, the association with other objective indicators have very similar patterns. In other words, there is no doubt that for wives, despite the fact that they may currently live in different types of patrilineal families, the matrilineal attachment of the natal family maintains its significance as reflected in the subjective conception of their expected family members.

## Conclusion

This paper examines the objective and the subjective family composition with an attempt to show possible differences of the former and to delineate the variation of personal definitions involved in the latter. The objective family composition is defined by four indicators often used in the study of family structure--present living arrangement, shared economic expenses, official household registry (census), and shared meal and co-residence. The subjective family composition is analyzed by two indicators, namely the general subjective definition of family members (or chia-jen) and members who ought to be present at the Chinese New Year's Eve dinner.

Results in terms of objective family compositions point out that among the four indicators employed, patterns of similar family structure are found in that nuclear family is the most dominant type, followed by stem family and by extended family. Further comparisons of these four indicators indicate that the objective family defined

by whether members share economic expenses seems to have higher associations with the other three; while household members registered at the official census has the lowest association with others. It is therefore suspected that the economic factor which has been emphasized in the literature needs to be attended in the construction of the objective family composition.

The analysis on subjective family composition provides interesting findings in that not only the two indicators focused result in the expected effect of normative influence, differences between wives and husbands in the subjective definition of chia clearly indicate the significance of lineage and marriage in personal conceptions of the family. Specifically, with regard to the general perception of the subjective family, it was shown that wives demonstrate a bilateral family concept in their subjective definition of family members; while husbands reveal a strong tendency toward patrilineal consideration. On the other hand, both husbands and wives share the importance of marital status and lineage preference in their inclusion of subjective chia-jen in that unmarried family members and relatives of own lineage are more likely to be ranked at the higher order than their counterparts in the subjective family composition.

Findings concerning family members to be present at the New Year's Eve reflect the normative expectation of the patrilineal family system for both husbands and wives. Wives who express clear matrilineal attachment in the subjective definition of family become subdued in this culturally defined event. The traditional patrilineal stem family members are listed in the highest order for husbands and wives alike. Patrilineal relatives also ranked higher than matrilineal members by wives as members expected in the family reunion. Again, marriage is an important concern in the inclusive principle of subjective family membership. However, it is noted that the substantial proportion of matrilineal parents in the wife's sample suggests that the maternal lineage is still inherent in the wife's subjective definition of family, even under a specific culturally defined context.

In addition, in order to delineate different family compositions expressed by the subjective definition of the family as well as by members included in the New Year's Eve between our samples, it is shown that bilateral family system is indeed evident in

the subjective family for wives while patrilineal family is dominant in the normative event for all. The contrast between husbands who reveal a clear patrilineal pattern in their subjective definition of chia-jen and wives who split their responses toward personal conception versus a normative expectation of a cultural event suggests that the matrilineal attachment of wives is an important aspect worth further investigation.

The last examination of objective versus subjective family compositions documents the relative correspondence between these two indicators as well as the variation of patterns observed. It is also contended that wives with various objective family compositions express similar matrilineal emphasis in their subjective family composition which implies that different contingencies should be specified in the study of family composition, especially with regard to the gender difference.

Therefore, the above analyses point out that the objective family composition is probably more fixed in range than the subjective family definition. Despite the variation among four objective indicators, patterns found are actually not very different from each other. In general, different family types of the patrilineal family system are reported. However, the comparison between subjective versus objective indicators clearly shows that subjective family composition is indeed more complicated. Wives reveal a consistent tendency toward including matrilineal relatives in their subjective family membership. The modification (or the back to the mainstream) of wife's answer in the family reunion signifies the importance to specify the context'

under study so that the influence of normative expectation may be taken into account.

The most noteworthy finding is probably the fact that the subjective definition of family composition appears to be a flexible concept or a non-fixed notion. The list in Table 3 and 4 in particular shows that both husbands and wives tend to rank their immediate nuclear family members on top, stem families of the elder generation -- either patrilineal or matrilineal, along with married sons, unmarried siblings who do not confound the typical family type classification closely follow. Then, the range of family membership may extend to the grandparent's generation, married siblings of

own lineage, as well as married siblings of the spouse's. There is some analogy between the expansion of the subjective family boundary and the concentric zone theory in urban sociology. The most intimate family members are always defined from the typical nuclear to stem and to extended families under the basic principles of lineage and marriage. As illustrated above, the actual exercise of lineage and marriage in the subjective definition of families may differ between husbands and wives and may vary under different contexts as well. However, it is shown that the subjective definition of chia, in our samples, is by no means fixed in range and is certainly flexible according to various contingencies specified.

### References

Arnold, Fred, and Eddie C.Y.Kuo

- 1984 "The Value of Daughters and Sons: A Comparative Study of the Gender Preferences of Parents." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 15(2): 299-318.

Chang, Ying-Hwa

- 1993 "The Change of Family Composition and Family Value in Taiwan (in Chinese)." Paper presented at Conference of the IVth Modernization and Chinese Culture. 1993 Hong Kong.
- 1994 "Family Composition and Parental Care Patterns in the Changing Society: The case of Taiwan (in Chinese)" *National Taiwan University Journal of Sociology* 23: 1-34.

Chang, Ying-Hwa, and Li Chi

- 1991 "Changing Family Household Patterns (in Chinese)." *Thought and Word* 1991(4): 85-113.

Chao, Hung-Ching

- 1994 "Differences between Present Living Population and Household Registered Population in Taiwan (in Chinese)." *Monthly Report of the Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics* 78(2): 41-48.



Chen, Chanonan

1992 "Living Apart from Children in Later Life: The Case of Taiwan." Paper presented in International Conference on Family Formation and Dissolution: Perspectives from East and West, ISSP, Academia Sinica, Taipei, R.O.C.

Chen, Chi-Nan

1985 "Fang (房) and Traditional Chinese Family System (in Chinese)." Chinese Studies 3(1): 127-183.

Chen, Kuanjeng, Edward Jow-Ching, and Yihou Lin

1989 "Changes of Household Composition in Taiwan (in Chinese)." In Social Phenomena in Taiwan: An Analysis, ed. Chin-Chun Yi and Cathy Chu, pp.311-336. Taipei: Institute of Social Sciences and Philosophy, Academia Sinica Press.

Chen, Kuanjeng, Temu Wang, Wenling Chen

1986 "Causes and Consequences of Population Change in Taiwan (in Chinese)." Journal of Population Studies 9: 1-23.

Chi, Li

1989 "A Study on the Effect of Rural-Urban Migration on Household Composition in Taiwan in Recent Decades (in Chinese)." Chinese Journal of Sociology 13: 67-104.

1990 "Nuclearization of Family in Taiwan in the Last Twenty Years (in Chinese)." National Taiwan University Journal of Sociology 20:41-83.

Chu, Ts'en-Lou

1979 A Study of Marriage (in Chinese). Taichung: Wu-Feng Publishing Co. Press.

Chuang, Yao-Chia, and Kuo-Su Yang

- 1991 "Change and Practice of the Traditional Filial Piety (in Chinese)." In *The Psychology and Behaviors of the Chinese*, ed. Kuo-Su Yang and Kuang-Kuo Hwang. Taipei, Taiwan: Kuei-Kuen Publishing Co.,

Chuang, Ying-Chang

- 1972 "The Adaptation to Modernization of Rural Families in Taiwan (in Chinese)" *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology* 34: 85-98.
- 1985 "Family Structure and Reproductive Patterns in a Taiwan Fishing Village." In *The Chinese Family and Its Ritual Behavior*, ed. Jih-Chang Hsieh and Ying-Chang Chuang, pp.70-83. Taipei, Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica Press.

Chuang, Ying-Chang, and Chi-Nan Chen

- 1982 "Review of the Current Phase of Research into Chinese Social Structure: Some Lessons from Taiwan Studies (in Chinese)." In *The Sinicization of Social and Behavioral Science Research*, ed. Kuo-Shu Yang and Chung-I Wên. Taipei, Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica Press.

Cohen, Myron L

- 1976 *House United, House Divided: The Chinese Family in Taiwan*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- 1985 "Lineage Development and the Family in China." In *The Chinese Family and Its Ritual Behavior*, ed. Jih-Chang Hsieh and Chang Chuang, pp.210-218. Taipei, Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica Press.
- 1991 "The Chinese Family and Modernization: the Combination of Tradition and Adaptation (in Chinese)." In *Chinese Family and Its Change*, ed. Chien Chiao, pp.15-21. Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong and Hong Kong Asian Institute Press.

Fei, Hsiao-Tung

- 1947 *Earthbound China: From the Soil, the Foundations of Chinese Society*  
1991 edit. Hong Kong: Joint Publishing (H.K.) Co.,Ltd. Press.
- 1982 "Changing of Family Structure." *Ten-Jin Social Science Bimonthly*.

1991 "The Change of Family Structure in China (in Chinese)." In Chinese Family and Its Change, ed. Chien Chiao, pp.3-8. Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong and Hong Kong Asian Institute Press.

Freedman, Maurice

1966 Chinese Lineage and Society: Fukien and Kwangtung London: Athlone Press.

Freedman, Ronald, Ming-Cheng Chang, and Te-Hsiung Sun

1982 "Household Composition, Extended Kinship, and Reproduction in Taiwan: 1973-1980." Population Studies 36(November): 395-411.

Fricke, Thomas E., Jui-Shan Chang, and Li-Shou Yang

1994 "Historical and Ethnographic perspectives on the Chinese Family." In Social Change and the Family in Taiwan, ed. Arland Thornton and Hui-Sheng Lin, pp.22-48. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Greenhalgh, Susan

1984 "Networks and Their Nodes: Urban Society in Taiwan." China Quarterly 99-529-552

Goody, J

1976 Production and Reproduction: A Comparative Study of the Domestic Domain. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hsieh, Jih-Chang

1985 "Meal Rotation." In The Chinese Family and Its Ritual Behavior, ed. Jih-Chang Hsieh and Ying-Chang Chuang, pp.70-83. Taipei, Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica Press.

Hsu, Francis L. K.

1971 Under the Ancestors' Shadow: Kinship, Personality and Social Mobility

in China. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

1985 "Field Work, Cultural Differences and Interpretation."

In *The Chinese Family and Its Ritual Behavior*, ed. Jih-Chang Hsieh and Chang Chuang, pp.19-29. Taipei, Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica Press.

Hsu, Liang-Hsi, and Chung-Cheng Lin

1984 "Family Structure and Social Change: A Comparison of Chinese and American "Single Parent Family" (in Chinese). *Chinese Journal of Sociology* 8: 1-22.

1989 "Family Structure and Social Change: A Follow-up Study (in Chinese)." In *Social Phenomena in Taiwan: An Analysis*, ed. Chin-Chun Yi and Cathy Chu, pp.22-55. Taipei: Institute of Social Sciences and Philosophy, Academia Sinica Press.

Hu, Yow-Hwey

1989 "Differences Between Registered and Self-Reported Marital Status in Taipei Metropolitan Area (in Chinese)." *Journal of Population Studies* 12: 53-66.

Lai, Tse-Han, and Kuan-Jeng Chen

1980 "Historical and Demographic Perspectives of the Chinese Family Size (in Chinese)." *Chinese Journal of Sociology* 5: 25-40.

Lo, Chi-Chiung

1987 "Changing Elderly Family Structure in Taiwan During the Past Decade (in Chinese)." *Taiwan Economic Forecast* 18(2): 83-107.

Osmong, Marie W.

1980 "Cross-Societal Family Research: A Macro sociological Overview of the Seventies." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 42(4): 995-1016.

Parish, William

- 1978 "Modernization and Household Composition in Taiwan." In Chinese Family Law and Social Change in Historical and Comparative Perspective, ed. David C. Buxbaum, pp.283-320. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Sun, Te-Hsiung

- 1991 "Changing Chinese Family: The Case of Taiwan (in Chinese)." In Chinese Family and Its Change, ed. Chien Chiao. pp.33-51. Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong and Hong Kong Asian Institute Press.

Thornton, Arland, and Hui-Sheng Lin

- 1994 Social Change and the Family in Taiwan. Chicago: The Chicago University Press.

Tsai, Yung-Mei, and Chin-Chun Yi

- 1995 "Persistence and Change of the Chinese Family Values: The Taiwan Case." Paper presented at the International Conference on Social Change in Taiwan. 1995, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, R.O.C.

Wang, Sung-Hsing

- 1985 "On the Household and Family in Chinese Society." In The Chinese Family and Its Ritual Behavior, ed. Jih-Chang Hsieh and Ying-Chang Chuang, pp.50-58. Taipei, Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica Press.
- 1991 "The Jia (家) Institution and Modernization of Chinese (in Chinese)." In Chinese Family and Its Change, ed. Chien Chiao, pp.9-14. Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong and Hong Kong Asian Institute Press.

Wen, Chung-I, Ying-Hwa Chang, Li-Yun Chang, and Cathy Chu

- 1989 "Family Structure and Its Related Variables: A Case of Taipei (in Chinese)." In Social phenomena in Taiwan: An Analysis, ed. Chin-

Chun Yi and Cathy Chu, pp.1-24, Taipei: Institute of Social Sciences and Philosophy, Academia Sinica Press.

Winch, R. F., R. L. Blumberg, M. P. Garcia, M.T. Gordon, and G.C.Kitson  
1977 Familial Organization: A Quest for Determinants. New York: The Free Press.

Wolf, Arthur P.

1985 "Introduction: The Study of Chinese Society on Taiwan." In The Chinese Family and Its Ritual Behavior, ed. Jih-Chang Hsieh and Ying-Chang Chuang, pp.3-18. Taipei, Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica Press.

Wolf, Margery

1972 Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Yi, Chin-Chun

1985 "Different Family Type Preferences and Its Implications in Taiwan (in Chinese)." National Taiwan University Journal of Sociology 17: 1-14.

1987 "A Study of Work Orientation, Job Condition, Work Satisfaction and Child Care Arrangement among Married Working Women (in Chinese)." Chinese Journal of Sociology 11:93-120.

1993 "Studying Social Change: The Case of Taiwanese Family Sociologists." Current Sociology 41(1): 41-67.

1994 "Children Arrangement of Employed Mothers in Taiwan." In Women, the Family, and Policy--A Global Perspective, ed. Ester Ngan-ling Chow and New York Press.

Yi, Chin-Chun, and Cathy Chu

1993 "The Change of Family Structure and Functions: the Comparative Study among Taiwan, Hong Kong, Mainland China, and Singapore Society (in Chinese)." In cross-cultural Transplants: Western Social Science Theories in Chinese Societies, ed. Cho-Yee To, pp.79-82. The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press.

Yi, Chin-Chun, and Yu-Hsia Lu

1993 "Evaluating of Women's Study and Family Study in Taiwan's Sociology

Research (in Chinese)." Paper presented at the Conference of The Development and Exchange of Sociology among Chinese Society. Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, R.O.C.

Yi, Chin-Chun, Yu-Hsia Lu, and Yu-Hua Chen

1995 Interview Notes of "Economic Development and Domestic Status: A Study among Family Structure, Female's Working Patterns and Family Power Structure (in Chinese).", included in-depth Interview and Focus Group Interview. Project Sponsored by National Science Council in Taiwan. (No.NSC83-0301-H-001-064; NSC84-2411-H-001-018).

Yi, Chin-Chun, and Yao-Ling Tsai

1989 "An Analysis of Marital Power in the Taipei Metropolitan Area: An Example of Familiar Decision-Making (in Chinese)." In Social Phenomena in Taiwan: An Analysis, ed. Chin-Chun Yi and Cathy Chu, pp.115-151. Taipei: Institute of Social Sciences and Philosophy Academia Sinica Press.

Yi, Chin-Chun, and Ying-Hwa Chang

1994 "A Study of the Change of Family Structure and Marital Power in Taiwan." Paper presented at the XIIth World Congress of Sociology, Research Committee 06 on "Gender, Families and Social Change." 18th-23rd July, 1994. Bielefeld, Germany.

Table 1. The Objective Family Composition--Present Living Arrangement, Shared Economic Expenses, Official Registry (Census), Shared Meal and Residence --and the Average Number of Family Members in Each Composition

Objective Family Composition			
census	Economic Expenses	Living Arrangement	Eat&Reside

## Family type

Nuclear	650(67.8)	602(62.8)	555(57.9)	573(59.8)
Stem	197(20.6)	231(24.1)	273(28.5)	261(27.2)
Joint	8(0.8)	3(0.3)	9(0.9)	2(0.2)
Extended	52(5.4)	55(5.7)	92(9.6)	78(8.1)
Parents only	39(4.1)	63(6.6)	23(2.3)	40(4.2)
Others*	12(1.3)	4(0.4)	6(0.6)	4(0.4)
Average	5.00	4.96	5.49	4.87
Family Members				

(N of Wife=958)

\*This category denotes household with registered members, either related or not, officially "borrowed the registry" for school district or other reason (寄籍)

Table 2. The Similarity Between Objective Family Composition Indicators

Shared Economic Expenses	vs. Present Living Arrangement	94.3% (903)
	vs. Shared Meal and Residence	90.3% (865)
	vs. Official Registry (Census)	82.8% (793)
Official registry (census)	vs. Shared Meal and Residence	82.5%



(790)

vs.Shared Economic Expenses 82.8%

(793)

vs.Present Living Arrangement 85.2%

(816)

Present Living Arrangement vs.Shared Meal and Residence 86.7%

(831)

(N of Wife=958)

Table 3. The List of Family Members in the Subjective Family Composition:  
Wives' and Husbands' Sample

wife		Husband	
Husband	97.9	Wife	95.3
Unmarried Children	89.8	Unmarried Children	89.5
		Parents	81.8
Parent-in-Law	52.9	Unmarried Brothers	32.2
Parents	48.1	Married Sons	29.8
		Unmarried Sisters	29.1
Married Sons	29.6	Grandchildren	24.2
		Patrilineal Grandparents	23.6
Grandchildren	26.3		
Unmarried Brothers	20.3		
Unmarried Sisters	19.2	Married Brothers	16.7
		Married Sisters	10.5
Patrilineal Grandparents	15.0		

		married Daughters	9.9
		Parents-in-Law	9.5
Married Brothers	12.9		
Married Daughters	12.5		
married Sisters	12.3		
Husband's married Siblings	10.9	Wife's Married Siblings	3.3
Husband's Unmarried Siblings	10.3	Wife's Unmarried Siblings	2.5

---

(N of Wife=958;N of Husband=516)

Table 3.1 Family Member

(N of Wife=958;N of Husband=516)

Wife		Husband	
Husband	97.9	Wife	95.3
Unmarried Children	89.8	Unmarried Children	89.5
Parents -in-Law	52.9	Parents	81.8
Parents	48.1	Unmarried Brothers	32.2
Married Sons	29.6	Married Sons	29.8
Grandchildren	26.3	Unmarried Sisters	29.1
Unmarried Brothers	20.3	Grandchildren	24.2
Unmarried Sisters	19.2	Grandparents	23.6
Grandparents	15.0	Married Brothers	16.7

Married Brothers	12.5	Married Sisters	10.5
Married Daughters	12.5	Married Daughters	9.9
Married Sisters	12.3	Parents-in-Law	9.5
Husband's Married Siblings	10.9	Wife's Married Siblings	3.3
Husband's Unmarried Siblings	10.3	Wife's Unmarried Siblings	2.5

Table 3.2 The New Year's Eve Dinnner (年夜飯)

(N of Wife=958;N of Husband=516)

Wife		Husband	
Husband	96.3	Wife	96.5
Unmarried Children	87.5	Unmarried Children	89.1
Parents-in-Law	62.6	Parents	80.0
Married Sons	34.7	Unmarried Brothers	35.7
Parents	31.9	Married Sons	35.1
Grandchildren	29.0	Unmarried Sisters	29.7
Husband's Married Siblings	16.4	Grandchildren	28.9
Unmarried Brothers	14.3	Married Brothers	22.1
Unmarried Sisters	13.0	Grandparents	19.8
Husband's Unmarried Siblings	13.0	Married Daughter	9.1

Married Daughters	8.0	Parents-in-Law	8.3
Married Brothers	7.8	Wife's Married Siblings	4.1
Married Sisters	6.4	Wife's Unmarried Siblings	3.5

Table 4 The List of Family Member Who Should Be Parent at the Children New Year's Eve Dinner (年夜飯)

Wife		Husband	
Husband	96.8	Wife	96.5
Unmarried Children	87.5	Unmarried Children	89.1
Parents-in-Law	62.6	Parents	80.0
Married Sons	34.7	Unmarried Brothers	35.7
Parents	31.9	*Married Sons	35.1
GrandChildren	29.0	Unmarried Sisters	29.7
		Grandchildren	28.9
Husband's Married Siblings 16.4			
Unmarried Brothers	14.3	Married Brothers	22.1
Unmarried Sisters	13.0	Patrilineal Grandparents	19.8
*Husband's Unmarried Siblings	13.0	Married Sisters	9.5
Patrilineal Grandparents	10.4	*Married Daughters	9.1
Married Daughters	8.0	Parents-in-Law	8.3
Married Brothers	7.8	Wife's Married Siblings	4.1
Married Sisters	6.4	Wife's Unmarried Siblings	3.5

(N of Wife=958;N of Husband=516)

Table 5. The Family Type reported by Husband and Wife in Two Subjective Family Composition Indicators:General Family Composition and Members Included in the New Year's Eve

	Family Composition		New Year's Eve Dinner	
	Wife	Husband	Wife	Husband
Family Type				
Nuclear	190(19.8)	58(11.2)	133(13.9)	51(9.9)
Stem	179(18.7)	243(47.1)	230(24.0)	188(36.4)
Joint	6(0.6)	5(1.0)	23(2.4)	7(1.4)
Extended	130(13.6)	162(31.4)	280(29.2)	235(45.5)
Bilateral	257(26.8)	41(7.9)	160(16.7)	28(5.4)
Matrilineal Stem	125(13.0)	1(0.2)	74(7.7)	----
Matrilineal Extended	48(5.0)	----	46(4.8)	1(0.2)
Others *	23(2.4)	6(1.2)	12(1.3)	6(1.2)

(N of Wife=958;N of Husband=516)

\*This type includes other relatives and non-related individuals as well.

Table 6.Objective versus Subjective Family Composition:Family Types includes in

# Shared Economic Expenses versus the Subjective Definition of the Family

	Objective				
	Nuclear (N=573)	Stem (N=261)	Extended* (N=80)	Parent Only (N=40)	Others (N=4)
Subjective					
Nuclear	161 (28.1%)	15 (5.8%)	6 (7.5%)	5	3
Stem	94 (16.4%)	72 (27.6%)	8 (10.0%)	5	0
Extended *	48 (8.4%)	53 (20.3%)	28 (35.0%)	7	0
Bilateral	149 (26.0%)	81 (31.0%)	21 (26.3%)	6	0
Matrilateral Stem	85 (14.8%)	26 (10.0%)	7 (8.7%)	7	0
Matrilateral Extended	24 (4.2%)	8 (3.1%)	8 (10.0%)	8	0
All Relatives	12 (2.1%)	6 (2.3%)	2 (2.5%)	2	1

(N of Wife=958)

\*Extended includes both joint and extended.

Appendix 1. The Complete List of Family Members Reported in the Subjective Family Composition

	Subjective Family Composition		The New Year 's Eve Dinner	
	Wife	Husband	Wife	Husband
Parents	48.1	81.8	31.9	80.0
Umarrried Brothers	20.3	32.2	14.3	35.7
Umarrried Sisters	19.2	29.1	13.0	29.7
Husband(Wife)	97.9	95.3	96.8	96.5
Umarrried Children	89.8	89.5	87.5	89.1
Patrilinneal Grandparents	15.0	23.6	10.4	19.8
Patrilineal Grand-grandparents	5.4	8.1	2.9	6.8
Matrilineal Grandparents	5.6	5.8	2.5	1.9
Matrilineal Grand-grandparents	3.3	3.1	1.4	1.6
Parents-in-Law	52.9	9.5	62.6	8.3
Marrried sons	29.6	29.8	34.7	35.1
Married Daughters	12.5	9.9	8.0	9.1
Grandchildren	26.3	24.2	29.0	28.9
Married Brothers	12.9	16.7	7.8	22.1
Married Sisters	12.3	10.5	6.4	9.5

Married Uncles	5.3	3.7	5.7	4.7
Unmarried Uncles	4.2	3.3	5.7	4.1
Husband's (Wife's) Married Siblings	10.9	3.3	5.7	4.1
Husband's(Wife's) Married Siblings	10.3	2.5	13.0	3.5
Other Relatives	5.5	6.2	7.2	7.4
Others	0.6	1.7	0.9	2.7

(N of Wife=958;N of Husband=516)

#### 第四章 家庭組織與婦女就業型態

##### 一、前言

這一章將以生命史分析的角度探討已婚婦女在結婚以後就業型態的選擇與其變遷過程。過去研究指出已婚婦女就業與家庭組織有密切關連（呂玉瑕，1993，1992，張清溪，1980；謝雨生，1982）。在傳統性別角色的規範仍相當持續下，已婚女性的就業選擇是家庭組織情境下的考量。從家庭組織是一個整合的系統的觀點，家庭成員的資源、利益、需求在日常生活中影響彼此的行為及決定。家庭成員按其相屬關係扮演不同角色彼此調適，使家庭功能正常運作。女性的家務及育兒角色及家庭照顧的責任是已婚婦女就業與否及選擇就業型態的重要因素。隨著家庭生命的發展過程家庭經歷生育、子女上學、離家、分家、遷移、配偶工作的轉變、家屬老年或病的照顧等，成員的家庭角色亦隨之轉變，女性的家務角色需求的程度隨著家庭發展的不同階段而異，其就業與否及就業型態亦可能隨著家庭發展階段而變遷。

過去有關已婚婦女勞動力的研究指出婦女就業行為因著不同的家庭發展階段而有差別（謝雨生，1982；呂玉瑕，1992，1994）；有學齡前子女時，妻子由於家庭責任需求較大，家庭時間的價值增高，較可能退出勞力市場，而那些留在勞力市場較可能從事非正式或臨時性的工作（呂玉瑕，1992），以便兼顧家務角色。



以生命史分析的觀點而言，女性就業的歷程不僅隨著家庭生命發展過程變遷，並且在不同的社會發展背景脈絡下展現不同的樣貌。過去研究以指出在台灣經濟發展過程中由於社會就業結構以及家庭經濟型態的變遷婦女的工作展現不同型態（呂玉瑕，1996）。

1950年以前，台灣是農業導向的經濟型態，絕大多數的企業組織是以家庭為生產單位，大規模公司化的生產組織很少，當時的企業組織又以農業比重最大。在那時候台灣保留了相當程度的農業社會面貌，以家庭經濟而言，傳統農業社會是一種家庭維生經濟。在傳統生產經濟型態下多數家庭本身經濟生產單位。在這樣的生產型態下，全家成員都需投入家庭生產，女性的角色雖以養育子女及家庭勞務為主，然而家庭生產工作在時間上較有彈性與其家務角色可相協調融合，因此婦女參與經濟活動的比率相當高。雖然如此，當傳統性別角色規範的社會背景下，女性以家務角色為主，女性的經濟活動是由於家庭經濟生產的勞動力要求，因此其實是家務角色的延伸。

台灣工業發展中，農業人口大量流向製造業或服務業，婦女出外就業亦快速增加。然而女性的就業大部份是間斷性或非正式性的。1970年代以後，隨著台灣工業的急遽發展，勞動力需求提高，婦女就業人口大量增加，婦女勞動力明顯的流向是由傳統農業進入製造業。根據經濟學家劉克智（1983）的研究，在這時期女性主要集中在較低技術水準且勞力密集的早期製造業如食品、紡織衣業。而成長較快，資本密集的中期製造業（如石化、塑膠）營造業或公營事業中則較少女性。

由於台灣的產業結構主要以家族經營的中小企業為主，小型企業多為勞力密經營，需降低勞動成本以求生存，故普遍利用家庭勞力或雇用臨時工，而由於可與家務角色相容，從事無酬家屬工作或臨時工的已婚婦女佔多數。根據歷年人力統計資料，以家庭企業中的無酬家屬來看，女性比率一向偏高，在民國64年至79年間，無酬家屬中女性的比率約在66%至73%左右。

另一方面，小規模企業為因應市場變化及景象波動常不得不將部分或全部生產過程外包給代工廠或發包給在自己家裡工作的家庭代工。外包制度及家庭代工的盛行提供大量非正式的就業機會。在這樣的經濟發展發展背景下，已婚婦女在非正式部門就業人口佔很高比率。

近年來我國開始邁向後工業化社會，製造業就業和產值所佔比重以相對減低。由就業人口結構來看，製造業就業人口開始減少，而商業和服務業的增加率已凌駕製造業之上。由於勞動力市場對女性勞動力的需求，以勞動力市場中女性就業增擴的趨勢來看，1980年後女性勞動力較集中於商業和服務業，值得注意的是女性最集中的是擴增快的部門，

而其參與率較低的部門卻相對的停滯。因此勞動力市場結構變遷是有力於女性，勞動市場對已婚女性的接受程度較以往提高了，他們被接受的工作類別也擴大了。隨著勞動市場變遷帶來女性就業機會的擴大，更增強了已婚女性就業的穩定性及持續性。

## 二、研究設計及方法

### 2. 就業型態

本研究根據台灣產業及勞動市場的結構以及婦女工作的特質將就業型態分為正式就業、非正式就業以及不就業。在台灣的经济組織的特性之背景下，已婚婦女在非正式部門從事自雇工作或為自己家庭事業工作的不在少數，已婚女性就業機會的擴張與台灣產業零細化及家庭企業蓬勃有密切關連。在家庭企業中，家庭成員的參與是極普遍的，而家庭勞力中以已婚女性最多，根據人口統計資料，以小型企業的無酬家屬來看，已婚女性參與率一向偏高，1980至1990之間的婦女性無酬家屬參與率在三成左右。因此為家庭事業工作是已婚婦女重要的就業選擇。

在本研究中婦女就業型態按婦女工作特性有兩種指標。按其從業身份分為「正式就業」、「非正式就業」及「未就業」。「非正式就業」包括在自己家庭事業工作、被親戚雇用以及自顧的工作。按薪資穩定的程度分為「穩定薪資工作」及「不穩定薪資工作」。穩定薪資工作是指收入固定、較有保障的工作。職業類別中專門技術及行政主管的工作是穩定薪資工作。自顧、為家庭事業工作以及職業類別中農林漁牧、體力工作則屬於非穩定性薪資工作。

### 2.2 家庭生命發展階段

按家庭在發展過程中由形成至成熟、結束，根據人口結構及成員互動關係的變化，以及不同時期需要完成的功能的不同將發展過程分為數個階段以探討家庭變遷歷程是家庭研究者常用的方法。家庭生命發展階段較常被引用的是子女出生及年齡的區分（Waite, 1980; Young, 1978）。而這樣的區分亦能反應家庭結構與成員角色關係的變動，及其與婦女就業選擇的可能關係。因此本研究將家庭發展階段分為「婚前」、「婚後到第一子女出生」、「最大子女出生到最小子女上學」、「最小子女上學後至15歲前」、「所有子女15歲以後」五個階段。在不同階段妻子的家庭角色不同，在子女出生後至所有子女上學前的階段母親的家務角色需求增大；而到了最幼子女上學以後，母親的家庭勞務減輕，但由於家庭消費增加，家庭經濟壓力加重了。

### 2.3 影響已婚婦女就業的因素

根據過去的文獻，影像已婚婦女就業較重要的因素包括：妻子的年齡、教育程度、

過去工作經驗、性別角色態度、城鄉別居住地、勞力市場工作機會、家裡有無家庭事業、家庭收入、子女數、茲分述如下。

教育程度：教育程度愈高，欲具有工作所需能力與態度，也愈可能得到地位及較高的工作增加女性市場工作時間價值，因此對女性就業有正面影響（張清溪，1980；張素梅，1988；劉應釧，1988；呂玉瑕，1992）。過去研究的發現也指出高教育程度的婦女較可能期望連續性就業（呂玉瑕，1980）。

年齡層：年齡層表示個人社會化的時代背景，因此可能影響已婚女性就業的選擇。

勞動市場工作機會：勞動市場工作機會對已婚女性從事受雇工作有正面影響（張素梅，1988；劉應釧，1988；呂玉瑕，1992），因此當地勞動市場的工作機會愈多，找尋工作成本愈低。

過去工作經驗：婦女過去的工作經驗是最重要的人力資源條件，對於勞動力的參與有正向的影響（張清溪，1980；劉應釧，1988；呂玉瑕，1992；薛承泰及簡文吟，1997）因此過去工作經驗累積了就業技能及工作關係，也因過去連續工作者離職的機會成本考量。

性別角色態度：妻子的性別角色態度表示她對工作角色及家庭角色的看法，可能影響他的工作決策以及家庭的分工，過去有許多研究發現性別角色態度影響女性的勞動參與（Thornton et.al., 1983; Lu, 1992, 1993）。若女性較傾向傳統的性別角色態度，則家庭時間的價值較高，對就業有負面影響。

居住地：城鄉地區在產業結構上有別，提供的工作機會也不同，可能影響妻子就業選擇。過去研究發現鄉村婦女比都市婦女更可能就業（張清溪，1980；呂玉瑕，1992）。可能在鄉村所提供的工作機會，如農場工作或家庭代工，較可能兼顧已婚女性的家務角色。因此住在鄉村的已婚女性較城市的更可能從事經濟性的工作。

家庭收入：過去許多研究發現家庭收入與妻子就業有負的相關（張清溪，1980；劉應釧，1988；呂玉瑕，1992），收入低時，家庭經濟壓力增加了妻子勞動市場時間的價值，對就業有正面的影響，家庭收入高時，妻子家庭時間的價值增加，減少妻子就業的可能性。

子女數：過去的研究指出子女數與妻子就業有負相關（張清溪，1980；謝雨生，1982；張素梅，1988）。子女數愈多，妻子家務角色愈重，家庭時間的價值愈高，

就業的成本也就愈高。

家庭經濟型態：台灣的家庭企業多為小規模、勞力密集式、需要家庭成員之非勞力投入以降低勞力成本才可能存活。因此有家庭企業時妻子可能是在家庭內非正式工作的無酬家屬。（呂玉瑕，1994）。

## 2.4 分析模型

本研究應用多項邏輯迴歸模式（Multinomial Logistic Regression Models）分析婦女在不同家庭發展階段的就業型態及其影響因素。多項邏輯迴歸模式可應用在應變項為兩類別以上時各類別間機率之比較。在分析模式中，應變項就業型態有兩個指標：正式就業與否以及穩定薪資工作與否。正式就業與否包含三種不同的就業型態選擇：正式就業、非正式就業以及不就業。穩定薪資與否也分三種；穩定薪資工作、不穩定薪資工作以及不工作。

在分析模型中，自變項有年齡層、教育程度、配偶教育程度、過去工作經驗、性別角色態度、居住地的城鄉別、家庭結構、子女數、家庭經濟型態、家屬經濟互動。在分析模式中各變數的測度如下：

年齡層按出生世代分為三類：1960-1974 1945-1959 1944以前。

教育程度以所接受教育年數表示。

過去工作經驗按過去工作性質及持續性有兩個指標。按過去工作是否穩定薪資工作分為一直穩定薪資工作、一直非正式就業、進出型、未就業。按過去正式就業與否分為一直正式就業、一直非正式就業、進出型、一直未就業。居住為類別變項，分為鄉村、城鎮及都會區。

性別角色態度的測度由十一個項目組成，因素分析的結果歸為三個因素：對家庭性別分工的態度、對夫妻優先性的態度、對女性社會參與的態度。

家庭收入是以配偶教育程度為代理。

家庭經濟型態以丈夫從業身份的受雇與否分兩類：自願或受雇（有家庭企業）、及受雇（無家庭企業）。

家庭結構型態根據同住家庭成員的組成分為三類：核心家庭、主幹家庭及其他。核心家庭指家庭內包含一對夫妻及未成年子女，主幹家庭指除了夫妻子女外包含丈夫或妻子的父母。

子女數以子女人數表示。

親屬經濟互動關係根據有否拿錢奉養父母分為定期、不定期、沒有給。

## 三、資料分析結果

1930年代到 1970年代出生的女性的勞動就業率隨著家庭發展階段而變遷。比較已婚女性不同家庭發展階段的就業率可看出（表一）女性在婚後就業率下降幅度最大，由婚前的 89%下降至 57%，在子女初生後持續下降致最低點的 53%，而在所有子女上學後略微上升至 57%。

以正式或非正式就業型態而言，表二顯示在就業的女性中，非正式就業的比率持續上升。非正式就業的比率在婚前階段是 23%，婚後增加至 32%，子女幼小時更增加至 41%，可能是因為非正式工作與妻子角色的互容性。在子女都上學後可能因為非正式就業的方便性及其對於工作能力以及資歷的要求較低，是二度就業者較容易獲得的工作，因此持續上升至 47%。以收入的固定與否來看女性就業從事非固定薪水工作的比率亦呈現同樣的趨勢。表二顯示，在婚前的就業者中 62%有固定薪水收入，婚後降至 44%，在子女都上學後更降至 40%。

進一步以就業的持續性來看，表三顯示在 939位已生育子女的女性中，以就業型態而言，大多數是持續性的工作或在非正式與正式就業之間交替的就業型態，總共佔了 48%。值得注意的是過去在正式部門工作的女性較可能在婚後持續，一直持續正式就業的佔 34%，持續從事非正式就業的以及一直未就業的都在 10%以下。以其中工作性質而論，表三顯示婚後繼續工作的雖以正式就業的為多數，有穩定薪資工作的佔少數，僅 16%是有穩定薪資的，可見持續在正式就業的 34%中將近一半是非穩定薪資的多數。

子女皆已上學的 743人中，27%由婚前至子女上學前皆持續就業，其中有 18%持續地正式就業。然而以收入穩定與否而論，僅 8%是穩定薪資工作，大部份的持續工作者（27%）是非穩定薪資工作。

表三顯示已婚至子女 15歲的工作型態而言，斷續工作或出入於非正式、非正式工作者有 70%，過去持續在正式就業的佔 13%，從薪資穩定與否來看，持續穩定的薪資工作者僅 3%，而婚前皆子女上學後持續從事非薪資工作者的佔 27%。

以上的分析顯示在婚後無論正式或非正式就業的比率皆大幅下降，而由前面的就業率的趨勢分析可知這是由於女性婚後及生育後離職的關係。比較各個家庭發展階段女性工作型態發現斷續就業及進出於正式、非正式就業型態比率最高，持續正式就業的比率隨著家庭週期的發展遞減，然而非正式就業或非穩定薪資工作的比率則大致維持不變的趨勢。此因正式就業者離職或轉非正式就業的較多，而非正式或非穩定薪資工作者較不可能轉至非正式或穩定薪資工作。而且非正式會非穩定薪資工作者因時間或地點較有彈性，較可能與母親的角色相容，離職的可能性也較低。所以以女性工作的持續性而言，持續從事非正式或非穩定薪資工作型態的遠多於正式或穩定薪資的就業者。

以上檢視 30-70年代出生的女性的就業型態可看出女性就業型態可隨著家庭發展階段而變遷。在經濟發展中勞動市場就業結構的改變，以及經濟發展帶來生活型態的改變皆可能影響社會及家庭內的性別分工，過去研究亦指出有學齡前子女的母親就業率近年來有顯著提高。

(簡文吟及薛承泰, 1996)。以下檢視不同時代背景的女性就業型態的變遷。

表四顯示, 女性在婚前和婚後的各個發展階段中持續在正式部門就業的比率隨年齡降低而增高, 而在非正式部門的工作隨年齡層的提高。這樣的結果反映了台灣勞動市場就業結構的變遷。由於 1970 以前台灣工業尚未起飛, 農業部門佔相當比重, 正式就業的機會普遍, 50 歲以上女性在婚前非正式就業的高達 48% 遠超過在正式部門就業的 37%。在 1970 後, 製造業及服務業蓬勃發展而農業漸萎縮, 其中女性勞動密集的產業如成衣以及電子業, 服務業等擴展尤其迅速, 女性在正式部門就業快速增長, 而非正式部門的就業漸漸消滅, 表四顯示 87% 的 35 歲以下的女性婚前在正式部門的就業漸漸消退, 表四顯示 87% 的 35 歲以下的女性婚前在正式部門而非在正式部門就業的僅有 7.4%, 以結婚就業的持續性而言, 表四顯示大量女性在婚後離職或轉變工作型態, 在各年齡層高達 40% 到 52% 是婚後離職或轉變就業型態的 (較可能由正式轉非正式)。婚前至婚後持續正式就業的雖年齡層降低而遞增, 50 歲以就業的有 52%, 除了因勞動市場女性就業機會的增加以外, 家務的簡化, 性別分工觀念的調整上的已婚女性婚前在正式部門工作而且婚後為離職的僅有 14%, 而 35 歲以下連續在正式部門, 而 35 歲以下的年齡層僅 3.5%。

因高年齡層女性婚前非正式就業較高, 故持續非正式就業的比率也較高。低年齡層女性婚前較多機會從事正式就業, 因此連續非正式就業的比率低, 倒是婚前正式就業的女性可能有較多相當的比率在婚後轉入家庭企業的非正式就業。

婚前至生育子女後仍維持工作者在各年齡層皆有 25-27% 左右, 然而 50 歲以上的非正式就業為主而 30 歲以下的連續就業的較多。50 歲以上的女性有 20% 連續非正式性就業而僅 7.8% 曾持續地正式就業, 然而 35 歲以下的女性有 23.6% 連續地正式就業, 僅有 1.4% 持續非正式就業。低年齡層女性持續正式就業的比率顯著升高, 除了生育率降低及家務的簡化使女性的家務角色減輕減低女性出外就業的攔阻外, 家庭消費型態的轉變是女性工作收入成為維持家庭經濟所必須, 也是促進女性維持正式就業的因素 (呂玉瑕, 1996)。此外勞動市場女性受歧視問題漸受重視, 勞動政策的修改或實施使已婚婦女就業所受的限制減輕, 如進來金融及服務業婚後離職條款的取消, 皆有助於已婚女性婚後繼續正式就業。

表五顯示女性的教育程度可能是影響他的就業型態以及維持持續就業與否相當重要的因素。教育程度較低的女性較可能進出於正式及非正式就業, 而教育程度較高的女性較可能正式就業而且持續正式就業的比率最高。結婚後離職或轉變就業型態的高中以下佔 43% 至 58%, 而大專以上僅佔 24%, 持續正式就業的大專以上佔 68%, 而初中以下的佔 22%-31%。

以婚前或婚後有年齡前子女階段女性的就業型態而言, 女性教育程度與就業型態的關連更為明顯, 初中及以下的女性有 66% 至 75% 是斷續地就業或進出於正式 \ 非正式就業, 而大專以上僅 37% 相反的, 大專以上的女性有 56% 一直持續正式就業, 而初中及以下的女性只有 12% 至 14%。這個結果指出高教育程度的女性較有可能獲得生涯發展性的工作, 這類工作的技能或專業能力有

累積性，收入及地位亦隨年日提昇，比起其他類型的工作，離職的機會成本高。

女性就業的選擇固然受到女性本身就業能力以及勞動市場就業結構的影響，在傳統性別角色規範仍相當持續下，女性就業選擇仍是家庭組織情境下的考量，由於在不同家庭生活發展階段家聽組織的脈絡不同，家庭成員互動關係及女性家庭角色需求亦有差異；從女性再不同的家庭發展階段就業的考量來分析女性工作生涯的變遷歷程，應是合宜的切入點。以下的分析考慮在各家庭生命發展階段中女性就業歷程的選擇。

## 結婚後生育前的階段

前述就業的女性有相當大的部份在婚後離職或轉換工作型態，女性結婚後因為遷移或因進入新的家庭，家人互動關係及家庭經濟狀況改變了，女性的就業行為亦有新的調整。表六顯示，女性就業與否及就業型態的選擇受個人因素、勞動市場及家庭組織的影響。女性個人的因素包括女性的年齡層、過去工作經驗，性別角色態度，勞動市場因素指居住地的工作機會，家庭組織的因素有配偶的從業身份，親屬的經濟互動關係。

年齡層的作用顯出不同時代社會經濟發展背景的影響。35歲以下的女性與比他年長的女性比較起來，結婚後顯住的傾向就業而且選擇正式部門的女性。女性婚前的工作經驗對這個階段就業選擇有重要的影響，婚前的就業型態到了婚後仍有相當的持續性。婚前正式就業的女性比未就業或非正式就業的女性更顯著地傾向繼續正式就業，然而婚前非正式就業女性或正式就業的女性比較起來，顯著的傾向繼續非正式就業，婚前未就業女性比起婚前就業女性亦顯著傾向未就業。表六也顯示女性個人的教育程度對於女性婚後從事受雇工作或為家庭工作與否沒有顯著影響但是對於穩定或非穩定就業型態卻有顯著的影響，教育程度愈高的愈有可能從事穩定薪資的工作。

性別角色態度亦有顯著影響，越傾向非傳統性別角色態度的女性越可能選擇正式就業。從母親教育程度的影響也支持了這一點，母親教育程度越高，其女兒愈可能在這階段正式就業，此可能因為母親教育程度愈高者，較可能有現代化性別角色態度，女兒接受了母親的性別角色示範因此傾向於結婚後仍外出就業。居住地的影響顯著勞動市場機會的差異，鄉村地區女性結婚後無論正式就業或非正式就業都顯著的高於都市。

配偶從業身份對妻子就業有顯著影響，家庭有經營企業的妻子顯著的傾向非正式就業。此因家庭企業動員無酬家屬勞動力之故。然而家庭結構與親屬經濟互動對女性在婚後生育前的就業沒有顯著的影響。

## 最大子女出生至最小子女上學前

前述在有學齡前子女的階段，母親的勞動力參與達到最低點。表七顯示，在這個階段影響女性就業的因素是女性本身的教育程度，過去的工作經驗，性別角色態度，家庭經濟因素。

年齡層的差別對於這階段女性就業型態沒也顯著的事實顯示 30至 70年代出生的女性在子女幼小期的就業型態有相當的一致性。在這個階段有比其他階段更高的比率未就業而就業者較多從事非正式就業，在不同世代的女性間沒有明顯差異。

教育程度在這個階段仍對女性就業選擇有顯著的影響，教育程度愈高的女性欲可能在有學前子女階段從事正式就業，尤其可能從事穩定薪資工作。以女性的工作經驗而言，過去一直從事正式就業的較可能繼續正式就業，過去一直非正式就業的也較可能繼續非正式就業。然而兩者相比，過去一直非正式就業者在這個階段比正式就業者更可能持續就業，而過去一直正式就業者在這個階段離職的顯著的比一直非正式就業的多。進出於就業 \ 不就業或不同型態的在這個階段較不可能就業，但是在就業者中，較可能選擇非正式就業。以就業的穩定性與否來看亦有同樣的發現，過去從事穩定性薪資工作者，在此從事穩定性薪資工作者，在此階段較可能從事同樣的穩定有同樣的發現，過去從事穩定薪資工作者，在此階段較可能從事同樣的穩定性工作，非穩定薪資工作者也傾向從事非穩定性工作，然而比較教育程度對正式 \ 非正式就業型態，以及穩定 \ 不穩定薪資從業的影響可知，正式部門的非穩定薪資者在此階段較可能離職，而穩定薪資的工作者在這階段有相當的持續性。性別角色態度對於這個階段從事穩定薪資工作與否沒有顯著影響，然而性別角色態度較非傳統傾向的女性在這個階段有較大的的可能持續或進入非穩定薪資的工作。此因穩定薪資工作本身所具有的發展性增加離職的機會成本，因此性別角色態度並不是離職的重要考量，倒是在子女幼小時期進入或離開非穩定薪資工作可能受性別角色態度的影響。

丈夫的從業身份的影響再次顯出在此階段家庭有經營企業的婦女傾向在家從事非正式就業。在這個階段家庭結構，子女數以及親屬經濟上的互動關係對於女性就業選擇並沒顯著影響。

所有子女上學後至十五歲前

在這個階段影響女性就業型態較重要的是年齡層、教育程度、丈夫教育程度、過去工作經驗、性別角色態度、居住地的工作機會、家庭經濟型態以及子女數。

年齡層的影響指出 35歲以上的女性顯著的比年紀較輕的女性更傾向於非正式就業。此可能因為就業結構的改變 35歲以下的女性的女性較少機會進入家庭企業工作。然而 50歲以上的女性與年輕一代差別不大，可能因為有相當的比率是家庭經營農業的女性，他們可能在子女



上學後離農從事受雇工作，因此就業型態與年輕女性沒有顯著的差別。

教育程度愈高的女性欲可能從事正式部門以及穩定薪資工作。配偶教育程度的影響顯出家庭經濟的影響，在子女皆已入學的階段丈夫教育程度愈高的女性愈可能離職或未就業。過去工作經驗的影響顯示過去的工作型態有相當持續性一直在正式部門工作者傾向於正式就業，而一直非正式就業者也持續非正式就業，然而邏輯回歸分析也指出在這個階段，過去持續正式就業與持續非正式就業者在離職傾向上沒有顯著的差別。進出性就業的女性在這個階段顯著的傾向未就業或非正式、非穩定薪資就業，表示正式就業，表示正式的或穩定薪資的工作對於中斷就業或過去非正式就業者是容易進入的。性別角色態度對女性在這階段的就業選擇仍有顯著的影響，抱持較非傳統性別角色態度的女性傾向於就業，至於從事何種型態的就業在不同性別角色態度的女性兼併無顯著差別。居住地的影響顯示勞動市場工作機會的影響，在這階段的女性，鄉鎮地區比都會區更傾向正式性就業尤其是非穩定薪資的工作。

丈夫的從業身份的影響表示家庭經濟的影響，家庭經營企業時女性傾向於在家非正式就業。在這個階段家庭子女數對妻子就業有相當顯著的影響，子女數愈多愈不可能從事穩定薪資工作。然而對非正式就業及非穩定薪資工作則無顯著差異。家庭結構與親屬經濟互動的影響並不顯著。

#### 子女十五歲以後

在這個階段的女性年齡層較高，總人數亦較多。影響這個階段女性工作的因素包括年齡層、教育程度、過去工作經驗、居住地、家庭經濟型態、子女數。年齡層的影響顯示 50歲以上的女性在這個階段固然較可能離職退休或未就業，然而卻比 50歲以下同一階段的女性較多從事穩定薪資的工作。可能因從事穩定薪資工作的女性通常退休年齡的限制，就業生涯較長而其他就業型態女性可能已退休，因此 1977以前出生就業女性中穩定薪資工作的比率較高。與前述各家庭發展階段一樣，過去工作經驗的影響指出就業型態有相當的持續性。在這個階段一直未就業者比其他女性更可能未就業。而一直在非正式就業者也顯著地傾向於非正式就業。同樣的，在這個階段住在鄉鎮的女性仍有較多的機會從事非正式就業。配偶從業身份的影響顯示，家庭經營企業時妻子顯著地傾向在家從事非正式就業。在這個階段，子女數愈多愈可能已離職或未就業，而子女數愈少愈可能正式就業。對前一階段有顯著影響的性別角色態度對女性在這階段的就業並沒有顯著影響。」家庭結構及親屬互動關係對女性在這階段的就業也沒有顯著影響。

#### 四、結論及討論

以上的女性在不同的家庭發展階段的就業型態分析指出在不同的階段的女性的人力資源條件

、勞動市場工作機會、家庭組織因素的影響不同，此因在不同階段家庭組織的需求不同，女性就業或離職選擇有不同的考量。不變的是女性個人的教育程度、工作經驗及家庭的經濟型態（以配偶從業身份為指標）在每一階段都顯著的影響就業與否就業型態。此因這些因素直接與工作本身具備條件有關。正式部門的工作尤其是穩定薪資工作通常需具備一定的學歷才可進入，正式部門的工作，尤其具有發展性工作，需要過去經驗的累積，中斷後不易再進入，而且收入及地位可能隨著工作時間，因此在每一個階段都是重要考慮。家庭是否經營企業提供婦女在家庭企業工作的條件，而且女性從事家庭企業的工作通常是家庭企業組織動員的結果，而由於工作時間地點的彈性，家庭企業婦女較可能兼顧家庭角色的需求，因此即使在子女幼小階段仍是影響女性就業或離職的重要因素。

