

## **Managing work and care without workplace support: Does employing a live-in worker fill the gap? The example of Taiwan<sup>1</sup>**

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The assumption that women possess a “natural instinct” that stems from their role in the reproductive process and biologically predisposes them to take on both unpaid and paid care work. For a long time, women have not only performed the majority of household chores but have been perceived as the best candidates to provide in-home care. In the Taiwanese context, with the limited development of public care services, female family members are the main sources of informal social care labour. However, due to social changes, including the increase of women’s labour participation rate<sup>3</sup> and changes in traditional living arrangements, from one that includes extended family to one that includes only the nuclear one, women’s unpaid care labour is no longer assumed to be available anytime there is need in the family.

Compared to many Western industrialized countries, the growth in Taiwan’s ageing population is astonishing. According to the World Health Organization, it took Taiwan only 25 years to move from an ageing society with a 7% elderly population in 1993 to an aged society with a 14% elderly population in 2018. The rapid increase of the elderly population creates care needs and a higher demand for care labour. During the past several decades, the phenomenon of a “care crisis” has emerged as a significant challenge for Taiwanese society.

Since the Taiwan government approved the employment of migrant care workers in 1992 as the remedy for its underdevelopment of social welfare (Liang, 2014), the majority of employers who hire such workers have been individual families. Bettio and his colleagues (2006) identified this transformation from the family model to the “migrant in the family” model. Compared to the other Western welfare states, Taiwan was late to develop long-term care services, only establishing the institutionalization of long-term care in 2000. However, due to the lack of governmental expenditures on such services and the devaluation of care work, it is difficult to attract local people to perform such care work. In addition to the insufficiency of financial support and human resources, the influences of cultural ideas on care shape how people arrange

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<sup>3</sup> Women’s labour participation is 39.13% in 1988 and increases to 51.14% in 2018.

care for the elderly who have needs (Liang, 2018). These social constraints have resulted in migrant care workers becoming the main labour source for long-term care services (Wang, 2010; Chen, 2011). The governmental statistics show that almost one-eighth of the disabled elderly are cared for by live-in migrant care workers (The Ministry of Health and Welfare, 2018).

The previous studies (Yeoh, Huang and Gonzalez III, 1999) have shown that some labour-receiving countries, like Singapore, regard employment of live-in migrant workers as a strategy to facilitate local women's labour participation. It seems that the policy contributes to the growth of the quantitative number of women in the labour force, but we know very little about the qualitative consequences of this change. In this essay, through interviews with employers of live-in migrant care workers, I illustrate how employing a live-in migrant care worker has become the strategy utilised by the local Taiwanese (especially women) to negotiate their care responsibilities and paid jobs. However, this strategy fails to release women from care responsibility in daily practices because the gender division in care work continues. In addition, hiring live-in migrant care workers imposes risks and uncertainties on individual households, including the employers, the cared-for, and the care workers. To conclude this essay, I argue that the current approaches (i.e., the way the Taiwanese government integrates migrant care labour and how local families utilise live-in migrant care workers to shoulder family care responsibilities) shift the state's responsibility to individual families and result in visible and invisible costs to all parties involved in the processes of organizing, coordinating, and providing care, including live-in migrant care workers, the cared-for, and their families.

### **The Gender System: Working Women and State Policy in Taiwan**

Like Japan and South Korea, Taiwan has a familial welfare regime where family acts as the primary actor to “carry out principal responsibility for their members' welfare” (Esping-Andersen, 1999: 51). The state only intervenes to provide elderly care when family members are unable to fulfill their (legal) obligations to care for their relatives. Influenced by the filial piety culture, the Taiwanese mainstream society considers the caretaking of the elderly as an individual household's responsibility, especially for the oldest son. However, in reality, sons usually fulfill their responsibility of filial piety by providing financial support, while female family members perform the largest portion of hands-on care. Most of them are daughters-in-law or unmarried daughters, and a few are married daughters. Pei-Chia Lan (2002) proposes the concept of “the transfer chain of filial care” to describe how care responsibilities transfer from

sons to daughters-in-law of the cared-for through marriage in the Confucian gender regime. However, the increase in women's labour participation rate in the context of this traditional gender regime creates difficulties for women who need to balance their paid job and family care work.