母親教育程度在婚後生育前的階段仍對妻子就業有重要影響，這可能由於妻子在社會化過程中母親角色示範的影響，教育程度高的母親比較有可能就業也較可能有非傳統傾向的性別角色態度，對於女性在該階段的就業行為有直接的影響。然而母親教育程度也可能透過女兒的性別角色態度影響其就業行為，在子女出生後的各階段母親的教育程度影響消失可能因透過女兒本身性別角色的間接影響較大。

年齡層的作用呈現出女性處在不同社會背景的影響。1960以後出生的與1959以前出生的女性的就業型態有顯著的差別而1944以前出生的女性其就業趨勢與1945-59的世代有近似的趨勢。在各階段女性就業的分析中1944以前出生的世代與年輕的世代的差異沒有統計上的顯著性可能是因為該樣本人數少所致。邏輯迴歸分析發現，控制其他相關因素狀況下，無論在何階段，1960以後的世代顯著的比他們前輩女性們傾向正式就業，而1959以前的世代顯著的傾向非正式就業。這是因為經濟發展的不同時期勞動力市場就業結構的影響，因1960年後農業逐漸萎縮及製造業蓬勃發展，因此高年層的婦女有較高的可能性在家庭農場或家庭企業內從事非正式就業，而1980後隨著科技的發展以及服務業的快速成長，勞動市場的正式部門對於女性勞動力需求快速增長，因此低年齡層女性比較有可能進入正式部門的工作。

居住地的影響則反映了居住地勞動市場工作機會的影響。無論正式或非正式就業，鄉鎮地區婦女比都市婦女就業的可能性高。

值的注意的是在有學齡前子女階段，世代及居住地的影響皆減弱，此因該階段女性家務育兒角色的需求最大，進入勞動市場的可能性最低，對這階段的婦女而言，影響就業型態較重要的是離職的考量了，邏輯迴歸分析顯示女性個人的教育程度、工作經驗、對於性別角色的態度以及家中是否有經營企業對妻子就業型態有顯著影響而其他家庭組織因素以及勞動市場的工作機會的影響皆不顯著，這個發現指出在此階段，女性個人人力資源因素是重要的考量，教育程度高以及過去一直正式就業的女性外出就業的時間價值可能高於留在家庭，因此傾向正式就業。此外家庭經營企業時因企業組織對勞動力需求及無酬家屬工作與女性家庭角色之相容性對女性的非正式就業有顯著的正面影響。

性別角色態度對每一階段的女性就業皆有顯著影響，但是對於在所有子女十五歲以後階段的女性就業沒有顯著影響，可能在該樣本的年齡偏高，在性別角色態度上的變異性低所致。

以配偶的教育程度作為家庭收入的代替便項，回歸分析結果顯示家庭收入對妻子就業的作用只有在所有子女皆上學後至 15 歲前的階段有極顯著的影響，在其他階段都不顯著。在這個階段，丈夫收入愈高妻子越可能就不就業，然而對於妻子從事穩定薪資就業工作卻無顯著的影響。這個結果可能表示丈夫收入低的家庭經濟壓力大，因此妻子無論是正式或是非正式就業的可能性都較高，而丈夫收入高的家庭較無經濟壓力，因此妻子較可能就不就業，這樣的發現是與過去研究一致的（呂玉瑕，1992）。丈夫收入對於妻子從事穩定薪資工作與否無顯著影響，可能因為從事穩定薪資工作的妻子多為長期的職業生涯，妻子一旦進入這種工作就可能持續下去，而由於離職機會成本的考量，就業的變動受丈夫收入的影響較小。丈夫收入只有在這個階段有統計上的顯著性，可能因為子女上學後至未成年階段家庭經濟的壓力最大，丈夫收入的考慮也更重要。

子女數的影響在子女皆已上學以後的各階段才呈現出影響效果，可能因為在過去有學齡前子女的階段，以現在有子女數作為指標無法看出當時子女數的影響。回歸分析指出在子女都上學後，子女數愈少的母親愈可能正式就業或從事穩定薪資工作，可能的解釋就是就業型態是影響子女數的原因，正式就業或穩定薪資工作的女性可能降低生育率來調適家庭與工作角色。

邏輯回歸分析中親屬經濟互動關係對妻子就業的影響雖無統計上的顯著性，但可看出一個明顯的趨勢：有給父母（多數指妻子的父母）金錢奉養父母的家庭妻子較可能就業，尤其是穩定薪資工作。而沒有拿錢奉養父母的妻子則無就業的較多。

家庭結構型態對妻子就業的影響在任何家庭發展階段皆無顯著的影響。過去的研究中多數以家庭結構或居住安排型態作為互動指標，來檢驗家庭互動因素與妻子就業的相關（謝雨生，1982；張清溪，1982；呂玉瑕，1992；齊力，1991）其研究結果亦多數顯示家庭結構的影響不顯著。可能因為靜態得家庭人口結構未能涵蓋錯綜複雜的家人互動關係，另一方面家庭互動對於妻子就業的影響因著不同的家庭組織情境而異，需進一步分析家人互動的內容才能釐清兩者間的相關（呂玉瑕，1997）。家人互動關係對妻子就業可能有正面的影響，也可能有負面的影響。家人可以同時是經濟負擔及情感資源，在不同情境下可以是妻子就業支持的來源，也可以是就業壓力的癥結所在。一方面，家人可能取代妻子的家務角色，降低了妻子就業的成本因此有正面的影響，另一方面，妻子在家庭的照顧角色可能增加就業的成本因此有需照顧的家人對妻子就業有負面的影響。

以上對不同階段婦女就業型態及其影響因素的分析顯示女性的就業選擇與家庭組織有密切關聯，家庭是否經營事業，對妻子從事正式或非正式就業以及選擇穩定薪資工作與否有最重要的

決定作用。妻子本身的人力資本因素包括教育程度及過去工作經驗對女性是否持續正式就業以及穩定薪資工作有相當顯著的影響。其他條件控制下，無論在家庭發展的哪一個階段，教育程度高的妻子以及過去持續正式就業或穩定薪資工作的妻子都比較可能正式就業或從事穩定薪資工作。妻子從事的選擇也受到當時社會就業結構以及當地就業機會的限制，年輕的世代可能從事正式就業而年長的較可能非正視就業，鄉鎮地區的妻子較都市地去的較可能就業，無論正式或非正式就業皆有此趨勢。然而在其他階段有顯著影響的勞動市場機會因素在子女學齡前的階段對妻子就業無顯著影響，可能因該階段進入勞動市場的可能性低，而家務角色與妻子在勞動市場時間的價值成為最重要考量。丈夫收入的影響指出家庭經濟對妻子就業的影響，丈夫收入地的妻子較可能就業，無論正式或非正式就業。然而由於家庭經濟壓力因著不同家庭發展階段而異，丈夫收入的影響也因著不同家庭發展階段而異。

## 參考書目

### 中文

#### 呂玉瑕

1980 社會變遷中婦女之事業觀 - 婦女角色意識與就業態度之探討，中央研究院民族研究所集刊 50：25-66

1983 婦女就業與家庭角色、權力結構之關係，中央研究院民族研究所集刊 56：111-143

1994 城鄉經濟發展與已婚婦女就業 - 女性邊緣化

( female Marginalization)理論試探。人口學刊，16：107-133

1996 兩性的角色分工與家庭發展。基督書院學報，第三期：91-100

#### 張素梅

1988 婦女勞動參與率的研究 - 聯立模型分析。

經濟論文叢刊，16：2，PP175-196

#### 劉克智

1983 台灣婦女勞動力與工業發展之關係，台灣工業發展會議論文集，頁 445-469，中央研究院經濟研究所，台北：南港。

#### 劉鶯釧

1988 有偶婦女勞動參與的多重選擇模型。經濟論文叢刊，16，2：PP133-148

簡文吟，薛承泰

1996 台灣地區已婚婦女就業型態及其影響因素，人口學刊，17：113-134

薛承泰，簡文吟

1997 再就業婦女的職業流動初探，人口學刊 18：67-98

英文

Chang,Ching-Hsi (張清溪)

1980 "Determinants of Female Labor Force Participation  
in Taiwan: A Micro Cross-Sections Analysis."  
Economic Essays, Vol.IX, No. 1.

Lu, Yu-hsia (呂玉瑕)

1992 "Married Women's Informal Employment in Taiwan"  
Proceedings of the National Science Council  
Part C: Humanities and Social Science  
(人文及社會研究彙刊) Vol.2, No.2, pp.202-217

1993 "Sex Role Attitude and the Employment of Married Women-  
A Detroit Area Study." Journal of Women and Gender Studies  
(婦女與兩性學刊), No. 4, pp.137-174.

Thorton, Arland, Duane Alwin, and Donald Carburn

1993 "Causes and consequences of Sex-Role Attitude and Attitude Change."  
ASR 48 (April):211-227.

Young, Christabel M.

1978 "Work Sequences of Women during the Family Life Cycle."  
Journal of Marriage and the Family, May, P401-411.

Waite, L. J.

1980 "Working Wives and the Family Life cycle." AJS 86:272-294.

表一 各家庭發展階段的妻子就業比率

婚前	婚後到最大子女	最大子女出生到	最小子女六歲到
----	---------	---------	---------

	出生		最小的子女六歲	最小子女十五歲
就業比率				
就業	88.9	56.9	53.0	57.3
無就業	11.1	43.1	47.0	42.7
	N=958	N=958	N=939	N=743

表二 各家庭發展階段的妻子就業型態

	婚前	婚後到最大子女 出生前	最大子女出生到 最小子女六歲	最小子女六歲到 最小子女十五歲
從業身份				
非正式	23.5	31.9	40.6	47.4
正式	75.7	63.9	51.2	46.5
收入				
固定	61.5	53.4	44.2	40.4
不固定	38.5	46.6	55.8	59.6
	N=951	N=935	N=898	N=717

表三 家庭發展過程中妻子就業持續型態

	婚前	婚前至婚後 生育前	婚前至婚後有 學齡子女前	婚前至婚後最小 子女十五歲前
正式 /非正式				
從未就業	11.1	8.9	8.3	11.4
持續非正式就業	20.9	9.2	9.0	12.8
持續正式就業	68.1	33.7	17.8	6.2
進出型		48.2	64.9	69.6
	N=958	N=939	N=743	N=405
薪資穩定與否				
從未就業型	11.1	8.9	8.3	10.6
持續穩定薪資型	31.5	16.1	7.8	26.9
持續非穩定薪資	57.4	31.6	26.6	3.2
進出型		43.3	57.2	59.3
	N=958	N=939	N=743	N=405

表四 家庭發展過程中妻子就業型態：出生世代的比較

出生世代	婚前就業型態				婚前至婚後生育前		
	正式就業	非正式就業	未就業	總和	持續正式就業	持續非正式就業	進出型
1960年以後出生	87.2	7.4	5.4	242人	51.1	3.5	40.2
1945到 1959出生	73.3	15.7	11.0	483人	34.7	5.0	52.1
1944年以前出生	37.3	45.5	17.2	233人	13.8	23.3	48.3
	N=958				N=939		

表五 家庭發展過程中妻子就業型態：教育程度的比較

教育程度	婚前就業型態				婚前致婚後生育前			
	正式就業	非正式就業	未就業	總和	持續正式就業	持續非正式就業	進出型	從未就業
小學及小學以下	54.6	31.7	13.8	480	22.4	14.6	52.3	10.7
國、初中	75.8	15.3	8.9	157	30.7	3.3	58.2	7.8
高中、職	83.0	9.6	7.3	218	45.8	4.7	42.9	6.6
大專及以上	87.4	2.9	9.7	103	67.7	1.0	23.9	7.3
	N=958				N=939			



表六 婚後最大子女出生前，妻子就業型態邏輯回歸分析

	就業型態				
	正式性			穩定薪資 v. s. 無工作	非穩定薪資 v. s.
	正式就業 v. s. 未就業	非正式就業 v. s. 未就業	正式就業 v. s. 非正式就業		
世代					
1960-1974出生	a	a	a	a	a
1945-1959出生	-.49**	.12	-.61*	-.38	-.48*
1944以前出生	-.47	.14	-.61	-.82	-.57*
受訪者教育程度	.00	-.04	.03	.10	-.06*
配偶教育程度	.03	.04	-.01	.10	.01
父親教育程度	.02	-.01	.03	.05	-.02
母親教育程度	.08**	.02	.06	.06	.03
過去工作經驗					
正式就業	a	a	a		
非正式就業	-1.19***	.75***	-1.93***		
未就業	-2.19***	-1.09***	-1.11**		
穩定薪資工作				a	a
非穩定薪資工作				-2.67***	.79*
未就業				-2.85***	-.95*
性別角色態度					
性別分工	.07***	.02	.05	.07*	.04*
夫妻優先觀	-.04	.07	-.11*	-.01	.03
社會參與	-.08	.01	-.09	-.05	-.03
居住地					
都會區	a	a	a	a	a
鄉村	.44*	.64**	-.20	.53	.53**
城鎮	.61**	.37	.24	.16	.44*
配偶從業身份					
正式就業	a	a	a	a	a
非正式就業	-1.15***	1.59***	-2.75***	-1.66***	.50**
家庭結構					
核心家庭	a	a	a	a	a
主幹家庭	.01	-.03	.03	-.03	.05
其他	.17	-.01	.18	-.02	.20

親屬經濟互動

	a	a	a	a	a
定期給					
不定期	-.43	-.30	-.13	-5.5	-.25
沒有給	-.55	-.62*	.07	-.76	-3.5
不適用	-.27	-.20		.01	-.19
常數	-.48	-2.90***	2.42**	-2.82**	-1.05
LOG-LIKELIHOOD		-794.64			-695.04
X		433.68			603.93
DF		38			38
N		958			958

a:參考類別    \*p<.05    \*\*p<.01    \*\*\*p<.001

表七 最大子女出生至最小子女上學前，妻子就業型態邏輯迴歸分析

	就業型態				
	正式性			穩定薪資 v. s. 無工作	非穩定薪資 v. s.
	正式就業 v. s. 未就業	非正式就業 v. s. 未就業	正式就業 v. s. 非正式就業		
世代					
1960-1974出生	a	a	a	a	a
1945-1959出生	-.13	.21	-.34	-.22	-.05
1944以前出生	-.06	-.08	.02	-.41	-.20
受訪者教育程度	.07*	-.01	.08	.19**	.02
配偶教育程度	-.04	-.02	-.02	.08	-.03
過去工作經驗					
一直正式就業	a	a	a		
一直非正式就業	-.55	2.20***	-2.75***		
一直未就業	-2.11***	-2.19***	.08		
進出型	-2.26***	-.83***	-1.42***		
一直是穩定薪資工作				a	a
一直是非穩定薪資工作				-2.68***	2.53***
一直未就業				-2.59***	-.44
進出型				-3.22***	.06
性別角色態度					
性別分工	.07***	.03	.03	-.01	.03
夫妻優先觀	-.07	.05	-.13**	-.05	.00
社會參與	-.03	-.02	-.01	.00	-.02
居住地					
都會區	a	a	a	a	a
鄉村	.38	.38	.00	.20	.41
城鎮	.14	.23	-.09	.37	.03
配偶從業身份					
受雇	a	a	a	a	a
自雇及雇主	-.65***	1.34***	-1.99***	-.73***	.75***
家庭結構					
核心家庭	a	a	a	a	a
主幹家庭	-.06	.00	-.06	.27	-.01

其他	-.12	-.10	-.02	.32	-.21
子女數	-.03	.00	-.03	-.23	.05
親屬經濟互動					
定期給	a	a	a	a	a
不定期	-.03	.08	-.11	-.32	.20
沒有給	-.55	-.25	-.29	-.88	-.22
不適用	-.37	.48	-.85	.03	.35
常數	.01	-1.95**	1.96*	-1.33	-2.53***
LOG-LIKELIHOOD		-730.51			-574.63
X		527.34			731.01
DF		38			38
N		939			939
a:參考類別	*p<.05	**p<.01	***p<.001		

表八 最小子女上學後至十五歲以前，妻子就業型態邏輯回歸分析

	就業型態				
	正式性			穩定薪資 v. s. 無工作	非穩定薪資 v. s.
	正式就業 v. s. 未就業	非正式就業 v. s. 未就業	正式就業 v. s. 非正式就業		
世代					
1960-1974出生	a	a	a	a	a
1945-1959出生	.00	.91*	-.91*	.14	.63
1944以前出生	.16	.62	-.47	.68	.42
受訪者教育程度	.10**	.04	.06	.31***	.06
配偶教育程度	-.10**	-.11**	.01	-.12	-.08**
過去工作經驗					
一直正式就業	a	a	a		
一直非正式就業	10.63	14.68	-4.05***		
一直未就業	-2.69***	-3.61***	.92		
進出型	-1.92***	-.82**	-1.10***		
一直是穩定薪資工作				a	a
一直是非穩定薪資工作				-1.63	3.91***
一直未就業				-2.65***	-.79
進出型				-2.74***	.92
性別角色態度					
性別分工	.10***	.07**	.02	.13**	.07***
夫妻優先觀	-.02	.06	-.08	.01	.01
社會參與	-.06	-.13**	.07	-.06	-.10
居住地					
都會區	a	a	a	a	a
鄉村	.57**	.44	.13	.37	.51*
城鎮	.94***	.55	.39	.37	.81**
配偶從業身份					
受雇	a	a	a	a	a
自雇及雇主	-.72**	1.72***	-2.44***	-.62	.72***
家庭結構					
核心家庭	a	a	a	a	a

主幹家庭	-.02	-.07	.05	.52	-.20
其他	-.39	-.34	-.05	-.08	-.50
子女數	-.20	-.17	-.03	-.91***	-.05
親屬經濟互動					
定期給	a	a	a	a	a
不定期	.42	.01	.41	.61	.26
沒有給	.13	-.60	.73	-.17	.01
不適用	-.04	-.31	.27	.14	.01
常數	-.11	-1.60	1.49	-2.00	-3.22**
LOG-LIKELIHOOD		-557.05			-433.80
X		488.31			569.37
DF		38			38
N		743			743
a:參考類別	*p<.05	**p<.01	***p<.001		

表九 所有子女十五歲以後，妻子就業型態邏輯迴歸分析

## 就業型態

	正式性				
	正式性			穩定薪資 v. s. 無工作	非穩定薪資 v. s.
	正式就業 v. s. 未就業	非正式就業 v. s. 未就業	正式就業 v. s. 非正式就業		
世代					
1945-1959出生	a	a	a	a	a
1944以前出生	-.68	-.34	-.34	.71*	.08
受訪者教育程度	.06	.10*	-.04	.03	.01
配偶教育程度	-0.3	-.07	.04	.00	.05
過去工作經驗					
曾有正式就業經驗	a	a	a		
一直非正式就業	1.25	2.32***	-1.07		
一直未就業	-1.27*	-1.87**	.60		
曾有穩定薪資工作經驗				a	a
一直是非穩定薪資工作				-.25	.08
一直未就業				-.28	-1.03*
性別角色態度					
性別分工	.04	.05	-.01	.02	-.04
夫妻優先觀	-.04	-.01	-.03	.04	-.05
社會參與	.04	-.07	.12	.01	.02
居住地					
都會區	a	a	a	a	a
鄉村	.84*	.65	.19	.12	.53
城鎮	.78*	.27	.51	.41	.04
配偶從業身份					
受雇	a	a	a	a	a
自雇及雇主	-.65	1.64***	-2.29***	.01	-.30
未就業	-.49	-.46	-.03	.18	-.20
家庭結構					
核心家庭	a	a	a	a	a
主幹家庭	-.14	-.17	.02	-.34	-.23
其他	-.20	.35	-.55	-.13	.00
子女數	-.34*	-.11	-.22	-.18	-.03

## 親屬經濟互動

	a	a	a	a	a
定期給					
不定期	-.04	-.23	.20	.80	.57
沒有給	-.38	-.68	.29	.78	.10
不適用	-.61	-.81	.20	.95	-.08
常數	.40	-1.22	.82	-2.17*	.08
LOG-LIKELIHOOD		-308.28			-400.73
X		188.54			41.05
DF		36			36
N		405			405
a:參考類別 *p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001					

## 第五章

### 婦女家庭地位之研究：以家婦女家庭地位之研究：以家庭決策模式為例

#### 壹、前言

-----

長久以來，婦女地位的變遷與研究一直是社會學者關注的重點。由於男性主控就業市場的特性，使得女性在進入這個傳統上以男性主控的領域往往遭許較多阻礙。因此，大部分探討婦女地位的研究，多藉由婦女勞動參與率的變化做為婦女地位是否改變的重要指標。然而實際上欲探究婦女的地位，應同時包含公、私領域兩部分的研究。儘管婦女勞動參與率的顯著提昇已成全球性的趨勢，但是男女兩性在公、私領域內的地位落差仍繼續存在的情境下，欲達成男性與女性地位真正平等的理想仍不易完全實現。

在大部分仍保留傳統父系社會規範的國家中，婦女的活動多被限制在家戶範圍內。然而，教育機會的普及化與第三級產業的興盛，使女性的社會地位得以逐漸改善；因此，一般的看法皆認為當女性外出就業，並將薪資所得貢獻於家庭經濟逐漸成為一種趨勢後，對於女性家庭地位的提昇應有相當助益。換言之，社會規範中對於婦女在家戶內從屬地位的限制與要求，或許會因婦女外出參與經濟性活動而獲得改善。



-----  
本文初稿曾以英文撰寫 ( Female's Family Status in Taiwan : An analysis of the Household Expenses Decision-Making Pattern) 發表於 International Sociology Association, CFR, in Itala, South Africa, July, 1996 (見附錄五 )。此一版本為該文經過修改後之修正版。

對於婦女家庭地位的探討可由不同的面向加以呈現，例如：家務分工的方式、家庭重要事項的決策過程與結果、夫妻間對於家庭內爭議之衝突處理模式、以及部分家庭事務的處理方式等（Safilios-Rothschild, 1970; McDonald, 1980）。一般而言，夫妻關係中具有較高地位的一方，也意味著擁有較多的權力；因此，家庭地位與夫妻權力之間的關係實際上乃為一互動的過程。而將研究的重點置於夫妻權力關係的探討，將有助於描繪妻子在家庭權力結構中的相對位置，也更有助於瞭解婦女的家庭地位。

臺灣近年來雖歷經劇烈的社會變遷過程，卻仍然是一個典型的父系社會，因此也引發許多關於婦女地位以及性別議題的討論。相關的研究雖指出現代家庭中的夫妻權力以趨向較平等的關係；然而，不同的論點也指出，傳統文化規範賦予男性不容置疑的支配全仍然繼續影響夫妻間的權力關係。因此，對造成婦女現今家庭地位的影響因素，如結構性因素與個人特質加以探討，將有助於釐清婦女的家庭地位。此外，由於夫妻權力的運作結果是本研究的探討重點，研究的發現與結果也將可與過去相關的研究作比較並瞭解婦女家庭地位的現況。

## 貳、台灣的婦女家庭地位：夫妻權力研究的回顧

台灣地區的文獻顯示，實際針對夫妻權力關係作深入探討的研究仍不多見，而家庭決策模式則是主要的考察目標。過去在家庭決策模式方面的研究，有些只針對鄉村地區的樣本（賴爾柔，1973；劉清榕 1976, 呂玉瑕，1983）；而都市方面的樣本較也多侷限在家庭主婦（張小春，1974；陳素櫻，1979；唐先梅 1994）。整體而言，這些研究對於家庭決策過程仍然欠缺系統化的完整探討。

近年來的研究趨勢則同時以夫妻為分析單位。伊慶春與蔡瑤玲（1989）根據社會交換論（social exchange theory）的基本假設，對於台北都會地區的 481

對夫妻對樣本進行調查，並利用 "權力基礎 - 權力過程 - 權力結果 " 的動態模式對夫妻權力關係進行詳細深入的研究 ( Mirowsky, 1985; Nock, 1992)。初步的探討集中在家庭決策的一般化模式，並嘗試確認丈夫與妻子的資源條件，如個人資源、夫妻之間的絕對資源以及相對資源的差異，如何影響家庭決策模式 (McDonald, 1980; Eshleman, 1981; Allen & Straus, 1984)。在此部分對於實質資源影響因素的探討則主要集中在年齡、教育程度、收入、職業、都市化程度、以及家庭生命週期。基本上，研究的主要發現即夫妻 "共同 " 決定是達成家庭各項決策最普遍的模式，而且在許多家庭中， " " 以及 "子女管教 " 是受訪夫妻認為最重要的家庭決策事項。至於各項因素的影響效果則有性別差異，就丈夫樣本而言，居住地的都市化程度愈高，妻子的權力也相對較高；然而丈夫的收入愈高，妻子的權力則未相對提昇。而妻子樣本則顯示，妻子目前有工作或是家庭生命週期發展至後期，妻子愈會參與家庭決策的過程。

上述的研究發現實際上只呈現出夫妻權力關係中 "權力基礎 - 權力結果；的關係模式。因此，在接續的研究則探討 "權力基礎 - 權力過程 " 的複雜關係 (伊慶春、楊文山、蔡瑤玲，1992)，因為以家庭決策過程中之衝突處理模式是探討夫妻權力過程的最佳指標。這部份的研究，以對於最重要家庭決策有相同看法的 17 對夫妻為研究樣本，其衝突處理模式主要分成三類：有衝突發生且未溝通、有衝突但採用溝通方式、以及沒有衝突的情況。在分析權力過程時，夫妻雙方所帶來的實質性資源 (例如教育、收入等) 以及非實質性資源 (例如婚姻承諾、性別角色態度等)，都將納入分析探討 (Safilios-Rothschild, 1976; Scanzoni, 1979; Godwin & Scanzoni, 1989; Hill & Scanzoni, 1982; Szinovacz, 1987)。分析結果顯示傳統之實質性資源，如教育程度、都市化程度、工作地位對於瞭解夫妻衝突處理模式有較顯著的重要性；非實質性資源方面，則以婚姻承諾在說明不同的衝突處理類別上較為顯著。換言之，婚姻承諾愈高，愈可能表現出正面的衝突處理模式。至於在交換理論的驗證上，交換論可以有效說明丈夫樣本的情況，然而對於妻子樣本和夫妻配對樣本而言，交換論所亦含的權力規則必須與父權規則相互搭配，方能說明夫妻間衝突處理模式的差異。

接續的研究則完整探討夫妻權力關係中 "權力基礎 - 權力過程 - 權力結果" 的動態模式 (Yi & Yang, 1995)。其中資源條件部分包括實質性資源、非實質性資源、以及家庭資源三者，而衝突處理模式以及受訪夫妻認為最重要的家庭決策事項則作為決策過程的指標，傳統的決策權則視為權力的結果。在丈夫樣本中，研究結果顯示實質性資源（妻子是否就業）以及非實質性資源（夫妻關係之滿意程度）對於整個動態模式具有顯著的影響效果。然而，對於妻子樣本而言，分析結果僅支持 "權力基礎 - 權力過程" 之間的關聯，至於 "權力過程 - 權力結果" 之間的關聯則不顯著。而在不同的影響因素中，家庭生命週期的階段性改變對於衝突處理模式具有最顯著的影響效果。

總結上述研究結果發現，台灣地區夫妻權力關係的運作主要受到兩類因素的影響。一方面，在父權主義的影響下，社會規範賦予丈夫對家庭決策所擁有的優勢地位仍繼續存在（伊慶春與蔡瑤玲，1989）；這種現象也明顯的反應在傳統取向的受訪者的回答上，尤其是超過半數回答夫妻之間在家庭決策過程中沒有衝突發生的受訪者。另一方面，對於社經地位較高或是擁有較多資源條件的夫妻來說，其夫妻間的權力互動則趨向較平等的關係，社會交換論中的資源模式也能提供合理的解釋。因此，台灣地區夫妻權力關係的複雜結構主要是受到傳統父權制度以及現代權力規則的雙重影響。而這種發現同時也指出，先前的研究仍無法適切的將影響複雜的家庭權力結構的相關因素作出明確的陳述。

除了上述研究提及的影響因素外，仍然有三個重要的面向仍需深入探討。首先，不同省籍間的受訪者由於各有不同的風俗文化，受父權制度的影響與家庭內的實際運作也不完全相同。根據莊英章（1994）自1984至1986年間在新竹一帶對兩個閩客村落進行人類學田野調查結果顯示，閩南族群與客家族群的整體家庭決策模式並無明顯差異，家庭中重要決策事務的決定權雖仍以男性為主，但夫妻共同決策比例也已佔相當份量。但是我們如果細究這項調查結果，可以發現在這兩個村落中，家庭型態是影響家庭決策模式最重要的因素之一，

因為大部分的家庭都是以主幹家庭或是擴展家庭的形式出現，因此成年男性，特別是公公在一些重要的家庭決策事項上特別具有影響力。

舉例來說，造房子或是擴建新房並沒有族群差異。但是，若將家庭決策事項集中在妻子是否外出工作這個主題上，夫妻以外的家庭成員參與決策的比例即明顯下降，主要決策者則以丈夫和妻子兩人為主，而且客家婦女在這項決策上擁有極高的決定權。特別是年長一輩的女性（調查時間 35 歲以上的婦女）能自己決定是否工作的比例高達 71.8%，而較年輕的婦女則為 50.0%。至於閩南婦女則是完全相反的結果，叫年長者為 34.6%，較年輕一輩則為 47.7。這種趨勢似乎可以說明客家婦女對於家庭經濟負擔更多責任，而對傳統閩客婦女的看法在年長婦女的決策模式上也獲得印證；但是對於年輕的婦女，族群差異則似乎已經逐漸消失。這種結果也呼應 William J. Goode (1970) 所言，工業化的發展的結果，年輕人不再需要由長輩處獲得經濟與工作的保障。

就台灣地區目前的人口結構而言，外省族群約佔 14%，而閩南族群及客家族群則分別約佔 74% 及 12%。因此，若欲探究台灣漢人族群之夫妻權力關係的族群間差異，則外省族群也是不可忽略的一重要部分。實際上外省族群主要為二次大戰後由大陸各省市撤退至台灣的外省人，也因此這些人並不必然具有相同的文化與地域背景。但是一般的看法多認為，外省族群因戰亂匆促來台的情況下，大部分未與老年父母同住，因此傳統文化之家庭規範與作法對這些外省家庭的影響較不顯著。相對的，閩南族群與客家族群由於已在台灣落戶數代，因此其家庭型態不但較複雜，同時傳統的制約亦較明顯。對外省族群而言，核心家庭是主要的家庭型態，而且家中多數沒有長輩，特別是父母（公婆）同住的情況下，夫妻之間的權力互動傾向較平等的關係，而且妻子參與家庭決策的比重也顯著提昇。

就台灣的婚姻配對模式而言，同質性地位通婚仍是最普遍現象，台灣的民眾仍傾向和自己社會位置相近者結婚，因此族群內婚的現象極為普遍（蔡淑鈴

，1994)。除了同一族群的通婚外，隨著社會變遷族群間的通婚形式也漸趨普遍。早期（1950年以前）由於外省族群大量遷台的結果，更提昇族群間通婚的比率，主要的原因即在於遷台的外省人中男女的性別比為三比一，造成男性若欲結婚時則必須與閩南女性或是客家女性結婚，同時也造成老夫少妻的夫妻配對形式（王甫昌，1993；胡台麗，1990）。而1950年之後，造成族群通婚的主要原因則是因各族群間文化的同化（特別是語言）、父母代的通婚、同一族群居住集中程度的降低、教育的普及所造成的族群接觸機會的增加（王甫昌，1993）。

而閩南族群與客家族群通婚的情況在早期並不多見，其主要原因可分為兩方面。由於客家族群到台灣定居的初期，多集中居住於某些地區，因此並不利於外婚；另一方面，傳統閩南族群對於客家族群的看法有所謂『可取客家人為妻、但不可嫁客家人為妻』的觀念（鐘春蘭，1991），這也導致閩南/客家通婚的情況在早期並不普遍。但是這種現象也隨著語言同化、居住地相鄰等有利通婚條件的普及，而使這兩大族群間的通婚方向不再限於閩南人娶客家人，同時通婚的比例也較過去提昇。

除省籍差異外，婦女就業型態對於婦女家庭地位的影響也值得深入驗證。相關的研究在婦女工作地位的探討，已經由單純比較有無工作提昇至職業位階上之工作地位的差別比較。由於婦女從事非正式工作（informal work）的普遍，並造成台灣經濟快速發展的重要性不斷被論及，對於婦女在非正式部門工作的研究也受到廣泛的注意。而這也意味著這些在家庭企業或家庭農場中工作的女性，其實仍然繼續參與經濟生產的活動，這些婦女與單純在家處理家務、照顧子女的家庭主婦實際上並不相同，她們同樣對於家庭經濟有所貢獻。

婦女 - 尤其是妻子 - 就業是否導致她個人家庭地位的提昇？一般而言，只要當妻子對家庭收入的貢獻與其丈夫相較之下顯的較少，且其生產（工作）所得對家庭而言，仍是輔助性或是被視為家庭的傳統義務，則婦女的就業對提昇其家庭權力與地位並無多大意涵。相對的，在家庭企業或家庭農場中工作的婦

女大多未能獲得獨立的個人薪水，她的權力或資源的提昇也往往就被認定為不如外出工作或受薪階級的女性來的高。因此，是否就業以就工作性質對於婦女家庭地位的影響是這個研究考察的目標之一。在這個研究中我們即嘗試區別正式工作、非正式工作、無工作，以及工作位階高低是否對於婦女家庭地位有不同的影響。

此外，雖然相關研究多指出家庭生命週期這個影響因素的重要性，但是我們仍需要對這項指標作深入探究，因為夫妻間的關係在結婚初期或是後期較融洽，或是妻子在結婚初期或後期擁有較多權力似乎仍不十分清楚。因此，確認受訪者目前所處之家庭階段以並配合其家庭決策模式，將有助於瞭解家庭生命週期對於夫妻權力關係的影響及其差異。而且透過這種不同家庭階段夫妻地位的變化，也有助於研究者確認不同家庭階段中夫妻間之權力互動關係。

因此，這個研究將以夫妻權力關係作為探討婦女家庭地位的重點，而家庭決策模式則作為夫妻權力關係之主要指標，而家庭決策模式將著重在 "家庭經濟" 以及 "子女管教" 這兩項受訪者認為最重要的家庭決策。而研究中也將特別針對族群、婦女工作型態、以及家庭生命週期等影響因素對於夫妻權力關係作深入討論。

然而，隨著台灣經濟發展的過程，多數婦女不但在婚前曾有工作的經驗，即使在結婚以後仍繼續工作，或是因育兒中斷工作待子女稍長再繼續工作的比例都較過去高出許多。而教育的擴張與都市化的發展，不但使婦女更有機會接受義務教育甚至高等教育，也同樣使婦女對於兩性間性別角色關係的看法不同於過去的傳統規範。而家庭型態趨向核心化的轉變，也使得傳統父系家庭中男性成員擁有的優勢地位逐漸消失。因此，在這種社會變遷的情況下，過去研究指出在家庭決策研究中，丈夫權力基礎或許還是主要來自傳統文化的認可，這種論點是否仍具體存在？而且這種傳統文化的影響是否同時影響丈夫與妻子的家庭決策模式？如果家庭決策模式並非全然受到傳統社會文化規範的影響，那麼哪些因素是最重要的影響因素？這些問題都是本研究嘗試解決的主要重點。

## 參、研究方法

### 一、資料來源與樣本

本研究樣本以全省性隨機抽樣獲得之 516 對夫妻及 442 位個別已婚婦女作為研究分析對象。資料來源得自行政院國家科學委員會所委託專題研究計畫『經濟發展與婦女家庭地位：台灣的家庭結構、婦女就業型態與家庭權力結構之關聯』（NSC83-0301-H-001-064；NSC84-2411-H-001-018）之全省性抽樣調查資料。由於前述研究計畫之研究主題著重於探討已婚婦女之家庭結構、就業型態以及家庭權力之關聯，所以在樣本的選擇上限定為在戶籍資料上已婚有偶者，且樣本的抽選將以夫妻配對的方式抽出。

因此在取樣的步驟上，樣本母體限制為年齡在 20 歲至 64 歲的中華民國國民，但此限制主要針對女性樣本，其配偶（丈夫）則不在此限。抽樣設計採分層三階段等機率抽樣原則，抽樣過程是各層獨立進行，第一階段抽出鄉鎮市區，第二階段自中選鄉鎮市區抽出村里，第三階段自中選村里抽出樣本人。其中鄉鎮市區的抽選，依造院轄市、省轄市，以及根據『台灣省鄉鎮類型發展之研究』（羅啟宏，1992）中之分類標準，將臺灣地區 321 個鄉鎮市區（扣除離島以及山地鄉鎮）分成九層，包括台北市、高雄市、臺灣省五省轄市、新興鄉鎮、山地及坡地鄉鎮、工商市鎮、綜合性市鎮、偏遠鄉鎮、服務性鄉鎮，並依照各層人口總數之百分比等比例分配樣本數。而第二階段村裡的抽選，則根據已抽出之鄉鎮市區內各村里高中以上教育程度人口比例排序，各鄉鎮市區再抽出兩個村里。第三階段樣本人的抽選則以該村里之戶籍名冊進行隨機抽樣，抽出之樣本同時包括丈夫及妻子。共計抽出 1008 對正取樣本，另外為防止失敗樣本出現，採膨脹 1.5 倍方式抽選備取樣本，共得 2520 對夫妻。預計訪問成功樣本中夫妻配對樣本與個別婦女樣本各佔一半，訪問完成後總計成功樣本包括 516 對夫妻以及 442 為已婚婦女。



## 二、主要變項說明

本研究主要在探討臺灣地區之家庭決策模式，除了一般性的家庭決策模式外，同時也探討家庭決策的影響因素及其影響模式。因此在本研究中依變項主要為家庭決策，自變項則包括年齡、教育資源差異、職業聲望差異、居住地都市化程度、性別角色態度、自主性婚姻決策、省籍、家庭類型、工作特質、家庭生命週期、及家庭總收入等。

### （一）依變項：家庭決策

過去對於家庭決策的選則與測量，多是根據研究者事先主觀選取重要的家庭決策（Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Centers, 1971）；或者只是挑選幾項最適合研究題目的決策作為指標（Mirowsky, 1985; Cheung et al., 1985）。但是研究者認定重要的家庭決策事項並不一定為受訪者接受，同時根據研究主題選定決策事項的結果也往往不易看出家庭決策的全貌。

因此在這個研究中，在進行臺灣地區大規模抽樣調查之前，除利用預試問卷進行家庭決策事項題目的篩選外，也利用焦點團體訪談（focus group Interview）以及深入訪談（in-depth interview）的訪問結果，選取一般受訪者認為最重要的家庭決策。最後共選取出十三項重要的家庭決策，包括：丈夫的職業、妻子是否外出工作或改變工作、家用支出分配、儲蓄投資保險、一般喜慶賀禮數額、要不要買新房子、要不要搬家、要不要與上一代（下一代）同住、奉養父母方式、生孩子、子女管教問題、子女升學問題、子女婚嫁等。

至於決策者類別，亦即家庭決策是由家庭成員中何人決定，傳統分類中多集中在丈夫決定、妻子決定及夫妻共同決定等類別，而後再加入其他人決定這個選項（伊慶春與蔡瑤玲，1989）。但是其他人決定的處理方式卻無法看出包含

哪些人在決策過程內，特別是各項家庭決策的特性並不相同，因此可能包含在決策過程中的家庭成員並不一定相同，因此在問卷的選項中即詳列各種可能的決策者，除了丈夫、妻子外，還有長輩如（岳）父母、公婆，晚輩如子女、媳婦、夫方或妻方的親戚等也包括在內。此外根據前述的訪談過程與預試的結果發現，所有家庭成員一起共同做決定也是目前家庭中一種可能的決策方式。

但是經過資料回收整理後發現，大部分的家庭決策的主要決策者仍是屬於丈夫決定、妻子定、或夫妻共同決定的範疇內，相對的其他人參與決策的比例都不高，只有在一些較特殊的家庭決策上，如子女婚嫁、父母的居住安排上其他家庭成員的參與決策程度才會提高。因此在這部分探討家庭決策模式中，主要將決策者仍將區分為：主要由丈夫做決定、主要由妻子做決定、夫妻一起做決定、其他人做決定等四類。而在決策影響模式的分析中將剔除其他人做決策及不適用的樣本，以清楚瞭解夫妻間的權力關係。

## （二）自變項

### (1)教育資源差異及職業聲望差異

根據資源論的觀點，擁有相對較多資源的一方在權力過程中應享有較高的支配地位，因此我們將以教育資源差異及職業聲望差異這兩個自變項來驗證這個論點。而這兩項個人資源差異部分，我們將以絕對差異的方式呈現，也就是說夫妻雙方在實際接受教育年數的差距，以及夫妻雙方所從事的工作之職業聲望的差距。職業聲望的分數是根據 Treiman(1997)所建立之國際標準職業聲望量表的分數所獲得。

### (2)居住都市化程度及性別角色態度

以產業結構的面向來定義城鄉差異或都市化程度是一般研究區分都市化程度最常採用的分級標準。但是除了產業結構外，人口特性、公共設施、財政狀況、以及地理環境也同樣具有區辨都市化的效果 (羅啟宏，1992)，因此藉由抽

樣架構中建立的各層級鄉鎮的分類標準，將都市化程度粗分為兩組，(1)都市地區：包括台北市、高雄市、台灣省五省轄市、工商發展性市鎮，如板橋市、中和市、永和市；(2)城鎮及鄉村地區：包括其他各級鄉鎮。詳細分類內容請參考本計畫之研究成果報告。

性別角色態度將利用調查問卷中的態度量表加總獲得。在性別角色態度量表中共計有九個題目，各回答選項給分標準為：非常同意 4分，有點同意 3分，不太同意 2分，很不同意 1分，其中無意見、不同意、不了解題意、拒答者 0分，再將正反向題目調整之後，將各題目分數累加，以總分作為性別角色態度之分數，分數愈高者代表其性別角色態度愈傾向平等，分數愈低者代表其性別角色態度傾向愈不平等。

### (3)工作特質

由於過去的研究，對於婦女就業的結果對於家庭地位的提昇並無一致的看法 (Gallin, 1984; Kung, 1976; 呂玉瑕, 1984; 伊慶春與蔡瑤玲, 1989)。造成這種不一致結果的主要原因，即可能在於妻子就業型態或是其職業內容，因此欲對於婦女就業對家庭權力關係的影響有完整的了解，詳細探討妻子的就業內容或是其工作特性，或許會比單純探討妻子有無工作來得有效。

因此在工作特質部份的處理將分成三大類，(1)正式工作：包括受雇於私人事業、公營黨營事業、學校教育機構、政府機構等；(2)非正式工作：包括為自己工作且有雇用人員、為自己工作且無雇用人員、為家裡工作有薪水、為家裡工作無薪水等；(3)無工作：包括家庭主婦、目前無工作者。

### (4)家庭生命週期

雖然 Duvall (1957)所提出之八個家庭階段是探討家庭生命週期最主要的分類方法，但由於在樣本抽樣過程中已經將女性受訪者年齡限制在 20至 64歲，所以樣本的整體特性不易呈現出各種家庭階段的變化，亦即已進入較後期家庭階段的樣本數可能明顯少於全體樣本。因此，為了避免各家庭階段樣本數差異

太大，但又需保留家庭階段的階段性變化特質的考慮，我們將家庭生命週期分成三個不同的階段：結婚以後至最小的子女滿六歲、最小的子女六歲後至最小的子女滿二十歲、最小的子女二十歲以後等三種。而選擇最小子女作為分類標準，主要是考慮到家庭中年紀較小的子女對於家庭或父母的依賴程度高於較年長的子女，因此以最小子女的年齡作為分類標準較能符合家庭階段的劃分。

#### (5)省籍及家庭類型

族群研究是近來社會學研究的重點，但是將這個影響因素放在夫妻權力或是家庭決策研究上的研究卻不多見，反而是人類學在這方面的探討較多也獲得不少成果，但是由於研究對象仍著重在鄉村地區或是傳統地區，實際上並不易發現整體的差異。因此，在族群分類上我們將全部樣本分成三大類：閩南人、客家人、大陸各省市三種，並以閩南人作為參考組。

以家庭類型的分類而言，核心家庭、主幹家庭、擴展家庭仍是主要的三種家庭型態。其中核心家庭 (60.2 %)除了包含所謂父母以及未婚子女的家庭以外，夫妻兩人為主且無子女的家庭也包含在內；而主幹家庭 (28.5 %)則是包括夫妻、一位已婚子女、孫子女、其他未婚子女；擴展家庭 (10.5 %)則是由夫妻及其兩位或以上的已婚子女所組成，其中也包括聯合家庭 (joint family)的家庭型態在內。

### 三、分析單位及資料處理

近年來關於家庭社會學的研究，以同時考察夫妻兩人為主要的研究趨勢。但是在台灣地區關於家庭方面、夫妻權力關係方面的研究，資料大多得自研究者自行收集之小規模樣本，欲以少數的資料去推估一般性的社會現象，很容易產生偏誤，且代表性可能也不足。而若使用全省性抽樣調查資料如：台灣社會變遷研究、台灣社會意向研究等，卻往往因各次調查之研究主題並非完全符合研究者需要以及研究架構而無法有效利用。此外部份已經採用夫妻配對樣本研

究，在樣本數方面仍無法完全顯示台灣地區的一般性現況，而只能看出地區性的特點 (伊慶春與蔡瑤玲，1989)。

因此，本研究除了在樣本總數方面擴大至一千五百受訪者的規模，同時其中也包含五百對的夫妻配對樣本，藉由同時考察夫妻兩人的反應與回答，以獲得家庭中夫妻雙方對於家庭決策的決策模式與運作方式，更容易了解夫妻之間的權力關係。在分析過程中將丈夫樣本與妻子樣本分開進行各項分析，故在丈夫樣本部份有 516 位，妻子樣本則因加入個別接受訪問的已婚婦女 442 位，所以妻子樣本的樣本總數為 958 位。

## 肆、研究結果

### 一、家庭決策模式

關於家庭決策或夫妻權力關係的研究與調查，多指出夫妻共同決定家庭事務是家庭內最普遍的決策模式，而大部份由妻子做決定或丈夫做決定的比重則相對降低許多。而本次研究資料分析的結果大致印證過去的研究結論，由表 1 家庭內重要決策事項之決策模式顯示，大多數的受訪者其家庭決策還是採用夫妻共同決定的方式所產生，特別是關於家庭生活中的家庭收支安排與使用方面的決策 (包括家庭收支分配、儲蓄與投資、喜慶賀禮數額、買新房子、搬家)，以及居住安排問題 (與父母同住、父母的奉養問題) 與子女問題 (生子女、子女管教、子女升學) 的相關決策最為明顯。而且這種共同決策的模式也同時顯現在丈夫樣本及妻子樣本的結果上，其中生小孩這項家庭決策在丈夫樣本及妻子樣本部份有高達 71% 及 66% 的受訪者都是採用夫妻共同決策的方式達成決定；比率較低者如是否與上一代或下一代同住也有 41% 採行共同決策。

在這些家庭決策事項中 " 丈夫的職業 (或工作選擇 )"、 " 妻子是否外出工作或改變工作 "、以及 " 子女婚嫁 " 則是比較不同的決策型態。夫妻各自的工作選擇與變換還是傾向由當事人做主要的決定，以丈夫的職業而言，83%的丈夫及82%妻子受訪者都回答這項決定主要由丈夫做決定，其次則由夫妻兩人共同決定，由妻子決定的比率則幾乎接近於零。相對的妻子是否出外工作這項決策，雖然妻子作主要決定的比率最高 (丈夫樣本佔47%，妻子樣本佔44%)，而夫妻共同決定的比率也顯著上升至30%，而13%的男性受訪者及14%女性受訪者，回答其家庭內關於妻子是否外出工作的決策完全是由丈夫作決定。至於子女婚嫁問題則因牽涉在內的家人成員較多，而且是涉及兩個家庭的事件，加以現代社會變遷的結果，父母在決策權上的重要性也相對降低，這種現象可由其他人做決策的比重 (丈夫樣本：41.3%，妻子樣本：36.32%)高於前三者的總和得知。至於子女婚嫁的決定權，扣除不適用的樣本，也大約只有三成的受訪者參與子女的婚姻決策 (丈夫樣本：32.6%，丈夫樣本：34.8%)。換言之，子女婚嫁這項家庭決策的主要決定權掌握在夫妻以外的其他人手中，也就是由子女主控的可能性已顯著提昇。

表1中呈現的丈夫樣本與妻子樣本之家庭決策的決策者分佈狀況，有一現象值得深入探討。假若將家庭決策事項捨去夫妻雙方的就業問題不多討論，而集中在家庭經濟、父母奉養方式與安排、以及子女問題方面，我們可發現不論是丈夫樣本或是妻子樣本都顯示出丈夫是家庭中主要的決策者。而妻子涉入較深的家庭決策則主要是 " 家用支出分配 " (丈夫做決定與妻子做決定的比例分別為，丈夫樣本：31% vs.16%，妻子樣本：32% vs.17%)，以及 " 子女管教問題 " (丈夫做決定與妻子做決定的比例分別為，丈夫樣本：17% vs.10%，妻子樣本：22% vs.10%)。

此外，如要不要與上一代或下一代同住以及奉養父母的方式等家庭決策，有較高的比例是由夫妻以外的家人做決定。丈夫樣本中，34%的受訪者回答是否與父母同住並非由他們夫妻自己決定，而30%的受訪者也反應父母的奉養方式也非其夫妻所能決定。對應妻子樣本的結果也顯示相同的比例，在這兩項家

庭決策的比例分別為 38%及 32%。其中值得注意的是，其他人做決定這個類別實際上包括了兩個主要選項：不需要做決定、家庭中其他成員做決定。而不需要做決定的比例 ( 18% --21% )也呈現一個中國父權社會的實際狀況，亦即已婚兒子奉養父母或與父母同住已成為一社會規範，無須多做任何決策與安排。

基本上，表 1所列出的各項家庭決策大致可分為四個主要的類別：工作、家庭經濟、父母奉養、子女事務。此外，夫妻共同決定雖然是家庭決策模式最主要的型態，然而由表列的數值我們仍可看出丈夫與妻子在各項家庭決策中決策權的消長與變化。但是相關的研究對於丈夫與妻子是否對於家庭中最重要決策事項有相同的看法仍未獲得一致的結論。由表 2的資料可以發現，對本次調查大多數的受訪者而言，不論是丈夫樣本或是妻子樣本，都顯示 " 子女管教問題 " 被認為是家庭內最重要的決策事項 (平均值 22%，丈夫樣本 20.3%，妻子樣本 23.3%)。而其他被受訪者認為最重要的家庭決策事項如 " 家用支出分配 " (7.6%)、" 丈夫的職業 " (7.5%)、及 " 子女升學問題 " (7.3%) 等，但其受人重視的程度相對於 " 子女管教問題 " 則大幅度降低。這種現象正說明當前台灣社會中，為人父母者普遍認為與子女有關的事務是家庭中最重要的事。這種結果同樣也顯示，當社會快速變遷以及西方文化的影響，西方家庭的自由主義作風以及傳統中國家庭的權威式管教相互衝擊的情況下，父母對於子女的教養問題自然投入更多心力，同時這個主題也將引起更廣泛的探討 (朱瑞玲，1989; 伊慶春與朱瑞玲，1993; 朱瑞玲，1996)。

表 2同時也顯示出高達 36.3%的受訪者表示上述之家庭決策事項的重要性很難決定、不知道、或是都很重要。由於過去的研究多顯示 " 家庭經濟 " 是家庭內除了子女管教問題以外較重要的決策事項，因此在訪問過程中即再追問這些無明確答案的受訪者嘗試就 " 家用支出分配 "、" 儲蓄投資保險 "、" 喜慶賀禮數額 "、" 買新房子 " 等四項關於家庭經濟方面的決策事項擇一，作為最重要的家庭決策事項。將這些受訪者的追問答案調整之後發現：" 家用支出分配 " 這項決策事項的重要性很明顯躍升至首位 (平均達 29%)，而且這種轉變

也同時表現在丈夫樣本及妻子樣本的回答上。這個發現再次印證先前類似研究主題之研究結果 (Yi & Yang, 1995)。

很顯然的，欲確認 " 子女管教問題 " 或是 " 家用支出分配 " 何者才是家庭中最重要之決策事項，家庭生命週期的概念 (或是家中是否有未成年子女) 則是必須加以探討的重要影響因素。因此在這部份的分析我們將以妻子樣本作為分析的資料，根據家中是否有二十歲以下未成年子女作為標準，將妻子樣本分為兩組，其中一組目前家中有未成年子女 (671人)，另一組家中目前無二十歲以下未成年子女 (287人) (包括剛結婚無子女、未生育子女、及子女都已成人)。

經過資料分析與調整過後可以發現 (附錄)，受訪者家庭中目前有未成年子女的受訪者認為 "子女管教問題" 是最重要的家庭決策事項的比例仍佔第一位 (27%)。相對的即使經過資料調整，"家用支出分配" 的重要性 (22%) 仍不及 "子女管教問題"。但是對於目前家中無未成年子女的妻子受訪者而言，在資料未調整前 "子女管教問題" 雖仍佔有最重要的位置 (19%)，經過資料調整後，"家用支出分配" 這項決策的重要性即產生明顯的改變 (35%)，成為家庭中最重要之決策事項。換句話說，對於受訪者本身而言，其目前所處之家庭階段實際上會影響他對於重要家庭決策的認定與看法。

## 二、家庭決策模式的影響因素

在這一節中我們將探討各種影響因素如個人資源特質、家庭環境等如何影響家庭決策模式，就將利用 "子女管教問題" 及 "家用支出分配" 這兩個重要的家庭決策，分別探討其不同的影響模式。如同前述分析的結果，夫妻共同決定是最普遍的決策模式，而且夫或妻做決定的比例也顯然高於其他人做決定，因此在接續的分析中我們擬將決策者限制在夫妻的權力關係中。因此，在依變相部份的決策者部份將分為 "丈夫決定"、"妻子決定"、"夫妻一同決定"



這三種類別，其中丈夫做決定包括 " 完全由丈夫做決定 " 以及 " 大部分由丈夫做決定 "，妻子做決定同樣也包括 " 完全由妻子做決定 " 以及 " 大部分由妻子做決定 "。在以下的多類別邏輯迴歸分析中，將針對三個比較組別 (丈夫決定 / 妻子決定、丈夫決定 / 妻子一起決定、夫妻一起決定 / 妻子決定) 的迴歸係數探討相關影響因素對於台灣地區家庭之家庭決策模式的影響關係與趨勢。

### (一) 家用支出的分配

在 "家用支出分配" 這項家庭決策上，夫妻共同決定仍佔最多數 (丈夫樣本 46%，妻子樣本 44%)，但是主要由妻子個人做決策的比率仍相當高 (丈夫樣本 31%，妻子樣本 32%)，相較之下由丈夫做決策 (丈夫樣本 61%，妻子樣本 17%) 的比率則很顯著的下降。而為深入了解 "家用支出分配" 的決策影響模式，亦即這個家庭決策的主要決策者是誰會受到哪些因素影響，以下將利用多類別邏輯迴歸分析方法加以探討，表 3 與表 4 則顯示分析之結果。

相關研究多指出婦女地位之高低與經濟發展程度以及婦女本身的社經資源有極密切之關係。在這部份的分析中，我們發現在丈夫樣本以及妻子樣本的夫妻共同決定 / 妻子決定這個比較組，都顯示出都市化程度對於家庭決策模式的影響效果。亦即都市化程度愈高的地區，妻子擁有愈多的家庭決策權 (與夫妻共同決策者比較)。換句話說，居住在都市地區的婦女，在 "家用支出分配" 這項決策上參與決策的比例有高於鄉村地區的趨勢。

就性別角色態度對 "家用支出分配" 決策的影響而言，可以發現受訪者若是具有愈現代的性別角色觀念，在這項家庭決策的處理方式上則愈傾向由夫妻兩人做決定或是由妻子做主要的決定，而非全然由丈夫做決定。而且這種結果不論是妻子樣本或是丈夫樣本，在 "丈夫做決定 / 妻子做決定" 以及 "丈夫做

決定 / 夫妻兩人一起做決定 " 的比較組中都可發現此現象。此結果亦驗證了丈夫的權力隨著現代性的性別角色觀念之普及而有相對減弱的趨勢。

過去的研究大都指出妻子本身有工作或者說夫妻間的職業聲望差異較小的話，妻子在家庭決策上應該會擁有較多的決策權；根據妻子樣本的分析結果，則部份支持這種論點與看法。我們將工作性質大致分成三類別：正式性工作、非正式性工作、以及家庭主婦。從事非正式性工作的妻子在 " 家用支出分配 " 這項決策並無顯著的決定權，在其家庭中 " 夫妻兩人一起做決定 " 反而是最普遍的現象。這種現象的可能解釋即在於所謂 " 非正式工作 " 指稱的即是家庭企業或是家庭農場中的工作，而這種將工作與家庭生活結合在一起的情況，更易使夫妻兩人一起處理家庭經濟方面的決策事項。

在相關的家庭影響因素中，家庭類型在本次分析中並未如預期顯示其影響效果。然而，家庭生命週期在 " 家用支出分配 " 決策上的影響則有不同階段的變化。表 3 與表 4 顯示，特別是在 " 夫妻兩人一起做決定 / 妻子做決定 " 的比較組中可能看出，妻子的決策權隨著家庭生命週期的發展而增加，在分析結果中可以看到當子女入小學後（最小子女 7 至 20 歲）以及子女長大後（最小子女 20 歲以後），妻子在家用支出分配上的決策權相對增加。妻子樣本中另一個比較組 " 丈夫做決定 / 妻子做決定 " 中，受訪者的家庭目前若是在子女就學階段（子女七至二十歲），會比婚後至最小子女六歲階段的受訪者更傾向由妻子做主要決定（ $\beta = -0.5915$ ），而非丈夫做決定。這種結果顯示，隨著家庭階段的逐步發展，丈夫的決策權（不論是自己做決定或是與妻子一起做決定）的比例

都會相信降低。換言之，當家庭生命週期愈往後發展，妻子在家用支出分配這項決策的決定權也將相對增加。

在家庭總收入方面，在丈夫樣本方面則看不出顯著的影響效果。但是在妻子樣本的分析結果發現，在“丈夫做決定／夫妻兩人一起做決定”比較組中，凡是家庭總收入愈高的家庭，愈傾向由夫妻兩人一起處理家庭支出分配方面的相關決策（ $\beta = -0.4753$ ），而非全然由丈夫做決定。雖然其他組別的影響效果並不顯著，但我們也可發現一重要的現象，在妻子樣本中，家庭總收入較高的家庭裡夫妻一起處理家用支出分配是最普遍的現象，由丈夫做決定者的比例最低。但是在丈夫樣本中，夫妻兩人一起決定比例仍佔最重要位置，但是家庭收入較高的家庭裡，丈夫做決定的可能性卻於妻子。這種結果可能是出現在丈夫與妻子雙方對於家用支出分配定義與看法的差異所造成的結果。

研究過程中，最有趣的發現即在於不同族群對“家用支出分配”這項家庭決策的影響，以及與過去研究不一致的結果。傳統的刻板印象以及人類學研究多認為，因婦女參與大不分的勞動工作，所以客家婦女比閩南婦女掌握更多家庭經濟大權。經由受訪者省籍與家庭決策者的交叉分析中發現，雖然客家族群家庭中“夫妻兩人一起做決定”仍佔最高比例（52.8%），但是主要由丈夫做決策的比例（2.57%）卻是三大族群中最高者（閩南人 16.7%，外省人 18.3%）；相對的，主要由妻子做決定的比例在客家族群則為 21.53%，另外兩個族群的比例都超過三成。

邏輯迴歸分析的結果也顯示，在控制其他影響因素之後，省籍因素實際上有顯著的差別效果，客家婦女在“家用支出分配”這個決策事項上的決策權較閩南婦女低。換言之，目前在客家族群的家庭中丈夫實際上擁有較高的權力。這種結果完全呈現在妻子樣本的分析結果，丈夫樣本雖也呈現一致的效果，但卻未達顯著效果。

在而在外省族群與閩南族群的比較上，在丈夫樣本及妻子樣本的結果卻呈現完全不同的結果，根據表 3 妻子樣本的結果顯示，在 ” 丈夫做決定 / 妻子做決定 ” 及 ” 丈夫做決定 / 夫妻兩人一起做決定 ” 兩個比較組中，外省族群的家庭比閩南族群的家庭更傾向由丈夫決定關於家用支出分配的決策。但是丈夫樣本的分析結果（表 4），卻又顯示外省族群的婦女較閩南族群的婦女在家庭中對於家用支出分配擁有較多的決定權。由於這部分的分析並未將夫妻雙方的省籍同時納入考慮，因此，我們再針對夫妻雙方的省籍與決策模式再做交叉分析，其結果將更有助於釐清省籍因素的不同影響效果，同時更能說明上述矛盾的結果。

表 5 顯示出各種省籍配對的夫妻及其家庭決策模式之交叉分析結果。包括丈夫樣本以及妻子樣本，其前三行的結果即顯示相同族群通婚之夫妻，在其家庭中 ” 家用支出分配 ” 這項決策主要由妻子決定的高低順序。我們發現不論是妻子樣本或是丈夫樣本，若夫妻兩人都是屬於外省族群的家庭，妻子在 ” 家用支出分配 ” 決策上的決定權最高，特別是丈夫樣本更加顯著。在閩南族群的家庭中，妻子參與決策的權力則次於外省族群；但是對閩南族群的家庭而言，夫妻共同決策才是最普遍的決策模式，而丈夫做決策的比例也低於前兩種決策模式。至於客家族群的家庭決策模式，妻子做主要決定的比例不但低於夫妻共同決定，同時也低於丈夫做決定。整體而言，就妻子的決策權高低，外省族群的妻子擁有最高的家庭權力，其次是閩南族群的婦女，而客家婦女之權力在三族群中居最低之地位。

由表 5 我們也發現，在不同族群配對的夫妻之家庭中，夫妻共同做決定是最普遍的決策模式（比例由 42% 至 70%），其中只有丈夫樣本中的 ” 客家 / 外省 ” 的夫妻配對方式例外。儘管夫妻共同決策是這些不同族群配對夫妻的主要決策模式，但是根據表 5 的結果我們也發現以下三種特性：（ 1 ）丈夫是外省人的妻子，不論是閩南人或是客家人，在家用支出分配這項決策的決策權顯然都高於丈夫。（ 2 ）丈夫是閩南人的妻子在這部分的決策權則次於外省人的妻子，但是就夫妻之間的決策權比較而言，妻子仍然稍高於丈夫（其中妻子樣本

之閩南 / 客家的夫妻配對組中，丈夫的決策權則稍高於妻子）。（3）丈夫是客家人的妻子，則是三大族群中唯一妻子之決策權次於丈夫者（唯一的例外出現在丈夫樣本中的客家 / 閩南的夫妻）。

上述結果似乎顯示，婦女若與外省族群或閩南族群的男性結婚，在家用支出分配方面的決策將擁有較高的家庭決策權，而與客家族群的男性結婚的女性在這部分的決策權責低於其丈夫。根據結果呈現之外省族群 - 閩南族群 - 客家族群的妻子決策權之高低順序也正可說明前述邏輯回歸分析結果中與過去研究不一致之處。

## （二）子女管教問題

子女數下降是現代家庭的主要特徵之一。以本次權衡性抽樣調查獲得的資料顯示，五十歲以上的受訪者家庭其平均生育子女數約 3.81 人，四十至五十歲的受訪者家庭為 3.05 人，而三十至四十歲的受訪者家庭則已降低至 2.42 人。在這種子女數減少，加上物質生活也較過去獲得改善的情況下，相對的父母也投注更多的心力在子女養育方面，也因此「子女管教問題」普遍被受訪者認為是最重要的家庭決策，特別是有未成年子女的家庭，這種現象更加明顯。在「子女管教問題」這項家庭決策方面，夫妻共同決策的比例最高（丈夫樣本：66%；妻子樣本：61%）。而主要由妻子作決策或丈夫做決策者分別約只佔二成及一成。由此可見，子女管教問題之複雜性，完全由夫妻任何一方做決策的可能性都相對降低。

為了明確了解各個相關因素如何影響「子女管教」的決策模式，以下的分析仍將採用邏輯回歸分析方法加以檢驗。表 6 與表 7 則分別代表妻子樣本與丈夫樣本的分析結果，由各項分析數據可以看出年齡、教育資源差異、居住地的都市化程度、性別角色態度、省籍、家庭類型、家庭生命週期、家庭總收入等

因素對於 ” 子女管教問題 ” 決策模式都產生不同程度的影響，以下將分不同因素加以探討。

由妻子樣本的結果可以發現，就受訪者的年齡而言，再控制其他影響因素之後，年紀愈大的受訪者家庭中，有關子女管教問題傾向由丈夫做主要決策，而且這種情況甚至超過夫妻共同決策的可能性 ( $\chi^2 = 0.0697$ )。這種年齡的影響效果雖然也顯示在丈夫樣本的分析結果，但是卻未達到顯著水準。因此我們再利用年齡、子女數與決策模式再作一交叉分析，以了解不同世代間對子女管教問題的實際作法。結果顯示五十歲以上的受訪者，而且家中子女數超過四人以上者，夫妻一起做決定的人數最少 (21.3% )。相反的，丈夫，亦即父親才是家庭中主要的子女管教者 (36% )，其次才是母親 (29.3%)，但是在其他年齡層所顯示的結果則仍是以 ” 夫妻一起做決定 ” 為最普遍的現況。這種結果也顯示，傳統中國家庭中負權主義仍深刻影響老一輩的父母特別是在子女的管教方面。

至於夫妻之間教育程度的差距，對於子女管教問題具有極顯著的影響效果。當夫妻之間教育程度差異愈大時，亦即丈夫的教育程度高於妻子時，在子女管教方面丈夫會擁有絕對優勢的決策權。而即使不是全然由丈夫做決定也會傾向由夫妻兩人共同做決定，而不是由妻子主導子女管教的決策。這個結果完全符合交換理論所言，個人資源條件的優勢會影響到夫妻權力關係的表現。而且子女管教問題本身的性質除了養育之外，教育更是極重要的一部份，由家庭中教育程度較高者作為這項家庭決策的主要決策人，此種安排亦符合一般人看法與作法。

另外一項時值性資源 --- 工作特質 --- 對於 ” 子女管教問題 ” 決策的影響效果也類似教育程度。由丈夫樣本的分析結果可發現，從事家戶以外正式性工作的丈夫比起沒有工作或是從事家庭企業、家庭農場的丈夫在這個決策上更傾向由自己做決定，而不事採用夫妻共同決定或是妻子決定的方式。但是妻子樣本的結果並不顯著。

現代化與都市化這兩項因素同樣深刻影響夫妻在“子女管教問題”這項重要家庭決策的決定模式。就性別角色態度而言，在妻子樣本部分可以發現，愈具有現代化傾向之性別角色態度的妻子，在家庭中會比其丈夫在“子女管教”方面擁有較多的決策權，且妻子做主要決策的可能性亦較高於夫妻一起做決定（ $\beta = -0.0428$ ）。而且這種影響模式也出現在丈夫樣本的分析結果中，及丈夫的性別角色態度愈現代傾向的話，家庭中關於子女教養方面的決策也多由妻子負責，但是其影響效果同樣未達到顯著水準。

居住地都市化程度的影響與性別角色態度有相同的效果，根據分析資料可以發現，都市地區的家庭在子女管教問題方面也比鄉村地區的家庭傾向由妻子做決定，或傾向由夫妻兩人一起做決策，而且在丈夫樣本也可部分看出這種影響模式。由以上對於年齡、教育程度、現代化、以及都市化對於“子女管教問題”的探討，我們可以得到一初步結論，也就是社會變遷的結果不但使傳統社會規範負與丈夫的權力的減弱的趨勢外，社會發展的另一結果也使夫妻間的權力關係趨向較平等的境地。

而家庭生命週期的階段性變化確實會影響“子女管教問題”的決策模式。由妻子樣本中三個比較組的整合分析可以發現，隨著家庭生命週期的發展，妻子在子女管教方面擁有愈來愈多的決策權。尤其是當子女都成年後，妻子在子女事物方面的決策權明顯增加，而夫妻一起做決定、以及丈夫做決定的比例則相對下降。

在家庭類型的影響方面，在丈夫樣本方面則看不出顯著的影響效果；但是在妻子樣本的分析結果則發現，在“丈夫作決定／妻子做決定”以及“夫妻共同決定／妻子做決定”兩比較組中，擴展家庭、主幹家庭與核心家庭在“子女管教問題”的決策模式有顯著的差異，也就是說在擴展家庭、主幹家庭都比核心家庭更傾向由妻子做主要的決策。而至於家庭總收入方面，在妻子樣本的“丈夫作決定／夫妻一起做決定”的比較組中，總收入欲高的家庭，欲傾向由夫妻兩人一起處理家庭支出分配方面的相關決策。

如同“家用支出分配”的決策影響模式，族群因素對於“子女管教問題”的影響也有極相似的效果。由妻子樣本中客家族群與閩南族群的比較結果發現，客家籍的丈夫在“子女教養問題”方面比閩南籍的丈夫擁有更多的決策權，換言之，客家籍的家庭中丈夫對於子女教養問題擁有最多的決策權，其次才是夫妻共同決定的決策方式，而妻子做決策的可能性最低。丈夫樣本中雖然呈現類似的影響效果，但也都未達顯著水準。

至於外省族群與閩南族群的比較上，丈夫樣本與妻子樣本仍然呈現不相同的結果。丈夫樣本的結果顯示，外省族群的家庭比起閩南家庭傾向由妻子做決策，但是妻子樣本的結果卻顯示控制其他影響因素後，外省族群的家庭比起閩南族群的家庭更傾向由丈夫做主要的決策。因此，我們也在根據受訪夫妻的省籍配對組合與“子女管教問題”決策模式做一交叉分析。

表 8 的結果顯示，包括張夫樣本與妻子樣本，“夫妻共同決定”仍是各類行族群配對家庭中最普遍的決策方式。但是就妻子的決策權而言，丈夫樣本以及妻子樣本仍有差異。在丈夫樣本中，外省族群的妻子仍具有最高的決策權，其次分別為閩南族群、客家族群。而妻子樣本則閩南族群的妻子具有最多的決策權，其次為外省族群，最低者為客家族群。因此可以確定在這三個族群中，客家族群的婦女在子女教養問題方面的決策權較低。而在不同族群配對的夫妻中，我們可看出幾點趨勢：（1）夫妻共同決策方式仍是處理子女教養問題的主要決策模式。（2）妻子的決策權普遍高於丈夫的決策權（其中丈夫樣本中的客家／外省、外省／客家兩組配對方式例外）。（3）丈夫為外省籍的妻子叫丈夫為敏看及或客家籍的妻子有較高的決策權（其中丈夫樣本及妻子樣本中的外省／客家配對方式例外）。



## 伍、結論與討論

在本研究中，我們利用家庭之相關權力關係以評估婦女地位，並使用家庭決策模式之結果以做為家庭權力這個包含多種面向權力概念的具體指標。雖然傳統家庭決策模式主要可分為三大類，主要由丈夫做決定、夫妻共同做決定、以及主要由妻子做決定，但是目前的台灣社會中各項重要的家庭決策是向仍以夫妻共同決定的決策模式最為普遍，這個結果也印證相關研究所提出的論點。

在各項重要家庭決策是向中，如工作的選擇與轉換、家庭經濟的管理與安排、年老父母的安養問題、以及子女相關問題等，研究結果顯示”子女管教問題”對於目前家庭中有未成年子女的受訪者來說是最重要的決策事項；對於全體受訪者而言，”家用支出分配”則躍升為為最重要的家庭決策，特別是家中沒有未成年子女者。因此，接續的分析研究及針對這兩項重要的家庭決策詳細深入探討，並藉以作為研究婦女家庭地位之具體指標。

因此為詳細了解有關”子女管教問題”以及”家用支出分配”這兩項家庭重要決策的影響模式，我們採用邏輯迴歸分析方法加以分析，嘗試了解交換理論對於夫妻權力關係的理論假設是否成立，以及家庭發展過程、現代化對於家庭決策模式是否也造成影響。研究結果發現，交換理論的論點只受到部份的支持，在”子女管教問題”方面，由於牽涉到教養的問題，丈夫或妻子個人擁有的資源，特別是教育背景成為一個極重要的影響因素，在大部分家庭中擁有較高教育程度的丈夫在子女管教問題上有較多的決策權；但是這種影響並未發現在”家用支出分配”決策上，可能的解釋在於家庭經濟管理多屬於較瑣碎的事項，其重要性不如老年父母的安養、丈夫工作等問題，因此個人資源的優勢並不亦表現在這類的決策事項上。雖然如此，我們仍發現幾點值得繼續探究的現象。

在邏輯迴歸分析中所使用的所有相關影響因素中，省籍因素、工作性質、以及家庭生命週期這三個重要變相的顯著影響效果，對於家庭決策模式研究結

果的累積有重要的發現。整體而言，婦女的家庭決策權隨著家庭生命週期的階段性發展有逐漸增加的趨勢；亦即在三個不同時期的家庭階段中（最小子女未就學、最小子女 7 至 20 歲、最小最小子女 20 歲以上），妻子涉入「家用支出分配」以及「子女教養問題」這兩項家庭決策的比重隨階段發展而增加。換言之，當家庭在子女就學階段時，妻子的決策權及稍高於丈夫；同時在這個階段以及子女成年後，妻子做主要決定的比例也將高於夫妻共同決定。這種現象也顯示家庭生命週期與家庭決策模式之間的確存在極重要的關係，而且隨著家庭階段的發展，台灣地區的婦女在家庭中的決策權也有增加的趨勢。

同樣的，台灣經濟快速發展的結果也導致家庭結構的戲劇性變化，而這種現代化的轉變，也使得婦女勞動參與的比率顯著提高。在我們的研究結果中也發現，居住在都市地區、具有現代性傾向的性別角色態度的受訪者，在其家庭中妻子對於「加用支出分配」及「子女教養問題」這兩項決策擁有較多的家庭決策權。這個趨勢同時顯示在丈夫樣本以及妻字樣本的研究結果，妻子樣本尤其明顯。

至於妻子的工作性質，研究結果顯示從事非正式性工作（如家庭事業、家庭農場等工作）的妻子，「加用支出分配」的決策模式以夫妻共同決策為主。可能的解釋即在於，夫妻在工作與生活之間緊密的伙伴關係，造成家庭經濟方面的管理也產生共同決策的模式。而且對於這些家庭來說，家庭內的家用支出與工作上的財務管理可能形成不可分割的關係，因此分擔財務管理的責任業成為這些受訪者可能採用的方式。相反的，若是妻子在外從事正式性工作的家庭，妻子參與決策的比重將增加，其「加用支出分配」的決策則傾向由妻子或是夫妻共同決策的決策模式。換言之，妻子從事正式性工作時，其丈夫在家庭決策方面的權力將隨之降低。但是妻子工作性質對於「子女管教問題」這項決策權的影響並不顯著，反而是當丈夫從事家戶以外的正式性工作時，對於這項家庭決策具有較多的決策權。

省籍因素對於家庭決策模式的影響也是這個研究及有趣的發現。在三大族群中，夫妻全是外省人的家庭裡，妻子擁有最高的家庭決策權，其次則是閩南族群的家庭，以及客家族群的家庭。即使是在不同族群配對的夫妻家庭中，丈夫是外省人的妻子在「加用支出分配」上也具有最高的決策權。造成這種結果的原因，可能是因為外省族群因遷移以及傳統習慣等因素，極少與年長夫母同住的家庭型態的影響。也因此使得這些嫁給外省族群丈夫的閩南或客家女性在家決策上有較高的決策權。「子女教養問題」雖有類似的影響效果，但是並不十分明顯，其中外省族群的妻子具有最多的決策權。

整體而言，這次關於「加用支出分配」以及「子女教養問題」的研究結果顯示，台灣地區數十年來經濟的成長以及都市化、現代化的發展，不但造成婦女大量投入正式與非正式工作中，大舉提昇婦女勞動參與率，同時也增加婦女在家庭決策的重要性，並有助於提昇婦女的地位，而且婦女家庭地位的提昇也隨著家庭生命週期的變化逐漸增高。而省籍因素對於台灣地區之家庭決策模式的變動與影響也是重要的關鍵因素。

上述的研究發現顯示，台灣地區的妻子在家庭決策模式中角色的重要性，而且隨著家庭決策權的運作也促使其家庭地位逐漸提昇。而如同相關研究指出，夫妻共同決策的決策模式已成為最普遍的決策方式，這也說明在許多家庭決策領域中丈夫獨占式的權力已逐漸減弱中。但是，研究的結果仍無法完整呈現夫妻權力互動關係的全貌。雖然如此，在持續發展的台灣社會中，除了文化傳統以及個人資源因素的影響外，婦女地位的提昇明顯地受到妻子的工作性質、家庭生命週期發展階段、以及省籍因素的影響。

## 參考書目

### 【中文部份】

王甫昌

- 1993 「光復後台灣漢人族群通婚的原因與形式出探」，中央研究院民族學研究所集刊，76：43-96

伊慶春

- 1989 「台北地區夫妻權力的分析」，台灣社會現象的分析：家庭、人口、政策與階層 (中研院三研所叢刊)，頁：115-151，台北：中央研究院三民主義研究所。
- 1992 「夫妻衝突處理模式的影響因素：丈夫、妻子、和夫妻配對樣本的比較」，中國社會學刊，16：25-54

伊慶春與朱瑞玲

- 1993 「華人家庭結構與功能的變遷：台灣、香港、中國、新加坡華人社會的比較研究」，西方社會科學理論的移植與應用（杜祖貽編），頁：79-82，香港：香港中文大學社會科學及教育理論應用研究所出版。

朱瑞玲

- 1989 「親子關係：子女的之決與解釋極其影響」，台灣社會現象的分析：家庭、人口、政策與階層 (中研院三研所叢看)，頁：115-151，台北：中央研究院三民主義研究所。
- 1996 「家庭教化與親子關係研究之檢討」，『親子與夫妻互動研討會』，中央研究院民族學研究所主辦，台北。

呂玉瑕

- 1984 「婦女就業與家庭角色、權力結構之關係」，中央研究院民族學研究所集刊 56：111-143

胡台麗

- 1990 「芋仔與蕃薯 - 談灣「榮民」的族群關係與認同」，中央研究院民族學研究所及刊，69：107-132

莊英章

1994 家族與婚姻：台灣背部兩個閩客村落之研究。台北：中央研究院民族學研究所。

唐先梅

1994 「雙新收入家庭之家事分工」，行政院國家科學委員會專題研究計畫，

計畫編號 NSC84-2412-H-180-001。

陳素櫻

1979 「夫妻價值類型與主婦家庭角色間的關係」，台灣大學社會學研究所碩士論文（未出版）。

張曉春

1974 「現代社會中都市家庭主婦的角色」，中央研究院民族學研究所集刊，37：39-84。

蔡淑鈴

1976 「台灣之婚姻配對模式」中央研究院中山人文社會科學研究所人文及社會科學集刊，第六卷第二期：335-371。

劉清榕

1976 「台灣鄉村結構變遷中之農家主婦」，台灣銀行季刊，27（1）：216-238。

羅啟宏

1992 「台灣省鄉鎮發展類型之研究」，台灣經濟第19期，頁：41-68。

鍾春蘭

1991 娶妻要娶客家妻。台灣客家公共事務協會主編：新客家人。台北：臺原出版社。

## 【英文部份】

Aldous, Joan

1996 Family Careers: Rethinking the Developmental Perspective. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Allen, Craig & Murray A. Straus

1984 "Final Say" Measures of Marital Power: Theoretical Critique and Empirical Findings from Five Studies in the U.S. and India," Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 15(3): 329-344.

Blood, Robert O. Jr. & Donald M. Wolfe

1960     Husbands and Wives. New York: The Free Press.

Centers, Richard, Bertram H. Raven, & Aroldo Rodrigues

- 1971 "Conjugal Power Structure: A Reexamination." *American Sociological Review*, 36(2): 264-278.

Cheung, Paul, Josefina Cabigon, Aphichat Chamrathirong, Peter F. McDonald, Sabila Syed, Andrew Cherlin & Peter C. Smith

- 1985 "Cultural Variations in the Transition to Marriage in Four Asian Societies." International Population Conference, Florence Vol.3.

Eshleman, J. Ross

- 1981 *The Family: An Introduction*. (3rd Edition) Allyn and Bacon, Inc.

Gallin, Rita

- 1984 "The Entry of Chinese Women into the Rural Labor Force: A Case Study from Taiwan". *Signs*, vol.9 no.3

Godwin, D. & J. Scanzoni

- 1989 "Couple Consensus During Marital Joint Decision-Making: A Context, Process, Outcome Model," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 51(november): 943-956.

Hill, Wayne & John Scanzoni

- 1982 "Approach for Assessing Marital Decision-making Processes," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 44(4): 927-941.

Kung, Lydia

- 1976 "Factory Work and Women in Taiwan: Changes in Self-Image and Status" *Signs*: 1976,2,1,pp.35-58

McDonald, Gerald W.

- 1980 "Family Power: The Assessment of a Decade of Theory and Research," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 42(4): 841-854.

Mirowsky, John

- 1985 "Depression and Marital Power: An Equity Model," *American Journal of Sociology*, 91(3): 557-592



Nock Steven L.

1992     Sociology of The Family. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Safilios-Rothschild, Constantina

1970     "The Study of Family Power Structure: A Review 1960-1969." Journal of Marriage and the Family, 32(4): 539-552.

1976     "A Macro- and Micro-examination of Family Power and Love," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 37(May): 355-362.

Scanzini, J.

1979 "Social Process and Power in Families," In Wesley R. Burr et al. (eds),  
Contemporary Theories about the Family(Vol.1),pp.295-316.New York:  
Free Press

Szinovacz, 1987

Yi, Chin-Chun & Wen-Shan Yang

1995 "The Perceived Conflict and Decision-Making Patterns among Husbands  
and Wives in Taiwan",Family Formation and Dissolution: Perspectives  
from East and West, Chin-chun Yi(Ed.). Sun Yat-Sen Institute for Social  
Sciences and Philosophy Book Series(36),pp.129-168. Academia Sinica,  
Taipei, Taiwan

表 1：家庭內重要決策事項之決策模式

百分比（次數）					
家庭決策事項	決 策 者				不適用
	丈夫	夫妻共同	妻子	其他	
丈夫樣本					
丈夫的職業	82.5(426)	10.1 (52)	0.4 (2)	6.8 (35)	0.2 (1)
妻子外出工作	12.6 (65)	29.5(152)	47.1(243)	8.2 (42)	2.7 (14)
家用支出分配	16.0 (83)	45.9(237)	30.6(158)	7.2 (37)	0.2 (1)
儲蓄投資保險	20.0(103)	51.7(267)	19.4(100)	7.2 (37)	1.7 (9)
喜慶賀禮數額	25.5(132)	51.4(265)	12.4 (64)	10.5 (54)	0.2 (1)
買新房子	12.8 (66)	53.9(278)	5.6 (29)	18.4 (95)	9.3 (48)
搬家	12.6 (65)	52.7(272)	4.5 (23)	20.8(107)	9.5 (49)
與上下代同住	15.7 (81)	46.1(238)	1.2 (6)	33.9(175)	3.1 (16)
奉養父母方式	17.7 (91)	45.9(237)	2.2 (11)	29.6(153)	4.5 (23)
生孩子	8.2 (42)	70.5(364)	5.3 (27)	13.8 (71)	2.3 (12)
子女管教問題	10.3 (53)	66.3(342)	16.7 (86)	5.3 (27)	1.6 (8)
子女升學問題	8.1 (42)	47.1(243)	6.6 (34)	30.6(158)	7.6 (39)
子女婚嫁	1.9 (10)	17.1 (88)	1.0 (5)	4.3(213)	38.8(200)
妻子樣本					
丈夫的職業	82.0(786)	10.9(104)	0.3 (3)	3.0 (29)	3.8 (36)
妻子外出工作	14.0(134)	28.1(269)	44.4(425)	2.4 (23)	11.2(107)
家用支出分配	16.9(162)	43.9(421)	31.6(303)	5.6 (54)	1.9 (18)
儲蓄投資保險	22.8(218)	47.4(454)	18.3(175)	4.1 (40)	7.4 (71)
喜慶賀禮數額	26.2(251)	51.6(494)	11.2(107)	5.1 (49)	5.9 (57)
買新房子	15.1(145)	48.5(465)	5.2 (50)	10.3 (98)	20.9(200)

搬家	15.0(144)	48.1(461)	4.1 (39)	9.4 (90)	23.4(224)
與上下代同住	13.6(130)	41.3(396)	2.7 (26)	17.1(164)	25.3(242)
奉養父母方式	17.2(165)	42.9(411)	3.4 (33)	14.1(135)	22.3(214)
生孩子	8.6 (82)	66.2(634)	8.5 (81)	2.5 (24)	14.3(137)
子女管教問題	9.6 (92)	60.9(583)	22.0(211)	4.0 (38)	3.5 (34)
子女升學問題	7.7 (74)	43.1(413)	8.7 (83)	29.2(279)	11.4(109)
子女婚嫁	2.4 (23)	14.9(143)	2.0 (19)	36.2(347)	44.5(426)

---

註：丈夫樣本 N = 516

妻子樣本 N = 958

表 2：家庭中最重要之家庭決策事項

家庭決策事項	百分比（次數）		
	全體樣本 N = 1474	丈夫樣本 N = 516	妻子樣本 N = 958
丈夫的職業	7.5 (111)	9.1 (47)	6.7 (64)
妻子外出工作	0.6 (9)	0.2 (1)	0.8 (8)
家用支出分配	7.6 (112) 25.2 (372) *	7.6 (39) 23.7 (122) *	7.6 (73) 26.1 (250) *
儲蓄投資保險	5.6 (83) 14.0 (206) *	6.0 (31) 13.2 (68) *	5.4 (52) 14.4 (138) *
喜慶賀禮數額	0.1 (1) 1.1 (16) *	0 1.2 (6) *	0.1 (1) 1.0 (10) *
買新房子	5.6 (83) 14.5 (213) *	5.8 (30) 15.3 (79) *	5.5 (53) 14.0 (134) *
搬家	0.4 (6)	0.4 (2)	0.4 (4)
與上下代同住	0.6 (9)	0.4 (2)	0.7 (7)
奉養父母方式	2.2 (33)	4.1 (21)	1.3 (12)
生孩子	0.1 (2)	0.2 (1)	0.1 (1)
子女管教問題	22.3 (328)	20.3 (105)	23.3 (223)
子女升學問題	7.3 (108)	7.8 (40)	6.8 (68)
子女婚嫁	3.8 (56)	3.7 (19)	3.9 (37)

難以決定、不知道、都重要	36.3 (535)	34.5 (178)	37.3 (357)
--------------	------------	------------	------------

missing value	0.6 (9)	0.6 (3)	0.6 (6)
---------------	---------	---------	---------

---

\* 已經加入調整值，即將難以決定、不知道、都重要加入

註：其中有效之夫妻配對樣本（N = 516）中，夫妻認為最重要的家庭決策相同者  
共計 275對（53.4%），不相同者有 240對（46.6%）。

表 3：「家用支出分配」決策影響模式之邏輯迴歸分析（妻子樣本）

( N = 886)

自變項	Ln( P1/ P3)		Ln( P2/ P3)		Ln( P1/ P2)	
	係數	標準誤	係數	標準誤	係數	標準誤
年齡	0.0041	0.0198	0.0177	0.0155	-0.0136	0.0189
教育資源差異	0.0256	0.0304	0.0303	0.0244	-0.0047	0.0287
職業聲望差異	-0.0010**	0.0005	-0.0004	0.0004	-0.0006	0.0005
居住地都市化程度	-0.1630	0.2211	-0.2884*	0.1649	0.1254	0.2147
性別角色態度	-0.1005***	0.0211	0.0005	0.0167	-0.1010***	0.0203
省籍						
閩南人	a.		a.		a.	
客家人	1.0752***	0.2865	0.5723**	0.2376	0.5028**	0.2502
大陸各省市	0.7746**	0.3919	0.0309	0.2957	0.7437**	0.3805
家庭類型						
核心家庭	a.		a.		a.	
主幹家庭	0.0805	0.2426	0.1050	0.1844	-0.0245	0.2314
擴展家庭	0.2195	0.3729	0.1064	0.3241	0.1131	0.3478
工作特質						
無	a.		a.		a.	
非正式工作	0.1008	0.2745	0.5734***	0.2113	-0.4727*	0.2585
正式工作	-0.6257	0.3666	0.3720	0.2626	-0.9976***	0.3494
家庭生命週期						
婚後 老么 6歲	a.		a.		a.	
老么 7-20歲	-0.5915*	0.3279	-0.6747***	0.2389	0.0832	0.3084
老么 20歲後	-0.3995	0.5177	-1.1140***	0.4018	0.7145	0.4921

家庭總收入

五萬元以下	a.			a.		a.	
五萬元 二十萬元	-0.4094	0.2491	0.0660	0.1768	-0.4753**	0.2393	
拒答、不知道	-0.1888	0.3180	-0.0432	0.2561	-0.1456	0.3054	
常數項	2.0338	0.9634	-0.0245	0.7647	2.0582**	0.9220	
Log-Likelihood				-847.29			
Likelihood Ratio Test				132.68***			
正確預測率				51.24 %			

註：P 1= 主要由丈夫決定    P 2= 夫妻兩人一起做決定    P 3= 主要由妻子做決定

\* P < 0.1      \* \* P < 0.05      \* \* \* P < 0.01

a.參考組



表 4：「家用支出分配」決策影響模式之邏輯迴歸分析（丈夫樣本）

( N = 477)

自變項	Ln( P1/ P3)		Ln( P2/ P3)		Ln( P1/ P2)	
	係數	標準誤	係數	標準誤	係數	標準誤
年齡	0.0120	0.0250	0.0182	0.0176	-0.0062	0.0237
教育資源差異	-0.0136	0.0428	-0.0247	0.0334	0.0111	0.0400
職業聲望差異	-0.0004	0.0005	-0.0001	0.0004	-0.0002	0.0005
居住地都市化程度	-0.0107	0.3208	-0.3833*	0.2327	0.3726	0.3048
性別角色態度	-0.0526*	0.0288	0.0123	0.0218	-0.0649**	0.0273
省籍						
閩南人	a.		a.		a.	
客家人	0.6014	0.4000	0.0196	0.3249	0.5818	0.3624
大陸各省市	-0.8703*	0.5217	-0.6106*	0.3323	-0.2597	0.5187
家庭類型						
核心家庭	a.		a.		a.	
主幹家庭	0.4703	0.3184	0.0045	0.2501	0.4658	0.2996
擴展家庭	0.6298	0.5234	0.4393	0.4484	0.1905	0.4563
工作特質						
正式 / 非正式工作	0.0849	0.3182	0.1293	0.2294	-0.0444	0.3011
家庭生命週期						
婚後 老么 6歲	a.		a.		a.	
老么 7-20歲	-0.6343	0.4578	-0.7043**	0.3146	0.0700	0.4280
老么 20歲後	0.0880	0.7128	-0.8898*	0.5219	0.9778	0.6665
家庭總收入						

五萬元以下	a.			a.		a.	
五萬元 二十萬元	0.0369	0.3193	0.1947	0.2304	-0.1578	0.2999	
拒答、不知道	-0.1244	0.5043	-0.0981	0.4135	-0.0263	0.4753	
常數項	0.0133	1.216	0.0179	0.8889	-0.4578	1.1550	
Log-Likelihood				-463.38			
Likelihood Ratio Test				44.011			
正確預測率				50.10 %			

---

註： P 1= 主要由丈夫做決定      P 2= 夫妻兩人一起做決定      P 3= 主要由妻子做決定

\* P < 0.1      \* \* P < 0.05      \* \* \* P < 0.01

a. 參考組

表 5：夫妻之族群配對與“家用支出分配”決策模式交叉分析表

百分比（次數）					
家庭決策事項	決 策 者				樣本數
	丈夫	夫妻共同	妻子	其他	
妻子樣本					
夫妻皆為閩南人	15.36(98)	42.16(269)	34.80(222)	7.68(49)	638
夫妻皆為客家人	23.16(22)	50.53 (48)	16.84 (16)	9.47 (9)	95
夫妻皆為外省人	11.76 (4)	41.18 (14)	44.12 (15)	2.94 (1)	34
夫：閩南；妻：客家	25.53(12)	44.68 (21)	23.40 (11)	6.38 (3)	47
夫：閩南；妻：外省	21.21 (7)	51.52 (17)	24.24 (8)	3.03 (1)	33
夫：客家；妻：閩南	25.58(11)	46.51 (20)	23.26 (10)	4.65 (2)	43
夫：客家；妻：外省	33.33 (2)	50.00 (3)	16.67 (1)	0	6
夫：外省；妻：閩南	6.38 (3)	46.81 (22)	34.04 (16)	12.77 (6)	47
夫：外省；妻：客家	20.00 (3)	46.67 (7)	26.67 (4)	6.67 (1)	15
丈夫樣本					
夫妻皆為閩南人	15.48(50)	46.44(150)	31.27(101)	6.81(22)	323
夫妻皆為客家人	23.53(12)	45.10 (23)	21.57 (11)	9.80 (5)	51

夫妻皆為外省人	7.69 (2)	26.92 (7)	<u>57.69 (15)</u>	7.69 (2)	26
夫：閩南；妻：客家	20.59 (7)	47.06 (16)	23.53 (8)	8.82 (3)	34
夫：閩南；妻：外省	16.67 (3)	55.56 (10)	22.20 (4)	5.56 (1)	18
夫：客家；妻：閩南	12.50 (3)	50.00 (12)	33.30 (8)	4.17 (1)	24
夫：客家；妻：外省	50.00 (2)	25.00 (1)	0	25.0 (1)	4
夫：外省；妻：閩南	11.54 (3)	42.31 (11)	38.46 (10)	7.69 (2)	26
夫：外省；妻：客家	10.00 (1)	70.00 (7)	10.00 (1)	10.00 (1)	10

---

表 6：「子女管教問題」決策影響模式之邏輯迴歸分析（妻子樣本）

( N = 884)

自變項	Ln( P1/ P3)		Ln( P2/ P3)		Ln( P1/ P2)	
	係數	標準誤	係數	標準誤	係數	標準誤
年齡	0.0843***	0.0266	0.0145	0.0165	0.0697***	0.0236
教育資源差異	0.1391***	0.0387	0.0494**	0.0261	0.0897***	0.0336
職業聲望差異	-0.0001	0.0006	-0.0003	0.0004	0.0002	0.0006
居住地都市化程度	-0.7009**	0.3005	-0.1761	0.1753	-0.5249**	0.2738
性別角色態度	-0.1221***	0.0285	-0.0428***	0.0177	-0.0794***	0.0253
省籍						
閩南人	a.		a.		a.	
客家人	1.1945***	0.3723	0.6913**	0.2713	0.5032*	0.3005
大陸各省市	1.0360**	0.5259	0.1275	0.3263	0.9085**	0.4723
家庭類型						
核心家庭	a.		a.		a.	
主幹家庭	-0.4765	0.3159	-0.2749	0.1911	-0.2017	0.2848
擴展家庭	-0.7885*	0.4740	-0.5788**	0.3071	-0.2097	0.4278
工作特質						
無	a.		a.		a.	
非正式工作	0.0785	0.3601	0.3476	0.2203	-0.2690	0.3223
正式工作	0.8724*	0.4583	0.2581	0.2837	0.6143	0.4093
家庭生命週期						
婚後 老么 6歲	a.		a.		a.	
老么 7-20歲	-0.7993*	0.4631	-0.5722**	0.2595	-0.2271	0.4187
老么 20歲後	-1.8148***	0.7131	-0.9773**	0.4311	-0.8374	0.6358

家庭總收入

五萬元以下	a.		a.		a.	
五萬元 二十萬元	-0.5528	0.3494	0.2105	0.1929	-0.7633**	0.3181
拒答、不知道	-0.3413	0.3855	-0.5512**	0.2524	0.2099	0.3533
常數項	-1.0417	1.322	1.9290**	0.8103	-2.9707**	1.182
Log-Likelihood			-691.41			
Likelihood Ratio Test			122.07***			
正確欲策率			66.74 %			

註： P 1= 主要由丈夫做決定      P 2= 夫妻兩人一起做決定      P 3= 主要由妻子做決定

\* P < 0.1      \* \* P < 0.05      \* \* \* P < 0.01

a.參考組

表 7：「子女管教問題」決策影響模式之邏輯迴歸分析（丈夫樣本）

( N = 478)

自變項	Ln( P1/ P3)		Ln( P2/ P3)		Ln( P1/ P2)	
	係數	標準誤	係數	標準誤	係數	標準誤
年齡	0.0406	0.0321	0.0042	0.0212	0.0364	0.0271
教育資源差異	0.2634**	0.0591	0.1876***	0.0432	0.0758	0.0463
職業聲望差異	-0.0002	0.0007	-0.0009*	0.0005	0.0007	0.0006
居住地都市化程度	-0.7299*	0.4333	-0.3234	0.2850	-0.4065	0.3703
性別角色態度	-0.0169	0.0390	0.0086	0.0258	-0.0255	0.0330
省籍						
閩南人	a.		a.		a.	
客家人	0.1959	0.5335	0.1138	0.4119	0.0821	0.4112
大陸各省市	-1.4270**	0.7383	-0.8381**	0.3752	-0.5889	0.6874
家庭類型						
核心家庭	a.		a.		a.	
主幹家庭	0.0483	0.4462	0.1506	0.3009	-0.1022	0.3751
擴展家庭	0.2491	0.6390	-0.2725	0.4984	0.5216	0.5247
工作特質						
正式 / 非正式工作	0.8806**	0.4361	0.1514	0.2756	0.7292**	0.3782
家庭生命週期						
婚後 老么 6歲	a.		a.		a.	
老么 7-20歲	0.3068	0.6680	-0.1488	0.3761	0.4555	0.5931
老么 20歲後	-0.3022	0.9573	-0.8875	0.6149	0.5853	0.8203
家庭總收入						

五萬元以下	a.		a.		a.	
五萬元 二十萬元	-0.5198	0.4348	-0.2524	0.2814	-0.2674	0.3692
拒答、不知道	-0.5865	0.5632	-1.3422***	0.4357	0.7557	0.4863
常數項	-2.2980	1.633	1.7812*	1.061	-4.0792***	1.396
Log-Likelihood			-341.37			
Likelihood Ratio Test			74.64***			
正確預策率			72.80 %			

---

註： P 1= 主要由丈夫做決定      P 2= 夫妻兩人一起做決定      P 3= 主要由妻子做決定

\* P < 0.1      \* \* P < 0.05      \* \* \* P < 0.01

a.參考組



表 8：夫妻之族群配對方式與 ” 子女管教問題 ” 決策模式之交叉分析表

百分比（次數）					
家庭決策事項	決 策 者				樣本數
	丈夫	夫妻共同	妻子	其他	
妻子樣本					
夫妻皆為閩南人	8.78(56)	61.29(391)	23.82(152)	6.11(39)	638
夫妻皆為客家人	16.84(16)	57.89 (55)	13.68 (13)	11.58(11)	95
夫妻皆為外省人	8.82 (3)	58.82 (20)	17.65 (6)	14.71 (5)	34
夫：閩南；妻：客家	8.51 (4)	68.09 (32)	14.89 (7)	8.51 (4)	47
夫：閩南；妻：外省	9.09 (3)	60.61 (20)	21.21 (7)	9.09 (3)	33
夫：客家；妻：閩南	16.28 (7)	60.47 (26)	20.93 (9)	2.33 (1)	43
夫：客家；妻：外省	16.67 (1)	50.00 (3)	33.33 (2)	0	6
夫：外省；妻：閩南	2.13 (1)	53.19 (25)	31.91 (15)	12.77 (6)	47
夫：外省；妻：客家	6.67 (1)	73.33 (11)	0	20.00 (3)	15
丈夫樣本					
夫妻皆為閩南人	11.46(37)	67.80(219)	14.55(47)	6.19(20)	323

夫妻皆為客家人	15.69 (8)	72.55 (37)	5.88 (3)	5.88 (3)	51
夫妻皆為外省人	7.69 (2)	57.69 (15)	23.08 (6)	11.54 (3)	26
夫：閩南；妻：客家	5.88 (1)	58.82 (20)	26.47 (9)	8.82 (3)	34
夫：閩南；妻：外省	0	66.67 (12)	22.20 (4)	11.11 (2)	18
夫：客家；妻：閩南	8.33 (2)	62.50 (15)	25.00 (6)	4.17 (1)	24
夫：客家；妻：外省	50.00 (2)	25.00 (1)	25.00 (1)	0	4
夫：外省；妻：閩南	0	53.85 (14)	38.46(10)	7.69 (2)	26
夫：外省；妻：客家	10.00 (1)	80.00 (8)	0	10.00 (1)	10

---

## Appendix: 未成年子女與家庭中最重要決策事項之交叉分析 ( 妻子樣本 )

家庭決策事項	百分比 ( 次數 )	
	有未成年子女 70.0 (671)	無未成年子女 30.0 (287)
丈夫的職業	8.2 (55)	3.1 (9)
妻子外出工作	0.6 (4)	1.4 (4)
家用支出分配	6.3 (42)	10.8 (31)
	22.4 (108) *	34.8 (100) *
儲蓄投資保險	5.4 (36)	5.6 (16)
	15.2 (102) *	12.5 (36) *
喜慶賀禮數額	0	0.4 (1)
	0.5 (3) *	2.4 (7) *
買新房子	6.1 (41)	4.2 (12)
	13.3 (89) *	15.7 (45) *
搬家	0.5 (3)	0.4 (1)
與上下代同住	0.6 (4)	1.1 (3)
奉養父母方式	1.2 (8)	1.4 (4)
生孩子	0.2 (1)	0
子女管教問題	26.8 (180)	15.0 (43)
子女升學問題	8.4 (56)	3.1 (9)
子女婚嫁	2.2 (15)	7.7 (22)

難以決定、不知道、都重要	33.7 (226)	45.6 (131)
missing value	0	0.4 (1)

---

註：\* 已經加入調整值，即將難以決定、不知道、都重要者加入

## 第六章

### Parental Support in Taiwan:

#### A Qualitative Analysis of The Intergenerational Obligation\*

One of the fundamental values within the Chinese family system is the support of elderly parents. In traditional practice, parental support is typically exercised by residing together and by providing daily necessities from adult, usually married, children. Co-residence with aged parents is undoubtedly the most reliable support pattern accepted by most Chinese. The fact that approximately 70% of elderly parents are living with their son(s) indicates that direct support is still the most prevalent form in Taiwan (Chen and Lai, 1981; Chang and Chi, 1991; Yi and Chang, 1996).

However, this fundamental value has received some challenge in recent decades. If we focus on attitudes toward parental support, it is clear that both adult children and aged parents favor financial support more than co-residence (Chang, 1994; Yi and Lu, 1996). To contribute part of parents' living expenses is considered a feasible substitute for the traditional support pattern. In other words, there is no question about the obligation of parental support, but attitudes toward various forms regarding support of aged parents have undergone changes, while the actual practice of co-residence remains relatively stable.

In this study, we intend to examine possible changes occurred in parental support among Taiwanese families by focusing on both actual residence pattern as well as attitudes toward family obligation. The actual co-residence pattern implies parents receive direct support in a traditional manner. Attitudes toward family obligation will be explored from the concept of family composition. Although the definition of Chinese family has always been an unresolved issue among family scholars (Fei, 1991; Cohen, 1976; Wang, 1985; 1991; Wolf, 1985), it is argued here that the subjective family members specified will reflect how family is conceived and consequently, how family obligation should be exercised. Since

---

\* Paper was presented at the Conference on Cultural Diversities in Family, Partnership and Gender Situations organized by the Committee on Family Research of the International Sociological Association, from September 22-26, in Strobl, Austria.

normative expectation is inevitably involved in the formation of family concept (Yi and Lu, 1996; Yi and Tsai, 1997; Chang, 1993), the research design will thus include this aspect into account.