According to *The Report on Family Carers* (The Ministry of Health and Welfare, 2018), 60.98% of family carers are women, 34.97 % are under 55 years old, and 31.77% have paid jobs. When considering the gender differences, 41.53% of male family carers have paid jobs and females represent only 25.52%. The report shows that care responsibilities affect participation in the labour market. Compared to men, the effects on women are more significant. As a result, 43.93% of female family carers end up needing to resign from their jobs because of care responsibilities, while the number of men is 24.47%. The previous research (Kröger & Yeandle, 2013) demonstrates that family care responsibilities often conflict with paid jobs, especially when public support is limited.

The Taiwan government implements the *Act of Gender Equality in Employment* “to protect gender equality in right-to-work, implement thoroughly the constitutional mandate of eliminating gender discrimination, and promote the spirit of substantial gender equality” (Article 1). However, the measures taken to promote equality in employment focus on childcare, including maternity leave, parental leave, and flexible work hours. Only Article 20 regulates family care leave that pertains to other family members. Family care leave is incorporated into personal leave and shall not exceed seven days per year. This work policy provides very limited support to workers who are also responsible for providing long-term care for elderly family members.

### **Research Design and Methods**

In order to understand whether employing live-in migrant care workers can be a strategy utilised by local people to manage work and care, this study draws upon interviews with family members who either identified themselves or were referred to by the other family members as major family carers before or after hiring live-in migrant care workers. From 2007 to 2014, I conducted interviews with 30 family members. The majority of interviewees are women; only six are men. Twenty of them are daughters-in-law of the cared-for, 4 are unmarried or divorced daughters, and all male interviewees are sons. Their age ranges from 37 years old to 64 years old. During the time of the interviews, most interviewees had paid jobs. Amongst the women, two are retired, one quit her paid job after having her first child, two have part-time jobs, and most of them (19)

have their full-time jobs and careers. Amongst the six men, four are retired, and two have full-time paid jobs.

To meet the goal of this essay, I use the data from 29 interviewees and exclude the data of the one interviewee who withdrew from the formal labour market after giving birth to her first child. I include the experiences of the retired interviewees and those who have part-time jobs to demonstrate how care responsibilities affect their jobs and career transition. For example, Chen worked as the senior executive manager in an insurance company. She decided to retire earlier than originally planned when her mother had a stroke.

### **How I become an “Employer”**

In the Taiwanese context, the “employers” of live-in migrant care workers usually refer to the adult children of the cared-for, even in the cases where the cared-for pay the salaries of migrant workers out of their own pockets. The Taiwan case is different from some Western countries where the employers of live-in migrant care workers can be the cared-for themselves. They use a governmental allowance or subsidies to pay the salaries, similar to the cases of Germany, Austria, and Italy (Da Roi, 2007; Österle & Bauer, 2012). In Taiwan, adult sons usually are in charge of financial responsibilities for their aged parents, but women, either daughters-in-law or daughters, are involved in the processes of applying for, recruiting, and training live-in migrant care workers as well as coordinating with them in terms of providing hands-on care in daily settings.

Although women’s participation in politics, education, and the labour market has increased in the past decades, they still play the major role in performing unpaid care work and household chores (references). Many of the female interviewees share their difficulties in reconciling paid jobs and family responsibilities with little support from their partners and the other family members. They perceive that hiring live-in migrant care workers may be the solution to the difficulties and struggles they face every day.

Wang is in her late thirties and works as an agent in an insurance company. She, her husband, and their two elementary-school children live close to her in-laws in Taipei, the largest city of Taiwan. She shared how they decided on their living arrangement.

My in-laws are in their seventies. They live in their own apartment. It’s very close to our place, just a few minutes by walking. When I married my husband, I told him that I prefer not to live with his parents. But I understand that my husband is the only son

amongst his siblings. He has to take the responsibility of caring for his parents. I regard this as a compromise (to live close to my in-laws).

Wang continued on to describe the incident that resulted in the employment of a live-in migrant care worker.

Before that incident, I thought my in-laws were healthy. They paid lots of attention to maintaining their health. One day, when I was at work, I got a phone call from my mother-in-law on her way to the emergency room. She told me that my father-in-law drove his car and brought her to do grocery shopping. On their way to the supermarket, my father-in-law suddenly felt dizzy and was unable to continue driving. It was a shock for me. It was the first time I had to think of their (Wang's in-laws) age and their needs of care.

After a discussion with Wang's sisters-in-law, they decided to hire a live-in migrant care worker for Wang's father-in-law. However, in fact, the worker takes care of both Wang's father- and mother-in-law. In addition to caring for the two elderly, the migrant worker was also hired to help Wang with childcare and household chores when she requests.