Therefore, this paper will analyze (1) the actual residence or co-residence pattern among respondents as the baseline of discussion for parental support practice in Taiwan (2) the subjective definition of family members in order to delineate the possible changing attitudes toward family composition (3) the subjective inclusion of family members at New Year's Eve with an attempt to examine normative effects on the concept of family obligation. All these issues will be analyzed and compared with gender and rural/urban background differences. Relevant factors, particularly the effect of family division as well as the role of married daughters in parental support which are salient aspects in the Chinese family studies will also be incorporated in the discussion.

Data are gathered from six island-wide focus group interviews which are composed of 5-8 single and mixed gender members during Spring 1995 - Spring 1996. Semi-structured questions were raised in every session and word for word field notes were taken for each group. The qualitative accounts are used to show how elderly parents' support system is conceived and maintained in different areas of Taiwan. It is expected that the research finding will not only complement but substantiate the quantitative survey data with regard to the parental support in Taiwan.

### Patterns of Family Composition in Taiwan

One of the most prominent changes in the Chinese family structure is the gradual transition from the extended family to the nuclear family. The modernization process accompanied by massive rural-urban migration has been documented as the underlying structural forces (Tsai and Yi, 1995; Chang and Chi, 1991; Freedman, et.al., 1982). In general, conclusions drawn from studies utilizing aggregate data will point out the persistence

of patrilineal residence in addition to the seemingly dominance of separate nuclear families. Co-residence pattern of the elderly parents is thus proposed and evidenced as the key element in studying family structural changes in Taiwan (Yi and Chu, 1993; Thornton and Lin, 1994).

Using three different datasets--a village survey in 1943 mainland China, census data

of a northern district in Taiwan before 1945, and four consecutive KAP island-wide surveys (1968-1986), Chang and Chi have shown that there are roughly three historical stages in the change of household structure in the 20th century Taiwan (1991):

1. During the Japanese Colonialization and Before 1960s

Complex family types dominated with a strong tendency to form extended families, especially during later years of the colonialization.

2. From the 1960s to the 1970s

A drastic decline of extended families being replaced by stem families, and demographic factors as well as attitudes toward co-residence are suggested to be responsible.

3. Since the 1980s

While stem families maintained its dominance, the rapid increase of nuclear families has become a significant phenomenon. The rise of nuclearization is further contended as an independent trend, beyond the by-product of stem families.

Since co-residence with elderly parents is the key to distinguish stem versus nuclear families, several studies have documented the difference between attitudes and behaviors in this issue (Yi and Lu, 1993). Specifically, there is a strong preference toward separate living arrangement or nuclear family on the general attitudinal level, but the personal attitudes toward residence after retirement leans clearly toward the stem family (Yi, 1985). Further studies point out that attitudes toward co-residence should be separated from attitudes on financial support of parents because these two do not correspond with each other (Sun, 1991; Chang, 1994). Although both adult children and aged parents favor financial support more than co-residence, and parents express stronger attitudes toward independence on both aspects, nevertheless, children prefer financial support of aged parents more than actual living together (ibid.). These attitudes may be interpreted as an important compromise under the

existing physical constraint of the family which may develop into an institutionalized pattern in the future.

Thornton and Lin (1994) in their vigorous and conclusive book on social change and family change in Taiwan point out various factors (e.g. premarital and marital nonfamilial work experiences of females) accounting for the patrilineal co-residence in Taiwan. Although co-residence at marriage as well as duration of co-residence after marriage are declining, there are still half sample who reside with husband's parents six years after marriage. The empirical findings on attitudes and behaviors of the family process indicate that values toward

elderly parents' support have undergone some changes, but the actual living arrangement are kept relatively intact (Yi, 1994).

In short, patterns of family composition in Taiwan have shown a general picture with the declining extended family being replaced by the stable stem family, while the increase of nuclear family has simultaneously occurred. However, with regard to changes of the family structure in Taiwan, the fundamental question lies on the definition of the basic analyzing unit--Chia (family). Whether family is an non-fixed, loosely structured social group or is a closely bounded, tightly organized social organization is a vexed research issue and will be addressed in the following.

### Chia and the Family

In almost every research reports of the Chinese family structure, the operational definition for the family has to be specified. The scope of possible repertoire ranges from single individual unit as appeared in the census (e.g., Hsu and Lin, 1989), the conventional basic family types--nuclear, stem, extended-- gathered from the survey (e.g., Wen, et.al.,1989), or the inclusion of lineage concerns in the classification of co-residence patterns as shown in most papers using the KAP data (Thornton and Lin, 1994; Chang, 1994). There are obviously other considerations to distinguish various family types, such as using the

number of nucleus (Fei, 1982), the timing of family fission (Fei, 1983; Cohen, 1976), the actual function of the elderly parents (Chuang, 1972), the common property shared by males of the same lineage (e.g., Wolf, 1985), or the baseline of conjugal pairs in the establishment of Fang (Chen, 1985).

In order to avoid the conceptual complexity of the definition of family, social scientists who rely mostly on survey data have often chosen household of present living arrangement as the analyzing unit. On the other hand, studies with qualitative approach usually aim at the delineation of family dynamics as well as how family is operationally defined. This certainly points out the possibility to differentiate objective versus subjective conception of the family (Yi and Lu, 1996).

The subjective definition of the Chinese family is best represented by the concept of Chia which so far has no equivalent English translation. Chia may be subjectively confined to members of the immediate conjugal unit only, or chia may extend to include members of



the same clan as well as others from the same geographical origins or from similar political interests. Besides the implication of chia as a flexible concept, Wang (1985, 1991) further illustrated the different nature involved in the concept of chia-t'ing (domestic unit) and chia-tsu (family). According to Wang's perspective, the structural characteristic embedded in the Chinese family system lies in the basic difference between these two related concepts. Chia-t'ing or the domestic unit is a produce of the family fission and is thus exclusive in nature regarding its significant role as the inexorable basic unit of social organization. Chia-tsu, the family, on the other hand, is a conceptual unit resulted from the natural developmental process of family fusion and is hence elastic or unfixed in nature. Since family fusion has its original root on the Fang of married brothers, patrilineal inheritance serves as the basic rule in the definition of chia-tsu's membership (Wang, 1991). Therefore, clan based on common surname or any relationship based on the patrilineal networks can be included in the concept of the family.

To narrow down the complicated debate between lineage and clan or diverse

classification of family types, there are generally at least two levels of family organization that ought to be considered: the inclusive or non-fixed notion of chia which appears to vary according to individual contingencies; the other is the more intimate family unit often with a relatively fixed range of membership and may vary depending on the actual constraint existing in the present living conditions. In this research, we use family to denote the objective family composition and present living arrangement is selected as the operational indicator. Chia is the subjective family unit and will be explored by both the general definition as well as the specific normative definition of chia-jen (members of chia).

## Data

Data are taken from "The Economic Development and Female's Family Status: Family Structure, Female's Employment Patterns, and Family Power Structure in Taiwan" (NSC 83-0301-H-001-064; NSC 84-2411-H-001-018). There are three types of data gathered for the research project: survey interview, focus group interview, and in-depth interview. Survey interview is composed of 1000 currently married females aged 20-64 as well as half of their husbands (i.e., 500 males) randomly selected from the registration data. Focus-group and in-depth interviews are expected to supplement as well as to substantiate the similar research questions included in the quantitative survey.

This paper will utilize qualitative data gathered from six focus groups scattered throughout the eastern,northern, western centrall, and southern part of the island. Urban areas as well as rural areas are covered, with four urban groups ranging from the most metropolitan Taipei (N), Kaohsiung (S), Taichung(C), to the small size city of Hualien(E);and two rural groups from Hsihu(C) and Meinong (S) are also included. Respondents are mostly invited grandparents or parent with children in elementary or junior high schools. Each group interview is conducted by the researcher with one to two assistant(s) responsible for field notes and session usually lasts from two and a half to three hours. The specific number, gender and occupational categories of six focus groups are:

Location	Male/Female		Age	Education	Occupation
Taipei(N)	4	4	30-40	college +	M:private(3),public(1) F:private(2),housewife(2)
Kaohsiung(S)		5	30-40	senior hi	private(3),housewife(1),student(1)
Taichung(C)	5		40-50	middle	private(3),public(1),driver(1)
Hualien(E)	3	3	35-45	college +	M:private(1),public(2) F:private(2),public(1)
Hsihu(C)		6	50-65	elementary -	private(1),housewife(5)
Meinong(S)	3	3	50-65	elementary -	M:private(1),fam(1), none(1) F: fam(1),housewife(2)

## Variables

### Actual Residence Pattern

Obviously, in the discussion of family obligation,especially parental support, residence pattern is the direct background indicating whether parents receive daily support from their children. Three basic types are distncted, namely:

nuclear: 2 generations-parents with umarried children,

parents with umarried children and/or umarried siblings,

single parent family

1 generation-parents only

stem: 3 generations--parent with married child and/or his(her) children.

- 2 generations--parent with married child,  
grandparent with grandchildren
- extended:3+ generations-grandparents with two or more married children and  
grandchildren
- 2 generations--two or more married siblings of the same generation (either the  
grandparents' or parents') and their children

### Chia or The Subjective Family Composition

As discussed above, chia in a typical Chinese mind is a relationship bounded but unorganized social group (Mang, 1991). Chia may be considered as a flexible unit defined under the principle of differential hierarchy (Fei, 1947) which allows membership to expand from small to large sizes. On the other hand, members to be included in chia are usually governed by the accepted cultural system. In other words, albeit the flexible nature of the definition of chia, there is a relative normative guidance in terms of who are the corresponding chia-jen (family members) in various occasions.

Therefore, two indicators are decided in the "measurement" of chia which is considered a basic element in the study of values toward parental support. The first indicator probes the subjective inclusion of family members with an emphasis on purely personal views. The second family composition indicator focuses on the most important family reunion occasion--the Chinese New Year's Eve, and respondents are asked to list members who he/she thinks should be eating the dinner together, despite physical and geographical restraints.

Between these two indicators, it is clear the first general chia-jen indicator signifies how family is subjectively conceived and ultimately, how parents should be supported by whom. The second indicator pursues the possible normative effect with an unquestionable specific cultural occasion regarding the family composition. In other words, in order to answer the question of parental support in Taiwan, the first step is to clarify who are possible sources to be responsible in the issue and both subjective and normative aspects are considered.

Female samples are expected to provide different answers from males in their subjective definition of chia. Furthermore, by focusing on the personal conception of one

intimate group, each respondent is allowed to go beyond the traditional definition of the normative, prescribed family unit. In other words, the psychological importance of lineage,

especially the matrilineal influence, may be expressed in these two subjective questions.

## Results

### THE ACTUAL RESIDENCE PATTERN

With regard to the actual residence pattern of our six focus group interviews, Table 1 shows that despite urban rural locations, nuclear family is the most prevalent form which coincides with other findings of Taiwan. It is also clear that in rural areas (Hsiu and Meinong), complex family types of both stem and extended residence are more likely to occur. However, detailed information from various accounts explains the difference in the practice of these living arrangement.

Take Taipei--the major city of Taiwan--for example, among six nuclear residences, five points out the regular and frequent visits between elderly parents and themselves:

"...My father lives at our old home (in Tainan), but he comes to Taipei every month and stays about one to two weeks. I have three brothers all in Taipei, ...now when he comes, he stays few days in each son's house, then he goes back home." (M1, p.4)

"...Basically my father comes from Taichung once a month, stays 3-5 days or a week, then he goes home, because he can farm in the country, time passes more easily, then if he comes to Taipei, wait for me from 7 a.m...at night...about 6 p.m. I go home and talk with him about an hour or so, at 8 p.m. he goes to bed, he is bored, at most stays 3-5 days..." (M2, p.6)

Not only parents visit their children at Taipei, children also visit their parents:

"...My parents-in-law are more traditional, you must go back for reunion, then I go back every Saturday or Sunday (Taoyuan), just like New Year or holidays..." (F1, p.14)

"...My parents live at the end of the alley, in the alley of the alley, basically...that is in normal condition, we go home to have dinner together on

Saturday night." (M4,p.7)

Geographical closeness and accessible transportation are reasons for the frequent visits between parents and married children. For the last few decades, migration to Taipei has been the trend for educated youngsters from other parts of Taiwan which contributes to the increasing proportion of nuclear residences as well (Chen, 1981). Although parents are thus separated from their son(s), traditional normative expectation of parental support still affects the accepted practice in that parents may visit their sons whenever possible and children are obliged to pay visit upon request. This frequent visit is considered a necessary practice of filial piety (Lo, 1987; Yang and Chu, 1989; Chenn, 1992; Yang and Yeh, 1993). However, the fact that most visits are restricted to patrilineal parents indicate that an institutionalized reciprocity of interaction is probably emerging. As summed up by a respondent, "Occasionally I go back to my own parents' house, but most of the time, I go back to my husband's parents' house..." (F1,p.14)

Of course, there are other arrangements related to matrilineal kins that need to be considered. One male respondent who lives close to his parents-in-law states:

"...My situation can be divided into two parts...Most of the time, my life is to be with my wife's own family, because we can walk to there...I am the eldest son-in-law, I also have responsibility, if something happens, I can't avoid it ...Every weekend, we go back to their home to eat or invite them back to eat...now my father-in-law is retired, I feel as the younger generation, we should try to give him..." (M3,pp.13-14)

It is evident that from our Taipei data, nuclear family is the residence pattern, but the content of interaction closely follows the complex family norms. As too situations in Kaohsiung--the second largest city located in Southern Taiwan, due to the historical focus of industrial development of the city as well as the lower education of respondents, the residence type not only is nuclear only, the interaction pattern is also slightly different

"...We all live in the same town...my husband has one elder sister and

one younger brother. They usually interact quite closely. For example, my (husband's) sister's birthday, the two brothers will definitely invite us to eat together..." (F1, pp.102-103)

"...We moved to Kaohsiung in 1989 because of work...our home is in Yuanlin, a little far, (but) we always go back during holidays..." (F3, p.99,105)

"...My home is in Pintung (next to Kaohsiung), I moved here with my husband recently...Both sides of parents live in the country...When my boys were small, my own mother took care of the eldest one, my husband's mother took care of the second one, we brought them home after work, it was pretty good! " (F5, p.100)

"...I am very lucky because my husband's grandma still takes care of my children...She cares about holidays very much and cooks a big table of meals for us...My mother-in-law has a job also, she does not so much housework, it is the grandma who takes charge." (F4, p.100, 106, 108)

Again, the physical proximity appears to determine how the expectation of frequent interaction will be carried out. If both generations live in the same town, although each has independent residence, daily or frequent visit especially based on the need for child care often arranged.

There has been a common practice for families with several married sons to fulfill their obligation in parental support by rotating responsibility. "The rotation of meals" has been documented in many anthropological studies (Hsieh, 1985). To be specific, parents stay in each son's house for a certain period of time and that son is responsible for providing food and lodging and snack money for parents. The duration of time is usually regular, but may vary depending on the agreement made among participating sons. In our Kaohsiung sample, one respondent indicated such a living arrangement for herself:

"...My husband ('s family has) two brothers, we take turns to take care of my mother-in-law, one family on month, next month my mother-in-law will come...She used to live in the country by herself, but after she had stroke (of paralysis), it is inconvenient, so we must take turns.....We bought the

house last year, but my mother-in-law doesn't like troubles, inconvenience in and out, so we chose one with elevators..." (F2, p.98,104)

With regard to the medium-sized city, Taichung (which is also a major migrant center for central western Taiwan) demonstrates a typical compromise between physical constraint and traditional obligation. Despite two respondents with stem families, the other three nuclear residences actually have elderly parents visiting in a regular manner:

"My mother is in my elder brother's house. But we live very close, we may visit each other two or three times a day." (M1,p.53)

"My old home is in Kuoshiung. I have four brothers all living in Taichung. My mother lives here and there in rotation....She comes every month...but not certain period of time...We both work outside, children are at school, there's no one at home, no one so (she) can't stay long...We prepare a room for her at home, it is vacant when she is not using..." (M3,pp.55-56)

"I have three brothers living in the country. My parents used to live in the country, my father died for one or two years, mother is left alone, very lonely. So in summer (she) lives in the country because it is cooler there, in winter, she stays with me...because she is now aging..." (M4, p.56,57)

It should be noted that while parents in Taipei as well as in Taichung tend to live nearby their married children, Taipei parents are more likely to have their own housing. In other words, parents whose children migrate to Taichung are likely to be from the central region, therefore it is relatively easy for rural parents who still maintain their own residence to visit their children in the urban area. We may conclude that for all Taichung sample, parental support is exercised in an flexible stem family function, regardless of their actual residence patterns.

Hualien, which is a newly developed urban city in the east coast, has much smaller population than Taichung (approximately 3500000 vs. 800000). Most migrants choose Hualien because of its natural environment or due to the resentment of high development in the

western plain. This is quite different from migrants who move to other cities for work reasons. Although all respondents have nuclear residence, parental visits are still observed

"...My brothers all have independent residence after marriage...my two children are cared for by my mother and my mother-in-law...(because) they all

live close, very convenient...my mother-in-law is young, fighting for the care of my child..." (M3, p.8)

"My parents prefer to live in the country, they are still in Yuli (adjacent to Hualien), we go back quite often, about two to three weeks..." (M2, p.10)

"Our hometown is in Yilan, all my brothers move to Taipei already, only I live in Hualien...I like it here, so I stay here....My father still lives in Yilan, we want him to reside together, but he doesn't want to, because he is used to Yilan and his friends are there, he said when he is a little older, he'll move with us." (M1, p.10)

As to female respondents, since Hualien is way in the east coast, parental visits are not expected as frequent, but the obligation is still there which reveals the patrilineal influence:

"My husband is a writer, he thinks Taipei's living environment is getting worse, so he migrates to Hualien...My parents-in-law live in the country of southern Taiwan, so they always want us to go back home during holidays, and that is my greatest, most irritating event." (F3, p.13,14)

Compared with urban areas, the rural residence pattern of our sample is quite different. Not only half families are constituted by complex forms, the fact that our interviewees are composed of older generations also demonstrates the various adjustment made by rural families. Let us focus on Hsihu first. Among four stem families, two live with one married son and his family (F5, p.38; F3, p.39), one resides with husband's parents and unmarried children (F6, p.39); while the last one stays with husband and mother-in-law (F2, p.39). The other two nuclear residences are one old couple (F4, p.39) and one older lady with her husband's unmarried elder aunt who has been ill (F1, p.40).

It should be noted that Hsihu is a relatively affluent rural town because of its geographical as well as agricultural characteristics. Being close to Taichung and Changhua plain with convenient transportation, plus the productive grape farming which usually can support elderly parents' living have resulted in the younger generation looking for a job at nearby cities while older parents remain at old home to keep the grape farming going. In our sample, three out of four stem families have additional member(s) working at Taichung (F5, F6, F2); for the nuclear F1 family, two sons are also in Taichung (one in Taipei) (p.40).



Evidently, parents prefer to reside with one married son while other children live in surrounding nearby areas.

The situation in Meinong is slightly different from Hsihu. Although both are agricultural farming areas and both groups are composed of elderly respondents, the geography and economy play vital roles for the variation of residence patterns observed. Most of Meinong's youngsters look for job either in the neighboring Kaohsiung city and county or all the way to Taipei. However, because the transportation is not as easy as Hsihu in addition to the declining tobacco farming in Meinong, elderly parents are more likely to be left alone in rural hometown. Furthermore, since agricultural income is inadequate for the family, adult children have to find off-farm employment and usually leave their children to elderly parents at home.

In our sample, besides two older couples whose adult children are still not married (P1, P4), the remaining nuclear residence is constituted by elderly parents only (P3). As to the other two generation (P5) and three generation (P2) stem families as well as the four generation extended family (P6), they share with other respondents in that taking care of grandchildren has become their daily responsibility:

"...My parents-in-law are still living with us, so much housework, I don't work (off-family). My two brothers-in-law work off-family, my husband works in Chisan (nearby town), very close, everyday go out and come back, my daughter-in-law and my son are doing small business, they live off-family, I'm taking care of one grandson..." (P6, p.70)

"Our housework...the inside (domestic) work is done by females, I do the outside (non-domestic) work...I don't take care of children, grandchildren are taken care of by the grandma." (P2, p.77,78).

"I have three sons, now only we two elders are still in Meinong. Now I take care of my grandchildren for my son...my son and daughter come back on Sunday...The grandchildren I now care for are my youngest son's. I also took care of my eldest son's two children until they grew up, now they are back (with their parents) for studying, both are in middle school...My youngest son (and his wife) both work in Taichung, so I take care of their children. People have more time in agricultural society, farming is mostly mechanized...So I have time, and our life is like that." (P5. pp.69-70)

In fact, to leave children for parents at home is so common that even the elderly couple who at present live by themselves mention their previous child care work:

"All my three children are married and moved out. Now only we two are kept with the old house, no farming any more...When I took care of my grandchildren, they (children) will bring back some milk money, of course they should provide that. After they brought back grandchildren, no more money back home! To speak truth, parent's heart under the sun, we all expect our children to have good development (future), so we don't dare to ask more. If their life is hard, we won't ask at all." (P3,p.68)

Therefore, actual residence types may vary by geographical regions. But the interaction pattern with regard to the practice of filial obligation is somewhat similar among six groups in that frequent and regular visits between parents and children as well as the notion of parental support from adult children are observed. As to two rural samples, it is shown that residence differs due to the economic and geographic factors. However, to help with the child care for married children who work off-farm employment seems to be the common responsibility shared all elderly parents at home.

Before we turn to the conception of subjective family unit, there is one significant aspect of family process that needs to be examined, namely, the family division. Actual residence patterns indicate that married children quite often leave rural hometown for work

reasons, hence the direct support to elderly parents is restricted for physical limitation. Although generational visits and financial support continue to fulfill the family obligation, this traditional value is met with realistic challenge and may ultimately affect the practice of family functions. In our interview, family fission was not an original subject to be included but was automatically mentioned especially in our two rural samples.

### The Family Division

As discussed earlier, rural-urban migration has been a significant factor accounting for the change of family residence patterns in Taiwan. The migration effect is particularly evident in rural areas. In our Hsihu and Meinong interviews, elderly parents who are left in

the rural homelands express strongly their feelings of alienation and their forced adjustment. We will limit our analysis to when children leave their parents, thus result in separate residences which often develops into official or legitimate family division process.

One of the reasons for children to move away from parents is the limited resources available in agricultural farming. It is almost impossible to support all married children with agricultural land and product. Thus, in rural Taiwan, it has become an accepted practice for family division to take place either after the patrilineal head of the family is passed away after all siblings are ready to be independent. The necessity to live apart from parents after marriage is best described by the following statements from both rural samples:

"Because we are all in farming, if we don't divide, labor to death, still can not live, so all of us has separate living after marriage"  
(Hsihu, F55, p.42)

"...My eldest son moved to Taipei after getting married, he feeds his wife and children. My young son also works outside and feeds his family. We two old folks just farm small land...We are farmers, when children grow up, get married, they think ways to develop their own life, earning money to feed his wife and children (Hah! ). In old times, we used to make money by ourselves, older folks could not afford your living." (Hsihu, F4, p.45)

"Because number of people gets bigger, like my eldest brother-in-law, they have five children, I have six, living becomes more difficult toward to end. My brother and sister-in-law think there is no way we can live without division, so they propose to divide and we all say yes, and all brothers discussed and agreed about division. After family division, each brother makes more money, because in a big family, more people more difficult to cooperate, work is divided for many people to carry out, but the income is not as much. After division, we earn more money." (Meinong, P.5, p.73)

In terms of timing, the decease of the elderly father is often the time for family fission. During this process, respectful elders in the village are invited to participate in discussion among brothers:

"Our family was divided after my father-in-law died. My husband is the eldest son, he put all their farm land from here to there and divide into five

parts. Then he made draws and brought the rest of brothers in, he let the other four younger brothers to draw first, so that the last one was left for the eldest...If you don't do this, they'll say you make the mark, that's why you get the good draw. We also invited few elders from the village to observe during drawing" (Hsihu, F5, p.61)

Another common timing for family division is after all patrilineal brothers get married and establish their own households:

"...In our situation, we divided from each other after all brothers got married. Because my husband is the eldest, he must support four brothers...so we wait until the youngest brother got married." (Hsihu, F5, p.43)

"...My husband was married when he was 21, I married over. The next year, his father died, then all five brothers worked together in effort until my moth-in-law was 52 years old, she also died. At that time, the youngest brother was only 11, the youngest sister was only 9, and they were without father and mother (weeping...). Later all siblings worked together in unity, we worked worked worked, younger siblings gradually grew up, then we married them one by one....until all were married then we divided the family. I was

36 and my eldest brother-in-law was 38...We did not calculate carefully with each other during family division." (Meinong, p.5, p.72-73)

There are of course other considerations in the family fission, ranging from a strong request from one family member, the division of ancestral tablet, helping a family member in debt, to no formal division at all. Various arrangements are mentioned and the following are few typical excerpts:

"It was about when my son was 11 years old...That time, my father-in-law had already married (received) three daughters-in-law. The third daughter-in-law argued to divide the family, so the family was divided at that time." (Hsihu, F3, p.53)

"...Two younger brothers-in-law moved to Taichung, one with the separate ancestral tablet, so he seldom comes home to worship the ancestral shrine. The youngest one purposely not to bring his ancestral tablet, he said he can come home frequently that way." (Hsihu, F1, p.46-47)

"Speaking of family division...my eldest brother wanted to invest in big business, my uncle owned the Nantou Transportation Company at that time, later it was recession and the business failed. After business failed, he came home and divided the family, not sharing family property, it is sharing the debt, that is all of us share his debt together." (Meinong, P3, p.75)

"The ancestral tablet is in my home, they (other brothers) came home because parents are still there...There was no division of property, all property belongs to the public clan which can not be divided. The ancestral tablet is here, then everyone goes out to fight for his living..." (Hsihu, F2, p.46)

There are of course utilitarian concerns in the family division (Li, 1982), especially the decision of property allocation. One elderly lady points out:

"We still favor sons much more....Of course, when we get old in the future, we can also leave some property to daughters... daughters will help take care of us. I think we should give daughters a little (property), but doesn't have to be as much as sons...Then when we are old, daughters will

think of taking care of us." (Meinong, P.5, pp.73-74)

It is clear that no matter how family is divided, the real meaning of family fission whether symbolized by the copy of ancestral tablet or the actual division of property is that separate residence is first established and as a consequence, separate living and financial support are provided by each own. As one respondent succinctly states:

"...Family division means each one eats on his own, no longer together, each one takes care of each own family, family union at each own's house." (Hsihu, F4, p.43)

## THE SUBJECTIVE FAMILY

The subjective definition of family members as well as the subjective inclusion of family members for the Chinese New Year's Eve are two indicators which will help delineate how family or Chia is conceived, which in turn may affect what residence patterns are accepted arrangements. The specific holiday occasion is expected to demonstrate normative influences in subjective definition of the family. For both questions, the issue of co-resi-

with as well as reunion with married daughters is raised in order to examine responses to the patrilineal tradition.

In the following analyses, Taipei group will be presented first and in principle, each relevant account will be addressed so as to provide basic understanding of the overall pattern. For the rest of five focus groups, urban versus rural components will be categorized in order to compare possible differences revealed.

### The Subjective Definition

Who are regarded as members of the family from personal subjective definition? Our Taipei samples provide various answers ranging from the nuclear family only to extended plus co-residing kins:

"If I have to say who are my personal family, I will define it to be my wife and my three children, that is the most nuclear (close) family members..." (M4, p.15)

"My thought (about family) at 30 years old is different from 40 years old (now). Previously, I only thought of myself...I was selfish...Now my thought is, my husband's family, my family, I can accept to co-reside with all of them..." (F2, p.9)

"My thought is quite different from before...I used to think my family is my husband and my two children. But recently my father-in-law is older, he is in his 80s, and my father had a stroke, so I feel I should put them...should care about them. So as for now, I will count my parents-in-law, my parents, and one unmarried brother in...I get along fine with my married brother's children, I will also count their children in...Maybe I am older now, I hope one day when I'm in their age, I hope not too lonely in my surroundings..." (F3, p.17)

"The definition of family for me was very simply. Before getting married, my parents and my siblings...After we three brothers were all married, our wives and children...Well, before my parents-in-law died, I think I count his family as my family in my concept, I mean my parent-in-law and my wife's siblings. But after they died, we seem to miss a middle bridge, and there is less interaction." (M1, p.11)

It should be noted that the last three excerpts express a similar change of the

subjective family definition owing to the life cycle differences. In addition, subjective family members tend to be expanded from nuclear to stem and to extended as well as from the patrilineal line to matrilineal kins as well. There is one exception that was expressed by a female respondent who indicated a priority of matrilineal kins before patrilineal one:

"If my family, I will say my six siblings and my parents, my grandpa died already...My husband also has six siblings, if ...I feel they are also my family members." (F1, pp.14-15)

There are of course other relatives who are considered close family members and they assume such a status usually from good reasons:

"Usually I have two life circles, my wife's side is in Taipei and we get together. Then in Taichung, my relatives, brothers and sisters, and my jiu-jiu (mother's brother)...He is very nice, when my father fell once at the age of 30s, he stood up again, all debt was paid by my jiu-jiu...and my boer-boer (father's brother), he help us in debt and raised us for a period of time...That few years, we can not live well and boer-boer and jiu-jiu help us pay the debt...Basically you'll find siblings, sisters married out and no more..." (M2, p.12)

"I live with my matrilineal grandmother and my parents, she is 92, my wife, two children, my unmarried brother. My sister lives upstairs...I personally want to include all of them...I also have an aunt, not married yet in her 50s....She lives with us too." (M5, p.3,10,11)

Besides various definitions provided by respondents which reveal effects of life cycle of like experience, or of personal preference, there are important accounts explaining the process of subjective transition:

"...At the beginning, the thought of co-residence is not very strong at that stage...you and your wife were in love, my wife did not think clearly, it had better be not...so at the beginning of marriage, my heart does not favor strongly to bring parents to reside together....But after my mother died, I suddenly found out, oh, mother is no longer here! even you want to pay the filial duty is not possible, that feeling makes you feel very...I don't know how to say, so now I always want my father to live with us....Because time is

not much, that feeling is very very strong." (M1, pp.20-21)

"Before marriage, I never asked who I was going to live with. I felt it was not a big problem for me, my mother always said to me "you are also a person with parents, don't ask this kind of question." So I never thought of...I could ask...but my family education told me I shouldn't ask, so I and my husband never doubted about this (co-residence)" (f2, pp.9-10))

In other words, co-residence for some people may not be a decision to be discussed at all. For others who either express an expansion of subjective family membership or take both sides of kin into account, the analysis above clearly shows the significance of the

traditional concept. As emphasized by two female respondents:

"Because of marriage, I am related to his family, or otherwise his family members are strangers to you, but since there is a marital relationship, his family becomes your family." (F2, p.18)

### Other Urban Samples

Among other urban samples, it is interesting to note that gender(male),age(older), and education(lower) do appear to interact with the traditional subjective definition of the family. For out Kaohsiung senior high educated females, all except one conceive the patrilineal extended family as the subjective family. Only P2 expresses that she would consider both hers and husband's family as own: "I definitely will consider my husband's family and my family as one family. Because if something happens, I will talk to my family, complaining the situation, etc." (p.105) The statement on why she include her side of the family implies a subtle uneasiness related to the deviation from 4th patrilineal norm which needs to be explained.

The Taichung middle school educated older males offer similar traditional concept of the family which is mainly composed of three generation extended patrilineal family-- elderly parents, married siblings and their families, own family including married children's family. However, not only two of them (M1, M5) single out wife's mother as subjective family member, M4 and M5 also provide specific reasons of their inclination to expand the defined family: "My personal view is those who reside with me everyday, I consider them as close family members...The child that my wife cares for is



with us everyday and I treat him like my own child." (M4, p.59) Another person who include the matrilineal kins in the definition explains: "I used to reside in my matrilineal grandpa's house when I was small... So my matrilineal grandpa, grandma, my matrilineal cousins all can be regarded as my family." (M5, p.60)

As to our younger and college educated Hualien sample, the definition of subjective family is quite variant. Responses include the typical patrilineal family of elderly parent, husband's brother's family (M3), the patrilineal family (elderly parents, own family, as well as all sibling's family) plus wife's mother (M2), or the both lineage definition of father's and mother's side of relatives (M1). The most unusual answer is provided by a young female musician who only considers matrilineal kins as her family: "I receive the western education, so I only consider my small (i.e. nuclear) family as my family... Well, I think I'll only count my daughters, my sisters who are very close to me, my father, my father's sister who brought me up, then not my husband, he is not my family (all laugh!). He is my husband, his family is members of his Chia." (F3, p.14)

## Rural Samples

For our older and lowly (or none) educated rural samples, more traditional concept of subjective family is indeed the typical response. A Meinong female interviewee (P5) sums up for all other group members: "Our (husband's) own brothers, sisters-in-law all belong to the same family. Members of the same Fang are all family members!" (p.70) In other words, patrilineal kins of all generations are considered subjective family members. No where was any matrilineal kin be counted as own family.

The Hsihu ladies also agree on the unquestionable patrilineal dominance in definition of subjective family. Their concept appears to be the typical husband's line of generations regardless of family division. However, two respondents (F3, F6) do include married daughter and her family into the subjective family membership. The other (F2) who lists husband's younger sister as one family member attributes her definition due to the frequent visits made to the co-resident mother-in-law (p.46).

It is clear that the traditional patrilineal component is still regarded the most significant factor in the definition of subjective family membership. Husband's kins of various generations are more likely to be considered as family members than wife's siblings.

However, urban sample seems to provide more flexible answers in that not only matrilineal kins may be added, married daughter's family is also more likely to be included in the personal definition of family.

### Co-Residence With Daughters

As a family system with patrilineal tradition, Chinese parents are expected to live with sons. The obligation of parental support is presumably shared by married sons and the eldest son usually assumes larger share of the responsibility. Therefore, to explore attitudes regarding the possibility to reside with daughters will have important implication on whether this traditional value has been loosened or has become flexible as a necessary adjustment to physical realities.

The result shows that typical responses available -- namely, traditional patrilineal residence, matrilineal co-residence, conditional matrilineal co-residence, and independent residence--can be observed from our Taipei samples:

"I think basically I am the eldest son, I should live with my parents....As to my wife's mother, I also hope to reside with her, but there may be big troubles, right? ... Because life style is different...now she doesn't want to live with us, like this." (M2, pp.19-20)

"About this question, I'll consider it for my husband, he is impossible (to agree); of course I'll be most happy, but he has this concept, that he should live with his parents...impossible to change! " (F1, p.23)

"...I don't want to live with my mother-in-law...When one just married, and the economic ability is low, then you may live with your wife's family...I feel the Chinese concept is that you live with your wife's family...it seems not, not very right...It is probably fine for married daughter to live with parents, but to live with wife's family, just not right! ...If in the future, my parents-in-law become ill, need others to take care, I will quickly bring them over, but to move to their house, I maybe will not..." (M3, pp.23-24)

"Quite a few of my colleagues choose to buy houses close to wife's family; of course not to live with wife's parents, but must be near...I feel I like to live with my moth-in-law, no matter what, she is definitely good to her daughter, she will also be considerate to us..." (M5, p.21)

"I have never thought of this question, I think I will not object, but for sure I think of my parents first." (M1, p.21)

It is clear that for our Taipei sample, the preferred object of co-residence is husband's parents. To reside with matrilineal parents is acceptable with specific conditions, e.g., wife's physical condition, secondary choice, or taken as a plausible thought. There are, however, strong opinion of maintaining independent household as well:

"I prefer not to live with children when I'm old. I only live with my wife...Even when one of us passes away first, we must have a psychological preparation that I still shouldn't live with my son or my daughter, and bring them troubles. That is my personal view." (M4, p.19)

#### Other Urban Samples

The general consensus of our Kaohsiung female respondents with regard to attitudes toward co-residence with daughters can be labelled "a conditional yes". In addition to the personal preference, most people stress the importance of existing family structure, e.g. married brother. As one respondent vividly describes: "My parents live with my brother. I visit them everyday when I go to the market. I have a thought because I am a married daughter, I'll never trouble my sister-in-law during lunch...so about 11 a.m. I always shout I'm going home to take a nap...If my parents's home, they will not care; but it's my brother who is in charge now, I must not make my parents hard to..." (P1, p.113) Obviously, the availability of married brother whose traditional obligation is to co-reside with parents is still taken very seriously in the values of parent's residence patterns. Therefore, conditions that will give rise to the approval of parent-daughter co-residence are illustrated as:

"Unless special situations like brothers are away for work, I live here, my parents-in-law lives far, then maybe OK." (P2, 113)

"If there is a sister-in-law, the daughter should take her feelings into consideration. If there is no sister-in-law or if they live off the family,

maybe it is simpler." (P4, p.111)

"If we move far for work reasons and that place is close to my parents, I believe my husband's family will agree...(but) it had better not, unless I don't have my own brothers or if they all live far, then maybe it (co-reside) will help take care of my parents." (P5, pp.112-113)

Co-residence with daughters is evidently only the second choice and must not in conflict with the traditional patrilineal norm. For Kaohsiung samples, married brother, especially his wife, is repeatedly mentioned as the object representing the normative disapproval of non-traditional residence patterns. In addition, respondents seem to have daughters residing with parents in mind instead of parents living with daughters as discussed in other urban interviews.

The Taichung male respondents do not respond strongly toward this co-residence question. Although they favor patrilineal arrangement or take it as a natural arrangement, there is an emphasis of respecting mother's own attitude in this issue: "All families are the same, there is no difference between son and daughter, eldest or second. My mother chooses to live where she likes...depending on her opinion." (M2, p.64) Others (M4, M5) stress the importance of co-residence, despite the gender of children, so that parent's health may be closely observed and maintained (p.63,65).

As to our Hualien younger samples, attitudes toward parent-daughter co-residence are split into approval versus disapproval. Typical negative attitudes are resulted from either traditional concept of both elders and the young or the traditional obligation on the son: "I father said, who will reside with daughter and son-in-law? Does he have no one to take care of him?" (F3, p.17) "I object co-residence (with my wife's family), because it makes me like depending on others...if anything happens, may create big problem." (M3, p.18) "If she has brother, this question should not let daughter to bear... we must obey the traditional concept." (F1, p.17). On the other hand, positive attitudes may be attributed to parental preference as well

as compatible life style and conversation focus between parents and daughters (M1, M2, p.19).

## Rural Samples

The non-conventional thought of residing with daughters aroused intensive discussion among our rural samples. A genuine group dynamics can be observed during the interview process. Let us examine the Hsihu respondents' reactions in actual sequence:

F2: It is unreasonable to reside with daughters, to reside with daughters may have less talks with daughter-in-law.

F5: Usually it is when you don't get well with daughter-in-law, then you reside with your own daughter and son-in-law.

F3: In fact not always like that. Sometimes son moves out, only elders are left alone, if daughter can be the company, it is all right, because son is not home! so even you move with your daughter is OK.

F1: But it is embarrassing if you do reside together too long! Others will talk, people may say it is because you don't get along with daughter-in-law, so you move to your daughter's.

F5: The major problem is you can talk with daughter directly, but not very clear when you talk with daughter-in-law, sometimes you dare not talk too clearly, more polite, for sure.

After discussing reasons for disapproval of parent-daughter co-residence, they turn to the subject of the positive side of co-residence with daughter-in-law:

F5: Actually it makes no difference to me, but for most people it is unlikely to do that, in fact we don't know because we don't live like that before.

F3: Actually daughter-in-law is not less good than daughter!

F1: In my home, if my daughter does not do right, I'll scold her in front of my daughter-in-law...Sometimes daughter-in-law is better than daughter.

F5: ...living with daughter-in-law (means) we eat hot meals three times a day, isn't that better? Since we all live with daughter-in-law, it is important to have good relationship.

The traditional residence pattern is considered the only acceptable arrangement here

Even one (F3) who briefly suspects the possibility of co-residing with daughters decides that the realistic picture is suitable and all of them reinforces and reminds each other the positive side of present residence pattern.

The Meinong situation is quite similar. Although the content of discussion appears to be more flexible toward residence with daughters, but the condition is specified--elderly care needs. Typical statements are illustrated here:

"When I get older, no strength for work, ill and helpless, I expect to be cared for by the young." (P4, p.74)

"For me, son and daughter are the same. If daughter has time to company parents, that is very good." (P2, p.75)

"Honestly, daughter can be very useful and very filial too. There are good and bad daughters, some you can depend on and some you can't." (P1, p.75)

Additional comments on the resource factor which plagues this poor community are brought up and seem to be shared by all. Here is the actual sequence:

P2: (Co-residing with daughters can avoid the conflict ?) There are conflicts too. If you have money, then won't. No money, anything can happen!

P2: We parents...you have money, children will not fight, even serve you.

P5: Adults (elders) have money, children are bound to come home often.

P1: Isn't it the saying, "Money will make ghost work" ?

P5: Having money will have respect from other. No money...not simple.

P3: If you have money, son, daughter-in-law, daughter, all serve you all day long. All day call you "Dad! Mom! "...

Problems with elderly parents having inadequate financial resources are indeed shared among our samples. However, the money issue does not interfere with the co-residence attitudes. When asked if those elders who are relatively rich will prefer to reside separately, the care function that children may provide is argued to be the key for strong co-residence preference.

"In Meinong, we rarely have this concept (reside separately). Most people all want to reside with children. If you're ill, son and daughter do not care for you, what are you going to do ?" (P2, p.76)

In short, with regard to co-residence issue, previous studies have documented that both parents and adult children favor to keep separate residences, while the filial obligation is

fulfilled through financial support instead of direct co-residence. Although greater social

resources appear to associate positively with attitudes toward independent residence, our data point out that the traditional value which is changing especially in urban areas is largely intact.

### Family Members Included At Chinese New Year's Eve

While the subjective definition of family members may include both patrilineal and matrilineal kins due to personal preferences, the most important family reunion--New Year's Eve--is still under heavy normative influences and may reflect more closely what respondents have in mind regarding their family obligation. Speaking of family reunion during Chinese New Year, from the patrilineal concerns, New Year Eve's dinner is the obligation for all married sons and their families as well as for unmarried children to go back to parent's home for annual reunion; from the matrilineal aspect, January second (lunar calendar) is the time for married daughters to visit her parents. In our interview, we deliberately ask only about New Year's Eve. Nevertheless, the family reunion on the wife's side has been brought about from the respondent of all six groups.

Again, our Taipei sample provides the most diverse patterns which will be examined in details. Let's hear a typical traditional answer:

"In fact, my concept is that during three major holidays, all family members...like we were small, all younger brothers and sisters were together, but now after growing up and getting married, each has a small family...although we all want to spend the holiday together, but the reality is another matter...The dinner at New Year's Eve is a sensitive issue, my wife's parents are alone in Taiwan, I actually think about inviting them over, my parents welcome them, but the older generation thinks differently and doesn't want to come...married daughter has her own life." (M5, p.10)

Not only New Year's Eve must spend with patrilineal kins, if it becomes unavailable

or inconvenient to unite at parent's home, another patrilineal kin--usually the eldest son or other son--will replace such a role. In addition, compromised arrangements are also mentioned in order to alleviate some of the tension resulting from the demand of the occasion pertaining to the traditional family reunion. Three possible alternatives are:

(1) "When parents were alive, no matter how jammed the traffic was, we ought to be back one day before the New Year's Eve to clean up and ... now the ancestral tablet is moved to Taipei, all our brothers are in Taipei too... so my family goes to my eldest brother's home on New Year's Eve." (M1, p.11)

(2) "The custom is to spend New Year's Eve at husband's family and January second is the time to go back to wife's family ... The New Year's Eve dinner, my husband's family will come to our house, because my mother-in-law lives with us." (F2, p.9) In term of her own family, F2 continues:

"My own parents live in Kaohsiung in the South, now they come up here (Taipei) for the holiday, catering to the need of our children, because the traffic problem for all of us, children's problem, etc ... so on January second, my dad is in my brother's house here ... If we all go back is the day on the sweeping the tomb holiday, my matrilineal grandma's tomb is there." (p.10)

(3) "My business is especially busy during New Year days, I can only go back for the New Year's Eve dinner... then my wife wants to come back to her family in Taipei on the second, it is impossible... We often quarreled about this at the beginning of our marriage. I have a sister, my sister comes back on the second and my wife is the eldest sister-in-law at home, also my brother was unmarried that time, the eldest sister-in-law must cook for them... We are married almost twenty years, every year we argue about this ... So I try to spend the other holidays with my wife's family, that is better." (M2, p.12)

In short, our Taipei sample shows that albeit matrilineal kins may be regarded as subjective family members, but when the occasion is confined to the New Year's Eve, the normative prescriptions of patrilineal family reunion does not seem to be challenged. Both male and female respondents follow the traditional practice of spending time at husband's home on the New Year's Eve and of visiting wife's family on the second. Compromised arrangements still obey the patrilineal priority on the most important family reunion holiday.

e.g. the second patrilineal generation taking over ; while the matrilineal family reunion may be sacrificed if the situation does not permit and reunions with maternal kins be made at other less important holidays as further compensation.

#### Other Urban Samples



It seems to be a general rule of the thurb that while subjective definition of the family may expand from most close members to loosely related ones and thus both patrilineal and matrilineal kins and other relatives are included, family reunion on New Year's Eve is restricted to those who fit into normative definition of the patrilineal family. Not only family membership is given to patrilineal kins only, the appropriateness of having married daughters to join the reunion dinner is often questioned from the traditional perspective. Our urban samples demonstrate exactly the above attitude.

As shown by our Kaohsiung respondents, all five of them indicate patrilineal kins to be members who should be present at the New Year's Eve. If husband's parents are alive, adult children are supposed to have dinner at that house, which is usually the old family house (P2, P3, P4) or eldest brother's house (P1). As described by one respondent whose husband's 84 years old grandma is still in charge of the housework: "Grandma cares about this kind of holiday a lot, she will cook a table of meals and my husband's brothers, one unmarried sister, the married sister does not come back ... All of us must go back for the reunion dinner, feels like it's a family." (P4, p.106).

For married daughters, it is taken for granted that they must follow the tradition as well. Correspondent to the strict rule of patrilineal reunion, married daughters must visit maternal parents on the second or at least stay with husband's family until the New Year Eve's dinner is over. For example: "It is impossible for (my husband's) sister to come over for the New Year Eve's dinner, because she should be at her husband's home" (P1, p.102), "I always go back (to husband's parents) and help clean ... My husband also likes to go to my own family, but we for sure go

back to my parents-in-law on the New Year's Eve. Because it is not convenient to stay there, so we can leave for my parents next day (January 1st)." (P2, p.104).

Similarly, the Taichung male sample endorses a strict patrilineal family reunion dinner on New Year's Eve. Although a larger (including married sister (M1)) or a smaller (only parents and own nuclear family (M3)) family membership for this special occasion may be preferred, the list of persons identified is clearly within the boundary of patrilineal kinship. Only one case where wife's mother is present on New Year's Eve and that is due to the fact that she does not get along with her daughter-in-law and this daughter has always been very attached (M5, p.63). But even for this family, the male interviewee adds: "For my own

sister, of course they must serve their mother-in-law. This is what ought to be." (p.64) Again, the role of married daughter is excluded at the New Year's Eve.

Hualien group is basically consistent with the patrilineal arrangement for the New Year's family reunion. Paternal parent(s) plus paternal kins of both husband's uncles and husband's brothers, in addition to own family members are common answers. When exception occurs, explanations are offered immediately: "My sisters should not come back, but they do. I subjectively feel they should not come back, the one who should be home is my married brother, right? ... Because my elder brother-in-law is a mainlander, very simple (no family), this one is no problem; but my younger brother-in-law...he doesn't get along with his family, so he comes too, but I feel he should eat at his side, that is right." (M2, p.13)

### Rural Samples

If patrilineal rule is followed among urban samples in the course of the New Year Eve's dinner, it is expected that patrilineal concerns be more evident among rural families. This is indeed what our rural data demonstrate. Take Hsihu for example, most families are divided after marriage, some have the ancestral tablet with the eldest brother while others carry copies of ancestral tablet with them (pp.42-46). Regardless of the variation in family division outcomes, on New Year's Eve, all paternal kins are expected to meet at mother's

residence or at the eldest brother's house. Only one special arrangement is found where all divided brothers live close and all have their own junior generations established: "Every family prepares New Year Eve's dinner, we all go to each other's house for a while and eat and drink a little bit ... as for (husband's) parents, whoever calls them first, they'll eat at that house ... I have 3 sons, 8 grandchildren ... on New Year, all of them will come home and we have 16 people, very hot and noisy." (F5, p.42) As can be seen, the above arrangement is a response toward the physical constraint of own family and is still compatible with the patrilineal rule.

As expected, attitudes toward possible inclusion of married daughters in this occasion is clear and negative: "My daughter doesn't count, once married, she belongs to other family, she should have reunion with her husband's family." (F3, p.45) " ... not my husband's sister, it is not possible for her to come back, she has elders on their side." (F2, p.46) It should be noted that although the patrilineal rule

is obeyed, due to various constraints existent, it is difficult to have a big traditional paternal family reunion. Hence, in the last four or five years, Hsihu residents started an annual "clan and kin meeting" with an attempt to create a gathering of inclusive paternal family members. This is designed to compensate the holiday problems faced by most people and is usually sponsored by brothers in rotation. Positive comments can be illustrated here: "Honestly, everyone live farther now, and not enough time, so that clan and kin meeting is convenient. Because the traffic is very jam during the New Year, this meeting can avoid the regular holiday ... and all cousins, sister's families are also invited ... younger generation can get to know each other. " (F4, p.44)

The meeting expands to include husband's married sisters and their families, which coincides with the sum of families present at the New Year's Eve and at January second. In other words, paternal kins are considered an expanded family, larger than the patrilineal family (i.e., sons or husband's brother or husband's father's brothers), but not yet to include the matrilineal lines. Lineage is undoubtedly the most important guidelines in the definition of the family.

Answers from our Meinong samples are less excited in comparison to Hsihu accounts.

Patrilineal family members of husband's parents, husband's brothers and their families, own sons and their families are identified in the New Year Eve's family reunion dinner. The only flexibility appears to be the host of the dinner with the eldest and the second brother rotate in preparation (P5, pp. 72-73). In terms of the reunion with married daughters, strict rule the January second visit is observed: "Married sisters belong to her husband's family, no one comes home for the New Year Eve's dinner, we don't have this custom in Meinong! They must wait until January second to come back." (P6, p.71) "On January second, my husband's sister and my daughter are home, we sit several tables ..." (P5, p.72).

In sum, the rural sample reveals a clear and evident patrilineal preference. Not a single exception to include maternal kins or married daughters for the New Year Eve's dinner is found. They also differ from the urban sample in that no ideal or favored arrangement for the occasion which may deviate somewhat from the norm is ever mentioned. It seems for these older rural residents, New Year Eve is always confined to patrilineal kins and should be that way without any challenge.

## Conclusion

This paper intends to examine the parental support practice and attitudes in Taiwan. Two major aspects are focused: the actual residence patterns which implies the availability of direct support as well as the concept of the subjective family which reflect family membership included in the personal definition of Chia and consequently, how filial obligation should be exercised. Six focus groups from island-wide samples are interviewed and qualitative accounts are analyzed to provide the basis of our argument.

The result on actual residence patterns points out that nuclear family is still the most prevalent form among our samples. In two rural areas, complex residence types of both stem and extended are more likely as compared to the other four urban groups. Regardless of residence patterns, it is found that frequent visit between elderly parents and adult children

## References

Arnold, Fred, and Eddie C.Y.Kuo

- 1984 "The Value of Daughters and Sons: A Comparative Study of the Gender Preferences of Parents." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 15(2): 299-318.

Chang, Ying-Hwa

- 1993 "The Change of Family Composition and Family Value in Taiwan (in Chinese)." Paper presented at Conference of the IVth Modernization and Chinese Culture. 1993. Hong Kong.
- 1994 "Family Composition and Parental Care Patterns in the Changing Society: The case of Taiwan (in Chinese)." *National Taiwan University Journal of Sociology* 23: 1-34.

Chang, Ying-Hwa, and Li Chi

- 1991 "Changing Family Household Patterns (in Chinese)." *Thought and Word* 1991(4): 85-113.

Chao, Hung-Ching

- 1994 "Differences between Present Living Population and Household Registered Population in Taiwan (in Chinese)." *Monthly Report of the Directorate-*

Chen, Chanonan

- 1992 "Living Apart from Children in Later Life: The Case of Taiwan." Paper presented in International Conference on Family Formation and Dissolution: Perspectives from East and West, ISSP, Academia Sinica, Taipei, R.O.C.

Chen, Chi-Nan

- 1985 "Fang(房) and traditional Chinese Family System (in Chinese)." In Social Phenomena in Taiwan: An Analysis, ed. Chin-Chun Yi and Cathy Chu, pp.311-336. Taipei: Institute of Social Sciences and Philosophy, Academia Sinica Press.

Chen, Kuanjeng, Temu Wang, Wenling Chen

- 1986 "Causes and Consequences of Population Change in Taiwan (in Chinese)." Journal of Population Studies 9: 1-23.

Chi, Li

- 1989 "A Study on the Effect of Rural-Urban Migration on Household Composition in Taiwan in Recent Decades (in Chinese)." Chinese Journal of Sociology 13: 67-104.
- 1990 "Nuclearization of Family in Taiwan in the Last Twenty Years (in Chinese)." National Taiwan University Journal of Sociology 20: 41-83.

Chu, Ts'en-Lou

- 1979 A Study of Marriage (in Chinese). Taichung: Wu-Feng Publishing Co. Press.

Chuang, Yao-Chia, and Kuo-Su Yang

- 1991 "change and Practice of the traditional Filial Piety (in Chinese)." in The Psychology and Behaviors of the Chinese, ed. Kuo-Su Yang and Kuang-Kuo Hwang. Taipei, Taiwan: Kuei-Kuen Publishing Co.,

Chuang, Ying-Chang

- 1972 "The Adaptation to Modernization of Rural Families in Taiwan (in Chinese)" bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology 34: 85-98.
- 1985 "Family Structure and Reproductive Patterns in a Taiwan Fishing Village." In *The Chinese Family and Its Ritual Behavior*, ed. Jih-Chang Hsieh and Ying-Chang Chuang, pp.70-83. Taipei, Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica Press.

Chuang, Ying-Chang, and Chi-Nan Chen

- 1982 "Review of the Current Phase of Research into Chinese Social Structure: Some Lessons from Taiwan Studies (in Chinese)." In *The Sinicization of Social and Behavioral Science Research*, ed. Kuo-Shu Yang and Chung-I Wên. Taipei, Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica Press.

Cohen, Myron L

- 1976 *House United, House Divided: The Chinese Family in Taiwan*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- 1985 "Lineage Development and the Family in China." In *The Chinese Family and Its Ritual Behavior*, ed. Jih-Chang Hsieh and Chang Chuang, pp.210-218. Taipei, Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica Press.
- 1991 "The Chinese Family and Modernization: the Combination of Tradition and Adaptation (in Chinese)." In *Chinese Family and Its Change*, ed. Chien Chiao, pp.15-21. Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong and Hong Kong Asian Institute Press.

Fei, Hsiao-Tung

- 1947 *Earthbound China: From the Soil, the Foundations of Chinese Society*. 1991 edit. Hong Kong: Joint Publishing (H.K.) Co., Ltd. Press.
- 1982 "Changing of Family Structure." *Ten-Jin social science Bimonthly*.
- 1991 "The Change of Family Structure in China (in Chinese)." In *Chinese Family and Its Change*, ed. Chien Chiao, pp.3-8. Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong and Hong Kong Asian Institute Press.

Freedman, Maurice

- 1966 *Chinese Lineage and Society: Fukien and Kwangtung* London: Athlone

Press.

Freedman, Ronald, Ming-Cheng Chang, and Te-Hsiung Sun

1982 "Household Composition, Extended Kinship, and Reproduction in Taiwan: 1973-1980." *Population Studies* 36(November): 395-411.

Fricke, Thomas E., Jui-Shan Chang, and Li-Shou Yang

1994 "Historical and Ethnographic Perspectives on the Chinese Family." In *Social Change and the Family in Taiwan*, ed. Arland Thornton and Hui-Sheng Lin, pp.22-48. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Greenhalgh, Susan

1984 "Networks and Their Nodes: Urban Society in Taiwan." *China Quarterly* 99: 529-552.

Goody, J

1976 *Production and Reproduction: A Comparative Study of the Domestic Domain*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hsieh, Jih-Chang

1985 "Meal Rotation." In *The Chinese Family and Its Ritual Behavior*, ed. Jih-Chang Hsieh and Ying-Chang Chuang, pp.70-83. Taipei, Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica Press.

Hsu, Francis L.K.

1971 *Under the Ancestors' Shadow: Kinship, Personality and Social Mobility in China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

1985 "Field Work, Cultural Differences and Interpretation."

In *The Chinese Family and Its Ritual Behavior*, ed. Jih-Chang Hsieh and Chang Chuang, pp.19-29. Taipei, Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica Press.

Hsu, Liang-Hsi, and Chung-Cheng Lin

1984 "Family Structure and Social Change: A Comparison of Chinese and American "Single Parent Family" (in Chinese)." *Chinese Journal of Sociology* 8: 1-22.

1989 "Family Structure and Social Change: A Follow-up Study (in Chinese)." In *Social Phenomena in Taiwan: An Analysis*, ed. Chin-Chun Yi and Cathy

Chu, pp.22-55. Taipei: Institute of Social Sciences and Philosophy, Academia Sinica Press.

Hu, Yow-Hwey

1989 "Differences Between Registered and Self-Reported Marital Status in Taipei Metropolitan Area (in Chinese)." *Journal of Population Studies* 12:53-66.

Lai, Tse-Han, and Kuan-Jeng Chen

1980 "Historical and Demographic Perspectives of the Chinese Family Size (in Chinese)." *Chinese Journal of Sociology* 5: 25-40.

Lo, Chi-Chiung

1987 "Changing Elderly Family Structure in Taiwan During the Past Decade (in Chinese)." *Taiwan Economic Forecast* 18(2): 83-107.

Osmond, Marie W.

1980 "Cross-Societal Family Research: A Macro sociological Overview of the Seventies." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 42(4): 995-1016.

Parish, William

1978 "Modernization and Household Composition in Taiwan." In *Chinese Family Law and Social Change in Historical and Comparative Perspective*, ed. David C. Buxbaum, pp.283-320. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Sun, Te-Hsiung

1991 "Changing Chinese Family: The Case of Taiwan (in Chinese)." In *Chinese Family and Its Change*, ed. Chien Chiao, pp.33-51. Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong and Hong Kong Asian Institute Press.

Thornton, Arland, and Hui-Sheng Lin

1994 *Social Change and the Family in Taiwan*. Chicago: The Chicago University Press.



Tsai, Yung-Mei, and Chin-Chun Yi

- 1995 "Persistence and Change of the Chinese Family Values: The Taiwan case."  
Paper presented at the International Conference on Social Change in  
Taiwan. 1995, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, R.O.C.

Wang, Sung-Hsing.

- 1985 "On the Household and Family in Chinese Society." In *The Chinese Family and Its Ritual Behavior*, ed. Jih-Chang Hsieh and Ying-Chang Chuang, pp.50-58. Taipei, Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica Press.
- 1991 "The Jia(家) Institution and Modernization of Chinese (in Chinese)>"  
In *Chinese Family and Its Change*, ed. Chien Chiao, pp.9-14. Hong Kong:  
Chinese University of Hong Kong and Hong Kong Asian Institute Press.

Wen, Chung-I, Ying-Hwa Chang, Li-Yun Chang, and Cathy Chu

- 1989 "Family Structure and Its Related Variables: A Case of Taipei  
(in chinese)." In *Social Phenomena in Taiwan: An Analysis*, ed. Chin-  
Chun Yi and Cathy Chu, pp.1-24. Taipei: Institute of Social Sciences and  
Philosophy, Academia Sinica Press.

Winch, R.F., R.L. Blumberg, M.P.Garcia, M.T.Gordon, and G.C.Kitson

- 1977 *Familial Organization: A Quest for Determinants*. New York: The Free  
Press.

Wolf, Arthur P.

- 1985 "Introduction: The Study of Chinese Society on Taiwan." In *The Chinese Family and Its Ritual Behavior*, ed. Jih-Chang Hsieh and Ying-Chang Chuang, pp.3-18. Taipei, Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica Press.

Wolf, Margery

- 1972 *Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan* Stanford: Stanford University  
Press.

Yi, Chin-Chun.

- 1985 "Different Family Type Preferences and Its Implications in Taiwan (in  
Chinese)." *National Taiwan University Journal of Sociology* 17:1-14.

- 1987 "A Study of Work Orientation, Job Condition, Work Satisfaction and Child Care Arrangement among Married Working Women (in Chinese)." *Chinese Journal of Sociology* 11:93-120.
- 1993 "Studying Social Change: The Case of Taiwanese Family Sociologists." *Current Sociology* 41(1): 41-67.
- 1994 "Children Arrangement of Employed Mothers in Taiwan." In *Women, the Family, and Policy--A Global Perspective*, ed. Ester Ngan-ling Chow and Catherine White Berheide, pp.235-254. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Yi, Chin-Chun, and Yu-Hsia Lu

- 1993 "Evaluating of Women's Study and Family Study in Taiwan's Sociology Research (in Chinese)." Paper presented at the Conference of The Development and Exchange of Sociology among Chinese Society. Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, R.O.C.

Yi, Chin-Chun, Yu-Hsia Lu, and Yu-Hua Chen

- 1995 Interview Notes of "Economic Development and Domestic Status: A Study among Family structure, Female's Working Patterns and Family Power Structure (in Chinese).", included in-depth Interview and Focus Group Interview. Project Sponsored by National Science Council in Taiwan. (No. NSC83-0301-H-001-064; NSC84-2411-H-001-018).

Yi, Chin-Chun, and Yao-Ling Tsai

- 1989 "An Analysis of Marital Power in the Taipei Metropolitan Area: An Example of Familiar Decision-Making (in Chinese)." In *Social Phenomena in Taiwan: An Analysis*, ed. Chin-Chun Yi and Cathy Chu, pp.115-151.

Taipei: Institute of Social Sciences and Philosophy, Academia Sinica Press.

Yi, Chin-Chun, and Ying-Hwa Chang

- 1994 "A Study of the Change of Family Structure and Marital Power in Taiwan." Paper presented at the XIIth World Congress of Sociology, Research Committee 06 on "Gender, Families and Social Change." 18th-23rd July, 1994. Bielefeld, Germany.

## 附錄一

### 抽樣調查問卷之次數分配表【妻子問卷】

## 壹、基本資料

1. 您是什麼時候出生的？ 民國 \_\_\_\_\_ 年

20 - 30 歳      119    (12.4)

31 - 40 歳            339    (35.4)

41 - 50 歳            285    (29.8)

51 - 64 歲      215    (22.4)

2.您在什麼地方出生？

\_\_\_\_\_省(市) \_\_\_\_\_縣(市) \_\_\_\_\_鄉(鎮、市、區)

3.請問您十五歲以前居住最久的地方？

\_\_\_\_\_省(市) \_\_\_\_\_縣(市) \_\_\_\_\_鄉(鎮、市、區)

4.最近這五年內，您是不是一直住在這個地區？

(1) 是 877 (91.5)

(2) 否，是從那裡搬來的？ 81 (8.5)

\_\_\_\_\_省(市) \_\_\_\_\_縣(市) \_\_\_\_\_鄉(鎮、市、區)

5.請問您是民國 \_\_\_\_\_ 年結婚。(再婚者，以本次婚姻為主)

6.您一共有幾個小孩？ \_\_\_\_\_ 個

0:	19 ( 2.0)	5:	63 ( 6.6)
1:	92 ( 9.6)	6:	26 ( 2.7)
2:	265 (27.7)	7:	12 ( 1.3)
3:	326 (34.0)	8:	2 ( 0.2)
4:	152 (15.9)	10:	1 ( 0.1)

最大的是什麼時候出生的？ 民國 \_\_\_\_\_ 年

最小的是什麼時候出生的？ 民國 \_\_\_\_\_ 年

7.請問您父親的籍貫是那裡？

( 1) 閩南人	724 (75.6)	( 2) 客家人	157 (16.4)
( 3) 外省人	73 ( 7.6)	( 4) 原住民 ( 山胞 )	3 ( 0.3)
( 5) 其他	1 ( 0.1)		

8.

---

教育程度	受訪者自己	受訪者丈夫	受訪者父親	受訪者母親
( 1) 無	139 (14.5)	55 (5.7)	366 (38.2)	580 (60.5)
( 2) 自修	3 ( 0.3)	7 (0.7)	25 (2.6)	19 (2.0)
( 3) 小學肄業	42 ( 4.4)	44 (4.6)	91 (9.5)	77 (8.0)

( 4) 小學畢業	296 (30.9)	286 (29.9)	319 (33.3)	212 (22.1)
( 5) 國 ( 初 ) 中	151 (15.8)	165 (17.2)	62 (6.5)	29 (3.0)
( 6) 初職	6 ( 0.6)	4 (0.4)	3 (0.3)	1 (0.1)
( 7) 高中	92 ( 9.6)	111 (11.6)	23 (2.4)	18 (1.9)
( 8) 高職	126 (13.2)	85 (8.9)	15 (1.6)	8 (0.8)
( 9) 士官學校				
(10) 五專	13 ( 1.4)			
(11) 二、三專	30 ( 3.1)			
(12) 軍警校專修班				
(13) 軍警官學校				
(14) 大學	57 ( 5.9)			
(15) 研究所	3 ( 0.3)			
(16) 其他				

---

9.請問您配偶父親的籍貫是那裡？

( 1) 閩南人	714 ( 74.5)	( 2) 客家人	144 ( 15.0)
( 3) 外省人	96 ( 10.0)	( 4) 原住民 ( 山胞 )	4 ( 0.4)
( 5) 其他			

10. 您家每個月的收入差不多有多少？

(1) 1萬元以下	46 (4.8)	(2) 1萬元 3萬元之間	158 (15.0)
(3) 3萬元 5萬元之間	292 (30.5)	(4) 5萬元 7萬元之間	182 (19.0)
(5) 7萬元 10萬元之間	98 (10.2)	(6) 10萬元 20萬元之間	58 ( 6.1)
(7) 20萬元以上	6 (0.6)	(8) 不知道	71 ( 7.4)
(9) 拒答	47 (4.9)		

## 貳、家庭結構

1. 首先，我們想請教您目前家裡有哪些人？

2. 接下來請您回想一下，從您出生後一直到現在，有哪些家人？（可複選）

	出生時	十五歲時	結婚前	結婚 最大 小孩出生前	最大小孩出生 最小小孩上學
父親	940 (98.1)	875 (91.3)	780 (81.4)	22 (2.3)	19 (2.0)
母親	950 (99.2)	903 (94.3)	813 (84.9)	25 (2.6)	19 (2.0)
未婚兄弟	734 (76.6)	848 (88.5)	679 (70.9)	20 (2.1)	10 (1.0)
未婚姊妹	665 (69.4)	759 (79.2)	607 (63.4)	16 (1.7)	9 (0.9)
丈夫	4 ( 0.4)	5 ( 0.5)	6 ( 0.6)	949 (99.1)	935 (97.6)
*童養媳					
未婚子女			2 ( 0.2)	4 (0.4)	913 (95.3)
祖父母	438 (45.7)	278 (29.0)	173 (18.1)	30 (3.1)	17 (1.8)
曾祖父母或以上	19 ( 2.0)	7 ( 0.7)	1 ( 0.1)	2 (0.2)	

外祖父母	26 ( 2.7)	17 ( 1.8)	5 ( 0.5)		1 (0.1)
外曾祖父母或以上		1 ( 0.1)			1 (0.1)
公婆	2 ( 0.2)	5 ( 0.5)	6 ( 0.6)	544 (56.8)	379 (39.6)

( 續前頁 )

	出生時	十五歲時	結婚前	結婚 最大 小孩出生前	最大小孩出生 最小小孩上學
已婚兒、媳 已婚女、婿 孫子女 ( 外孫子女 )					
已婚兄弟 ( 或嫂、弟媳 )	16 (1.7)	94 (9.8)	202 (21.1)	12 (1.3)	9 (0.9)
已婚姊妹 ( 或姊、妹夫 )	4 (0.4)	13 (1.4)	12 (1.3)	1 (0.1)	
已婚叔伯	161 (16.8)	102 (16.8)	57 (5.9)	35 (3.7)	15 (1.6)
未婚叔伯	103 (10.8)	34 (3.5)	14 (1.5)	34 (3.5)	15 (1.6)
夫方已婚 兄弟姊妹	2 (0.2)	3 (0.3)	3 (0.3)	157 (16.4)	103 (10.8)
夫方未婚 兄弟姊妹	2 (0.2)	5 (0.5)	4 (0.4)	240 (25.1)	119 (12.4)

其他親戚	109 (11.4)	79 (8.2)	93 (9.7)	80 (8.4)	54 (5.6)
其他人	8 (0.8)	6 (0.6)	19 (2.0)	6 (0.6)	6 (0.6)
獨居、當兵或在外住		11 (1.1)	68 (7.1)	1 (0.1)	
不適用					18 (1.9)

---

### 3 您自己的父母健在嗎？

( 1) 父母健在	414 ( 43.2)	( 2) 父健在，母已歿	66 (6.9)
( 3) 父已歿，母健在	253 (26.4)	( 4) 父母俱歿	225 (23.5)

#### 3-1 您父母親現在是和誰住在一起？

( 1) 固定和一個已婚兒子同住	309 (32.3)
( 2) 固定和一個已婚女兒同住	28 (2.9)
( 3) 輪流住在各已婚子女家	16 (1.7)
( 4) 輪流住在各已婚兒子家	48 (5.0)
( 5) 和未婚子女同住	103 (10.8)
( 6) 固定和兩個以上的已婚子女同住	49 (5.1)
( 7) 所有子女都同住	12 (1.3)
( 8) 父母自己住	149 (15.6)
( 9) 住養老院	4 (0.4)
( 10) 父母分別和不同的子女住	4 (0.4)
( 11) 不住在台灣	7 (0.7)
( 12) 其他	4 (0.4)
( 99) 不適用	225 (23.5)

#### 受訪者目前是否與父母同住或輪住？

(1) 是 ( 續問 3-2)	19 ( 2.0)
-----------------	-----------



( 2) 否 ( 續問 3-3)	714 ( 74.5)
( 9) 不適用	225 ( 23.5)

### 3-2.為什麼您會與父母同住？

( 1) 招贅或娘家只有女兒	4 (0.4)
( 2) 父母年紀大需要人照顧	2 (0.2)
( 3) 父母可幫忙家務，照顧小孩	4 (0.4)
( 4) 父母本身的意願	3 (0.3)
( 5) 父母一向住在這裡 ( 結婚時就同住至今 )	2 (0.2)
( 6) 經濟上的考慮 ( 如購屋的考慮 )	1 (0.1)
( 7) 孝順	1 (0.1)
( 8) 其他	2 (0.2)
( 9) 不適用	939 (98.0)

### 3-3. ( 不和父母同住者 ) 您平均多久和您父母聯絡一次？

頻率	打電話	見面
一天一次	100 (10.4)	80 ( 8.4)
每週幾次	197 (20.6)	117 (12.2)
每週一次	104 (10.9)	78 ( 9.1)
每月幾次	144 (15.0)	128 (13.4)
每月一次	56 ( 5.8)	87 ( 9.1)
一年幾次	43 ( 4.5)	193 (20.1)
一年一次	5 ( 0.5)	14 ( 1.5)
幾年一次	6 ( 0.6)	11 ( 1.1)
從來沒有	30 ( 3.1)	4 ( 0.4)
就住在隔壁	29 ( 3.0)	2 ( 0.2)
不適用	244 (25.5)	244 (25.5)

#### 4 您的公婆健在嗎？

( 1) 公婆均健在	313(32.7)	( 2) 公公健在，婆婆已歿	84( 8.8)
( 3) 公公已歿，婆婆健在	230(24.0)	( 4) 公婆俱歿	331(34.6)

#### 4-1 您的公婆現在是和誰住在一起？

( 1) 固定和一個已婚兒子同住	301 (31.4)
( 2) 固定和一個已婚女兒同住	9 (0.9)
( 3) 輪流住在各已婚子女家	20 (2.1)
( 4) 輪流住在各已婚兒子家	56 (5.8)
( 5) 和未婚子女同住	50 (5.2)
( 6) 固定和兩個以上的已婚子女同住	28 (2.9)
( 7) 所有子女都同住	12 (1.3)
( 8) 父母自己住	128 (13.4)
( 9) 住養老院	5 (0.5)
( 10) 父母分別和不同的子女住	10 (1.0)
( 11) 不住在台灣	5 (0.5)
( 12) 其他	3 (0.3)
( 99) 不適用	331 (34.6)

#### 受訪者目前是否與公婆同住或輪住？

(1) 是 ( 續問 4-2)	232 (24.2)
( 2) 否 ( 續問 4-3)	395 ( 41.2)
( 9) 不適用	331 ( 34.6)

#### 4-2 為什麼您會與公婆同住？

( 1) 先生是獨子或長子	44 (4.6)
( 2) 公婆年紀大需要人照顧	49 (5.1)
( 3) 公婆可幫忙家務，照顧小孩	10 (1.0)
( 4) 公婆本身的意願	33 (3.4)
( 5) 公婆一向住在這裡 ( 結婚時就同住至今 )	73 (7.6)
( 6) 經濟上的考慮 ( 如購屋的考慮 )	4 (0.4)
( 7) 孝順	18 (1.9)
( 8) 其他	1 (0.1)
( 9) 不適用	726 (75.8)

4-3.(不和公婆同住者)您平均多久和您公婆聯絡一次?

頻率	打電話	見面
一天一次	51 ( 5.3)	81 ( 8.5)
每週幾次	74 ( 7.7)	60 ( 6.3)
每週一次	54 ( 5.6)	30 ( 3.1)
每月幾次	71 ( 7.4)	70 ( 7.3)
每月一次	38 ( 4.0)	44 ( 4.6)
一年幾次	33 ( 3.4)	90 ( 9.4)
一年一次	2 ( 0.2)	4 ( 0.4)
幾年一次	2 ( 0.2)	3 ( 0.3)
從來沒有	36 ( 3.8)	3 ( 0.3)
就住在隔壁	35 ( 3.6)	11 ( 1.1)
不適用	562 (58.7)	562 (58.7)

【目前有長輩健在者】

若受訪者自己的父母、公婆都健在，則優先問受訪者自己父母的情況。

他(們)是受訪者 ( 1) 自己的父母 ( 2) 公婆 ( 9) 不適用

733 (76.5) 87 (9.1) 138 (14.4)

5.他(們)現在主要經濟來源是什麼?

( 1) 繼續工作賺錢	196 (20.5)
( 2) 自己的退休金或終身俸或老年給付等	50 ( 5.2)
( 3) 自己的儲蓄、人壽保險	35 ( 3.7)
( 4) 租金與財產收入	25 ( 2.6)
( 5) 子女的扶養	498 (52.0)
( 6) 其他	16 ( 1.7)

( 9) 不適用

138 (14.4)

6.您有沒有拿錢給他們？

( 1) 定期給	107 (11.2)
( 2) 不定期給	417 (43.5)
( 3) 沒有	296 (30.9)
( 9) 不適用	138 (14.4)

7 站在為人子女的立場，如果不考慮經濟情況的話，您認為父母與已婚子女在住的方面應如何安排？

( 1) 固定和一個已婚兒子同住	261 (27.2)
( 2) 固定和一個已婚女兒同住	19 (2.0)
( 3) 輪流住在各已婚子女家	85 (8.9)
( 4) 輪流住在各已婚兒子家	182 (19.0)
( 5) 和未婚子女同住	18 (1.9)
( 6) 固定和兩個以上的已婚子女同住	29 (3.0)
( 7) 所有子女都同住	64 (6.7)
( 8) 父母自己住	77 (8.0)
( 9) 住養老院	
( 10) 父母分別和不同的子女住	1 (0.1)
( 11) 不住在一起 ,但住附近	42 (4.4)
(12) 其他 (都可以 ,沒想過 ,順其自然 )	180 (18.8)

8 站在為人父母的立場，您認為父母與已婚子女在住的方面應如何安排？

(1) 固定和一個已婚兒子同住	221 (23.1)
(2) 固定和一個已婚女兒同住	8 (0.8)
(3) 輪流住在各已婚子女家	56 (5.8)
(4) 輪流住在各已婚兒子家	137 (14.3)
(5) 和未婚子女同住	23 (2.4)
(6) 固定和兩個以上的已婚子女同住	30 (3.1)
(7) 所有子女都同住	75 (7.8)
(8) 父母自己住	205 (21.4)
(9) 住養老院	3 (0.3)
(10) 父母分別和不同的子女住	5 (0.5)
(11) 不住在一起 ,但住附近	77 (8.0)
(12) 其他 (都可以 ,沒想過 ,順其自然 )	118 (12.3)

9.當您年老時，您希望怎樣安排居住的方式？

(1) 固定和一個已婚兒子同住	195 (20.4)
(2) 固定和一個已婚女兒同住	6 (0.6)
(3) 輪流住在各已婚子女家	26 (2.7)
(4) 輪流住在各已婚兒子家	96 (10.0)
(5) 和未婚子女同住	14 (1.5)
(6) 固定和兩個以上的已婚子女同住	23 (2.4)
(7) 和所有已婚、未婚子女同住	53 (5.5)
(8) 夫妻自己住 (不和子女住 )	416 (43.4)
(9) 其他 (都可以 ,沒想過 ,順其自然 )	129 (13.5)

3 (0

10.站在為人子女的立場，您認為年老父母的生活費應該如何安排？

(1) 由兒子與女兒分攤	342 (35.7)
(2) 由兒子分攤	446 (46.6)
(3) 固定由一個子女負擔	8 ( 0.8)
(4) 生活費自理	101 (10.5)

( 5) 由政府負擔 ( 老人年金、生活津貼 ... )	60 ( 6.3)
missing	0 ( 0.1)

11. 站在為人父母的立場，您認為對年老父母的生活費應該如何安排？

( 1) 由兒子與女兒分攤	221 (22.0)
( 2) 由兒子分攤	373 (38.9)
( 3) 固定由一個子女負擔	3 ( 0.3)
( 4) 生活費自理	280 (29.2)
( 5) 由政府負擔 ( 老人年金、生活津貼 ... )	90 ( 9.4)
missing	0 ( 0.1)

12. 當您年老時，您希望生活費如何安排？

( 1) 由兒子與女兒分攤	138 (14.4)
( 2) 由兒子分攤	276 (28.8)
( 3) 固定由一個子女負擔	2 ( 0.2)
( 4) 生活費自理	412 (43.0)
( 5) 由政府負擔 ( 老人年金、生活津貼 ... )	130 (13.6)

13. 您目前在經濟上需不需要依靠子女？

( 1) 完全靠子女奉養	46 ( 4.8)
( 2) 大部份靠子女奉養	36 ( 3.8)
( 3) 小部份靠子女奉養	110 (11.5)
( 4) 靠自己，完全不靠子女	467 (48.7)
( 5) 其他	12 ( 1.3)
( 6) 無子女或尚未就業	287 (30.0)

	14.就您自己主觀的看法， 您認為您的家人應該包 括那些人	15.年夜飯是中國人重要 的團圓節日，對您來 說，不論人在那裡， 您覺得那些人應該在 一起吃年夜飯
父母親	461 (48.1)	306 (31.9)
未婚兄弟	194 (20.3)	137 (14.3)
未婚姊妹	184 (19.2)	125 (13.0)
丈夫	938 (97.9)	927 (96.8)
未婚子女	860 (89.8)	838 (87.5)
祖父母	144 (15.0)	100 (10.4)
曾祖父母或以上	52 (5.4)	28 (2.9)
外祖父母	54 (5.6)	24 (2.5)
外曾祖父母或以上	32 (3.3)	13 (1.4)
公婆	507 (52.9)	600 (62.6)
已婚兒、媳	284 (29.6)	332 (34.7)
已婚女、婿	120 (12.5)	77 (8.0)
孫子女（外孫子女）	252 (26.3)	278 (29.0)
已婚兄弟 （或嫂、弟媳）	124 (12.9)	75 (7.8)

已婚姊妹 (或姊、妹夫)	118 (12.3)	61 (6.4)
已婚叔伯	51 (5.3)	55 (5.7)
未婚叔伯	40 (4.2)	55 (5.7)
夫方已婚 兄弟姊妹	104 (10.9)	157 (16.4)
夫方未婚 兄弟姊妹	99 (10.3)	125 (13.0)
其他親戚	53 (5.5)	69 (7.2)
其他人	6 (0.6)	9 (0.9)

---

## 參、工作史

1 您十五歲以後有沒有從事工作的經驗？（包括幫忙家裡的事業，有薪水的、沒薪水的或農業工作都算）

- |        |             |
|--------|-------------|
| ( 1) 有 | 910 ( 95.0) |
| ( 2) 無 | 48 ( 5.0)   |

結婚前



【受訪者這個階段	( 1) 有工作	( 2) 無工作	】
	852 (88.9)	106 (11.1)	

3. 您的工作內容是什麼？

4. 您當時從事這項工作最主要的原因是什麼？

( 1) 幫助家庭經濟	499 (52.1)
( 2) 家庭事業需要	84 ( 8.8)
( 3) 發揮自己的才能或興趣	106 (11.1)
( 4) 希望有自己能支配的金錢	75 ( 7.8)
( 5) 打發時間	19 ( 2.0)
( 6) 擴大自己的生活範圍	10 ( 1.0)
( 7) 獲得知識，、技術	30 ( 3.1)
( 8) 不會和社會脫節	6 ( 0.6)
( 9) 肯定自己	10 ( 1.0)
( 10) 獲得名譽和地位	
( 11) 獲得別人的尊重和重視	
( 12) 其他（無特殊理由）	13 ( 1.4)
( 99) 不適用	106 (11.1)

5. 請問您是為誰工作？（不念選項，單選）

( 1) 為自己工作，無僱用人員	31 (3.2)
( 2) 為自己工作，有僱用人員	3 (0.3)
( 3) 為家裡工作有薪水	18 (1.9)
( 4) 為家裡工作無薪水	148 (15.4)
( 5) 受僱於私人企業	564 (58.9)
( 6) 公營事業（包括黨營）	34 (3.5)
( 7) 學校教育機構	34 (3.5)
( 8) 政府機關	13 (1.4)
( 9) 其他（家庭代工）	113 (11.8)

5-1 您與雇主之間有無工作契約？

- (1)有 88 (9.2)  
( (1)短期契約 22 (25.0) (2)長期或穩定契約 66 (75.0))  
(2)無 564 (58.9)  
(9)不適用 306 (31.9)

6.請問你們公司（機構或工廠、或店裡）平常共有多少員工？

- |                        |                           |                         |
|------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| (1)沒有雇用人<br>102 (10.6) | (2) 1-2人<br>36 (3.8)      | (3)3-5人<br>79 (8.2)     |
| (4)6-9人<br>58 (6.1)    | (5)10-19人<br>96 (10.0)    | (6)20-49人<br>87 (9.1)   |
| (7)50-99人<br>53 (5.5)  | (8)100-299人<br>130 (13.6) | (9)300人以上<br>124 (12.9) |
| (10)不知道<br>45 (4.7)    | (11)不固定<br>26 (2.7)       | (99)不適用<br>122 (12.7)   |

7.平均每天工作幾個小時？

- |                          |                         |                        |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| (1) 2小時以下<br>0 (0.0)     | (2) 2至 4小時<br>12 (1.3)  | (3) 4至 6小時<br>29 (3.0) |
| (4) 6至 8小時<br>401 (41.9) | (5) 8小時以上<br>406 (42.4) |                        |
| (0) 不一定<br>4 (0.4)       | (9) 不適用<br>106 (11.1)   |                        |

8.平均每週工作幾天？ \_\_\_\_\_ 天

2 - 4.5 天	12 (1.3)
5 天	44 (6.5)
5.5 天	102 (10.6)
6.0 天	386 (40.3)
6.5 天	52 (5.4)
7.0 天	250 (26.1)
不一定	6 (0.6)
不適用	106 (11.1)

9.你需要晚上工作或輪值夜班嗎？

( 1) 需要	286 (29.9)
( 2) 不需要	566 (59.1)
( 99) 不適用	106 (11.1)

10.您婚前工作時，住在那裡？

( 1) 住在自己家	616 (64.3)
( 2) 不住在自己家	236 (24.6)
( 9) 不適用	106 (11.1)

10-1.住在那裡？

( 1) 宿舍或雇主提供的住處	( 2) 租房子
157 (16.4)	57 (5.9)
( 3) 自己買房子住	( 4) 住親友家
0	21 (2.2)
( 5) 其他	( 9) 不適用
1 (0.1)	722 (75.4)

11.由住處去到工作地點約需花多久時間？

( 1) 就在住處，不需花時間 214 (22.3)	( 2) 十五分鐘以下 303 (31.6)	
(3) 十五分鐘以上到半小時以下 164 (17.1)	( 4) 半小時至一小時 128 (13.4)	
( 5) 一小時以上 40 (4.2)	( 9) 不適用 106 (11.1)	( 0) 不一定 3 (0.3)

12 您工作的單位有沒有提供或替你買下列的醫療保險？（可複選）

	有	無	不適用
( 1) 公務人員保險	41 (4.3)	663 (69.2)	254 (26.5)
( 2) 退休人員疾病保險		704 (73.5)	254 (26.5)
( 3) 勞工保險	342 (35.7)	362 (37.8)	254 (26.5)
( 4) 農（漁）民保險		704 (73.5)	254 (26.5)
( 5) 軍人保險	1 (0.1)	703 (73.4)	254 (26.5)
( 6) 團體壽險	1 (0.1)	703 (73.4)	254 (26.5)
( 7) 團體醫療險	12 (1.3)	692 (72.3)	254 (26.5)
( 8) 團體意外險	13 (1.4)	691 (72.2)	254 (26.5)
( 9) 其他，請說明 _____	41 (4.3)	663 (69.2)	254 (26.5)
( 10) 都沒有	318 (33.2)	386 (40.3)	254 (26.5)

13 您有沒有固定的薪水？

( 1) 有固定薪水 488 (50.9)	( 2) 按件計酬，有底薪 25 (2.6)	
( 3) 按件計酬，無底薪 101 (10.5)	( 4) 按時計酬，有底薪 11 (1.1)	
( 5) 按時計酬，無底薪 19 (2.0)	( 6) 薪水不固定 53 (5.5)	
( 7) 不拿薪水 154 (16.1)	( 8) 其他 1 (0.1)	( 9) 不適用 106 (11.1)

14.一般來說，您自己的收入主要是如何處理？

( 1) 家用	( 2) 自己用	( 3) 家用自用各半
349 (36.4)	111 (11.6)	213 (22.2)
( 4) 儲蓄	( 5) 其他	( 9) 不適用
28 (2.9)	3 (0.3)	254 (26.5)

15.您的收入對您家庭的經濟影響大不大？

(1)影響很大	( 2) 普通	( 3) 影響很小	( 4) 毫無影響	( 9) 不適用
154 (16.1)	311 (32.5)	161 (16.8)	78 (8.1)	254 (16.5)

16.大致上說來，您對這個工作是否滿意？

( 1) 很滿意	( 2) 滿意	( 3) 普通	( 4) 不滿意	( 5) 很不滿意
82 (8.6)	323 (33.7)	375 (39.1)	65 (6.8)	7 (0.7)
( 9) 不適用				
106 (11.1)				

17.【已離開這個工作者】您為什麼離開這個工作？

( 1) 結婚	513 (53.5)
( 2) 要照顧子女	21 ( 2.2)
( 3) 家務需要增加	8 ( 0.8)
( 4) 家裡經濟情況足夠維持，不必去工作	3 ( 0.3)
( 5) 搬家	2 ( 0.2)
( 6) 家人反對	11 ( 1.1)
( 7) 解雇或公司倒閉	4 ( 0.4)
( 8) 調職	6 ( 0.6)

( 9) 不喜歡原來的工作	65 ( 6.8)
( 10) 有更合適的工作	32 ( 3.3)
( 11) 身體不適	4 ( 0.4)
( 12) 退休	0
( 13) 其他 ( 不知道 , 沒有原因 , 忘記 )	16 ( 1.7)
( 99) 不適用	273 (28.5)

結婚至生最大的子女前

18.當時您先生的工作是：

行業 \_\_\_\_\_

職位 \_\_\_\_\_

19.請問當時您先生是為誰工作？ ( 不念選項，單選 )

( 1) 為自己工作，無雇用人員	211 (22.0)
( 2) 為自己工作，有雇用人員	92 ( 9.6)
( 3) 受雇於私人事業	424 (44.3)
( 4) 公營事業 ( 包括黨營 )	81 ( 8.5)
( 5) 為家裡工作有薪水	26 ( 2.7)
( 6) 為家裡工作無薪水	23 ( 2.4)
( 7) 學校教育機構	23 ( 2.4)
( 8) 政府機關	59 ( 6.2)
( 9) 家庭代工	3 ( 0.3)
( 10) 其他 ( 包括退休 )	5 ( 0.5)
( 99) 不適用	4 ( 0.4)

【受訪者這個階段 ( 1) 有工作	( 2) 無工作	】
545 (56.9)	413 (43.1)	

20 您的工作內容是什麼？

21 您當時從事這項工作最主要的原因是什麼？

( 1) 幫助家庭經濟	318 (33.2)
( 2) 家庭事業需要	79 ( 8.2)
( 3) 發揮自己的才能或興趣	57 ( 5.9)
( 4) 希望有自己能支配的金錢	28 ( 2.9)
( 5) 打發時間	22 ( 2.3)
( 6) 擴大自己的生活範圍	7 ( 0.7)
( 7) 獲得知識、技術	11 ( 1.1)
( 8) 不會和社會脫節	7 ( 0.7)
( 9) 肯定自我	6 ( 0.6)
( 10) 獲得名譽和地位	1 ( 0.1)
( 11) 獲得別人的尊重和重視	
( 12) 其他 ( 無特殊理由 )	9 ( 0.9)
( 99) 不適用	413 (43.1)

22 請問您是為誰工作？ ( 不念選項，單選 )

( 1) 為自己工作，無雇用人員	28 ( 2.9)
( 2) 為自己工作，有雇用人員	5 ( 0.5)
( 3) 為家裡工作有薪水	31 ( 3.2)
( 4) 為家裡工作無薪水	110 (11.5)
( 5) 受雇於私人事業	287 (30.0)
( 6) 公營事業 ( 包括黨營 )	21 ( 2.2)
( 7) 學校教育機構	30 ( 3.1)
( 8) 政府機關	10 ( 1.0)
( 9) 其他 ( 包括退休 )	436 (45.5)

22-1. 您與雇主之間有無工作契約？

(1)有 63 (6.6)  
( (1)短期契約 10 (15.9) (2)長期或穩定契約 53 (84.1))  
(2)無 308 (32.2)  
(9)不適用 587 (61.3)

23. 請問你們公司（機構或工廠、或店裡）平常共有多少員工？

(1)沒有雇用人 90 (9.4)	(2) 1-2人 41 (4.3)	(3)3-5人 60 (6.3)
(4)6-9人 48 (5.0)	(5)10-19人 37 (3.9)	(6)20-49人 50 (5.2)
(7)50-99人 32 (3.3)	(8)100-299人 69 (7.2)	(9)300人以上 66 (6.9)
(10)不知道 27 (2.8)	(11)不固定 26 (2.7)	(99)不適用 416 (43.4)

24. 平均每天工作幾個小時？

(1) 2小時以下 0	(2) 2至 4小時 18 (1.9)	(3) 4至 6小時 28 (2.9)
(4) 6至 8小時 248 (25.9)	(5) 8小時以上 243 (25.4)	
(0) 不一定 8 (0.8)	(9) 不適用 413 (43.1)	

25. 平均每週工作幾天？ \_\_\_\_\_ 天



2 - 4.5 天	14 (1.4)
5 天	36 (3.8)
5.5 天	85 (8.9)
6.0 天	217 (22.7)
6.5 天	15 (1.6)
7.0 天	162 (16.9)
不一定	16 (1.7)
不適用	413 (43.1)

26.你需要晚上工作或輪值夜班嗎？

( 1) 需要	149 (15.6)
( 2) 不需要	395 (41.2)
( 0) 不一定	1 ( 0.1)
( 9) 不適用	413 (43.1)

27.您工作地方與家裡距離如何？

( 1) 在自己住家	120 ( 12.5)	( 0) 不一定	3 ( 0.3)
( 2) 鄰近住家	272 ( 28.4)	( 9) 不適用	413 ( 43.1)
( 3) 不在附近	150 ( 15.7)		

27-1.由住處去到工作地點約需花多久時間？

( 1) 就在住處，不需花時間	( 2) 十五分鐘以下	
12 (1.3)	201 (21.0)	
(3) 十五分鐘以上到半小時以下	( 4) 半小時至一小時	
121 (12.6)	66 (6.9)	
( 5) 一小時以上	( 9) 不適用	( 0) 不一定
18 (1.9)	532 (55.5)	8 (0.8)

28.您工作的單位有沒有提供或替你買下列的醫療保險？（可複選）

	有	無	不適用
( 1) 公務人員保險	41 (4.3)	384 (40.1)	533 (26.5)
( 2) 退休人員疾病保險	1 (0.1)	424 (44.3)	533 (26.5)
( 3) 勞工保險	236 (24.6)	189 (19.7)	533 (26.5)
( 4) 農（漁）民保險	3 (0.3)	422 (44.1)	533 (26.5)
( 5) 軍人保險	1 (0.1)	424 (44.3)	533 (26.5)
( 6) 團體壽險	1 (0.1)	424 (44.3)	533 (26.5)
( 7) 團體醫療險	7 (0.7)	418 (43.6)	533 (26.5)
( 8) 團體意外險	14 (1.5)	411 (42.9)	533 (26.5)
( 9) 其他，請說明 _____	1 (0.1)	424 (44.3)	533 (26.5)
( 10) 都沒有	140 (14.6)	285 (29.7)	533 (26.5)

29.您有沒有固定的薪水？

( 1) 有固定薪水 276 (28.8)	( 2) 按件計酬，有底薪 12 (1.3)	
( 3) 按件計酬，無底薪 62 (6.5)	( 4) 按時計酬，有底薪 3 (0.3)	
( 5) 按時計酬，無底薪 16 (1.7)	( 6) 薪水不固定 60 (6.3)	
( 7) 不拿薪水 116 (12.1)	( 8) 其他 0	( 9) 不適用 413 (43.1)

30.一般來說，您自己的收入主要是如何處理？

( 1) 家用 275 (28.7)	( 2) 自己用 32 (3.3)	( 3) 家用自用各半 111 (11.6)
( 4) 儲蓄	( 5) 其他	( 9) 不適用

18 (1.9)

2 (0.2)

520 (54.3)

31. 您的收入對您家庭的經濟影響大不大？

(1) 影響很大	(2) 普通	(3) 影響很小	(4) 毫無影響	(9) 不適用
125 (13.0)	223 (23.3)	68 (7.1)	23 (2.4)	519 (54.2)

32. 大致上說來，您對這個工作是否滿意？

(1) 很滿意	(2) 滿意	(3) 普通	(4) 不滿意	(5) 很不滿意
62 (6.5)	247 (25.8)	199 (20.8)	33 (3.4)	4 (0.4)
(9) 不適用				
413 (43.1)				

33. 【已離開這個工作者】您為什麼離開這個工作？

(1) 結婚	3 (0.3)
(2) 要照顧子女	129 (13.5)
(3) 家務需要增加	12 (1.3)
(4) 家裡經濟情況足夠維持，不必去工作	2 (0.2)
(5) 搬家	8 (0.8)
(6) 家人反對	8 (0.8)
(7) 解雇或公司倒閉	5 (0.5)
(8) 調職	1 (0.1)
(9) 不喜歡原來的工作	8 (0.8)
(10) 有更合適的工作	22 (2.3)
(11) 身體不適	4 (0.4)
(12) 退休	0
(13) 其他（不知道，沒有原因，忘記）	20 (2.1)
(99) 不適用	734 (76.6)

生最大的子女至最小的子女六歲前

34.當時您先生的工作是：

行業 \_\_\_\_\_

職位 \_\_\_\_\_

35.請問當時您先生是為誰工作？（不念選項，單選）

- |                  |            |
|------------------|------------|
| ( 1) 為自己工作，無雇用人員 | 231 (24.1) |
| ( 2) 為自己工作，有雇用人員 | 111 (11.6) |
| ( 3) 受雇於私人事業     | 381 (39.8) |
| ( 4) 公營事業（包括黨營）  | 79 ( 8.2)  |
| ( 5) 為家裡工作有薪水    | 26 ( 2.7)  |
| ( 6) 為家裡工作無薪水    | 18 ( 1.9)  |
| ( 7) 學校教育機構      | 23 ( 2.4)  |
| ( 8) 政府機關        | 50 ( 5.2)  |
| ( 9) 家庭代工        | 5 ( 0.5)   |
| ( 10) 其他（包括退休）   | 1 ( 0.1)   |
| ( 99) 不適用        | 21 ( 2.1)  |

【受訪者這個階段 ( 1) 有工作 ( 2) 無工作 ( 9) 不適用 】

498 (52.0)

441 (46.0)

19 (2.0)

36. 您的工作內容是什麼？

37. 您當時從事這項工作最主要的原因是什麼？

( 1) 幫助家庭經濟	301 (31.4)
( 2) 家庭事業需要	100 (10.4)
( 3) 發揮自己的才能或興趣	37 ( 3.9)
( 4) 希望有自己能支配的金錢	17 ( 1.8)
( 5) 打發時間	11 ( 1.1)
( 6) 擴大自己的生活範圍	7 ( 0.7)
( 7) 獲得知識、技術	3 ( 0.3)
( 8) 不會和社會脫節	4 ( 0.4)
( 9) 肯定自我	8 ( 0.8)
( 10) 獲得名譽和地位	0
( 11) 獲得別人的尊重和重視	1 ( 0.1)
( 12) 其他 ( 無特殊理由 )	9 ( 0.9)
( 99) 不適用	460 (48.0)

38. 請問您是為誰工作？ ( 不念選項，單選 )

( 1) 為自己工作，無雇用人員	29 ( 3.0)
( 2) 為自己工作，有雇用人員	9 ( 0.9)
( 3) 為家裡工作有薪水	35 ( 3.7)
( 4) 為家裡工作無薪水	129 (13.5)
( 5) 受雇於私人事業	202 (21.1)
( 6) 公營事業 ( 包括黨營 )	20 ( 2.1)
( 7) 學校教育機構	25 ( 2.6)
( 8) 政府機關	8 ( 0.8)
( 9) 其他 ( 包括退休 )	501 (52.3)

38-1 您與雇主之間有無工作契約？

(1)有	52 (5.4)	
( 1)短期契約	9 (17.3)	(2)長期或穩定契約 43 (82.7))
(2)無	244 (25.5)	(9)不適用 662 (69.1)

39.請問你們公司（機構或工廠、或店裡）平常共有多少員工？

(1)沒有雇用人 110 (11.5)	(2) 1-2人 57 (5.9)	(3)3-5人 47 (4.9)	
(4)6-9人 25 (2.6)	(5)10-19人 29 (3.0)	(6)20-49人 36 (3.8)	
(7)50-99人 22 (2.3)	(8)100-299人 52 (5.4)	(9)300人以上 58 (6.1)	
(10)不知道 38 (4.0)	(11)不固定 21 (2.2)	(99)不適用 460 (48.0)	(0)missing 3 (0.3)

40.平均每天工作幾個小時？

(1) 2小時以下 0	(2) 2至 4小時 14 (1.5)	(3) 4至 6小時 35 (3.7)	
(4) 6至 8小時 207 (21.6)	(5) 8小時以上 232 (24.2)	(9) 不適用 460 (48.0)	(0)missing 9 (0.9)

41.平均每週工作幾天？ \_\_\_\_\_ 天

2 - 4.5 天	16 (1.6)
5 天	37 (3.9)
5.5 天	63 (6.6)
6.0 天	179 (18.7)
6.5 天	15 (1.6)
7.0 天	170 (17.7)
不一定	18 (1.9)

不適用 460 (48.0)

42.你需要晚上工作或輪值夜班嗎？

( 1) 需要	132 (13.8)
( 2) 不需要	364 (38.0)
( 0) missing	2 ( 0.2)
( 99) 不適用	460 (48.0)

43.您工作地方與家裡距離如何？

( 1) 在自己住家	147 ( 15.3)
( 2) 鄰近住家	232 ( 24.2)
( 3) 不在附近	115 ( 12.0)
( 0) 不一定	4 ( 0.4)
( 9) 不適用	460 ( 48.0)

43-1.由住處去到工作地點約需花多久時間？

( 1) 就在住處，不需花時間 7 (0.7)	( 2) 十五分鐘以下 168 (17.5)	
(3) 十五分鐘以上到半小時以下 105 (11.0)	( 4) 半小時至一小時 49 (5.1)	
( 5) 一小時以上 14 (1.5)	( 9) 不適用 607 (63.4)	( 0) missing 8 (0.8)

44.您工作的單位有沒有提供或替你買下列的醫療保險？（可複選）

---

有	無	不適用
---	---	-----

---

( 1) 公務人員保險	40 (4.2)	336 (35.1)	582 (60.8)
( 2) 退休人員疾病保險		376 (39.2)	582 (60.8)
( 3) 勞工保險	205 (21.4)	171 (17.8)	582 (60.8)
( 4) 農(漁)民保險	8 (0.8)	368 (38.4)	582 (60.8)
( 5) 軍人保險	1 (0.1)	375 (39.1)	582 (60.8)
( 6) 團體壽險	1 (0.1)	375 (39.1)	582 (60.8)
( 7) 團體醫療險	9 (0.9)	367 (38.3)	582 (60.8)
( 8) 團體意外險	16 (1.7)	360 (37.6)	582 (60.8)
( 9) 其他，請說明 _____	1 (0.1)	375 (39.1)	582 (60.8)
( 10) 都沒有	120 (12.5)	256 (26.7)	582 (60.8)

---

45 您有沒有固定的薪水？

( 1) 有固定薪水 212 (22.1)	( 2) 按件計酬，有底薪 4 (0.4)	
( 3) 按件計酬，無底薪 70 (7.3)	( 4) 按時計酬，有底薪 4 (0.4)	
( 5) 按時計酬，無底薪 13 (1.4)	( 6) 薪水不固定 64 (6.7)	
( 7) 不拿薪水 130 (13.6)	( 8) 其他 1 (0.1)	( 9) 不適用 460 (48.0)

46.一般來說，您自己的收入主要是如何處理？

( 1) 家用 249 (26.0)	( 2) 自己用 18 (1.9)	( 3) 家用自用各半 99 (10.3)
( 4) 儲蓄 11 (1.1)	( 5) 其他 0	( 9) 不適用 581 (60.6)

47 您的收入對您家庭的經濟影響大不大？



(1) 影響很大	(2) 普通	(3) 影響很小	(4) 毫無影響	(9) 不適用
132 (13.8)	181 (18.9)	50 (5.2)	13 (1.4)	582 (60.8)

48.大致上說來，您對這個工作是否滿意？

(1) 很滿意	(2) 滿意	(3) 普通	(4) 不滿意	(5) 很不滿意
56 (5.8)	230 (24.0)	186 (19.4)	21 (2.2)	4 (0.4)
(9) 不適用				
460 (48.0)				