Amongst my friends, many of them hire migrant maids.<sup>4</sup> The maids not only take care of the cared-for but help with cleaning house, cooking, and so on. I told my husband that it's a good idea to have a migrant maid. We two are so busy with our jobs. I have been eager for someone to help me with household chores for a long time. It's expensive to hire the locals and hard to find locals who will do the cleaning and cooking.

According to Taiwan's governmental policy, it is illegal to request live-in migrant workers to perform duties unrelated to taking care of the cared-for. However, it is difficult to regulate what happens in the private household and intimate sphere (Cheng, 2003; Liang, 2014).

Due to the changes of the country's economic structure, the uneven regional development, and urbanization in Taiwan, many people have migrated from the countryside to metropolitan areas since 1960 (references). Currently, about 71% of the entire population live in the six largest cities. One-third of the interviewees do not live in the same county as the cared-for. In other words, the elderly live alone with their live-in migrant care workers and sometimes also their aged spouses.

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<sup>4</sup> Although the official term is "live-in migrant care worker," most employers I interviewed use "migrant maid" (外傭) to refer to their care workers.

Ku is 40 years old. She is the only child in her family. After she finished her undergraduate and graduate school in Taipei, like many young people from rural areas in Taiwan, she found a job in Taipei and had visions of her future career. About 10 years ago, her father suddenly had a stroke in his seventies. It was hard for her mother to take care of her father alone. When Ku's father was discharged from the hospital, Ku decided to employ a live-in migrant care worker.

At that time, my mom was in her early seventies. She is only a few years younger than my father. I don't have any siblings. Taking care of them (Ku's parents) is my responsibility. But I didn't want to give up my life in Taipei. Since I was an undergraduate, I had lived in Taipei more than 10 years. My job, friends, and life all were in Taipei. After talking with my mom, I decided to hire Umi (an Indonesian care worker). My father passed away around six years ago. After he died, Umi continued to stay in our home and to take care of my mother.

Ku works as an executive manager in a public relations company. She has long working hours and sometimes has to work over the weekends. Because of the huge work load, she is only able to visit her mother once a month at most. Ku concluded the interview by mentioning the critical role of their Indonesian live-in care worker, Umi: *I am not able to run a company with my mom by my side. Umi helps me in taking care of my mom. She (Umi) is very reliable. I am blessed to have her at our home.*

A few interviewees share similar experiences and thoughts. Lin began working in a semiconductor company after graduate school. The job opportunity is rare in his hometown, a small village in the southern region of Taiwan. He met his wife in the company where they worked. Soon after, they were married, had children, and built up their own family. Lin's parents are in their early eighties. They perceive themselves as healthy. Lin's father still grows vegetables in the land next to their house. It is a continuation of his early work as a rice farmer. A few years ago, Lin's younger brother brought up the discussion of care arrangements for their aged parents because of the incidents concerning elderly they saw on television news. Although Lin's parents insisted that they could take care of themselves, the three brothers decided to employ a live-in migrant care worker. Their Filipina care worker, Milley, is under her second 3-year contract with Lin's family. During the interview, Lin emphasized the value of filial piety and explained the reason for hiring a live-in migrant care worker.

The old saying is: when parents are alive, we, as children, should not travel far away from them. Society has changed a lot. These days, many people have moved to the places where they can find jobs. It's not because we don't want to obey filial piety....

Milley has lived with my parents for more than four years. In the beginning, she could only speak very little Mandarin. Now she can even communicate in the local Taiwanese dialect. My parents are very close to her. They get used to her company. Because she is there (with Lin's parents), I feel relieved. Sometimes, I joke that she (Milley) practices the obligations of filial piety for us (Lin, his two brothers, and their families).

Lin not only considers Milley as an employee; she serves as a surrogate daughter for Lin's parents.

The Taiwanese employers not only hire live-in migrant care workers to provide direct health care to the cared-for. A few of them, especially those with better financial resources, employ live-in migrant care workers to accompany their aged parents or in-laws, to increase their safety and reduce the risks and uncertainties for the elderly living alone, and to act as surrogates to carry out filial piety. The local culture considers elderly care is a kind of company or servant work rather than professional work (Lan, 2016; Liang, 2018).