49.【已離開這個工作者】您為什麼離開這個工作？

(1) 結婚	0
(2) 要照顧子女	63 ( 6.6)
(3) 家務需要增加	6 ( 0.6)
(4) 家裡經濟情況足夠維持，不必去工作	4 ( 0.4)
(5) 搬家	8 ( 0.8)
(6) 家人反對	10 ( 1.0)
(7) 解雇或公司倒閉	5 ( 0.5)
(8) 調職	4 ( 0.4)
(9) 不喜歡原來的工作	5 ( 0.5)
(10) 有更合適的工作	19 ( 2.0)
(11) 身體不適	7 ( 0.7)
(12) 退休	0
(13) 其他（不知道，沒有原因，忘記）	22 ( 2.3)
(99) 不適用	805 (84.0)

最小子女六歲至最小子女十五歲
----------------

50.當時您先生的工作是：

行業 \_\_\_\_\_

職位 \_\_\_\_\_

51.請問當時您先生是為誰工作？（不念選項，單選）

( 1) 為自己工作，無僱用人員	209 (21.8)
( 2) 為自己工作，有僱用人員	92 ( 9.6)
( 3) 受僱於私人事業	265 (27.7)
( 4) 公營事業（包括黨營）	65 ( 6.8)
( 5) 為家裡工作有薪水	20 ( 2.1)
( 6) 為家裡工作無薪水	14 ( 1.5)
( 7) 學校教育機構	17 ( 1.8)
( 8) 政府機關	39 ( 4.1)
( 9) 家庭代工	4 ( 0.4)
( 10) 其他（包括退休）	1 ( 0.1)
( 0) missing	15 ( 1.6)
( 99) 不適用	217 (22.7)

55.請問你們公司（機構或工廠、或店裡）平常共有多少員工？

(1)沒有雇用人 124 (12.9)	(2) 1-2人 51 (5.3)	(3)3-5人 27 (2.8)
(4)6-9人 15 (1.6)	(5)10-19人 27 (2.8)	(6)20-49人 34 (3.5)
(7)50-99人 15 (1.6)	(8)100-299人 38 (4.0)	(9)300人以上 48 (5.0)
(10)不知道 20 (2.1)	(11)不固定 25 (2.6)	(99)不適用 532 (55.5)

56.平均每天工作幾個小時？

(1) 2小時以下 1 (0.1)	(2) 2至 4小時 7 (0.7)	(3) 4至 6小時 39 (4.1)
(4) 6至 8小時 207 (21.6)	(5) 8小時以上 200 (20.9)	
(0) 不一定 7 (0.7)	(9) 不適用 532 (55.5)	

57.平均每週工作幾天？ \_\_\_\_\_ 天

2 - 4.5 天	12 (1.3)
5 天	25 (2.6)
5.5 天	49 (5.1)
6.0 天	163 (17.0)
6.5 天	11 (1.1)
7.0 天	152 (15.9)
不一定	14 (0.6)
不適用	532 (55.5)

58.你需要晚上工作或輪值夜班嗎？

( 1) 需要	121 (12.6)
( 2) 不需要	303 (31.6)
( 0) missing	2 ( 0.2)
( 99) 不適用	532 (55.5)

59.您工作地方與家裡距離如何？

( 1) 在自己住家	116 ( 12.1)
( 2) 鄰近住家	215 ( 22.4)
( 3) 不在附近	90 ( 9.4)
( 0) 不一定	4 ( 0.4)
( 9) 不適用	532 ( 55.5)

59-1.由住處去到工作地點約需花多久時間？

( 1) 就在住處，不需花時間 5 (0.5)	( 2) 十五分鐘以下 160 (16.7)
(3) 十五分鐘以上到半小時以下 84 (8.8)	( 4) 半小時至一小時 39 (4.1)

( 5) 一小時以上 12 (1.3)	( 9) 不適用 649 (67.7)	( 0) missing 9 (0.9)
------------------------	------------------------	-------------------------

60. 您工作的單位有沒有提供或替你買下列的醫療保險？（可複選）

	有	無	不適用
( 1) 公務人員保險	33 (3.4)	278 (29.0)	647 (67.5)
( 2) 退休人員疾病保險		311 (32.5)	647 (67.5)
( 3) 勞工保險	169 (17.6)	142 (14.8)	647 (67.5)
( 4) 農（漁）民保險	22 (2.3)	289 (30.2)	647 (67.5)
( 5) 軍人保險	1 (0.1)	310 (32.4)	647 (67.5)
( 6) 團體壽險	1 (0.1)	310 (32.4)	647 (67.5)
( 7) 團體醫療險	6 (0.6)	305 (31.8)	647 (67.5)
( 8) 團體意外險	10 (1.0)	301 (31.4)	647 (67.5)
( 9) 其他，請說明 _____	1 (0.1)	310 (32.4)	647 (67.5)
( 10) 都沒有	86 (9.0)	225 (23.5)	647 (67.5)

61. 您有沒有固定的薪水？

( 1) 有固定薪水 164 (17.1)	( 2) 按件計酬，有底薪 6 (0.6)	
( 3) 按件計酬，無底薪 51 (5.3)	( 4) 按時計酬，有底薪 2 (0.2)	
( 5) 按時計酬，無底薪 14 (1.5)	( 6) 薪水不固定 61 (6.4)	
( 7) 不拿薪水 128 (13.4)	( 8) 其他 0	( 9) 不適用 532 (55.5)

62. 一般來說，您自己的收入主要是如何處理？

( 1) 家用	( 2) 自己用	( 3) 家用自用各半
222 (23.2)	8 (0.8)	67 (7.0)
( 4) 儲蓄	( 5) 其他	( 9) 不適用
11 (1.1)	0	650 (67.8)

63. 您的收入對您家庭的經濟影響大不大？

(1) 影響很大	( 2) 普通	( 3) 影響很小	( 4) 毫無影響	( 9) 不適用
114 (11.9)	149 (15.6)	35 (3.7)	10 (1.0)	650 (67.8)

64. 大致上說來，您對這個工作是否滿意？

( 1) 很滿意	( 2) 滿意	( 3) 普通	( 4) 不滿意	( 5) 很不滿意
45 (4.7)	202 (21.1)	154 (16.1)	22 (2.3)	2 (0.2)
( 9) 不適用				
532 (55.5)				

65. 【已離開這個工作者】您為什麼離開這個工作？

( 1) 結婚	
( 2) 要照顧子女	8 ( 0.8)
( 3) 家務需要增加	9 ( 0.9)
( 4) 家裡經濟情況足夠維持，不必去工作	4 ( 0.4)
( 5) 搬家	4 ( 0.4)
( 6) 家人反對	6 ( 0.8)
( 7) 解雇或公司倒閉	4 ( 0.4)
( 8) 調職	1 ( 0.1)
( 9) 不喜歡原來的工作	5 ( 0.5)
( 10) 有更合適的工作	14 ( 1.5)
( 11) 身體不適	23 ( 2.4)

( 12) 退休	12 ( 1.3)
( 13) 其他 ( 不知道 , 沒有原因 , 忘記 )	19 ( 2.0)
( 99) 不適用	849 (88.6)

## 目 前

66 現在您先生的工作是：

行業 \_\_\_\_\_

職位 \_\_\_\_\_

67 請問現在您先生是為誰工作？ ( 不念選項，單選 )

( 1) 為自己工作，無僱用人員	221 (23.1)
( 2) 為自己工作，有僱用人員	121 (12.6)
( 3) 受僱於私人事業	338 (35.3)
( 4) 公營事業 ( 包括黨營 )	67 ( 7.0)
( 5) 為家裡工作有薪水	21 ( 2.2)
( 6) 為家裡工作無薪水	15 ( 1.6)
( 7) 學校教育機構	23 ( 2.4)
( 8) 政府機關	40 ( 4.2)
( 9) 家庭代工	2 ( 0.1)
( 10) 其他 ( 包括退休 )	110 (11.4)

【受訪者這個階段 ( 1) 有工作 ( 2) 無工作 】

525 (54.8) 433 (45.2)

68.您的工作內容是什麼？

69.請問您是為誰工作？（不念選項，單選）

（1）為自己工作，無雇用人員	45 ( 4.7)
（2）為自己工作，有雇用人員	13 ( 1.4)
（3）為家裡工作有薪水	42 ( 4.4)
（4）為家裡工作無薪水	132 (13.8)
（5）受雇於私人企業	207 (21.6)
（6）公營事業（包括黨營）	19 ( 2.0)
（7）學校教育機構	24 ( 2.5)
（8）政府機關	12 ( 1.3)
（9）其他（家庭代工）	464 (48.4)

69-1 您與雇主之間有無工作契約？

（1）有	45 (4.7)	
（1）短期契約	6 (13.3)	（2）長期或穩定契約 39 (86.7))
（2）無	248 (25.9)	
（9）不適用	665 (69.4)	

70.您當時從事這項工作最主要的原因是什麼？

（1）幫助家庭經濟	285 (29.7)
（2）家庭事業需要	108 (11.3)
（3）發揮自己的才能或興趣	33 ( 3.4)
（4）希望有自己能支配的金錢	20 ( 2.1)
（5）打發時間	40 ( 4.2)
（6）擴大自己的生活範圍	10 ( 1.0)
（7）獲得知識、技術	3 ( 0.3)
（8）不會和社會脫節	7 ( 0.7)
（9）肯定自我	8 ( 0.8)
（10）獲得名譽和地位	0
（11）獲得別人的尊重和重視	3 ( 0.3)
（12）其他（無特殊理由）	8 ( 0.8)



( 99) 不適用

433 (45.2)

訪員請注意：若受訪者現在是從事或幫忙家庭事業，請跳答 84.

若受訪者現在是從事或幫忙家庭農場，請跳答 96.

71.請問你們公司（機構或工廠、或店裡）平常共有多少員工？

(1)沒有雇用人 24 (2.5)	( 2) 1-2人 10 (1.0)	(3)3-5人 16 (1.7)
(4)6-9人 13 (1.4)	(5)10-19人 29 (3.0)	(6)20-49人 36 (3.8)
(7)50-99人 27 (2.8)	(8)100-299人 53 (5.5)	(9)300人以上 56 (5.8)
(10)不知道 27 (2.8)	(11)不固定 12 (1.3)	(99)不適用 655 (68.4)

72.平均每天工作幾個小時？

( 1) 2小時以下 1 (0.1)	( 2) 2至 4小時 9 (0.9)	( 3) 4至 6小時 23 (2.4)
( 4) 6至 8小時 176 (18.4)	( 5) 8小時以上 88 (9.2)	
( 0) 不一定 5 (0.5)	( 9) 不適用 656 (68.5)	

73.平均每週工作幾天？ \_\_\_\_\_ 天

2 - 4.5 天	7 (0.7)
5 天	28 (2.9)
5.5 天	74 (7.7)

6.0 天	140 (14.6)
6.5 天	3 (0.3)
7.0 天	41 (4.3)
不一定	9 (0.9)
不適用	656 (68.5)

74.你需要晚上工作或輪值夜班嗎？

( 1) 需要	69 ( 7.2)
( 2) 不需要	232 (24.2)
( 99) 不適用	656 (68.5)

75.您工作地方與家裡距離如何？

( 1) 在自己住家	49 ( 5.1)
( 2) 鄰近住家	159 ( 16.6)
( 3) 不在附近	90 ( 9.4)
( 0) 不一定	4 ( 0.4)
( 9) 不適用	656 ( 68.5)

75-1.由住處去到工作地點約需花多久時間？

( 1) 就在住處，不需花時間 4 (0.4)	( 2) 十五分鐘以下 120 (12.5)	
(3) 十五分鐘以上到半小時以下 71 (7.4)	( 4) 半小時至一小時 43 (4.5)	
( 5) 一小時以上 10 (1.0)	( 9) 不適用 705 (73.6)	( 0) missing 5 (0.5)

76.您工作的單位有沒有提供或替你買下列的醫療保險？（可複選）

	有	無	不適用
( 1) 公務人員保險	42 (4.4)	254 (26.5)	662 (69.1)
( 2) 退休人員疾病保險		296 (30.9)	662 (69.1)
( 3) 勞工保險	189 (19.7)	107 (11.2)	662 (69.1)
( 4) 農(漁)民保險	2 (0.2)	294 (30.7)	662 (69.1)
( 5) 軍人保險	1 (0.1)	295 (30.8)	662 (69.1)
( 6) 團體壽險	1 (0.1)	295 (30.8)	662 (69.1)
( 7) 團體醫療險	9 (0.9)	287 (30.0)	662 (69.1)
( 8) 團體意外險	20 (2.1)	276 (28.8)	662 (69.1)
( 9) 其他，請說明 _____	0	296 (30.9)	662 (69.1)
( 10) 都沒有	63 (6.6)	233 (24.3)	662 (69.1)

77 您有沒有固定的薪水？

( 1) 有固定薪水 201 (21.0)	( 2) 按件計酬，有底薪 11 (1.1)	
( 3) 按件計酬，無底薪 51 (5.3)	( 4) 按時計酬，有底薪 4 (0.4)	
( 5) 按時計酬，無底薪 12 (1.3)	( 6) 薪水不固定 22 (2.3)	
( 7) 不拿薪水 1 (0.1)	( 8) 其他 1 (0.1)	( 9) 不適用 655 (68.4)

78.平均每月收入大約多少？

( 1) 無收入 2 (0.2)	( 2) 1萬元以下 27 (2.8)
( 3) 1-2萬元 100(10.4)	( 4) 2-3萬元 74 (7.7)
( 5) 3-4萬元 44 (4.6)	( 6) 4-5萬元 18 (1.9)
( 7) 5-6萬元 4 (0.4)	( 8) 6-7萬元 7 (0.7)

( 9) 7-8萬元	0	( 10) 8-9萬元	2 (0.2)
( 11) 9-10萬元	1 (0.1)	( 12) 10-11萬元	0
( 13) 11-12萬元	1 (0.1)	( 14) 12-13萬元	1 (0.1)
( 15) 13-14萬元	0	( 16) 14-15萬元	0
( 17) 15-16萬元	0	( 18) 16-17萬元	0
( 19) 17-18萬元	0	( 20) 18-19萬元	0
( 21) 19-20萬元	0	( 22) 20萬元以上	0
( 23) 拒答	22 (2.3)	( 99) 不適用	656 (68.5)

79.一般來說，您自己的收入主要是如何處理？

( 1) 家用	( 2) 自己用	( 3) 家用自	
173 (18.1)	18 (1.9)	95 (9.9)	
( 4) 儲蓄	( 5) 其他	( 9) 不適用	(0)missing
15 (1.6)	0	656 (68.5)	1 (0.1)

80.您的收入對您家庭的經濟影響大不大？

(1)影響很大	( 2) 普通	( 3) 影響很小	( 4) 毫無影響	( 9) 不適用
90 (9.4)	148 (15.4)	54 (5.6)	10(1.0)	656 (68.5)

81.大致上說來，您對這個工作是否滿意？

( 1) 很滿意	( 2) 滿意	( 3) 普通	( 4) 不滿意	( 5) 很不滿意
40 (4.2)	147 (15.3)	103 (10.8)	12 (1.3)	1 (0.1)
( 9) 不適用	655 (68.4)			

82.【已離開這個工作者】您為什麼離開這個工作？

- ( 1) 結婚
- ( 2) 要照顧子女
- ( 3) 家務需要增加
- ( 4) 家裡經濟情況足夠維持，不必去工作

- ( 5) 搬家
- ( 6) 家人反對
- ( 7) 解雇或公司倒閉 1 (0.1)
- ( 8) 調職
- ( 9) 不喜歡原來的工作
- ( 10) 有更合適的工作
- ( 11) 身體不適 1 (0.1)
- ( 12) 退休
- ( 13) 其他 ( 不知道 , 沒有原因 , 忘記 )
- ( 99) 不適用 956 (99.8)

83.大致上說來，您對這個工作是否滿意？

\*\* 結果同 81. \*\*

家庭事業

【凡是目前從事或幫忙家庭事業者回答】

84.您家的公司 ( 工廠、店 ... 等 ) 主要是誰在管 ( 做 ) ？

- |           |           |             |
|-----------|-----------|-------------|
| ( 1) 丈夫   | ( 2) 妻子   |             |
| 57 ( 5.9) | 38 ( 4.0) |             |
| ( 3) 夫妻一同 | ( 4) 丈夫親屬 |             |
| 52 ( 5.4) | 7 ( 0.7)  |             |
| ( 5) 妻子娘家 | ( 6) 子女   | ( 9) 不適用    |
| 5 ( 0.5)  | 2 ( 0.2)  | 797 ( 83.2) |

85.這個公司 ( 工廠、店 ... 等 ) 是從那一年開始經營的？民國 \_\_\_\_\_ 年

86.這個公司 ( 工廠、店 ... 等 ) 是否有人與您一起合夥經營或出資？

- ( 1) 有 30 ( 3.1)  
 ( 合夥人是否為親戚？ ( 1) 是 25 (83.3) ( 2) 否 5 ( 16.7) )  
 ( 2) 無 131 ( 13.7)  
 ( 9) 不適用 797 ( 83.2)

87.這個公司（工廠、店...等）的：長雇員工有 \_\_\_\_\_ 人  
 臨時員工有 \_\_\_\_\_ 人  
 男性有 \_\_\_\_\_ 人  
 女性有 \_\_\_\_\_ 人

88.您工作地方與家裡距離如何？

- ( 1) 在自己住家 96 ( 10.0)  
 ( 2) 鄰近住家 44 ( 4.6)  
 ( 3) 不在附近 19 ( 2.0)  
 ( 0) missing 2 ( 0.2)  
 ( 99) 不適用 797 ( 83.2)

88-1.由住處去到工作地點約需花多久時間？

- |                              |                         |                         |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| ( 1) 就在住處，不需花時間<br>0         | ( 2) 十五分鐘以下<br>29 (3.0) |                         |
| ( 3) 十五分鐘以上到半小時以下<br>9 (0.9) | ( 4) 半小時至一小時<br>7 (0.7) |                         |
| ( 5) 一小時以上<br>7 (0.7)        | ( 9) 不適用<br>904 (94.4)  | ( 0) missing<br>2 (0.2) |

89.這個公司（工廠、店...等）是不是屬於製造業？

90.這個公司（工廠、店...等）的生產過程是屬於下列何種方式？

90-1 這個公司（工廠、店...等）的產品銷售對象是誰？

	有	無	不適用
( 1) 大、中盤	5(0.5)	2(0.2)	951 (99.3)
( 2) 零售	2(0.2)	5(0.5)	951 (99.3)

90-2 與母廠或母公司之關係為何？

( 1) 專屬 7 (0.7) ( 2) 非專屬 7 (0.7) ( 9) 不適用 944 (98.5)

91 這個公司（工廠、店...等）是否已在政府機關（經濟部、建設廳或建設局）登記並領取執照？

91-1 是那一種登記？

	有	無	不適用
( 1) 工廠登記證	11 (1.1)	83 (8.7)	864 (90.2)
( 2) 公司登記證	19 (2.0)	75 (7.9)	864 (90.2)
( 3) 營利事業登記	81 (8.5)	13 (1.4)	864 (90.2)
( 4) 不知道	1 (0.1)	93 (9.7)	864 (90.2)

92. 這個公司（工廠、店...等）有沒有提供或替你買下列的醫療保險？  
（可複選）

	有	無	不適用
(1) 公務人員保險	0	101 (10.5)	857 (89.5)
(2) 退休人員疾病保險	0	101 (10.5)	857 (89.5)
(3) 勞工保險	65 (6.8)	36 (3.8)	857 (89.5)
(4) 農（漁）民保險	0	101 (10.5)	857 (89.5)
(5) 軍人保險	0	101 (10.5)	857 (89.5)
(6) 團體壽險	1 (0.1)	100 (10.4)	857 (89.5)
(7) 團體醫療險	3 (0.3)	98 (10.2)	857 (89.5)
(8) 團體意外險	3 (0.3)	98 (10.2)	857 (89.5)
(9) 其他，請說明 _____	0	101 (10.5)	857 (89.5)
(10) 都沒有	27 (2.8)	74 (7.7)	857 (89.5)

93. 您有沒有固定的薪水？

(1) 有固定薪水 28 (2.9)	(2) 按件計酬，有底薪 1 (0.1)	
(3) 按件計酬，無底薪 6 (0.6)	(4) 按時計酬，有底薪 0	
(5) 按時計酬，無底薪 0	(6) 薪水不固定 44 (4.6)	
(7) 不拿薪水 81 (8.5)	(8) 其他 0	(9) 不適用 798 (83.3)

94. 這個公司（工廠、店...等）平均每月大約賺多少？

(1) 無收入 2 (0.2)	(2) 1萬元以下 3 (0.3)
(3) 1-2萬元 19 (2.0)	(4) 2-3萬元 21 (2.2)
(5) 3-4萬元 20 (2.1)	(6) 4-5萬元 17 (1.8)
(7) 5-6萬元 6 (0.6)	(8) 6-7萬元 5 (0.5)



( 9) 7-8萬元	5 (0.5)	( 10) 8-9萬元	4 (0.4)
( 11) 9-10萬元	5 (0.5)	( 12) 10-11萬元	5 (0.5)
( 13) 11-12萬元	1 (0.1)	( 14) 12-13萬元	1 (0.1)
( 15) 13-14萬元	1 (0.1)	( 16) 14-15萬元	0
( 17) 15-16萬元	5 (0.5)	( 18) 16-17萬元	2 (0.2)
( 19) 17-18萬元	1 (0.1)	( 20) 18-19萬元	0
( 21) 19-20萬元	0	( 22) 20萬元以上	6 (0.6)
( 23) 拒答	32 (3.3)	( 99) 不適用	797 (83.2)

95.大致上說來，您對目前這個工作是否滿意？

( 1) 很滿意	( 2) 滿意	( 3) 普通	( 4) 不滿意	( 5) 很不滿意
28 (2.9)	75 (7.8)	47 (4.9)	9 (0.9)	0

( 9) 不適用  
797 (83.2)

家庭農場

【凡是目前為自己的農地或家庭所有的農地工作者回答】

96.您家的農地主要是誰在負責耕作？

( 1) 丈夫	( 2) 妻子	
15 ( 5.9)	3 ( 0.3)	
( 3) 夫妻一同	( 4) 丈夫親屬	
39 ( 4.1)	0	
( 5) 妻子娘家	( 6) 子女	( 9) 不適用
0	2 ( 0.2)	899 ( 93.8)

97.您家的農地最主要種植的作物是那一種？

- |                              |         |            |         |
|------------------------------|---------|------------|---------|
| ( 1) 水稻                      | ( 2) 蔬菜 | ( 3) 果樹    | ( 4) 花卉 |
| 24 (2.5)                     | 5 (0.5) | 7 (0.7)    | 2 (0.2) |
| ( 5) 雜糧作物 ( 如：大豆、馬鈴薯、高粱 ...) |         |            |         |
| 11 (1.1)                     |         |            |         |
| ( 6) 其他經濟作物 ( 如：煙草、檳榔樹 ...)  |         | ( 9) 不適用   |         |
| 10 (1.0)                     |         | 899 (93.8) |         |

98.你們目前耕作的總面積有多大？ \_\_\_\_\_ 甲 \_\_\_\_\_ 分 \_\_\_\_\_ 釐

99.這塊 ( 些 ) 地的所有權是屬於誰所有的？

- |                         |             |
|-------------------------|-------------|
| ( 1) 全部是自己的 ( 包括家族共有的 ) | 44 ( 4.6)   |
| ( 2) 有些是自己的，有些是租來的      | 10 ( 1.0)   |
| ( 3) 全部是租來的             | 5 ( 0.5)    |
| ( 9) 不適用                | 899 ( 93.8) |

100.您有沒有參加下列的組織 ( 可複選 ) ？

	有	無	不適用
( 1) 共同經營班	3 ( 0.3)	56 ( 5.8)	899 ( 93.8)
( 2) 合作農場	3 ( 0.3)	56 ( 5.8)	899 ( 93.8)
( 3) 共同運銷班	13 ( 1.4)	46 ( 4.8)	899 ( 93.8)

101.你們有沒有請雇農幫忙？

- |          |             |                         |
|----------|-------------|-------------------------|
| ( 1) 有   | 15 ( 1.6)   | (男工 _____ 人，女工 _____ 人) |
| ( 2) 無   | 44 ( 4.6)   |                         |
| ( 3) 不適用 | 899 ( 93.8) |                         |

102.下列和農地耕種有關的事項主要是由誰決定的？

	種植何種作物	種植何種品種	農用設備購買	運銷方式
( 1) 丈夫	33 (3.4)	35 (3.7)	33 (3.4)	32 (3.3)
( 2) 妻子	2 (0.2)	2 (0.2)	3 (0.3)	3 (0.3)
( 3) 夫妻共同	21 (2.2)	20 (2.1)	21 (2.2)	12 (1.3)
( 4) 夫家父母	1 (0.1)			
( 5) 娘家父母				
( 6) 夫家親戚				
( 7) 娘家親戚				
( 8) 兒子	2 (0.2)	2 (0.2)	2 (0.2)	2 (0.2)
( 9) 媳婦				
( 10) 兒媳一同				
( 11) 農業生產及 經營組織				10 (1.0)
( 99) 不適用	899 (93.8)	899 (93.8)	899 (93.8)	899 (93.8)

#### 肆、工作價值

以下我們有一些關於工作方面態度的問題想要請教您，請根據您自己的看法選擇一個合適的答案告訴我們。

	非常 同意 1.	有點 同意 2.	不太 同意 3.	很 不 同意 4.	無 意 見 5.	不 知 道 6.	不 瞭 解 題 意 7.	拒 答 8.
(1) 成功主要靠運氣，而不是 靠努力	38 (4.0)	119 (12.4)	441 (46.0)	339 (35.4)	11 (1.1)	6 (0.6)	2 (0.2)	2 (0.2)

( 2) 我沒有興趣的工作，即使 錢再多我也不願作	230 (24.0)	303 (31.6)	293 (30.6)	96 (10.0)	26 (2.7)	8 (0.8)	0	2 (0.2)
( 3) 如果已有足夠的錢過舒服 的生活就不必繼續工作了	50 (5.2)	118 (12.3)	487 (50.8)	278 (29.0)	17 (1.8)	3 (0.3)	2 (0.2)	3 (0.3)
( 4) 投資是冒險的事，應該儘 量避免	296 (30.9)	284 (29.6)	255 (26.6)	55 (5.7)	45 (4.7)	13 (1.4)	4 (0.4)	6 (0.6)
( 5) 只要環境許可，就應該工 作	507 (52.9)	350 (36.5)	64 (6.7)	9 (0.9)	17 (1.8)	2 (0.2)	7 (0.7)	2 (0.2)
( 6) 工作時間應該少一點，好 留時間去作自己喜歡的事	372 (38.8)	351 (36.6)	150 (15.7)	27 (3.3)	41 (3.9)	12 (1.6)	2 (0.2)	3 (0.6)

#### 伍、家務工作之分配

【有子女者才回答 ( 1) 有子女 ( 2) 無子女 ( 跳答 4-3) 】

939 ( 98.0) 19 ( 2.0)

#### 1 您最大的子女出生後，主要是誰在照顧這個小孩？

( 1) 婆婆或夫家親戚	158 ( 16.5)	( 2) 母親或娘家親戚	69 ( 7.2)
( 3) 鄰居或朋友	0	( 4) 請褓姆	55 (5.7)
( 5) 佣人	4 ( 0.4)	( 6) 托嬰機構	4 (0.4)
( 7) 太太	642 ( 67.0)	(8) 丈夫	0
( 9) 其他 ( 包括不適用、太太與婆婆一起照顧)	17 (3.3)		

1-1.在那裡照顧這個小孩？

( 1) 在自己家	( 2) 在照顧者住的地方	( 3) 其他	( 9) 不適用
779 (81.3)	153 (16.0)	7 (1.4)	19 (2.0)

1-2 這個孩子在一歲以前，您是如何安排照顧他的方式？

( 1) 由丈夫或太太相互配合照顧，沒有托人	199 (20.8)
( 2) 完全由太太照顧，沒有托人	468 (48.9)
( 3) 上班時間托人照顧，下班自己（或先生）照顧	175 (18.3)
( 4) 週末或假日自己（或先生）照顧，平常日夜托人照顧	30 ( 3.1)
( 5) 一週七天日夜都托人照顧	61 ( 6.4)
( 6) 其他，請說明 _____	6 ( 0.6)
( 9) 不適用	19 ( 2.0)

2 您最小的子女在三歲以前，主要是誰在照顧這個小孩？

(1) 婆婆或夫家親戚	79 ( 8.2)	( 2) 母親或娘家親戚	48( 5.0)
( 3) 鄰居或朋友	1 (0.1)	( 4) 請褓姆	49 ( 5.1)
( 5) 佣人	2 (0.2)	( 6) 托嬰機構	3 ( 0.3)
( 7) 太太	681 ( 71.1)	(8) 丈夫	1 ( 0.1)
( 9) 由較大的孩子照顧小的	9 ( 0.9)	( 10) 其他	6 ( 0.6)
( 99) 不適用（跳答 4-3）	79 ( 8.2)		

2-1.在那裡照顧這個小孩？

2-1.

( 1) 在自己家	( 2) 在照顧者住的地方	( 3) 其他	( 9) 不適用
775 (80.9)	98 (10.2)	6 (0.6)	79 (8.2)

2-2 這個孩子在一歲以前，您是如何安排照顧他的方式？

( 1) 由丈夫或太太相互配合照顧，沒有托人	202 (21.1)
( 2) 完全由太太照顧，沒有托人	490 (51.1)
( 3) 上班時間托人照顧，下班自己（或先生）照顧	121 (12.6)
( 4) 週末或假日自己（或先生）照顧，平常日夜托人照顧	23 ( 2.4)
( 5) 一週七天日夜都托人照顧	38 ( 4.0)
( 6) 其他，請說明 _____	3 ( 0.3)
( 9) 不適用	79 ( 8.2)

【目前家裡有十二歲以下子女者才問】

### 3.目前家庭裡主要是誰在照顧小孩？

(1) 婆婆或夫家親戚	25 ( 2.6)	( 2) 母親或娘家親戚	16( 1.7)
( 3) 鄰居或朋友	0	( 4) 請褓姆	17 ( 1.8)
( 5) 佣人	0	( 6) 托嬰機構	11 ( 1.1)
( 7) 太太	310 ( 32.4)	(8) 丈夫	4 ( 0.4)
( 9) 由較大的孩子照顧小的	2 ( 0.2)	( 10) 孩子自己照顧自己	16 ( 1.7)
( 11) 其他	9	( 99) 不適用 ( 跳答 4-3)	548 (57.2)

#### 3-1.在那裡照顧這個 (些) 小孩？

( 1) 在自己家	( 2) 在照顧者住的地方	( 3) 其他	( 9) 不適用
360 (37.6)	42 ( 4.4)	8 (0.8)	548 (57.2)

### 4.以下的問題想請問您自從結婚以後到現在，下列的家務工作主要是誰在負責作？

#### 4-1.【結婚後到生孩子之前】

	丈 夫 1.	妻 子 2.	夫 妻 兩 人 3.	子 女 4.	父 母 、 配 偶 父 母 5.	大 家 輪 流 6.	其 他 家 人 7.	雇 用 他 人 8.	不 適 用 9.
(1)買菜煮飯	6 (0.6)	668 (69.7)	68 ( 7.1)	0	107 (11.2)	67 (7.0)	7 (0.7)	9 (0.9)	26 (2.7)
(2)洗碗	14	710	79	1	19	96	3	10	26

	(1.5)	(74.1)	( 8.2)	(0.1)	(2.0)	(10.0)	(0.3)	(1.0)	(2.7)
(3)清潔及整理 家庭	8 (0.8)	622 (64.9)	152 (15.9)	0	20 (2.1)	122 (12.7)	3 (0.3)	11 (1.1)	20 (2.1)
(4)買日用品	48 (5.0)	549 (57.3)	163 (17.0)	4 (0.4)	106 (11.1)	60 (6.3)	8 (0.8)	1 (0.1)	19 (2.0)
(5)修理簡單的水電	557 (58.1)	63 (6.6)	37 (3.9)	0	46 (4.8)	18 (1.9)	13 (1.4)	181 (18.9)	43 (4.5)
(6)倒垃圾	73 (7.6)	518 (54.1)	170 (17.7)	3 (0.3)	30 (3.1)	124 (12.9)	10 (1.0)	7 (0.7)	23 (2.4)

#### 4-2.【有了孩子後到最小的子女入學前】

	父 母 、 配 偶 父 母								
	丈 夫 1.	妻 子 2.	夫 妻 兩 人 3.	子 女 4.	大 家 輪 流 5.	其 他 家 人 6.	雇 用 他 人 8.	不 適 用 9.	
(1)買菜煮飯	6 (0.6)	726 (75.8)	71 (7.4)	4 (0.4)	59 (6.2)	52 (5.4)	3 (0.3)	12 (1.3)	25 (2.6)
(2)洗碗	15 (1.6)	708 (73.9)	76 (7.9)	19 (2.0)	18 (1.9)	83 (8.7)	3 (0.3)	13 (1.4)	23 (2.4)
(3)清潔及整理 家庭	8 (0.8)	613 (64.0)	157 (16.4)	10 (1.0)	20 (2.1)	114 (11.9)	2 (0.4)	12 (1.3)	22 (2.3)

(4)買日用品	40 (4.2)	581 (60.6)	192 (20.0)	8 (0.8)	59 (6.2)	50 (5.2)	5 (0.5)	2 (0.2)	21 (2.2)
(5)修理簡單的水電	567 (59.2)	67 (7.0)	40 (4.2)	4 (0.4)	34 (3.5)	14 (1.5)	7 (0.7)	192 (20.0)	33 (3.4)
(6)倒垃圾	71 (7.4)	490 (51.1)	168 (17.5)	29 (3.0)	22 (2.3)	137 (14.3)	5 (0.5)	12 (1.3)	24 (2.5)

#### 4-3.【目前家務分工的情況】

	丈 夫 1.	妻 子 2.	夫 妻 兩 人 3.	子 女 4.	父 母 、 配 偶 父 母 5.	大 家 輪 流 6.	其 他 家 人 7.	雇 用 他 人 8.	不 適 用 9.
(1)買菜煮飯	18 (1.9)	702 (73.3)	86 (12.6)	24 (2.5)	33 (3.4)	54 (5.6)	25 (2.6)	11 (1.1)	5 (0.5)
(2)洗碗	18 (1.9)	600 (59.7)	72 (7.5)	74 (7.7)	13 (1.4)	137 (14.3)	8 (1.6)	12 (1.3)	3 (0.3)
(3)清潔及整理家庭	16 (1.7)	520 (54.3)	144 (15.0)	47 (4.9)	10 (1.0)	185 (19.3)	13 (2.5)	12 (1.3)	0
(4)買日用品	46 (4.8)	529 (55.2)	193 (20.1)	40 (4.2)	15 (1.6)	116 (12.1)	5 (1.0)	2 (0.2)	0
(5)修理簡單的水電	569 (59.4)	46 (4.8)	38 (4.0)	48 (5.0)	22 (2.3)	26 (2.7)	8 (1.6)	194 (20.3)	1 (0.1)
(6)倒垃圾	83 (8.7)	372 (38.8)	134 (14.0)	76 (7.9)	11 (1.1)	248 (25.9)	7 (1.4)	10 (1.0)	1 (0.2)



## 陸、家庭決策

### 1.當初您和您先生是怎麼認識的？

( 1) 父母或親戚介紹 192( 20.0)	( 2) 職業媒人介紹 181 ( 18.9)	( 3) 鄰居介紹 45 ( 4.7)
( 4) 同學介紹 22 ( 2.3)	( 5) 同事介紹 39 ( 4.1)	( 6) 朋友介紹 154( 16.1)
( 7) 自己認識的 296 ( 30.9)	( 8) 聯誼或徵婚 10( 1.0)	( 9) 童養媳 10( 1.0)
(10) 其他 6 ( 0.6)	( 0) missing 3 (0.3)	

### 2.你們結婚是由誰決定的？

( 1) 男女雙方自己決定 333 (34.8)	( 2) 父母安排決定 247 (25.8)	
( 3) 父母及自己一起商量決定 367 (38.3)	( 4) 其他 8 (0.8)	(0) missing 3 (0.3)

### 3.每一個家庭都有許多事情需做決定，我們想請教您下列各事項在您家主要是由誰來做決定？【請訪員依受訪者的回答在下表選一合適答案填入】

丈夫的職業 (或工作選擇)	妻子是否外 出工作或改	家用支出的 分配	儲蓄、投資、 保險等
------------------	----------------	-------------	---------------

## 變工作

( 1) 都是丈夫	743 (77.5)	100 (10.4)	118 (12.3)	168 (17.5)
( 2) 大部份是丈夫	43 ( 4.5)	34 (3.5)	44 ( 4.6)	50 ( 5.2)
( 3) 夫妻一起決定	104 (10.9)	269 (28.1)	421 (43.9)	454 (47.4)
( 4) 大部份是妻子	0	82 ( 8.6)	99 ( 9.9)	57 ( 5.9)
( 5) 都是妻子	3 ( 0.3)	343 (35.8)	204 (20.7)	118 (12.3)
( 6) 自己父親	1 ( 0.1)	1 ( 0.1)	0	0
( 7) 自己母親	0	0	0	0
( 8) 岳父	14 ( 1.5)	3 ( 0.3)	7 ( 0.7)	1 ( 0.1)
( 9) 岳母	4 ( 0.4)	2 ( 0.2)	11 ( 1.1)	3 ( 0.3)
( 10) 子女	0	1 ( 0.1)	3 ( 0.3)	6 ( 0.6)
( 11) 媳婦	0	0	2 ( 0.2)	0
( 12) 夫方親戚	2 (0.2)	2 ( 0.2)	1 ( 0.1)	0
( 13) 妻方親戚	1 (0.1)	2 ( 0.2)	0	0
( 14) 家人共同商量	7 (0.7)	12 ( 1.3)	30 ( 3.1)	30 ( 3.1)
( 15) 不需做決定	33 (3.4)	77 ( 8.0)	13 ( 1.4)	33 ( 3.4)
( 16) 其他		2 ( 0.2)	4 ( 0.4)	10 ( 1.0)
( 99) 不適用	2 (0.2)	27 ( 2.8)	0	27 ( 2.6)
(0) missing	1 (0.1)	1 ( 0.1)	1 ( 0.1)	1 ( 0.1)

	一般喜慶賀 禮的數額	要不要買新 房子	要不要搬家 方面	要不要與上 一代或下一 代同住
( 1) 都是丈夫	199 (20.3)	118 (12.3)	118 (12.3)	102 (10.6)
( 2) 大部份是丈夫	52 ( 5.4)	27 ( 2.8)	26 ( 2.7)	28 ( 2.9)
( 3) 夫妻一起決定	494 (51.6)	465 (48.5)	461 (48.1)	396 (41.3)
( 4) 大部份是妻子	39 ( 4.1)	12 ( 1.3)	14 ( 1.5)	8 ( 0.8)
( 5) 都是妻子	68 ( 7.1)	38 ( 4.0)	25 ( 2.6)	18 ( 1.9)
( 6) 自己父親	1 ( 0.1)	2 ( 0.2)	0	1 ( 0.1)
( 7) 自己母親	0	0	0	2 ( 0.2)
( 8) 岳父	7 ( 0.7)	2 ( 0.2)	2 ( 0.2)	15 ( 1.6)
( 9) 岳母	7 ( 0.7)	2 ( 0.2)	2 ( 0.2)	12 ( 1.3)

( 10) 子女	7 ( 0.7)	8 ( 0.8)	6 ( 0.6)	11 ( 1.1)
( 11) 媳婦	0	0	0	0
( 12) 夫方親戚	1 ( 0.1)	0	0	4 ( 0.4)
( 13) 妻方親戚	0	0	0	1 ( 0.1)
( 14) 家人共同商量	26 ( 2.7)	84 ( 8.8)	80 ( 8.4)	118 (12.3)
( 15) 不需做決定	20 ( 2.1)	98 (10.2)	120 (12.5)	200 (20.9)
( 16) 其他	34 ( 3.5)	1 ( 0.1)	1 ( 0.1)	7 ( 0.7)
( 99) 不適用	2 ( 0.2)	100 (10.4)	102 (10.6)	33 ( 3.4)
( 0) missing	1 ( 0.1)	1 ( 0.1)	1 ( 0.1)	2 ( 0.2)

4.在上述這些家庭事項中，您認為目前哪一項決定事項是最重要的？

( 1) 丈夫的職業（或工作）	64 ( 6.7)
( 2) 妻子是否外出工作或改變工作	8 ( 0.8)
( 3) 家用支出的分配	73 ( 7.6)
( 4) 儲蓄、投資、保險等	52 ( 5.4)
( 5) 一般喜慶賀禮的數額	1 ( 0.1)
( 6) 要不要買新房子	53 ( 5.5)
( 7) 要不要班新家	4 ( 0.4)
( 8) 要不要與上一代或下一代同住	7 ( 0.7)
( 9) 奉養父母的方式	12 ( 1.3)
( 10) 生孩子方面	1 ( 0.1)
( 11) 子女管教問題	223 (23.3)
( 12) 子女升學問題	68 ( 6.8)
( 13) 子女婚嫁	37 ( 3.9)
( 14) 不知道、很難決定、都重要 ... [續答 4-1]	357 (37.3)
( 0) missing	1 ( 0.1)

4-1 就家用支出、儲蓄投資、賀禮數額以及買新房子等方面，您覺得那一項比較重要？

( 1) 家用支出的分配	177 (18.5)
( 2) 儲蓄、投資、保險等	86 ( 9.0)
( 3) 一般喜慶賀禮的數額	9 ( 0.9)

( 4) 要不要買新房子	81 ( 8.5)
( 0) missing	5 ( 0.5)
( 9) 不適用	600 (62.6)

5.以這一個決定事項 ( 4或 4-1的事項 ) 來說，在決定這件事情之前，你們夫妻有沒有產生不同的意見？

( 1) 有不同意見 ---- (續答 5-1)	552 (57.6)
( 2) 沒有不同意見	400 (41.8)
( 3) 其他，請說明 _____	4 ( 0.4)
(0) missing	2 ( 0.2)

5-1.你們如何處理不相同意見？

( 1) 互相討論或商量，設法找出合理的辦法來解決	384 (40.1)
( 2) 起先兩人會吵架或爭執不下，最後才做這樣的決定	62 ( 6.5)
( 3) 想法一直不一樣沒辦法改變或勉強，也不必再談了	24 ( 2.5)
( 4) 不做任何討論，就由我自己決定	12 ( 1.3)
( 5) 不做任何討論，就由丈夫決定	39 ( 4.1)
( 6) 找其他人來調停或作決定	0
( 7) 丈夫去說服太太	13 ( 1.4)
( 8) 太太去說服丈夫	16 ( 1.7)
( 9) 其他 ( 包括不適用 )	407 (42.5)

6.整體來說，您目前對這件事情的決定方式滿不滿意？

( 1) 很滿意	173 (18.1)
( 2) 滿意	671 (70.0)
( 3) 不太滿意 _____	97 (10.1)
( 4) 很不滿意 _____ ( 續答 6-1)	13 ( 1.4)
( 0) missing	4 ( 0.4)

6-1.您希望改變這種決定方式嗎？

( 1) 不可能改變	47 ( 4.9)
( 2) 不希望改變	7 ( 0.7)
( 3) 希望改變，希望怎麼變？	56 ( 5.8)
( 0) missing	2 ( 0.2)
( 9) 不適用	846 (88.3)

7.除了 ( 4或 4-1) 決定事項以外，在其他事情的決定上，你們夫妻有沒有產生不同的意見？

( 1) 有不同意見 ----- ( 續答 6-1)	600 (62.6)
( 2) 沒有不同意見	356 (37.2)
( 3) 其他 _____	2 ( 0.2)

7-1.你們如何處理不相同的意見？

( 1) 互相討論或商量，設法找出合理的辦法來解決	400 (41.8)
( 2) 起先兩人會吵架或爭執不下，最後才做這樣的決定	78 ( 8.1)
( 3) 想法一直不一樣沒辦法改變或勉強，也不必再談了	28 ( 2.9)
( 4) 不做任何討論，就由我自己決定	17 ( 1.8)
( 5) 不做任何討論，就由丈夫決定	47 ( 4.9)
( 6) 找其他人來調停或作決定	2 ( 0.2)
( 7) 丈夫去說服太太	12 ( 1.3)
( 8) 太太去說服丈夫	14 ( 1.5)
( 9) 其他，請說明 _____	360 (37.6)

8.你們家裡在決定一些重要事情的時候，有沒有找親戚、朋友或鄰居一起作決定？

( 1) 有	234 (24.4)
( 2) 無	723 (75.5)
(0) missing	1 ( 0.1)

## 柒、性別角色態度

以下我們有一些關於態度的問題想要請教您，請根據您的看法選擇一個合適的答案。

### 性別角色

	非常 同意 1.	有點 同意 2.	不太 同意 3.	很 不同 意 4.	無 意見 5.	不 知 道 6.	不 瞭 解 題 意 7.	拒 答 8.
( 1) 家庭中大部份重要的事 情應當要由男人來決定	235 (24.5)	222 (23.2)	340 (35.5)	138 (14.4)	19 (2.0)	3 (0.3)	0	1 (0.1)
( 2) 家庭生活上，有些工作 是男人的工作，有些是 女人的工作，不應當互 相插手	83 (8.7)	189 (19.7)	449 (46.9)	217 (22.7)	16 (1.7)	2 (0.2)	2 (0.2)	0
( 3) 當母親有工作的話，入 學前子女比較容易受到 不好的影響	169 (17.6)	318 (33.2)	318 (33.2)	85 (8.9)	36 (3.8)	27 (2.8)	5 (0.5)	0
( 4) 丈夫的責任就是賺錢， 妻子的責任就是照顧家 庭	282 (29.4)	220 (23.0)	300 (31.3)	139 (14.5)	15 (1.6)	2 (0.2)	0	0
應該先從（已婚）女性	(4.3)	(8.5)	(32.5)	(43.5)	(5.8)	(4.6)	(0.7)	(0.1)
(5) 經濟不景氣需裁員時，	41	81	311	417	56	44	7	1

## 員工裁起

( 6) 一般說來，男性比女性 更適合當主管	114 (11.9)	205 (21.4)	399 (41.6)	173 (18.1)	38 (4.0)	28 (2.9)	0	1 (0.1)
( 7) 女人婚後要不要工作應 由公婆或丈夫決定	56 (5.8)	128 (13.4)	383 (40.0)	356 (37.2)	27 (2.8)	6 (0.6)	2 (0.2)	0
( 8) 一般說來，男人比女人 更適合參與政治	131 (13.7)	244 (25.5)	358 (37.4)	97 (10.1)	75 (7.8)	47 (4.9)	2 (0.2)	4 (0.4)
( 9) 家庭經濟足夠維持時， 妻子不應外出工作	123 (12.8)	171 (17.8)	465 (48.5)	161 (16.8)	31 (3.2)	7 (0.7)	0	0

## 夫妻優先觀

(10)在一個家庭裡，夫妻之 間的關係比跟子女間的 關係更重要	189 (19.7)	191 (19.9)	384 (40.1)	117 (12.2)	51 (5.3)	20 (2.1)	3 (0.3)	2 (0.2)
(11)在家庭裡，應該優先考 慮配偶的需要，其次才 考慮子女的需要	89 (9.3)	168 (17.5)	472 (49.3)	149 (15.6)	54 (5.6)	19 (2.0)	6 (0.6)	0

## 附錄二

### 抽樣調查問卷之次數分配表 丈夫樣本】

#### 壹、基本資料

1. 您是什麼時候出生的？民國 \_\_\_\_\_ 年

20 - 30歲	21 (4.1)
31 - 40歲	152 (29.4)
41 - 50歲	157 (30.5)
51 - 60歲	116 (22.4)
60歲以上	70 (13.6)

2. 您在什麼地方出生？

\_\_\_\_\_ 省(市) \_\_\_\_\_ 縣(市) \_\_\_\_\_ 鄉(鎮、市、區)

3. 請問您十五歲以前居住最久的地方？

\_\_\_\_\_ 省(市) \_\_\_\_\_ 縣(市) \_\_\_\_\_ 鄉(鎮、市、區)

4. 最近這五年內，您是不是一直住在個地區？

(1)是 484 (93.8)

(2)否，是從那裡搬來的？ 32 ( 6.2)

\_\_\_\_\_ 省(市) \_\_\_\_\_ 縣(市) \_\_\_\_\_ 鄉(鎮、市、區)

5. 請問您是民國 \_\_\_\_\_ 年結婚。(再婚者，以本次婚姻為主)

6. 您一共有幾個小孩？ \_\_\_\_\_ 個

0: 10 (1.9) 5: 39 (7.6)



1: 54 (10.5)	6: 13 (2.5)
2: 153 (29.7)	7: 5 (1.0)
3: 156 (30.2)	8: 1 (0.2)
4: 84 (16.3)	11: 1 (0.2)

最大的是什麼時候出生的？ 民國 \_\_\_\_\_ 年

最小的是什麼時候出生的？ 民國 \_\_\_\_\_ 年

216

7. 請問您父親的籍貫是那裡？

(1)閩南人	374 (72.5)	(3)客家人	79 (15.3)
(2)外省人	62 (12.0)	(4)原住民 (山胞)	1 (0.2)

8.

教育程度	受訪者自己	受訪者丈夫	受訪者父親	受訪者母親
(1)無	26 (5.0)	74 (14.3)	213 (41.3)	328 (63.6)
(2)自修	3 (0.3)	1 ( 0.2)	27 ( 5.2)	20 ( 3.9)
(3)小學肄業	24 (4.7)	24 ( 4.7)	42 ( 8.1)	24 ( 4.7)
(4)小學畢業	146 (28.3)	145 (28.1)	142 (27.5)	108 (20.9)
(5)國 (初) 中	73 (14.1)	81 (15.7)	32 ( 6.2)	16 ( 3.1)
(6)初職	1 (0.2)	4 ( 0.8)	4 ( 0.8)	1 ( 0.2)

(7)高中	57 (11.0)	51 ( 9.9)	20 ( 3.9)	13 ( 2.5)
(8)高職	64 (12.4)	70 (13.6)	7 ( 1.4)	
(9)士官學校	3 ( 0.6)	1 ( 0.2)		
(10)五專	16 ( 3.1)	9 ( 1.7)	3 ( 0.6)	2 ( 0.4)
(11)二、三專	30 ( 5.8)	19 ( 3.7)	1 ( 0.2)	2 ( 0.4)
(12)軍警校專修班	5 ( 1.0)		2 ( 0.4)	
(13)軍警官學校	3 ( 0.6)		8 ( 1.6)	
(14)大學	49 ( 9.5)	35 ( 6.8)	15 ( 2.9)	2 ( 0.4)
(15)研究所	15 ( 2.9)	2 ( 0.4)		
(16)其他	1 ( 0.2)			

---

217

9.請問您配偶父親的籍貫是那裡？

(1)閩南人	372 (72.1)	(2)客家人	95 (18.4)
(2)外省人	48 ( 9.3)	(4)原住民 (山胞)	
(3)其他	1 ( 0.2)		

10.您家每個月的收入差不多有多少？

(1) 1萬元以下	27 (5.2)	(2) 1萬元 - 3萬元之間	74 (14.3)
(3) 3萬元 - 5萬元之間	159 (30.8)	(4) 5萬元 - 7萬元之間	108 (20.9)
(5) 7萬元 - 10萬元之間	67 (13.0)	(6) 10萬元 - 20萬元之間	36 (7.0)

(7)20萬元以上	1 (0.2)	(8)不知道	25 (4.8)
(9)拒答	19 (3.7)		

貳、家庭結構

1. 接下來請您回想一下，從您出生後一直到現在，有哪些家人？（可複選）

	出生時	十五歲時	結婚前	結婚 小孩出生前	最大 小孩出生 最大小孩出生 最小小孩上學
父親	509(98.6)	463(89.7)	371(71.9)	234(45.3)	153(29.7)
母親	515(99.8)	473(91.7)	394(76.4)	279(54.1)	193(37.4)
未婚兄弟	398(77.1)	422(81.8)	294(57.0)	136(26.4)	62(12.0)
未婚姊妹	366(70.9)	390(75.6)	261(50.6)	101(19.6)	43(8.3)
妻子			6(1.2)	511(99.0)	504(97.7)
未婚子女			1(0.2)	3(0.6)	497(96.3)
祖父母	216(41.9)	134(26.0)	61(11.8)	28(5.4)	13(2.5)
曾祖父母 或以上	11(2.1)	2(0.4)			
外祖父母	8(1.6)	6(1.2)			
外曾祖父 母或以上	1(0.2)				
岳父母				8(1.6)	6(1.2)

---

已婚兒、媳

已婚女、婿

孫子女（外孫子女）

已婚兄弟 (或嫂、弟媳)	16(3.1)	52(10.1)	110(21.3)	75(14.5)	63(12.2)
-----------------	---------	----------	-----------	----------	----------

已婚姊妹 (或姊、妹夫)	3(0.6)	5(1.0)	6(1.2)	1(0.2)	1(0.2)
-----------------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------

已婚叔伯	88(17.1)	61(11.8)	32(6.2)	10(1.9)	15(1.6)
------	----------	----------	---------	---------	---------

未婚叔伯	38(7.4)	16(2.1)	6(1.2)	7(1.4)	15(1.6)
------	---------	---------	--------	--------	---------

夫方叔伯

夫方已婚  
兄弟姊妹

夫方未婚  
兄弟姊妹

其他親戚	60(11.6)	53(10.3)	62(12.0)	44(8.5)	35(6.8)
------	----------	----------	----------	---------	---------

其他人	8(1.6)	10(1.9)	12(2.3)		
-----	--------	---------	---------	--	--

獨居、當兵或 在外面住		15(2.9)	79(15.3)	2(0.2)	
----------------	--	---------	----------	--------	--

不適用

10(1.9)

---

2 您自己的父母親健在嗎？

(1)父母健在	172(33.3)	(2)父健在 ,母已歿	38(7.4)
(3)父已歿 ,母健在	128(24.8)	(4)父母俱歿	178(34.5)

2-1 您父母親現在是和誰住在一起？

(1)固定和一個已婚兒子同住	165	(32.0)
(2)固定和一個已婚女兒同住	8	(1.6)
(3)輪流住在各已婚子女家	14	(2.7)
(4)輪流住在各已婚兒子家	34	(6.6)
(5)和未婚子女同住	29	(5.6)
(6)固定和兩個以上的已婚子女同住	14	(2.7)
(7)所有子女都同住	4	(0.8)
(8)父母自己住	60	(11.6)
(9)住養老院	2	(0.4)
(10)父母分別和不同的子女住	3	(0.6)
(11)不住在台灣	3	(0.6)
(12)其他	2	(0.4)
(99)不適用	178	(34.5)

219

受訪者目前是否與父母同住或輪住？

( 1) 是 ( 續問 3-2)	127 (24.6)
(2) 否 (續問 3-3)	211 (40.9)
(9) 不適用	178 (34.5)

2-2 為什麼您會與父母同住？

(1)招贅或娘家只有女兒	23 (4.5)
(2)父母年紀大需要人照顧	26 (5.0)

(3)父母可幫忙家務，照顧小孩	5 (1.0)
(4)父母本身的意願	15 (2.9)
(5)父母一向住這裡（結婚時就同住至今）	41 (7.9)
(6)經濟上的考慮（如購屋的考慮）	4 (0.8)
(7)孝順	8 (1.6)
(8)其他	4 (0.8)
(9)不適用	389(75.4)
(0)missing	1 (0.2)

### 2-3.(不和父母同住者) 您平均多久和您父母聯絡一次？

頻 率	打電話	見 面
一天一次	21(4.1)	41 (7.9)
每週幾次	61(11.8)	35 (6.8)
每週一次	24(4.7)	22 (4.3)
每月幾次	34(6.6)	33 (6.4)
每月一次	14(2.7)	26 (5.0)
一年幾次	14(2.7)	39 (7.6)
一年一次	3(0.6)	6 (1.2)
幾年一次	1(0.2)	3 (0.6)
從來沒有	24(4.7)	1 (0.2)
就住在隔壁	15(2.9)	5 (1.0)
不適用	305(59.1)	305 (59.1)

### 3 您的岳父母健在嗎？

( 1) 岳父母均健在	216(41.9)	( 2) 岳父健在，岳母已歿	37( 7.2)
( 3) 岳父已歿，岳母健在	145(28.1)	( 4) 岳父母俱歿	118(22.9)

### 3-1 您的岳父母現在是和誰住在一起？

(1)固定和一個已婚兒子同住	174	(33.7)
(2)固定和一個已婚女兒同住	17	(3.3)
(3)輪流住在各已婚子女家	11	(2.1)
(4)輪流住在各已婚兒子家	22	(4.3)
(5)和未婚子女同住	54	(10.5)
(6)固定和兩個以上的已婚子女同住	24	(4.7)
(7)所有子女都同住	8	(1.6)
(8)岳父母自己住	79	(15.3)
(9)住養老院	2	(0.4)
(10)岳父母分別和不同的子女住	3	(0.6)
(11)不住在台灣	4	(0.8)
(12)其他		
(99)不適用	118	(22.9)

受訪者目前是否與岳父母同住或輪住？

(1)是 (續問 4-2)	9	(1.7)
(2)否 (續問 4-3)	389	(75.4)
(9)不適用	118	(22.9)

3-2.為什麼您會與岳父母同住？

(1) 招贅或岳家只有女兒	1	(0.2)
(2) 岳父母年紀大需要人照顧	3	(0.6)
(3) 岳父母可幫忙家務，照顧小孩		
(4) 岳父母本身的意願	1	(0.2)
(5) 岳父母一向住這裡（結婚時就同住至今）	2	(0.4)
(6) 經濟上的考慮（如購屋的考慮）	1	(0.2)
(7) 孝順		
(8) 其他	1	(0.2)
(9) 不適用	507	(98.3)

3-3. (不和岳父母同住者) 您平均多久和您岳父母聯絡一次?

頻 率	打 電 話	見 面
一天一次	29 (5.6)	30 (5.8)
每週幾次	86 (16.7)	54 (10.5)
每週一次	58 (11.2)	46 (8.9)
每月幾次	72 (14.0)	75 (14.5)
每月一次	38 (7.4)	56 (10.9)
一年幾次	46 (8.9)	101 (19.6)
一年一次	11 (2.1)	16 (3.1)
幾年一次	3 (0.6)	6 (1.2)
從來沒有	37 (7.2)	4 (0.8)
就住在隔壁	9 (1.7)	1 (0.2)
不適用	127 (24.6)	127 (24.6)

【目前有長輩健在者】

若受訪者自己的父母、公婆都健在，則優先問受訪者自己父母的情況。

他(們)是受訪者	(1)自己的父母	(2)公婆	(3)不適用
	338 (65.5)	103 (20.0)	75 (14.5)

4.他(們)現在主要經濟來源是什麼?

(1)繼續工作賺錢	81 (15.7)
(2)自己的退休金或終身俸或老年給付等	31 (6.0)
(3)自己的儲蓄、人壽保險	14 (2.7)



(4)租金與財產收入	19	(3.7)
(5)子女的扶養	286	(55.4)
(6)其他	10	(1.9)
(9)不適用	75	(14.5)

5.您有沒有拿錢給他們？

(1)定期給	158	(30.6)
(2)不定期給	177	(34.3)
(3)沒有	106	(20.5)
(4)不適用	75	(14.5)

6.站在為人子女的立場，如果不考慮經濟情況的話，您認為父母與已婚子女在住的方面應如何安排？

(1)固定和一個已婚兒子同住	187	(36.2)
(2)固定和一個已婚女兒同住	7	( 1.4)
(3)輪流住在各已婚子女家	25	( 4.8)
(4)輪流住在各已婚兒子家	84	(16.3)
(5)和未婚子女同住	8	( 1.6)
(6)固定和兩個以上的已婚子女同住	20	( 3.9)
(7)所有子女都同住	29	( 5.6)
(8)父母自己住	36	( 7.0)
(9)住養老院		
(10)父母分別和不同的子女住	3	( 0.6)
(11)不住一起，但住附近	21	( 4.1)
(12)其他（都可以，沒想過，順其自然）	96	(18.6)

7. 站在為人父母的立場，您認為父母與已婚子女在住的方面應如何安排？

(1)固定和一個已婚兒子同住	122	(23.6)
(2)固定和一個已婚女兒同住	6	( 1.2)
(3)輪流住在各已婚子女家	20	( 3.9)
(4)輪流住在各已婚兒子家	69	(13.4)
(5)和未婚子女同住	9	( 1.7)
(6)固定和兩個以上的已婚子女同住	16	( 3.1)
(7)所有子女都同住	37	( 7.2)
(8)父母自己住	125	(24.2)
(9)住養老院	4	( 0.8)
(10)父母分別和不同的子女住	4	( 0.8)
(11)不住一起，但住附近	32	( 6.2)
(12)其他（都可以，沒想過，順其自然）	72	(14.0)

8.當您年老時，您希望怎樣安排居住的方式？

(1)固定和一個已婚兒子同住	101	(19.6)
(2)固定和一個已婚女兒同住	7	( 1.4)
(3)輪流住在各已婚子女家	8	( 1.6)
(4)輪流住在各已婚兒子家	43	( 8.3)
(5)和未婚子女同住	7	( 1.4)
(6)固定和兩個以上的已婚子女同住	16	( 3.1)
(7)和所有已婚、未婚子女同住	28	( 5.4)
(8)夫妻自己住（不和子女住）	231	(44.8)
(9)其他（都可以，沒想過，順其自然）	75	(14.5)

9.站在為人子女的立場，您認為年老父母的生活費應該如何安排？

(1)由兒子與女兒分攤	116	(22.5)
(2)由兒子分攤	295	(57.2)
(3)固定由一個子女負擔	8	( 1.6)
(4)生活費自理	53	(10.3)
(5)由政府負擔 (老人年金，生活津貼 ....)	43	( 8.3)
missing	1	( 0.2)

10.站在為人父母的立場，您認為年老父母的生活費應該如何安排？

(1)由兒子與女兒分攤	81	(15.7)
(2)由兒子分攤	205	(39.7)
(3)固定由一個子女負擔	3	( 0.6)
(4)生活費自理	168	(32.6)
(5)由政府負擔 (老人年金，生活津貼 ....)	58	(11.2)
missing	1	( 0.2)

11.當您年老時，您希望生活費如何安排？

(1)由兒子與女兒分攤	51	( 9.9)
(2)由兒子分攤	133	(25.8)
(3)固定由一個子女負擔	3	( 0.6)
(4)生活費自理	241	(46.7)
(5)由政府負擔 (老人年金，生活津貼 ....)	87	(16.9)
missing	1	( 0.2)

12.您目前在經濟上需不需要依靠子女？

(1)完全靠子女奉養	19	( 3.7)
(2)大部份靠子女奉養	20	( 3.9)
(3)小部份靠子女奉養	46	( 8.9)
(4)靠自己，完全不靠子女	260	(50.4)

(5)其他	3 ( 0.6)
(6)無子女或尚未就業	168 (32.6)

13.就您自己主觀的看法,您認為您的家人應該包括那些人		14.年夜飯是中國人重要的團圓節日 對您來說,不論人在那裡,您覺得那些人應該在一起吃年夜飯
父母親	422 (81.8)	413 (80.0)
未婚兄弟	166 (32.2)	184 (35.7)
未婚姊妹	150 (29.1)	153 (29.7)
妻子	492 (95.3)	498 (96.5)
未婚子女	462 (89.5)	460 (89.1)
祖父母	122 (23.6)	102 (19.8)
曾祖父母或以上	42 ( 8.1)	35 ( 6.8)
外祖父母	30 ( 5.8)	10 ( 1.9)
外曾祖父母或以上	16 ( 3.1)	8 ( 1.6)
岳父母	49 ( 9.5)	43 ( 8.3)
已婚兒、媳	154 (29.8)	181 (35.1)
已婚女、婿	51 ( 9.9)	47 ( 9.1)

孫子女 (外孫子女 )	125 (24.2)	149 (28.9)
已婚兄弟 (或嫂、弟媳 )	86 (16.7)	114 (22.1)
已婚姊妹 (或姊、妹夫 )	54 (10.5)	49 ( 9.5)
已婚叔伯	19 ( 3.7)	24 ( 4.7)
未婚叔伯	17 ( 3.3)	21 ( 4.1)
夫方已婚 兄弟姊妹	17 ( 3.3)	21 ( 4.1)
夫方已婚 兄弟姊妹	13 ( 2.5)	18 ( 3.5)
其他親戚	32 ( 6.2)	38 ( 7.4)
其他人	9 ( 1.7)	14 ( 2.7)

---

## 參、工作史

1. 您的工作內容是什麼？

2. 請問您是為誰工作？（不唸選項，單選）

- (1)為自己工作，無雇用人員
- (2)為自己工作，有雇用人員
- (3)為家裡工作有薪水
- (4)為家裡工作無薪水
- (5)受雇於私人事業
- (6)公營事業（包括黨營）
- (7)學校教育機構
- (8)政府機關
- (9)其他（家庭代工）

## 2-1 您與雇主之間有無工作契約？

- (1)有 67 (13.0)  
( (1)短期契約 8 (11.9) (2)長期或穩定契約 59 (88.1) )
- (2)無 202(39.1)
- (9)不適用 247(47.9)

## 3 您當時從事這項工作最主要的原因是什麼？

- (1)幫助家庭經濟 304 (58.9)
- (2)家庭事業需要 54 (10.5)
- (3)發揮自己的才能或興趣 58 (11.2)
- (4)希望有自己能支配的金錢 12 ( 2.3)
- (5)打發時間 4 ( 0.8)
- (6)擴大自己的生活範圍
- (7)獲得知識、技術 13 ( 2.5)
- (8)不會和社會脫節 1 ( 0.2)
- (9)肯定自我 2 ( 0.4)
- (10)獲得名譽或地位 2 ( 0.4)
- (11)獲得別人的尊重和重視 2 ( 0.4)
- (12)其他（無特殊理由） 12 ( 2.3)
- (99)不適用 52 (10.1)

4. 請問你們公司（機構或工廠、或店裡）平常共有多少員工？

(1)沒有雇用人 14 (2.7)	(2)1-2人 12 (2.3)	(3)3-5人 21 (4.1)
(4)6-9人 19 (3.7)	(5)10-19人 23(4.5)	(6)20-49人 29 (5.6)
(7)50-99人 19 (3.7)	(8)100-299人 41 (7.9)	(9)300人以上 77 (14.9)
(10)不知道 12 (2.3)	(11)不固定 19 (3.7)	(99)不適用 230 (44.6)

5.平均每天工作幾個小時？

(1)2小時以下 8 (1.6)	(2)2至 4小時 8 (1.6)	(3)4至 6小時 8 (1.6)
(4)6至 8小時 154 (29.8)	(5)8小時以上 112 (21.7)	
(0)不一定 5 (1.0)	(0)不適用 229 (44.4)	

6.平均每週工作幾天？ \_\_\_\_\_ 天

2 - 4.5天 5天 5.5天 6.0天	6 ( 1.2) 21 ( 4.1) 82 (15.9) 125 (24.2)
--------------------------------	--

6.5天	3 ( 0.6)
7.0天	32 ( 6.2)
不一定	18 ( 3.5)
不適用	229 (44.4)

7.你需要晚上工作或輪值夜班嗎？

(1)需要	76 (14.7)
(2)不需要	121 (40.5)
(99)不適用	229 (44.4)
(0)missing	2 ( 0.4)

8.您工作地方與家裡距離如何？

( 1) 在自己住家	9 ( 1.7)
( 2) 鄰近住家	121 (23.4)
( 3) 不在附近	149 (28.9)
( 0) 不一定	8 ( 1.6)
( 9) 不適用	229 (44.4)

8-1.由住處去到工作地點約需花多久時間？

( 1) 就在住處，不需花時間 3 (0.6)	(2)十五分鐘以上 94 (18.2)	
( 3) 十五分鐘以上到半小時以下 76 (14.7)	(4)半小時至一小時 55 (10.7)	
( 5) 一小時以上 33 (6.4)	(9)不適用 238 (46.1)	(0)missing 17 (3.3)



9.您工作的單位有沒有提供或替你買下列的醫療保險？（可複選）

	有	無	不適用
(1) 公務人員保險	48( 9.3)	231 (44.8)	237 (45.9)
(2) 退休人員疾病保險	1( 0.2)	278 (53.9)	237 (45.9)
(3) 勞工保險	177(34.3)	102 (19.8)	237 (45.9)
(4) 農（漁）民保險	4( 0.8)	275 (53.3)	237 (45.9)
(5) 軍人保險	3( 0.6)	276 (53.5)	237 (45.9)
(6) 團體壽險	14( 2.7)	265 (51.4)	237 (45.9)
(7) 團體醫療險	14( 2.7)	265 (51.4)	237 (45.9)
(8) 團體意外險	34( 6.6)	245 (47.5)	237 (45.9)
(9) 其他，請說明 _____		279 (54.1)	237 (45.9)
(10)都沒有	40( 7.8)	239 (46.3)	237 (45.9)

10.您有沒有固定的薪水？

(1)有固定薪水 208 (40.3)	(2)按件計酬，有底薪 2 (0.4)	
(3)按件計酬，無底薪 24 (4.7)	(4)按時計酬，有底薪 4 (0.8)	
(5)按時計酬，無底薪 18 (3.5)	(6)薪水不固定 30 (5.8)	
(7)不拿薪水 1 (0.2)	(8)其他	(9)不適用 229 (44.4)

11.平均每月收入大約多少？

(1)無收入	16 ( 3.1)	(2) 萬元以下	4 ( 0.8)
(3)1-2萬元	75 (14.5)	(4)2-3萬元	53 (10.3)
(5)3-4萬元	43 ( 8.3)	(6)4-5萬元	53 (10.3)
(7)5-6萬元	6 ( 1.2)	(8)6-7萬元	19 ( 3.7)
(9)7-8萬元	3 ( 0.6)	(10)8-9萬元	2 ( 0.4)
(11)9-10萬元	2 ( 0.4)	(12)10-11萬元	
(13)11-12萬元	1 ( 0.2)	(14)12-13萬元	1 ( 0.2)
(15)13-14萬元		(16)14-15萬元	
(17)15-16萬元		(18)16-17萬元	
(19)17-18萬元		(20)18-19萬元	
(21)19-20萬元		(22)20萬元以上	
(23)拒答	8 (1.6)	(99)不適用	229 (44.4)

12.一般來說，您自己的收入主要是如何處理？

(1)家用	(2)自己用	(3)家用自用各半	
233 (45.2)	3 (0.6)	46 (8.9)	
(4)儲蓄	(5)其他	(9)不適用	(0)missing
4 (0.8)		229 (44.4)	1 (0.2)

13.您的收入對您家庭的經濟影響大不大？

( 1) 影響很大	( 2) 普通	( 3) 影響很小	( 4) 毫無影響
230( 44.6)	3( 0.6)	46 (8.9)	4 (0.8)

(9)不適用	(0)missing
229 (44.4)	1 (0.2)

14.大致上說來，您對這個工作是否滿意？

( 1) 很滿意	( 2) 滿意	( 3) 普通	( 4) 不滿意	( 5) 很不滿意
48(9.3)	138(26.7)	85(16.5)	13(2.5)	3(0.6)

(9)不適用
229 (44.4)

15.【已離開這個工作者】 您為什麼離開這個工作？

(1)結婚	
(2)要照顧子女	
(3)家務需要增加	
(4)家裡經濟情況足夠維持，不必去工作	
(5)搬家	
(6)家人反對	
(7)解雇或公司倒閉	
(8)調職	
(9)不喜歡原來的工作	1 (0.2)
(10)有更合適的工作	2 (0.4)
(11)身體不適	
(12)退休	2 (0.4)
(13)其他（不知道，沒有原因，忘記）	1 (0.2)

(99)不適用

510(98.8)

16.大致上說來，您對這個工作是否滿意？

\*\*\* 結果同 81. \*\*\*

家庭事業

【凡是目前從事或幫忙家庭事業者回答】

17 您家的公司（工廠、店 ... 等）主要是誰在管（做）？

( 1) 丈夫 71 ( 13.8)	( 2) 妻子 5 ( 1.0)
( 3) 夫妻一同 32 ( 6.2)	( 4) 丈夫親屬 8 ( 1.6)
( 5) 妻子娘家	( 6) 子女 1 ( 0.2)
	( 9) 不適用 399 (77.3)

18.這個公司（工廠、店 ... 等）是從哪一年開始經營的？民國 \_\_\_\_\_ 年

19.這個公司（工廠、店 ... 等）是否有人與您一起合夥經營或出資？

(1)有	23 (4.5)
(合夥人是否為親戚？ ( 1) 是 15( 65.2) ( 2) 否 7( 30.4) )	
(2)無	93 (18.0)

(9)不適用 400 (77.5)

20.這個公司（工廠、店...等）的：常雇員工有 \_\_\_\_\_ 人  
臨時員工有 \_\_\_\_\_ 人  
男性有 \_\_\_\_\_ 人  
女性有 \_\_\_\_\_ 人

21. 您工作地方與家裡距離如何？

( 1) 在自己住家	61 ( 11.8)
( 2) 鄰近住家	31 ( 6.0)
( 3) 不在附近	23 ( 4.5)
( 0) missing	1 ( 0.2)
( 99) 不適用	400 ( 77.5)

21-1.由住處去到工作地點約需花多少時間？

( 1)就在住處，不需花時間 3 (0.6)	(2)十五分鐘以下 19 (3.7)	
(3)十五分鐘以上到半小時以下 12 (2.3)	(4)半小時至一小時 11 (2.1)	
(5)一小時以上 8 (1.6)	(9)不適用 461 (89.3)	(0)missinig 2 (0.4)

22.這個公司（工廠、店...等）是不是屬於製造業？

- (1)是 (續答 90.)      98 (19.0)  
 (2)否 (跳答 91.)      18 ( 3.5)  
 (9)不適用              400 (77.5)

23 這個公司 (工廠、店 ... 等) 的生產過程是屬於下列何種方式？

- (1)完整過程，無須他廠代工  
 (2)有部份生產過程委託其他廠  
 (3)接受其他工廠委託代工，但未發包給下屬代工  
 (4)接受其他工廠委託代工，並發包給下屬代工  
 (9)不適用

23-1 這個公司 (工廠、店 .... 等) 的產品銷售對象是誰？

	有	無	不適用
(1)大、中盤	5 (1.0)	2 (0.4)	509 (98.6)
(2)零售	3 (0.6)	4 (0.8)	509 (98.6)

23-2 與母廠或母公司之關係如何？

(1)專屬    2(0.4)      (2)非專屬    9 (1.7)      (9)不適用    505 (97.9)

24 這個公司 (工廠、店 ... 等) 是否已在政府機關 (經濟部、建設廳或建設局) 登記並領取執照？

(1)是 (續問 91-1)              77 (14.9)

(2)否 (跳問 92.) 38 ( 7.4)

(9)不適用 (0)missing 1 (0.2)

24-1.是那一種登記？

	有	無	不適用
(1)工廠登記證	13( 2.5)	65(12.6)	438(84.9)
(2)公司登記証	17( 3.3)	61(11.8)	438(84.9)
(3)營利事業登記証	65(12.6)	13( 2.5)	438(84.9)
(4)不知道		78(15.1)	438(84.9)

25.這個公司（工廠、店 ... 等）有沒有提供或替你買下列的醫療保險？  
（可複選）

	有	無	不適用
( 1) 公務人員保險		87 (16.9)	429 (83.1)
( 2) 退休人員疾病保險		87 (16.9)	429 (83.1)
( 3) 勞工保險	52 (10.1)	35 ( 6.8)	429 (83.1)
( 4) 農（漁）民保險	3 ( 0.6)	84 (16.3)	429 (83.1)
( 5) 軍人保險		87 (16.9)	429 (83.1)
( 6) 團體壽險		87 (16.9)	429 (83.1)
( 7) 團體醫療險		87 (16.9)	429 (83.1)
( 8) 團體意外險	8 ( 1.6)	79 (15.3)	429 (83.1)
( 9) 其他，請說明.....		87 (16.9)	429 (83.1)

( 10) 都沒有	29 ( 5.6)	58 (11.2)	429 (83.1)
-----------	-----------	-----------	------------

---

26. 您有沒有固定的薪水？

(1)有固定薪水 24 (4.7)	(2)按件計酬 ,有底薪	
(3)按件計酬 ,無底薪 4 (0.8)	(4)按時計酬 ,有底薪	
(5)按時計酬 ,無底薪 1 (0.2)	(6)薪水不固定 58 (11.2)	
(7)不拿薪水 29 (5.6)	(8)其他	(9)不適用 400 (77.5)

27. 這個公司（工廠、店...等）平均每月大約賺多少？

( 1) 無收入	1( 0.2)	( 2) 萬元以下	
( 3) 1-2萬元	9( 1.7)	( 4) 2-3萬元	10( 1.9)
( 5) 3-4萬元	19( 3.7)	( 6) 4-5萬元	12( 2.3)
( 7) 5-6萬元	7( 1.4)	( 8) 6-7萬元	4( 0.8)
( 9) 7-8萬元	6( 1.2)	( 10) 8-9萬元	4 (0.8)
( 11) 9-10萬元	10( 1.9)	( 12) 10-11萬元	7 (1.4)
( 13) 11-12萬元	1 (0.2)	( 14) 12-13萬元	1 (0.2)
(15) 13-14萬元		( 16) 14-15萬元	1 (0.2)
( 17) 15-16萬元	5 (1.0)	( 18) 16-17萬元	1 (0.2)
( 19) 17-18萬元		( 20) 18-19萬元	1 (0.2)
( 21) 19-20萬元		( 22) 20萬元以上	4 (0.8)



( 23) 拒答	11 (2.1)	( 99) 不適用	400(77.5)
( 0) missing	2 (0.4)		

28.大致上說來，您對目前這個工作是否滿意？

(1) 很滿意	( 2) 滿意	( 3) 普通	( 4) 不滿意	( 5) 很不滿意
27(5.2)	47 (9.1)	33(6.4)	8 (1.6)	1(0.2)

(9) 不適用  
400 (77.5)

家庭農場

【凡是目前為自己的農地或家庭所有的農地工作者回答】

29 您家的農地主要是誰在負責耕作？

(1)丈夫  
29 (5.6)

(2)妻子

(3)夫妻一同  
26 (5.0)

(4)丈夫親屬  
2 (0.4)

(5)妻子娘家

(6)子女  
4 (0.8)

(9)不適用  
455 (88.2)

30 您家的農地最主要種植的作物是哪一種？

(1)水稻	(2)蔬菜	(3)果樹	(4)花卉
28 (5.4)	2 (0.4)	7 (1.4)	5 (1.0)

(5)雜糧作物 (如：大豆、馬鈴薯、高粱...)  
10 (1.9)

(6)其他經濟作物 (如：煙草、檳榔樹...)	(9)不適用
9 (1.7)	455 (88.2)

31.你們目前耕作農地的總面積有多大？ \_\_\_\_\_ 甲 \_\_\_\_\_ 分 \_\_\_\_\_ 釐

32.這塊 ( 些 ) 地的所有權是屬於誰所有的？

( 1 ) 全部是自己的 ( 包括家族共有的 )	45 (8.7)
( 2 ) 有些是自己的，有些是租來的	9 (1.7)
( 3 ) 全部是租來的	6 (1.2)
( 9 ) 不適用	455 (88.2)
( 0 ) missing	1 (0.2)

33.您有沒有參加下列的組織 ( 可複選 ) ？

	有	無	不適用
(1)共同經營班	3 (0.6)	58 (11.2)	455 (88.2)
(2)合作農場	1 (0.2)	60 (11.6)	455 (88.2)
(3)共同運銷班	14 (2.7)	47 ( 9.1)	455 (88.2)

34.你們有沒有請雇農幫忙？

(1)有	20 (3.9)	(男工 _____ 人， 女工 _____ 人)
(2)無	40 (7.8)	
(9)不適用	455 (88.2)	
(0)missing	1 (0.2)	

35.下列和農地耕種有關的事項主要是由誰決定的？

	種植何種作物	種植何種品種	農用設備購買	運銷方式
( 1) 丈夫	39 (7.6)	38 (7.4)	35 (6.8)	35 (6.8)
( 2) 妻子	1 (0.2)	1 (0.2)	2 (0.4)	2 (0.4)
( 3) 夫妻共同	15 (2.9)	16 (3.1)	17 (3.3)	8 (1.6)
( 4) 夫家父母	1 (0.2)	1 (0.2)	1 (0.2)	1 (0.2)
( 5) 娘家父母				
( 6) 夫家親戚	1 (0.2)	1 (0.2)	1 (0.2)	1 (0.2)
( 7) 娘家親戚				
( 8) 兒子	3 (0.6)	3 (0.6)	3 (0.6)	3 (0.6)
( 9) 媳婦				
( 10) 兒媳一同				
( 11) 農業生產及 經營組織				10 ( 1.9)
( 99) 不適用	455 (88.2)	455 (88.2)	455 (88.2)	455 (88.2)
( 0) missing	1 ( 0.2)	1 ( 0.2)	1 ( 0.2)	1 ( 0.2)

#### 肆、工作價值

以下我們有一些關於工作方面態度的問題想要請教您，請根據您自己的看法

選擇一個合適答案告訴我們。

	非常 同意 1.	有點 同意 2.	不太 同意 3.	很 不 同意 4.	無 意 見 5.	不 知 道 6.	不 瞭 解 題 意 7.	拒 答 8.
(1) 成功主要靠運氣，而不是 靠努力	22 (4.3)	71 (13.8)	194 (37.6)	221 (42.8)	8 (1.6)			
(2) 我沒有興趣的工作，即使 錢再多我也不願作	134 (26.0)	148 (28.7)	165 (32.0)	47 (9.1)	13 (2.5)	8 (1.6)	1 (0.2)	
(3) 如果已有足夠的錢過舒服 的生活就不必繼續工作了	30 (5.8)	56 (10.9)	212 (41.1)	213 (41.3)	3 (0.6)	1 (0.2)		1 (0.2)
(4) 投資是冒險的事，應該儘 量避免	124 (24.0)	127 (24.6)	174 (33.7)	59 (11.4)	22 (4.3)	6 (1.2)		4 (0.8)
(5) 只要環境許可，就應該工 作	304 (58.9)	162 (31.4)	25 (4.8)	9 (1.7)	8 (1.6)	1 (0.2)	5 (1.0)	2 (0.4)
(6) 工作時間應該少一點，好 留時間去作自己喜歡的事	165 (32.0)	199 (38.6)	103 (20.0)	17 (3.3)	20 (3.9)	8 (1.6)	1 (0.2)	3 (0.6)

#### 伍、家務工作之配合

【有子女者才回答 (1) 有子女 (2) 無子女 (跳答 4-3) 】

## 1 您最大的子女出生後，主要是誰在照顧這個小孩？

(1) 婆婆或夫家親戚	30 ( 5.8)	(2) 母親或娘家親戚	84( 16.3)
(3) 鄰居或朋友		(4) 請褓姆	28 ( 5.4)
(5) 佣人	1 ( 0.2)	(6) 托嬰機構	1 ( 0.2)
(7) 太太	353 ( 68.4)	(8) 丈夫	2 ( 0.4)
(9) 其他 ( 包括不適用、太太與婆婆一起照顧 )	17 (3.3)		

## 1-1.在那裡照顧這個小孩？

(1) 在自己家	(2) 在照顧者住的地方	(3) 其他	(9) 不適用
427 (82.8)	72 (14.0)	7 (1.4)	10 (1.9)

## 1-2.這個孩子在一歲以前，您是如何安排照顧他的方式？

(1) 由丈夫或太太相互配合照顧，沒有托人	141 (27.3)
(2) 完全由太太照顧，沒有托人	227 (44.0)
(3) 上班時間托人照顧，下班自己 ( 或先生 ) 照顧	93 (18.0)
(4) 週末或假日自己 ( 或先生 ) 照顧，平常日夜托人照顧	13 ( 2.5)
(5) 一週七天日夜都托人照顧	28 ( 5.4)
(6) 其他，請說明 _____	4 ( 0.8)
(9) 不適用	10 ( 1.9)

## 2 您最小的子女在三歲以前，主要是誰在照顧這個小孩？

(1) 婆婆或夫家親戚	20 ( 3.9)	(2) 母親或娘家親戚	46( 8.9)
(3) 鄰居或朋友		(4) 請褓姆	26 ( 5.0)
(5) 佣人		(6) 托嬰機構	1 ( 0.2)
(7) 太太	366 ( 70.9)	(8) 丈夫	2 ( 0.4)
(9) 由較大的孩子照顧小的	7 ( 1.4)	(10) 其他	5 ( 1.0)
(99) 不適用 ( 跳答 4-3)	43 ( 8.3)		

## 2-1.在那裡照顧這個小孩？

## 2-1.

(1) 在自己家	(2) 在照顧者住的地方	(3) 其他	(9) 不適用
421 (81.6)	46 ( 8.9)	6 (1.2)	43 (8.3)

2-2.這個孩子在一歲以前，您是如何安排照顧他的方式？

( 1) 由丈夫或太太相互配合照顧，沒有托人	144 (27.9)
( 2) 完全由太太照顧，沒有托人	238 (46.1)
( 3) 上班時間托人照顧，下班自己 ( 或先生 ) 照顧	69 (18.0)
( 4) 週末或假日自己 ( 或先生 ) 照顧，平常日夜托人照顧	9 ( 1.7)
( 5) 一週七天日夜都托人照顧	11 ( 2.1)
( 6) 其他，請說明 _____	2 ( 0.4)
( 9) 不適用	43 ( 8.3)

【目前家裡有十二歲以下子女者才問】

3.目前家庭裡主要是誰在照顧小孩？

(1) 婆婆或夫家親戚	6 ( 1.2)	( 2) 母親或娘家親戚	14( 2.7)
( 3) 鄰居或朋友		( 4) 請褓姆	8 ( 1.6)
( 5) 佣人		( 6) 托嬰機構	6 ( 1.2)
( 7) 太太	173 ( 33.5)	(8) 丈夫	2 ( 0.4)
( 9) 由較大的孩子照顧小的	2 ( 0.4)	( 10) 孩子自己照顧自己	8 ( 1.6)
( 11) 其他	6 ( 1.2)	( 99) 不適用 ( 跳答 4-3)	291 (56.4)

3-1.在那裡照顧這個 (些) 小孩？

( 1) 在自己家	( 2) 在照顧者住的地方	( 3) 其他	( 9) 不適用
203 (39.3)	21 ( 4.1)	1 (0.2)	291 (56.4)

4.以下的問題想請問您自從結婚以後到現在，下列的家務工作主要是誰在負責作？

4-1.【結婚後到生孩子之前】

父  
母

	丈 夫 1.	妻 子 2.	夫 妻 兩 人 3.	子 女 4.	、 配 偶 父 母 5.	大 家 輪 流 6.	其 他 家 人 7.	雇 用 他 人 8.	不 適 用 9.
(1)買菜煮飯	2 (0.4)	361 (70.0)	55 (10.7)		46 (8.9)	30 (5.8)	4 (0.8)	4 (0.8)	14 (2.7)
(2)洗碗	5 (1.0)	373 (72.3)	60 (11.6)		11 (2.1)	47 (9.1)	2 (0.4)	6 (1.2)	12 (2.3)
(3)清潔及整理 家庭	6 (1.2)	303 (58.7)	113 (21.9)	1 (0.2)	10 (1.9)	66 (12.8)	1 (0.2)	5 (1.0)	11 (2.1)
(4)買日用品	27 (5.2)	280 (54.3)	124 (24.0)	1 (0.2)	40 (7.8)	31 (6.0)	3 (0.6)		10 (1.9)
(5)修理簡單的水電	346 (67.1)	24 (4.7)	27 (5.2)	1 (0.2)	18 (3.5)	6 (1.2)	5 (1.0)	70 (13.6)	19 (3.7)
(6)倒垃圾	47 (9.1)	249 (48.3)	119 (23.1)	1 (0.2)	16 (3.1)	63 (12.2)	3 (0.6)	5 (1.0)	13 (2.5)

#### 4-2.【有了孩子後到最小的子女入學前】

	丈 夫 1.	妻 子 2.	夫 妻 兩 人 3.	子 女 4.	父 母 、 配 偶 父 母 5.	大 家 輪 流 6.	其 他 家 人 7.	雇 用 他 人 8.	不 適 用 9.
--	--------------	--------------	------------------------	--------------	---------------------------------------	------------------------	------------------------	------------------------	-------------------

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
(1)買菜煮飯	1 (0.2)	375 (72.7)	65 (12.6)	2 (0.4)	28 (5.4)	25 (4.8)	3 (0.6)	2 (0.4)	15 (2.9)
(2)洗碗	5 (1.0)	360 (69.8)	69 (13.0)	9 (1.7)	7 (1.4)	50 (9.7)	2 (0.4)	4 (0.8)	12 (2.3)
(3)清潔及整理 家庭	4 (0.8)	295 (57.2)	119 (23.1)	5 (1.0)	10 (1.9)	66 (12.8)	2 (0.4)	4 (0.8)	11 (2.1)
(4)買日用品	26 (5.0)	286 (55.4)	142 (27.5)		21 (4.1)	29 (5.6)	2 (0.4)		10 (1.9)
(5)修理簡單的水電	350 (67.8)	24 (4.7)	27 (5.2)	2 (0.4)	12 (2.3)	5 (1.0)	6 (1.2)	75 (14.5)	15 (2.9)
(6)倒垃圾	45 (8.7)	221 (42.8)	130 (25.2)	12 (2.3)	12 (2.3)	77 (14.9)	3 (0.6)	4 (0.8)	12 (2.3)

#### 4-3.【目前家務分工的情況】

	丈 夫 1.	妻 子 2.	夫 妻 兩 人 3.	子 女 4.	父 母 、 配 偶 父 母 5.	大 家 輪 流 6.	其 他 家 人 7.	雇 用 他 人 8.	不 適 用 9.
(1)買菜煮飯	8 (1.6)	360 (69.8)	65 (12.6)	14 (2.7)	15 (2.9)	35 (6.8)	9 (1.7)	5 (1.0)	5 (1.0)
(2)洗碗	11 (2.1)	308 (59.7)	58 (11.2)	37 (7.2)	4 (0.8)	83 (16.1)	8 (1.6)	5 (1.0)	2 (0.4)



(3)清潔及整理 家庭	10 (1.9)	252 (48.8)	111 (21.5)	20 (3.9)	4 (0.8)	100 (19.4)	13 (2.5)	6 (1.2)	
(4)買日用品	31 (6.0)	254 (49.2)	143 (27.7)	14 (2.7)	4 (0.8)	64 (12.4)	5 (1.0)	1 (0.2)	
(5)修理簡單的 水電	344 (66.7)	19 (3.7)	24 (4.7)	22 (4.3)	5 (1.0)	13 (2.5)	8 (1.6)	81 (15.7)	
(6)倒垃圾	57 (11.0)	162 (31.4)	107 (20.7)	40 (7.8)	4 (0.8)	134 (26.0)	7 (1.4)	4 (0.8)	1 (0.2)

## 陸、家庭決策

### 1.當初您和您先生是怎麼認識的？

( 1) 父母或親戚介紹 95 ( 18.4)	( 2) 職業媒人介紹 100 ( 19.4)	( 3) 鄰居介紹 18 ( 3.5)
( 4) 同學介紹 10 ( 1.9)	( 5) 同事介紹 20 ( 3.9)	( 6) 朋友介紹 97 ( 18.8)
( 7) 自己認識的 164 ( 31.8)	( 8) 聯誼或徵婚 6 ( 1.2)	( 9) 童養媳 5 ( 1.0)
(10) 其他 1 ( 0.2)		

### 2.你們結婚是由誰決定的？

( 1) 男女雙方自己決定 218 (42.2)	( 2) 父母安排決定 107 (20.7)
-----------------------------	---------------------------

( 3) 父母及自己一起商量決定 ( 4) 其他  
185 (35.9) 6 (1.2)

3.每一個家庭都有許多事情需做決定，我們想請教您下列各事項在您家主要是由誰來做決定？【請訪員依受訪者的回答在下表選一合適答案填入】

	丈夫的職業 (或工作選擇)	妻子是否外 出工作或改 變工作	家用支出的 分配	儲蓄、投資、 保險等
( 1) 都是丈夫	400 (77.5)	51 (9.9)	58 (11.2)	80 (15.5)
( 2) 大部份是丈夫	26 ( 5.0)	14 (2.7)	25 ( 4.8)	23 ( 4.5)
( 3) 夫妻一起決定	52 (10.1)	152 (29.5)	237 (45.9)	267 (51.7)
( 4) 大部份是妻子	1 ( 0.2)	56 (10.9)	51 ( 9.9)	29 ( 5.6)
( 5) 都是妻子	1 ( 0.2)	187 (36.2)	107 (20.7)	71 (13.8)
( 6) 自己父親	9 ( 1.7)		1 ( 0.2)	
( 7) 自己母親			1 ( 0.2)	
( 8) 岳父	1 ( 0.2)			
( 9) 岳母				1 ( 0.2)
( 10) 子女			1 ( 0.2)	1 ( 0.2)
( 11) 媳婦				
( 12) 夫方親戚	2 (0.4)		1 ( 0.2)	
( 13) 妻方親戚				
( 14) 家人共同商量	4 (0.8)	7 (1.4)	19 ( 3.7)	15 ( 2.9)
( 15) 不需做決定	19 (3.7)	35 (6.8)	14 ( 2.7)	19 ( 3.7)
( 16) 其他			1 ( 0.2)	1 ( 0.2)
( 99) 不適用	1 (0.2)	14 (2.7)		9 ( 1.7)

一般喜慶賀  
禮的數額

要不要買新  
房子

要不要搬家  
方面

要不要與上  
一代或下一  
代同住

( 1) 都是丈夫	105 (20.3)	51 ( 9.9)	50 ( 9.7)	62 (12.0)
( 2) 大部份是丈夫	27 ( 5.2)	15 ( 2.9)	15 ( 2.9)	19 ( 3.7)
( 3) 夫妻一起決定	265 (51.4)	278 (53.9)	272 (52.7)	238 (46.1)
( 4) 大部份是妻子	23 ( 4.5)	11 ( 2.1)	7 ( 1.4)	1 ( 0.2)
( 5) 都是妻子	41 ( 7.9)	18 ( 3.5)	16 ( 3.1)	5 ( 1.0)
( 6) 自己父親	5 ( 1.0)			7 ( 1.4)
( 7) 自己母親		1 ( 0.2)		5 ( 1.0)
( 8) 岳父				2 ( 0.4)
( 9) 岳母				1 ( 0.2)
( 10) 子女		2 ( 0.4)	1 ( 0.2)	8 ( 1.6)
( 11) 媳婦				
( 12) 夫方親戚	1 ( 0.2)			3 ( 0.6)
( 13) 妻方親戚				
( 14) 家人共同商量	15 ( 2.9)	35 ( 6.8)	38 ( 7.4)	53 (10.3)
( 15) 不需做決定	16 ( 3.1)	57 (11.0)	68 (13.2)	93 (18.0)
( 16) 其他	17 ( 3.3)			3 ( 0.6)
( 99) 不適用	1 ( 0.2)	48 ( 9.3)	49 ( 9.5)	15 ( 2.9)
( 0) missing				1 ( 0.2)

	養父母的 方式	生孩子方 面	子女管教 問題	子女升學 問題	子女婚嫁
( 1) 都是丈夫	70 (13.6)	35 ( 6.8)	34 ( 6.6)	29 ( 5.6)	10 ( 1.9)
( 2) 大部份是丈夫	21 ( 4.1)	7 ( 1.4)	19 ( 3.7)	13 ( 2.5)	
( 3) 夫妻一起決定	237 (45.9)	364 (70.5)	342 (66.3)	243 (47.1)	88 (17.1)
( 4) 大部份是妻子	5 ( 1.0)	7 ( 1.4)	50 ( 9.7)	16 ( 3.1)	2 ( 0.4)
( 5) 都是妻子	6 ( 1.2)	20 ( 3.9)	36 ( 7.0)	18 ( 3.5)	3 ( 0.6)
( 6) 自己父親	4 ( 0.8)	1 ( 0.2)			
( 7) 自己母親	3 ( 0.6)	4 ( 0.8)	1 ( 0.2)		
( 8) 岳父					
( 9) 岳母	3 ( 0.6)				
( 10) 子女	2 ( 0.4)		6 ( 1.2)	109 (21.1)	114 (22.1)
( 11) 媳婦					
( 12) 夫方親戚	9 ( 1.7)	1 ( 0.2)			
( 13) 妻方親戚					

( 14) 家人共同商量	45 ( 8.7)	6 ( 1.2)	8 ( 1.6)	28 ( 5.4)	82 (15.9)
( 15) 不需做決定	86 (16.7)	56 (10.9)	12 ( 2.3)	20 ( 3.9)	17 ( 3.3)
( 16) 其他	1 ( 0.2)	3 ( 0.6)		1 ( 0.2)	
( 99) 不適用	23 ( 4.5)	12 ( 2.3)	8 ( 1.6)	39 ( 7.6)	200 (38.8)
( 0) missing	1 ( 0.2)				

4.在上述這些家庭事項中，您認為目前哪一項決定事項是最重要的？

( 1) 丈夫的職業（或工作）	47 ( 9.1)
( 2) 妻子是否外出工作或改變工作	1 ( 0.2)
( 3) 家用支出的分配	39 ( 7.6)
( 4) 儲蓄、投資、保險等	31 ( 6.0)
( 5) 一般喜慶賀禮的數額	
( 6) 要不要買新房子	30 ( 5.8)
( 7) 要不要班新家	2 ( 0.4)
( 8) 要不要與上一代或下一代同住	2 ( 0.4)
( 9) 奉養父母的方式	21 ( 4.1)
( 10) 生孩子方面	1 ( 0.2)
( 11) 子女管教問題	105 (20.3)
( 12) 子女升學問題	40 ( 7.8)
( 13) 子女婚嫁	19 ( 3.7)
( 14) 不知道、很難決定、都重要 ... [續答 4-1]	178 (34.5)

4-1 就家用支出、儲蓄投資、賀禮數額以及買新房子等方面，您覺得那一項比較重要？

( 1) 家用支出的分配	83 (16.1)
( 2) 儲蓄、投資、保險等	37 ( 7.2)
( 3) 一般喜慶賀禮的數額	6 ( 1.2)
( 4) 要不要買新房子	49 ( 9.5)
( 0) missing	3 ( 0.6)

( 9) 不適用

338 (65.5)

5.以這一個決定事項 ( 4或 4-1的事項 ) 來說，在決定這件事情之前，你們夫妻有沒有產生不同的意見？

( 1) 有不同意見 ---- (續答 5-1)	289 (56.0)
( 2) 沒有不同意見	226 (43.8)
( 3) 其他，請說明 _____	1 ( 0.2)

5-1.你們如何處理不相同意見？

( 1) 互相討論或商量，設法找出合理的辦法來解決	213 (41.3)
( 2) 起先兩人會吵架或爭執不下，最後才做這樣的決定	36 ( 7.0)
( 3) 想法一直不一樣沒辦法改變或勉強，也不必再談了	6 ( 1.2)
( 4) 不做任何討論，就由我自己決定	11 ( 2.1)
( 5) 不做任何討論，就由丈夫決定	8 ( 1.6)
( 6) 找其他人來調停或作決定	2 ( 0.4)
( 7) 丈夫去說服太太	8 ( 1.6)
( 8) 太太去說服丈夫	2 ( 0.4)
( 9) 其他 ( 包括不適用 )	230 (44.6)

6.整體來說，您目前對這件事情的決定方式滿不滿意？

( 1) 很滿意	99 (19.2)
( 2) 滿意	383 (74.2)
( 3) 不太滿意 _____	33 ( 6.4)
( 4) 很不滿意 _____ ( 續答 6-1)	
( 0) missing	1 ( 0.2)

6-1.您希望改變這種決定方式嗎？

( 1) 不可能改變	13 ( 2.5)
( 2) 不希望改變	3 ( 0.6)
( 3) 希望改變，希望怎麼變？	17 ( 3.3)
( 0) missing	1 ( 0.2)
( 9) 不適用	482 (93.4)

7 除了 ( 4或 4-1) 決定事項以外，在其他事情的決定上，你們夫妻有沒有產生不同的意見？

( 1) 有不同意見 ----- ( 續答 6-1)	331 (64.1)
( 2) 沒有不同意見	184 (35.7)
( 3) 其他 _____	1 ( 0.2)

7-1.你們如何處理不相同的意見？

( 1) 互相討論或商量，設法找出合理的辦法來解決	236 (45.7)
( 2) 起先兩人會吵架或爭執不下，最後才做這樣的決定	44 ( 8.5)
( 3) 想法一直不一樣沒辦法改變或勉強，也不必再談了	8 ( 1.6)
( 4) 不做任何討論，就由我自己決定	13 ( 2.5)
( 5) 不做任何討論，就由丈夫決定	10 ( 1.9)
( 6) 找其他人來調停或作決定	
( 7) 丈夫去說服太太	13 ( 2.5)
( 8) 太太去說服丈夫	4 ( 0.8)
( 9) 其他，請說明 _____	188 (36.4)

8.你們家裡在決定一些重要事情的時候，有沒有找親戚、朋友或鄰居一起作決定？

( 1) 有	122 (23.6)
( 2) 無	394 (76.4)

柒、性別角色態度

以下我們有一些關於態度的問題想要請教您，請根據您的看法選擇一個合適的答案。

### 性別角色

	非常 同意 1.	有點 同意 2.	不太 同意 3.	很 不同 意 4.	無 意 見 5.	不 知 道 6.	不 瞭 解 題 意 7.	拒 答 8.
( 1) 家庭中大部份重要的事 情應當要由男人來決定	112 (21.7)	132 (25.6)	207 (40.1)	51 ( 9.9)	13 (2.5)		1 (0.2)	
( 2) 家庭生活上，有些工作 是男人的工作，有些是 女人的工作，不應當互 相插手	66 (12.8)	105 (20.3)	251 (48.6)	83 (16.1)	10 (1.9)	1 (0.2)		
( 3) 當母親有工作的話，入 學前子女比較容易受到 不好的影響	120 (23.3)	173 (33.5)	150 (29.1)	32 (6.2)	25 (4.8)	12 (2.3)	2 (0.4)	2 (0.4)
( 4) 丈夫的責任就是賺錢， 妻子的責任就是照顧家 庭	169 (32.8)	112 (21.7)	169 (32.8)	54 (10.5)	10 (1.9)	2 (0.4)		
(5) 經濟不景氣需裁員時， 應該先從（已婚）女性 員工裁起	23 (4.5)	54 (10.5)	202 (39.1)	185 (35.9)	35 (6.8)	12 (2.3)	1 (0.2)	4 (0.8)
( 6) 一般說來，男性比女性 更適合當主管	73 (14.1)	122 (23.6)	222 (43.0)	64 (12.4)	25 (4.8)	6 (1.2)	2 (0.4)	2 (0.4)

( 7) 女人婚後要不要工作應 由公婆或丈夫決定	25 (4.8)	74 (14.3)	242 (46.9)	153 (27.9)	20 (3.9)	2 (0.4)		
( 8) 一般說來，男人比女人 更適合參與政治	66 (12.8)	128 (24.8)	199 (38.6)	61 (11.8)	45 (8.7)	12 (2.3)	2 (0.4)	3 (0.6)
( 9) 家庭經濟足夠維持時， 妻子不應外出工作	109 (21.1)	126 (24.4)	210 (40.7)	47 (9.1)	20 (3.9)	3 (0.6)		1 (0.2)

### 夫妻優先觀

(10)在一個家庭裡，夫妻之 間的關係比跟子女間的 關係更重要	143 (27.7)	110 (21.3)	186 (36.0)	43 (8.3)	23 (4.5)	6 (1.2)	2 (0.4)	3 (0.6)
(11)在家庭裡，應該優先考 慮配偶的需要，其次才 考慮子女的需要	83 (16.1)	93 (18.0)	231 (44.8)	58 (11.2)	34 (6.6)	9 (1.7)	2 (0.4)	6 (1.2)

## 附錄三

### 深入訪談 問卷

## 家庭結構

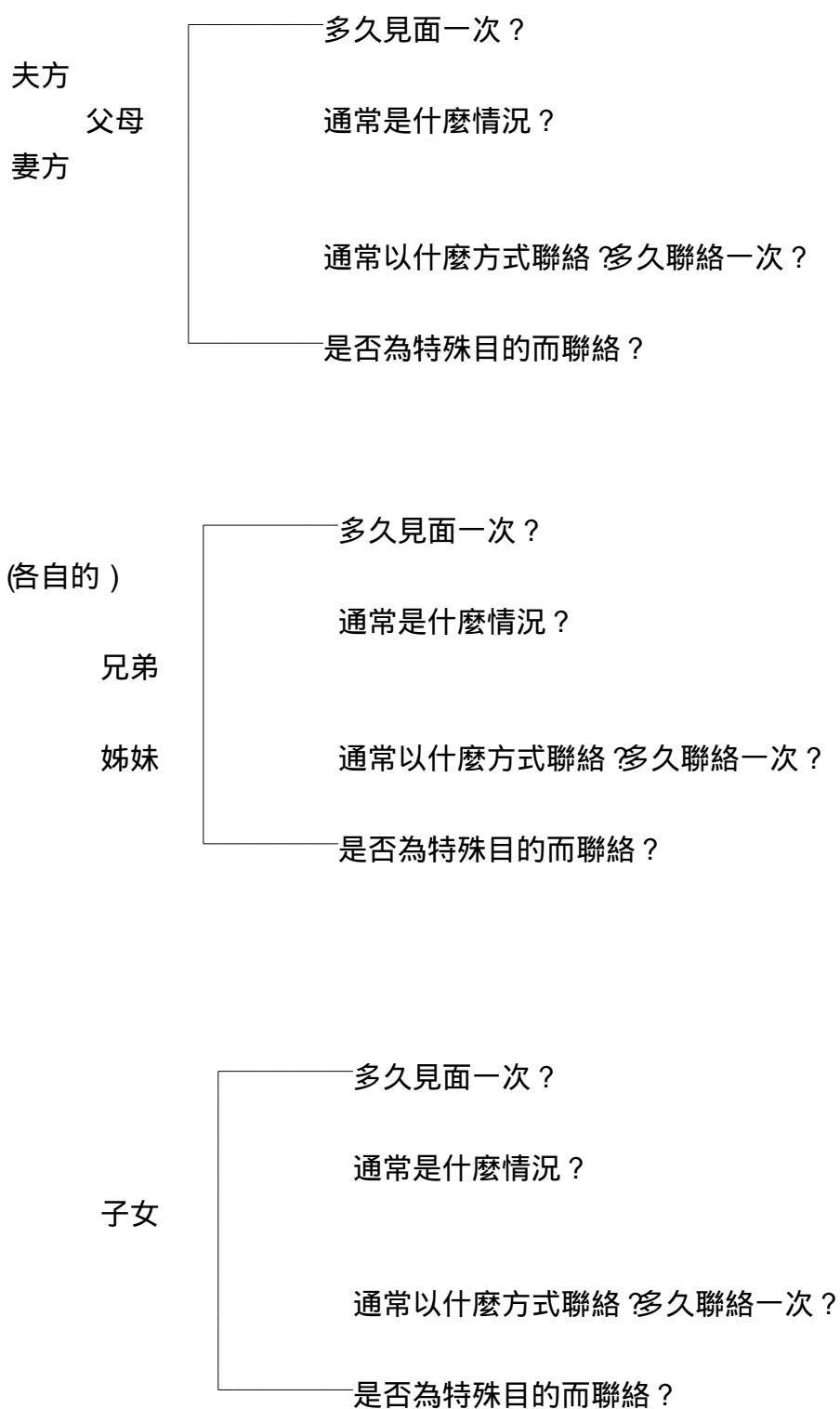
### 1.父母親居住經驗

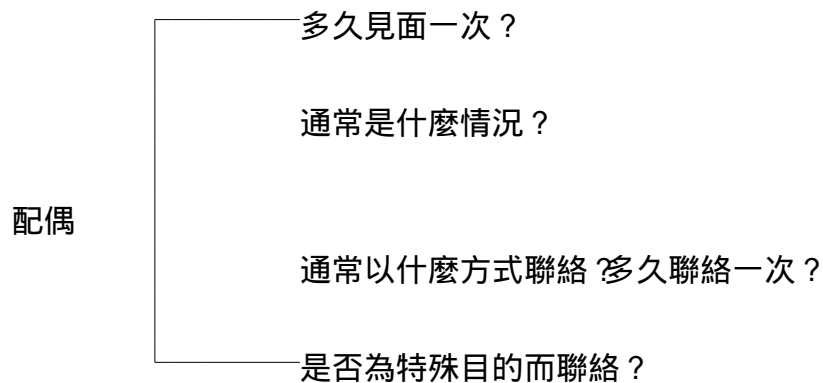
- 一般而言，您對父母與已婚兒子同住的想法如何？
- 一般而言，您對父母與已婚女兒同住的想法如何？
- 您現在為什麼會與自己的父母（或岳父母 /公婆）住在一起（或不住在一起）？



d. 婚後是否有一個月以上與公婆同住的經驗？

2. 不住在一起的或目前住在外地的家人如：( 頻率不同時加註記，  
記錄最常連繫者 )





3. 就您自己來講，您的家人包括那些？（也就是說，那些人您會當作是自己家人）

4. 平常您是如何奉養公婆、自己父母，他們是否依賴這種奉養？

5. 與公婆、自己父母及兄弟姊妹間的財務往來

a. 父母是不是也在經濟上幫助子女？那些支出上？

b. 兄弟姊妹間的財務往來如何？（過年、小孩生日給紅包；平常週轉...）

6. 分家（詢問夫家的情況）

a. 主觀上，你覺得你們分家了沒？當時為什麼分家？

b. 何時分吃分住？

c. 公婆家中有無財產（現金、土地、房子、股票等...）

- d. 財產分了沒？(若為老年夫妻談及其個人從上一代分產的經驗,則試問是否已分產給下一代)
- e. 何時分配？如何分配？
- f. 牌位分了沒？
- g. 您覺得女兒應不應該參與分產？

## 妻子工作

剛剛談到您曾經做...工作,現在想了解一下每一工作的情形

\*\*1. --- 2. 工作史,以前的每一個工作

1. 請問您為什麼會外出工作 (工作動機)？

2. 妳主要是作什麼工作？

a. 受雇關係： 做自己的事業？幫忙家庭事業 (給自己家人雇用、親戚雇用)？  
或是其他人雇用 (是私人雇用或政府雇用)？

b. 工作內容 (詳述) \ 職業

c. 工作單位員工人數：常雇員工多少？臨時員工多少？男工多少？女工多少？

d. 地點：是否在住家？若否，與住家距離？交通工具？

3. 工作的報酬及多少：固定薪水或不固定現金 (如按件計酬式)

4.工作收入如何處理 （包括婚前、婚後）

a.家用、自己用、儲蓄

b.對家庭經濟之影響或重要性

5.現在的工作組織

a.工作契約性質： 短期契約？ 長久或穩定契約？ 無契約？

b.權力關係：

你工作的地方在組織上有哪些層級？ 你在哪一級？

你是否有下屬？ 幾位？

c.升遷制度： 升遷管道如何？

d.福利及保險：福利如何？ 有無勞保、公保？

5.家務之配合 （或由誰取代）

a.子女照顧：誰是主要照顧者？ 在那裡照顧？ 在什麼時間？

(包括以下不同階段： 子女剛出生時

小學前

小學階段及以後

b.家務分工

(1)目前，是誰負責以下工作 .....

清掃、煮飯

日用品採購

修理簡單的水電，倒垃圾

(2)那麼在以下不同的階段裡，家務分工有沒有改變？  
為什麼分工的情況有改變？

剛結婚時

生小孩以後

最小的小孩上學後

\*\*\*以下 6.7.兩題當妻子有自己的 /參與娘家的家庭事業時才問 \*\*\*

6.家庭事業（非農，從事家庭事業者才問）

a.員工人數：常雇員工多少？臨時員工多少？男工多少？女工多少？

b.地點：在住家與否？若否，與住家距離？交通工具為何？

c.主要產品是？何時開始經營？

d.合夥關係：有無合夥人？是誰？是不是親戚？

e.資金來源：創業資金多少？資本額？

f.生產關係：原料如何來？產品銷給誰？是否為外包廠？與母廠的關係？

g.親戚關係：雇工中，有親戚關係的有幾位？無親戚關係的有幾位？

h.雇工計酬方式：按月或按件？有無底薪？

## 7.家庭農場（從事家庭農場工作者才問）

a. 農地所有權

b. 大小

c. 家庭成員在農場上如何分工？

d. 有否雇工？有多少？男工多少？女工多少？雇工做什麼工作？

e. 作物種類？

## 8.工作價值

a. 你覺得人為什麼要工作？

b. 宿命論：

事業成功靠運氣、風水？財富命中注定？

是不是需要貴人相助？

c.保守與創新：

合夥經營要找親戚？不要冒險投資？

你是不是較願意找穩定收入而非收入較高、但有風險的工作？

d.工作上改進、求新、效率的看法（試就其自身的工作來談）

e.g.遵守前人傳下的經驗？或尋求新的技術？

嘗試改變的動機？

夫妻權力（家庭地位）

1. 你們是怎麼認識結婚的？

2. 請你想一想，結婚以來您家裡有無什麼重要的事是需要做決定的？

（若受訪者想不出來，可提示以下事件：

a. 是否與父母同住，如何奉養父母

b. 買房子

c. 職業轉換

d. 生幾個子女

e. 子女教養

5. 在 ---- 的決定方式上，你們家人之中有沒有過意見不一致？嚴不嚴重？

6. 針對 --- 這件事來看，如果家人中有意見不一，後來是如何解決的？

最後的結果是什麼？

7. 您想上述事件的決策模式會不會改變？希不希望改變？  
您自己對這樣的決策方式是否滿意？

## 家庭價值與性別角色態度

### 1. 家庭價值

- a. 傳宗接代的想法（一定要有子嗣？）
- b. 一般來說，只生女孩多少會感到遺憾。--- 如果根本沒有生呢？
- c. 為什麼要生養子女？好處在哪？壞處？
- d. 生養兒子和生養女兒各有什麼好處？壞處？
- e. 你覺得父母應由子女共同奉養或由兒子奉養？
- f. 是否期望兒子婚前幫忙家庭經濟？  
  
是否期望女兒婚前幫忙家庭經濟？  
  
是否期望兒子婚後幫忙家庭經濟？  
  
是否期望女兒婚後幫忙家庭經濟？
- g. 古時候的人認為事業成功是光宗耀祖，你的看法如何？

### 2. 夫妻優先觀



a.結了婚，就是一切以家庭為主，不應把自己的興趣看得更重要。

b.在一個家庭裡，夫妻之間的關係比跟子女間的關係更重要。

### 3.性別角色態度

a.對於已婚婦女從事全天（職）工作的看法

b.對於母親在子女年幼時（入學前）在外工作的看法

c.對於傳統 "男主外，女主內" 的看法； 如：丈夫責任 -- 賺錢，妻子責任 --

照顧家庭；——丈夫應否作家務；重要事情由誰決定？

d.當經濟不景氣時，如果要裁員應該考慮先解雇已婚女性而不是男性。

e.女性是不是有能力也適合從事一般社會上的活動，例如從政、參與地方性事物？

### 4.性別的雙重標準

a.女人有外遇（討客兄）比男人有外遇（養查某）是不是更不應該。

b.女人在婚前和別人有性行為（發生關係）比男人在婚前有性行為

（發生關係）是不是更不應該。

c.女人再嫁比男人再娶是不是更不應該。

d.對於同居的看法。

其他

### 1 現在的住宅坪數

### 2.社區資源

a.認識較熟者幾戶？住那裡？住多遠？ S E S (社經地位如何) ？

來往頻率？

b.平常鄰居來往大多是為了哪些事情？ 在一起做些什麼事？

在什麼地點？ 多遠？

c.這個社區如果發生一些事 (e.g.公共的事) , 通常會找誰出面解決？

d.如果附近鄰居家中有爭執發生，通常會找誰出面解決？如果你要幫忙處理，

會找誰 /怎麼辦？

e.鄰居的意見曾否對您的家庭決策有所影響？重要的家庭決策，你會找誰商量？

### 3.家庭經濟

a.家中是否有主要賺錢養家者，他 /她現在主要的職業為何？

( 試著問出其收入 )

b.家中平常的開支還有誰幫忙？

c.全家共有幾人外出工作賺錢？（包括不拿錢回家者）

d.不工作接受撫養者有幾人？誰？

e.家中經濟來源除了薪資所得外，是否還有其他來源如：

土地房租收入、與他人投資合作事業 .....

主要的收入來源是哪一種？

f.整體而言家中總收入約多少？

\*\*a.b.d項註記在〈家戶組成表〉的"共生計"欄

## 訪談記要

1.受訪者是否能配合訪問的進行？合不合作？誠實度如何？

2.受訪者對於哪些題目的理解有困難？或是不容易回答？

3.訪問的情境如何？花多久的時間進行訪問？

4.其他建議或補充事項。

#### 附錄四

##### 焦點團體訪談 題目大綱

##### 家庭結構

- \* 目前和那些家人住在一起？您覺得吃年夜飯時應包括哪些人？
- \* 您對於父母親和已婚的女兒住在一起有什麼看法？

##### 工作狀況

- \* 夫妻兩人目前的工作情況如何，家務工作怎樣分工？
- \* 在家庭生命週期的不同階段，工作及家務分工的情況是否變動？

## 家庭決策

- \* 什麼是您家中最重要的決策事項 (例如：子女教養、購買房子、  
父母居住安排 ...)
- \* 有沒有意見不一樣的時候？意見不同時如何解決？

## 性別角色態度

- \* 女性外出工作對於家庭會不會有影響？
- \* 您覺得女性適合擔任主管的職務嗎？
- \* 您對於社會上對於男女有不同的道德標準要求看法如何？

## 附錄五

FEMALE'S FAMILY STATUS IN TAMAN:

AN ANALYSIS OF THE HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES DECISION-MAKING PATTERNS

Chin-Chun Yi

Yu-Hua Chen

ISSP, Academia Sinica, Taiwan

Changes of female's status has been a focal subject among social scientists. Most studies use the quantitative evidence of female's labor force participation as an indicator of female's increasing status in society. One of the reason is because it

signifies the entry into the occupational world traditionally restricted to males. However, female's status is composed of both public and private spheres. While a universal trend of the rapid increase of female's labor force participation is observed, if a lag exists between these two aspects of life, it is impossible for females to achieve real equal status with males.

For many countries with strong patriarchy heritage, female has always been confined to domestic compound. But the prevalence of better educational opportunity and the flourish of tertiary sector give rise to female's higher social status. It is also expected that female's economic contribution brought from employment outside leads to the advancement of her status at home. In other words, to participate in the economic gaining work may alter the normative subordinate position that female has been ascribed for her domestic role.

Examinations of female's domestic status usually employ specific operational definitions in the analysis. The division of labor at home, the decision-making process and outcomes, the conflict management patterns utilized in domestic disputes, as well as other less common subjects have served as valid indicators of family status or marital power in numerous reports. Generally, higher status is presumed to coincide with greater marital power. Hence, marital power may be considered to represent

status relationship between couples. In order to focus on the family status of females, researches on marital power that allow the wife to reveal her relative status at home will greatly help us to delineate the domestic power structure.

Taiwan is a typical patriarchal society which experiences tremendous social change in recent years. The overwhelming impact has aroused much attention in female status and gender related issues. Various reports document the emerging egalitarian relationship at home, while at the same time opposite argument points out that the traditional normative effect which endows males with unquestionable dominance is maintained.

It is imperative that female's domestic status be examined with an attempt to identify structural as well as personal factors accounted for the present status. Furthermore, due to the fact that marital power outcome has been the most investigated subject, it will be used to indicate female's domestic status so as to

compare findings and patterns previously established.

## Female's Domestic Status in Taiwan: A Brief on the Marital Power Studies

In Taiwan, marital power is a relatively less studied area, and among those few, decision-making outcome dominated the analyses. Some studies focus on the decision-making patterns of the rural sample (Lai, 1973; Liu, 1976, Lu, 1983). Others address couple's decision-making from the housewives' point of view (Chang, 1974; Chen, 1979; Tang, 1994). In general, there has been a serious lack of systematic study on the full process of decision-making at home.

This author used the dynamic model of resource-process-outcome framework to analyze conjugal power relationships with the basic assumption taken from the social exchange theory. The first attempt was to examine general decision-making patterns at home and to ascertain which resources (individual resources, absolute and relative resource differences between the couple) are more valid in explaining variations of the pattern (Yi and Tsai, 1989). 481 couples randomly selected from the household registration data of the Taipei Metropolitan Area became the final sample. In that series of study, resources analyzed were basically confined to physical ones, e.g., age, income, occupation, urbanization, and family life cycle. The result shows that joint decision-making is the most common pattern with a slight tendency toward wife's

decision-making power. Also, family economy and child discipline are chosen as the single most important decision item. Different factors are significant associated with husband and wife samples. In addition, it was found that for husbands, level of urbanization is positively related to wife's power, while husband's income is negatively associated with wife's power. For wives, both present employment and the progress of family life cycle contribute to wife's greater involvement in the decision.

Since the resource-outcome study serves only as the first step in the examination of marital power, the second analysis focuses on the resource-process aspect of this complex issue (Yi, et.al., 1992). The conflict management patterns during the decision-making process were used to indicate the process aspect. Among 171 couples who have same priority to the most important family decision-making item,

three patterns emerged in the process: conflict without communication, conflict with communication, and no conflict. Resources analyzed also expanded to include both physical and non-physical variables such as marital commitment, sex role attitudes. The result points out that physical resources (e.g., education, rural/urban background, work status) are more significant in explaining which conflict management patterns exercised. Marital commitment, a non-physical resource, was shown to account for different patterns reported as well in that stronger marital commitment was positively related to positive conflict management pattern (i.e., communication or no conflict). Again, the patriarchal power rules are suggested to add to the exchange theories. Both patriarchal power as well as personal resources are important in studying the marital process in Taiwan.

The third effort was put on the context (resource)-process-outcome model. Context or basis of power included physical, non-physical, and family resources; while the conflict management pattern pertaining to the most important decision reported became our indicator of the process; and outcome remained to be the conventional decision-making power (Yi and Yang, 1995). Data showed that the dynamic model received some support among husbands in that both physical (wife's employment) and non-physical (satisfaction with the couple relations) variables were found significant. However, while the analysis was able to prove the association between context-process, no significant relations between process-outcome were reported for the wife's sample. Among various factors, family life cycle was shown to have important influence on conflict management patterns.

To sum up the above reports, marital power among Taiwanese couples appears to be under dual influences. On one hand, the patriarchal rule which prescribes husbands having the ultimate power in familial decision-making are supported, especially among

respondents with more traditional characteristics. This is especially evident from the fact that slightly more than half of the sample reported no conflict occurred in the process. On the other hand, couples with higher socio-economic resources tend to practice egalitarian interaction pattern at home which suggests that the resource model is applicable. The dual effects of both traditional patriarchy and modern power rules shed light on the complex nature of marital power in Taiwan. It also points out the necessity to specify other important factors not adequately studied in previous



researches which may provide additional information for the dynamic process of power structure at home.

From the brief stated earlier, there are at least three aspects which require further exploration. The ethnic origin of the sample, particularly on the couple set basis, will allow us to elaborate the same as well as the mixed effect of ethnic origins on the decision-making power at home. According to Chuang's ethnographic study in northern Taiwan from 1984-1986, Fukienese and Hakka do not have significant difference in familial decision pattern. Males take the major role and joint pattern has achieved substantial importance. It should be noted that family structure is regarded as an interactive condition in that most families in the study are not nuclear types. Hence, adult males, particularly the elderly father, assume special importance in the familial decision process.

In the same study (Chuang, 1995), it is found that ethnic difference occurs in one specific decision area-- namely, wife's occupation. Besides the fact this decision-making is centered on the couple instead of other family members, Hakka females appear to have higher domestic power. Older Hakka females (35 years and above) report higher autonomous decisions on their own jobs than younger female -- 72% vs. 50%. Fukienese females, on the contrary, are more likely to favor the younger cohort in that 48% reports wife dominant pattern in comparison to 35% of the older counterpart. The explanation given is that older women tend to preserve the traditional gender norms better and Hakka women have always taken more responsibilities at home than other ethnic groups. However, it is also observed that the ethnic difference is disappearing among younger cohorts of different ethnic backgrounds.

Since mainlanders are the second largest ethnic group in Taiwan (approximately 16%), next to Fukienese (70%) and higher than Hakka (15%), it will be interesting to compare the power patterns or the family status of these three ethnic groups. In fact, mainlanders are composed of those migrants from all provinces in mainland who arrived in Taiwan after the second world war. Thus do not necessarily share same

cultural and regional traits. However, they are usually characterized by less traditional family practice due to the fact that they are less likely to reside with elderly parents. Complex family type seems to be much more possible among Hakka and Fukienese

because they have migrated for generations. As for mainlanders, nuclear family is the typical family structure or at least the stereotyped family form regarded. Without the constraints of elders at home, egalitarian practice between husband and wife is more possible which contributes to wife's active participation in domestic decision-makings.

Another aspect worth closer examination is female's work type. Relevant studies in Taiwan have progressed from the earlier female work status of a simple yes/no to status of occupational hierarchy in a distinction of higher/lower job. Nevertheless, with more emphasis on the importance of informal work to the economic development in Taiwan, female's contribution in informal work sector has caused increasing attention. The variety of female's work status reminds the public that a substantial proportion of females who work at home is actually participating in economic-gaining activities. In other words, all females work, and for many Taiwanese females, working at home is also a direct economic contribution to the family, unlike housewives who are confined to domestic labor and child care responsibilities. It is our intention to distinguish formal versus informal work of females and to explore how this work pattern may affect the power relations between couples.

Lastly, family life cycle which has attained significant influence in previous studies in terms of the association with the process indicator needs additional analysis. Our basic attempt is to delineate variations of decision-making patterns with the advancement of family life cycles. The relative status between husband and wife in different family stages will enable us to specify the power relations between couples in comparison with other family interactions across family life cycles. Whether couples are happier at early and later stages of life have always been intriguing. Similarly, whether wife has more power at early or later family life cycles will reveal important conjugal relationship and its implications.

Therefore, this paper will limit to one aspect of family status -- the marital power patterns. Decision-making outcomes will serve as our indicator of marital power and one specific decision area of household expenses will be focused. Moreover, emphases will be put on the effect of ethnic origins, female's work type, as well as family life cycle in order to specify important variations of power patterns at home.

## THE SAMPLE

Our sample is composed of 516 couples and 442 married females randomly selected island wide. Three stages of stratified random sampling procedures were used and married females with husbands present, who are aged 20 - 64 became our population framework.

Before the construction of questionnaire, two focused group interviews as well as ten in-depth interviews were conducted in order to derive indigenous propositions on important family decision items and thirteen familial decisions were thus included. It should be mentioned that in order to meet the complex circumstance of the Chinese family system, the original questionnaire includes more than 20 possible family members as potential deciders. However, actual data coding suggests that husband and wife are still the major unit in family decision. Except few special items such as parental living arrangement or children's marriage, family members other than the couple do not constitute substantial proportion. Therefore, the decision-making outcome in this study is still defined by "mainly husband", "joint", "mainly wife", and "others". Among possible family members who take responsibilities in decision-making, parents-in-law, adult children, husband's siblings are more likely to participate in few familiar decisions.

## RESULTS

### Familial Decision-Making Patterns

Regarding decision-making patterns in the family, Table 1 shows that joint decision-making is the most common pattern. This includes financial management (household expenses, savings and investment, amount of money gift, housing purchase, as well as the decision to move), parental support (co-residence with elders, ways of parental support), and child related issues (decision to have child, child discipline, children's schooling). Ranging from the highest of 71% and 68% in child-birth decision to 48% of household expenses and 41% of co-residence, for husband's and wife's samples respectively (H and W hereafter), Taiwanese husbands and wives appear to share decisions in these important family matters.

However, there are three items that deviate from the joint pattern. Husband's

occupation is predominantly decided by husband alone (83% and 82% for H and W), joint decisions are much lower in proportion (10% and 11% for H and W), and wife's participation is almost nil. On the other hand, although wives are most likely to determine their own occupation (47% and 44% for H and W), husband's involvement in his spouse's occupation is much higher than vice versa in that close to 30% report shared decision, while 13% (H) to 14% (W) states husbands take full responsibility in the decision of wife's occupation. As to children's marriage decision, it is clear that parental involvement has decreased drastically in recent decades due to the impact of social change. In our sample, excluding those non-applicable respondents, only one quarter ( 23.6% of H and 24.8% of W ) indicate that parents made the marriage decision for their children. In other words, the major component of "others" -- the children--has gained significant autonomy in their own marital decision.

Another aspect that should be noticed in Table 1 is the relative decision-making power between husbands and wives. If we focus on the financial matters, support patterns, and child issues (i.e., exclusion of the first two work items), the comparison between husband and wife categories shows that husband plays more important role in deciding these family matters. Wives, in contrast with husbands, constitute higher proportion in household expenses decision (31% vs. 16% for H and 32% vs. 17% for W) and child-discipline decision only (17% vs. 10% for H and 22% vs. 10% for W).

In addition, decisions concerning parental support indicate a high percentage distribution of others involves. Among husbands, 34% reports that co-residence with elderly parents is not determined by the couple; while 30% states so regarding actual ways of parental support. Corresponding figures for wives is 38% and 31.7%. A closer scrutiny points out that "others" is mainly composed of two types of answers: do not need to decide and decide by family members. The fact that a substantial proportion (18% - 21%) express the fact that parental support is not a decision to be decided or was an understood arrangement before marriage clearly demonstrates the effect of the normative expectation within the patriarchal family system.

Basically, the thirteen familial items listed fall into four types of decisions: work, finance, parental support, and child matters. Table 1 shows that in spite of the most common joint decision-making patterns, pro-husband or pro-wife's domain of power can be delineated. However, it is not clear if there is a consensus regarding the most important familial decision at home. Table 2 provides such an answer. As can be seen that decision of child discipline is rated as the most important decision at home with an average of 22%. Household expenses (7.6%), husband's occupation (7.5%), and

children's schooling (7.3%) follow but with a much lower percentage. It is evident that contemporary Taiwanese parents regard child discipline as the most salient issue to be decided at home. This finding is consistent with other relevant studies which emphasize the existing conflict between Western liberal versus Chinese authoritarian disciplines ( Chu, 1989; Yi and Chu, 1993; Cchu, 1996 ) which has aroused much attention and debates.

It is also obvious that in Table 2 the highest proportion (36%) answers "don't know", "hard to decide", or "all important" in response to the subjective specification of the most important familial decision. Since previous studies have ascertained that family economy or finance is generally the second most important decision area at home, we therefore use the four finance issues (household expenses, savings and investment, amount of gift money, purchase new housing) to probe those who do not provide a specific answer. Adding the forced response to the most important decision among the four financial items, it is shown that household expenses becomes the most salient decision to be made at home (an average of 25%). This is again consistent with previous findings of the same topic (Yi and Yang, 1995).

It is obvious that family life cycle (or having young children at home) should be taken into account in explaining why child discipline or household expenses is more important. The report in appendix table points out that for those whose children are under 20 years old, child discipline (27%) occupies the highest position among all familial decisions. Even after adding the family economy responses, child discipline remains the most significant issue to be decided at home. In contrast, for those whose do not have children or children are above 20 years old, child discipline is still considered important (15%). However, after adding the economic issues, household expenses (35%) turns out to be the most important family decision selected by our wife sample. In other words, we should consider the effect of various family life cycle of our respondents in their subjective report of the most salient family decision.

In the following analyses, we will limit to these two most important familial decisions and explore possible factors accounted for the various patterns observed. As shown above, the analyses indicate that joint decision-making is the most common pattern for decision on household expenses and child-discipline. The tendency toward wife's in contrast with husband's decision-making power is also similar for these two

decisions. Since other family member's or other's involvement is limited to less than 7%, this paper will thus focus on decision outcomes between couples only.

For our major dependent variable, the decision-making pattern is categorized into three types: mainly husband which includes both "husband only" and "husband mostly", mainly wife which includes both "wife only" and "wife mostly", and joint decisions. In the following multinomial logistic regression, three sets of coefficients are compared-- husband/wife, husband/joint, joint/wife--in order to analyze the relative importance of various variables on decision-making patterns in the Taiwanese family.

Factors Accounted For The Family Decision-Making Patterns:

#### An Analysis of Household Expenses

With regard to decision on household expenses, it was shown earlier that for both husband's and wife's samples, 46% - 44% reported joint decision, 31 - 32% answered wife's dominance in this decision, while husband's involvement is much less important in this matter (16%-17%). Table 4 and Table 5 report results of the logistic regression model which show various significant effects of possible factors accounted for the decision-making pattern among three comparison sets.

It has been documented that female's status is related to levels of economic development as well as her social-economic resources. In our analysis, the effect of urbanization for both samples is found significant in joint versus wife decision-making. The higher the urbanization level, the more likely wife's is to exercise the decision power (as compared with the joint pattern). In other words, urban female in contrast with rural counterparts tends to have more involvement in the decision of household expenses.

As to sex role attitudes, both samples exhibit similar patterns in that the more modern the sex role attitudes, the more likely decision is not made by husbands. It can be seen that wife rather than husband, joint instead of husband, is favored by respondents with modern attitudes in their report of the household expenses decision-making outcome. Either findings point out the decrease of husband's power in relation to the modernity of sex role attitudes.

Previous studies generally agree that the work status of the wife or the less discrepancy between husband's and wife's occupational prestige will result in wife's more active participation in the familial decision-making. In our wife's sample, partial

data support this argument. In Table 4, it is shown that when the nature of work is categorized into formal work, informal work, and housewife only, wives that specify currently working as informal workers tend to apply joint decisions in household expenses. Findings concerning joint versus wife and husband versus joint clearly indicate this pattern. It may be due to the fact that informal work denotes family enterprise as well as family farm work which combines both family life and work life at the same location and at the same time span. Therefore, couples who share life together are likely to decide family economic affairs together.

Results on formal work point out that wife who works on a formal job in contrast to wife not working is favored in the household expenses decision relative to husband's power. Wife who has formal work also tends to exercise joint decision-making versus husband's dominance in this family economic issue. In other words, when wife works outside on a formal basis, husband's power in the decision-making of household expenses seems to decrease and gives way to either wife or to couple's shared outcome.

For the family related variables, the effect of family type is unexpectedly to be insignificant for both samples. Family life cycle, however, exhibits various patterns in different stages. The most observable finding is about the comparison between joint versus wife decisions. Both Table 4 and Table 5 show that after children enter schools (from ages 7-20) as well as after children grow up (i.e. 20 years and above), wife is much more likely to dominate in the decision of household expenses. In addition, wife in contrast to husband is also reported to be more dominant in the decision when children are in the school age. This implies that husband's power either indicated by his own decision pattern or by his involvement in the shared pattern is seriously decreased when compared to the family stage with preschool children. It appears that as family life cycle advances, wife in general also enhances her decision power in the family finance.

With regard to family income, analysis of husband's sample yields insignificant effects. But wife's sample finds that the higher the family income, the more likely it is for couple to share decision rather than for husband to decide alone. It should be

noted that among our wives, joint decision-making in household expenses is the most common pattern for families with higher income, while husband's domination has the least likelihood (unreported analyses). However, although joint decision-making remains to be the most important pattern for husbands, for families with higher income, husband's domination is more likely than wife's domination in this decision matter. This result may due to different attitudes toward the importance of household expenses hold by husbands versus wives.

Perhaps the most interesting finding lies in the result concerning effects of ethnicity which yields inconsistent data. Previous studies argue that Hakka females enjoy higher domestic status due to their traditional active role in the household related works/chores. However, according to our unreported analysis shows that shared decision making is the most common pattern (53%) among Hakka samples. In addition, among three major ethnic groups--Fukienese, Hakka, Mainlander, Hakka has the highest distribution in husband dominant pattern (26% vs. 17%, 18%) as well as the lowest in wife dominant outcome (21% vs. 30%).

Results of the multinomial regression shows that after controlling relevant variables, ethnic origins is indeed a significant factor. Hakka husband in contrast with Fukienese husband is more likely to dominate in household expenses decision. Conversely, Hakka wife tends to exert less decision-making power than Fukienese wife. This is evidenced in all three comparison sets and is significant in wife's sample while consistent among husband's sample.

Nevertheless, the contrast between mainlander versus Fukienese leads to conflicting results for husband and wife samples. For wife's sample, as can be seen from Table 4, mainlander has higher husband's power than Fukienese in either comparison with wife or with joint decision-making pattern. But for husband's sample (Table 5), it was clear that mainlander reports higher wife's decision-making power than Fukienese in husband versus wife as well as in joint versus wife's decision. Since the ethnic origin of spouse is not included in the analysis, it will be interesting to see if different combinations of ethnic origins of couples may produce various patterns which helps to explain the above conflicting findings. Hence, we explore this issue further in Table 6.

Table 6 reports the percentage of decision-making patterns of various



combinations on ethnic origins for our sample. From the first three rows for both husband's wife's samples, we can derive a preliminary ranking order of female's family status at home for couples with same ethnic origins. Mainlander undoubtedly has the highest wife's power in that the percentage of wife's domination is higher than either joint or husband's decision. Fukienese is second in wife's power in that while wife's domination being lower than the joint pattern, it is much higher than husband's power. Hakka's wives enjoy the least power at home in that not only joint decision is the most common, husband's domination also precedes wife's domination in proportion. Therefore, regarding wife's decision-making power, it is shown that Mainlander has the highest wife's power, followed by Fukienese, and Hakka takes the last position.

For the rest mixed combination of couple's ethnic origins, Table 6 point out that joint decision-making is the most important pattern among our sample (ranging from 42% - 70%) -- except the Hakka/Mainlander mix of husband's sample. Looking from the husband's perspective, it can be seen that despite the joint pattern, the percentage difference between wife versus husband reveals that (1) wife of Mainlander husband again tends to be more involved in the decision than husband; (2) wife of Fukienese husband ranks next with less higher percentage difference between wife versus husband domination (the Fukienese/Hakka mix of wife's sample actually has the slightly higher husband's involvement); (3) wife of Hakka husband is the only mixed category that reports wife's subordination to husband's power (\* exception is found among Hakka/Fukienese mix of husband's sample).

It seems that marriage to Mainlander husband or Fukienese husband results in wife's higher status at home, while marrying Hakka husband is more likely to experience a higher husband's domination in the decision-making outcome. The preliminary analyses imply that the Mainlander-Fukienese-Hakka ranking order of wife's power is generally valid as reflected in the size of percentage difference among various mix which coincides the above ranking effect.

## Conclusion

In this research, female's status at home is evaluated by her relative position in the family power. Family power, being a multi-dimensional concept, is operationalized as the decision-making outcome in the present study. Using the conventional "husband mainly", "joint", "wife mainly" categorization, the analysis shows that joint decision-

making is generally the most common pattern in various familial decisions. This finding supports previous studies which repeatedly document the importance of shared involvement between couples in contemporary Taiwanese families.

Among decisions concerning work, family finance, elderly support, and child related issues, it was pointed out that while child-discipline is reported as the most important issue for samples with children at home, household expenses becomes the most salient decision to be made for our average respondents, especially those with no young children at home. Therefore, the decision-making pattern of household expenses is focused in the analysis and is considered as the indicator for the study of female's power at home.

The analyses show that social exchange theory receives partial support from our results. Not all personal resources have significant effect on wife's power in the familial decision. This is probably because household expenses is usually regarded as essential but trivial when compared to other vital decisions such as the living arrangement of elderly parents or husband's occupation. However, we are able to evidence that among possible factors accounted for the decision-making outcome, some factors do reveal interesting patterns that deserve further attention.

Among all factors included in the analysis, our results add to previous findings in that ethnic origins, nature of work types, as well as family life cycle are shown to have significant contribution to the explanation of familial decision-making patterns. In general, female's involvement in the decision of household expenses varies according to the family life cycle examined. Among families with preschoolers, with 7-20 years old school-age children, and with adult children over 20 years of age, wife is more likely to decide household expenses at the later stages. Specifically, wife's power is slightly higher when compared with husband's at family life cycle of school-age children, and with joint pattern for family stage of school-age children and above.

In other words, family life cycle is probably accompanied by more varieties of familial decisions. With the advancement of family stages, Taiwanese wife tends to have more active decision power at home.

Similarly, the rapid economic development in Taiwan has brought about drastic changes in family structure, in modernity, as well as in female's labor force

participation. Our research on wife's decision-making power proves that urban females and those with modern sex-role attitudes have consequence of higher wife's decision power regarding household expenses. This is consistent for both samples, but more pronounced among wives.

With regard to wife's work type, it is documented that for wives with informal work (family enterprise, family farms, etc.), joint-decision making is favored. Perhaps the close relationships between couples in business and in family produce a togetherness in the management of family finance. Since household expense is obviously more complicated for these families, shared responsibilities become the norm for our respondents. On the other hand, wives with formal work appear to have more involvement in the decision of household expense, as reflected in the significant comparison of wife over husband, and joint over husband. More accurately, when wife works in a formal job, husband's power in the familial decision is likely to be reduced.

Findings concerning the ethnic origin yield interesting results. Mainlander has the highest females decision power at home, followed by Fukienese, and lastly by Hakka. Even among mixed marriages, wife with mainlander husband still enjoys greater voice in the household expense decisions. This is probably owing to the less normative restriction on mainlanders who are less likely to coreside with elderly parents, because of non-availability as well as the conventional practice. As a result, wives who marry a mainlander are situated in a more favorable context which allows them to exert influence in the decision-making process.

In sum, the study on household expenses decision-making outcome points out that urbanization and modernization concomitant with the economic development in Taiwan result in female's labor force participation in formal as well as informal works, which in turn enhances wife's decision power and her status at home. The increase of female's domestic status is especially salient as family life cycles progress. Within this dynamic process, it is noted that the ethnic origin assumes a significant role in the interaction of factors accounted for the decision-making patterns of household expenses in Taiwan.

The findings imply that Taiwanese wife's marital power is becoming more important and her status at home also advances with more active decision power exerted. The common practice of joint decision-making pattern, consistent with

previous reports, indicates a gradual decrease of husband's power in many familial decision areas. Needless to say, the outcome approach is unable to reveal the full dynamic process of marital power. However, for a growing society like Taiwan, it is shown that beyond the cultural effect and personal resources previously identified, female's status at home certainly depends on her work type, her existing family life cycle, as well as the ethnic origin of her spouse, as evidenced in the decision patterns of household expenses.

Table 1: The Familial Decision-Making Patterns

Decision Items	% (N of Cases)				
	Mainly Husband	Joint	Mainly Wife	Others	N.A.
<u>Husband's Sample</u>					
Husband's Job	82.5(426)	10.1( 52)	0.4( 2)	6.8( 35)	0.2( 1)
Wife's Job	12.6( 65)	29.5(152)	47.1(243)	8.2( 42)	2.7( 14)
Household Expenses	16.0( 83)	45.9(237)	30.6(158)	7.2( 37)	0.2( 1)
Saving & Investment	20.0(103)	51.7(267)	19.4(100)	7.2( 37)	1.7( 9)
Amount of Money Gift	25.5(132)	51.4(265)	12.4( 64)	10.5( 54)	0.2( 1)
Housing Purchase	12.8( 66)	53.9(278)	5.6( 29)	18.4( 95)	9.3( 48)
Decision of Moving	12.6( 65)	52.7(272)	4.5( 23)	20.8(107)	9.5( 49)
Co-Residence with Elders	15.7( 81)	46.1(238)	1.2( 6)	33.9(175)	3.1( 16)
Ways of Parental Support	17.7( 91)	45.9(237)	2.2( 11)	29.6(153)	4.5( 23)
Child-Birth Decision	8.2( 42)	70.5(364)	5.3( 27)	13.8( 71)	2.3( 12)
Children Discipline	10.3( 53)	66.3(342)	16.7( 86)	5.3( 27)	1.6( 8)
Children's Schooling	8.1( 42)	47.1(243)	6.6( 34)	30.6(158)	7.6( 39)
Children's Marriage	1.9( 10)	17.1( 88)	1.0( 5)	41.3(213)	38.8(200)
<u>Wife's Sample</u>					

---

Husband's Job	82.0(786)	10.9(104)	0.3( 3)	3.0( 29)	3.8( 36)
Wife's Job	14.0(134)	28.1(269)	44.4(425)	2.4( 23)	11.2(107)
Family Expenses	16.9(162)	43.9(421)	31.6(303)	5.6( 54)	1.9( 18)
Saving & Investment	22.8(218)	47.4(454)	18.3(175)	4.1( 40)	7.4( 71)
Amount of Money Gift	26.2(251)	51.6(494)	11.2(107)	5.1( 49)	5.9( 57)
Housing Purchase	15.1(145)	48.5(465)	5.2( 50)	10.3( 98)	20.9(200)
Decision of Moving	15.0(144)	48.1(461)	4.1( 39)	9.4( 90)	23.4(224)
Co-Residence with Elders	13.6(130)	41.3(396)	2.7( 26)	38.0(364)	4.4( 42)
Ways of Parental Support	17.2(165)	42.9(411)	3.4( 33)	31.7(304)	4.7( 45)
Child-Birth Decision	8.6( 82)	66.2(634)	8.5( 81)	2.5( 24)	14.3(137)
Children Discipline	9.6( 92)	60.9(583)	22.0(211)	4.0( 38)	3.5( 34)
Children's Schooling	7.7( 74)	43.1(413)	8.7( 83)	29.2(279)	11.4(109)
Children's Marriage	2.4( 23)	14.9(143)	2.0( 19)	36.2(347)	44.5(426)

---

N of Husband's Sample = 516 ; N of Wife's Sample = 958

Table 2: The Most Important Family Decision at Home

Decision Items	Total N=1474	% (N of Cases)	
		Husband's Sample N=516	Wife's Sample N=958
Husband's Job	7.5(111)	9.1( 47)	6.7( 64)
Wife's Job	0.6( 9)	0.2( 1)	0.8( 8)
Household Expenses	7.6(112)	7.6( 39)	7.6( 73)
	25.2(372) *	23.7(122) *	26.1(250)
Saving and Investment	5.6( 83)	6.0( 31)	5.4( 52)

	14.0(206)*	13.2( 68)	14.4(138)*
Amount of Money Gift	0.1( 1) 1.1( 16)*	0 1.2( 6)*	0.1( 1) 1.0( 10)*
Housing Purchase	5.6( 83) 14.5(213)*	5.8( 30) 15.3( 79)*	5.5( 53) 14.0(134)*
Decision of Moving	0.4( 6)	0.4( 2)	0.4( 4)
Co-Residence with Elders	0.6( 9)	0.4( 2)	0.7( 7)
Ways of parental Support	2.2( 33)	4.1( 21)	1.3( 12)
Child-Birth Decision	0.1( 2)	0.2( 1)	0.1( 1)
Children Discipline	22.3(328)	20.3(105)	23.3(223)
Children's Schooling	7.3(108)	7.8( 40)	6.8( 68)
Children's Marriage	3.8( 56)	3.7( 19)	3.9( 37)
All Important, Don't Know Hard to Decide	36.3(535)	34.5(178)	37.3(357)
Missing Value	0.6( 9)	0.6( 3)	0.6( 6)

\* For those unable to identify the most important decision item including "all important", "don't know", "hard to decide", they are then forced to choose one single item from four family finance areas.

Table 3 : Multinomial Logit Coefficients and Estimated Standard Errors of Household Expenses' Decision-Making Pattern: Wife's Sample

(N=886)

Variables	Ln(P1/P3)		Ln(P2/P3)		Ln(P1/P2)	
	Coefficient	Std. Error	Coefficient	Std. Error	Coefficient	Std.
Age	0.0041	0.0198	0.0177	0.0155	-0.0136	0.
Education	0.0256	0.0304	0.0303	0.0244	-0.0047	0.
Occupational Prestige	-0.0010**	0.0005	-0.0004	0.0004	-0.0006	0.
Urban v.s. Rural	-0.1630	0.2221	-0.2884*	0.1649	0.1254	0.
Sex-Role Attitudes	-0.1005***	0.0211	0.0005	0.0167	-0.1010***	0.
Female's Work Type	0.1008	0.2745	0.5734***	0.2113	-0.4727*	0.
Informal v.s. None	-0.6257*	0.3666	0.3720	0.2626	-0.9976***	0.
Formal v.s. None						
Female's Type						
Stem v.s. Stage1	0.0805	0.2426	0.1050	0.1844	-0.0245	0.
Extended v.s. nuclear	0.2195	0.3729	0.1064	0.3241	0.1131	0.
Family life-cycle						
Stage 2 v.s. Stage 1	-0.5915*	0.3279	-0.6747***	0.2389	0.0832	0.
Stage 3 v.s. Stage 1	-0.3995	0.5177	-1.1140***	0.4018	0.7145	0.
Family Total Income						
\$50,000-\$200,000 v.s.	-0.4094	0.2491	0.0660	0.1768	-0.4753**	0.
No Answer v.s.	-0.1888	0.3180	-0.0432	0.2561	-0.1456	0.
Under \$50,000						
Ethnic Origins						
Hakka v.s. Fukienese	1.0752***	0.2865	0.5723**	0.2376	0.5028**	0.
Mainlander v.s.	0.7746**	0.3919	0.0309	0.2957	0.7437**	0.
Fukienese						
Constant	2.0338**	0.9634	-0.0245	0.7647	2.0582**	0.

Log-Likelihood -847.29  
Likelihood Ratio Test 132.68\*\*\*

Where 1 = Mainly Husband ; 2 = Joint ; 3 = Mainly Wife

\* P < 0.1      \*\* P < 0.05      \*\*\*P < 0.001

Family Life-Cycle : Stage 1: youngest child aged 6 and under; Stage 2: youngest child aged 20 and above  
Stage 2: youngest child aged 20 and above

Table 4 : Multinomial Logit Coefficients and Estimated Standard Errors of Household Expenses' Decision-Making Pattern : Husband's Sample

Variables	Ln (P1/P3)		Ln (P2/P3)		Ln (P1/P2)	
	Coefficient	Std. Error	Coefficient	Std. Error	Coefficient	Std. Error
Age	0.0120	0.0250	0.0182	0.0176	-0.0062	0.0176
Education	-0.0136	0.0428	-0.0247	0.0334	0.0111	0.0334
Occupational Prestige	-0.0004	0.0005	-0.0001	0.0004	-0.0002	0.0004
Urban v.s. Rural	-0.0107	0.3208	-0.3833*	0.2327	0.3726	0.2327
Sex-Role Attitudes	-0.0526*	0.0288	0.0123	0.0218	-0.0649**	0.0218
Male's Work Type						
Formal v.s. Informal & None	0.0849	0.3182	0.1293	0.2294	-0.0444	0.2294
Family Type						
Stem v.s. Nuclear	0.4703	0.3184	0.0045	0.2501	0.4658	0.2501
Extended v.s. Nuclear	0.6298	0.5234	0.4393	0.4484	0.1905	0.4484



Family Life-Cycle						
Stage2 v.s. Stage1	-0.6343	0.4578	-0.7043**	0.3146	0.0700	0.4
Stage3 v.s. Stage1	0.0880	0.7128	-0.8898*	0.5219	0.9778	0.6
Family Total Income						
\$50,000-&200,000 v.s. Under \$50,000	0.0369	0.3193	0.1947	0.2304	-0.1578	0.2
No Answer v.s. Under \$50,000	-0.1244	0.5043	-0.0981	0.4135	-0.0263	0.4
Ethnic Origins						
Hakka v.s. Fukienese	0.6014	0.4000	0.0196	0.3249	0.5818	0.3
Mainlander v.s. Fukienese	-0.8703*	0.5217	-0.6106	0.3323	-0.2597	0.5
Constant	0.0133	1.2160	0.0179	0.8889	-0.4578	1.1
Log-Likelihood		-847.29				
Likelihood Ratio Test		132.68***				

Where 1 = Mainly Husband ; 2 = Joint ; 3 = Mainly Wife

\*P < 0.1      \*\*P < 0.05      \*\*\*P < 0.001

Family Life-Cycle : Stage 1: youngest child aged 6 and under;    Stage 2: youngest child aged 20 and above

Table 5: The Decision-Making Pattern of Household Expenses for Various Ethnic Origins

Decision-Making Pattern

Ethnic Origins	Mainly Husband	Joint	Mainly Wife	Others	N of Cases
Wife's Sample					
H/W: Mainlander	11.76(4)	41.18(14)	44.12(15)	2.94(1)	34
H/W: Fukienese	15.36(98)	42.16(269)	34.80(222)	7.68(49)	638
H/W: Hakka	23.16(22)	50.53(48)	16.84(16)	9.47(9)	95
Mainlander/ Fukienese	6.38(3)	46.81(22)	34.04(16)	12.77(6)	47
Mainlander/ Hakka	20.00(3)	46.67(7)	26.67(4)	6.67(1)	15
Fukienese/ Hakka	25.53(12)	44.68(21)	23.40(11)	6.38(3)	47
Fukienese/ Mainlander	21.21(7)	51.52(17)	24.24(8)	3.03(1)	33
Hakka/ Fukienese	25.58(11)	46.51(20)	23.26(10)	4.65(2)	43
Hakka/ Mainlander	33.33(2)	50.00(3)	16.67(1)	0	6
Husband's Sample					
H/W: Mainlander	4.69(2)	26.92(7)	57.69(15)	7.69(2)	26
H/W: Fukienese	15.48(50)	46.44(150)	31.27(101)	6.81(22)	323
H/W: Hakka	23.53(12)	45.10(23)	21.57(11)	9.80(5)	51
Mainlander/ Fukienese	11.54(3)	42.31(11)	38.46(10)	7.69(2)	26

Mainlander/ Hakka	10.00(1)	70.00(7)	10.00(1)	10.00(1)	10
Fukienese/ Hakka	20.59(7)	47.06(16)	23.53(8)	8.82(3)	34
Fukienese/ Mainlander	16.67(3)	55.56(10)	22.20(4)	5.56(1)	18
Hakka/ Fukienese	12.50(3)	50.00(12)	33.30(8)	4.17(1)	24
Hakka/ Mainlander	50.00(2)	25.00(1)	0	25.00(1)	4

Appendix: The Relationship between Having Young Children at Home and The  
Most Important Familial Decision Selected (Wife's Sample)

Decision Items	% (N of Cases)	
	Having Young Children	No Young Children
Decision Items	70.0(671)	30.0(287)
Husband's Job	8.2(55)	3.1(9)
Wife's Job	0.6(4)	1.4(4)
Household Expenses	6.3(42)	110.8(31)
	22.4(108) *	34.8(100) *
Saving and Investment	5.4(36)	5.6(16)
	15.2(102) *	12.5(36)
Amount of Money Gift	0	0.4(1)
	0.5(3) *	2.4(7) *
Housing Purchase	6.1(41)	4.2(12)

	13.3(89) *	15.7(45)
Decision of Moving	0.5(3)	0.4(1)
Co-Residence with Elders	0.6(4)	1.1(3)
Ways of Parental Support	1.2(8)	1.4(4)
Child-Birth Decision	0.2(1)	0
Children Discipline	26.8(180)	15.0( 43)
Children's Schooling	8.4(56)	3.1( 9)
Children's Marriage	2.2(15)	7.7( 22)
All Important, Don't Know Hard to Decide	33.7(226)	45.6(131)
Missing Value	0	0.4(1)

\* For those unable to identify the most important decision item, including "all important", "don't know", "hard to decide", they are then forced to choose one single item from four family finance areas.