### **The Continuation of Gender Division in Care Work**

The previous research has suggested that the government in countries that permit the employment of migrant domestic workers regard it as a strategy that facilitates local women's labour participation. Further, it also releases women from household chores (Chin, 1997; Lan, 2006). The recent studies on live-in migrant care workers acknowledge the physical and emotional labour provided by migrant workers but show that local women remain constrained by the gender division of labour. For example, Liang's research (2018) demonstrates that hiring a live-in migrant care worker creates a new form of care labour division between migrant workers and their female employers. However, local women are still in charge of organizing, coordinating, and providing hands-on care.

Ting's husband has five siblings, two brothers and three sisters. Six years ago, because of a surgery, Ting's mother-in-law lost strength in both of her feet and has to rely on a walker or the assistance of others. Ting's husband and his two brothers decided to employ a live-in migrant care worker to take care of Ting's mother-in-law. An Indonesian worker, Andy, has worked in Ting's family for more than five years. She has developed trusting relationships with Ting and Ting's mother-in-law. Ting emphasized the tacit understanding between her and Andy and expressed her appreciation of Andy's devotion.

I have been a working mother for a long time. There is no one sharing the household chores and childcare with me. Since Andy came to our family, she takes care of my in-law and does most of the household chores. She doesn't eat pork, but she cooks pork for us. Now she even brings my in-law (in the wheelchair) to do grocery shopping. When I come home from work, dinner is always already there on the dining table. I don't need to worry about what I should cook and what we are going to eat for dinner.

It seems that Andy shares most parts of Ting's responsibility for household chores and family care. However, an observation during the interview showed a different reality. When Ting has days off, she usually spends her time cooking in the kitchen along with Andy or cleaning up their four-floor house. Ting's husband is a construction worker. His work schedule varies according to the projects he works on. In other words, he does not have regular days off and often needs to work on weekends. During weekends, Ting is responsible for organizing the leisure activities for her in-law and Andy to include relaxation time in their routine life.

My husband usually has to work during weekends. If the weather permits, I usually drive my in-law and Andy to sightseeing close by. It's boring to stay at home all the time and it's also unhealthy.

Although now Ting is seldom directly involved in hands-on care, she puts great effort into work that supports daily practices of care and sustains the care circle involving all parties (Kittay, 2013; Tronto, 2013).

Fang is in her late forties. She and her husband both are university faculty. Before her father-in-law died, her in-laws lived in the southern region of Taiwan where her husband was born and grew up. After Fang's father-in-law passed away, Fang and her husband suggested her mother-in-law move to Taipei. It is easy for them to take care of Fang's in-law if she is nearby. Since the couple are busy with their academic work, they hired a live-in migrant care worker who assists Fang's mother-in-law with the activities of daily living. However, Fang is still involved deeply in organizing care arrangements and daily chores.

My mother-in-law and Anne (the Indonesian worker) live in the apartment they (Fang's in-laws) bought for investment decades ago. I remodeled the apartment to make the environment more friendly for the elderly. I bought new household appliances, such as a washing machine, microwave, vacuum cleaner, and so on, and showed Anne how to use the devices.... Anne is very good at cooking already. Sometimes when I find out the specific dishes my in-law likes, I would teach Anne how to make the food at home. She always picks up new things very quickly.



Fang also acts as the mediator between her mother-in-law and Anne. She observes the subtle changes in the relationships, finds out what the problem is, and tries to solve the issue.

Once, Anne was in a low mood because she had quarreled with her husband back home in Indonesia. My in-law is an introverted person. It's difficult for her to express her concern to Anne. At that time, she felt that Anne was different from usual. She thought that Anne was angry with her. But she could not figure out the reason.

Fang described how she often works as the communication bridge for the pair (her in-law and Anne). The process requires a great amount of invisible and emotional work.

I am a very straightforward person. But when I need to deal with interpersonal relationships, I become very careful. I know my mother-in-law is very sentimental. Usually I go to Anne asking what happened to her and take care of her mood. Then I find a way to interpret Anne's words to my in-law. I know what I should say to work out the subtle tension between them.

Fang's husband is rarely involved in the coordination of care for his own mother. He even fails to notice the tension between his mother and the live-in migrant care worker, Anne. Fang argues that his attitude cannot be interpreted as indifference.

He (Fang's husband) is occupied with his research and teaching work. You know what it is like to be a university professor. Although I am very busy too, I am more than willing to take care of my in-law, help Anne to do her work, and organize the household chores....

Fang finds a reason to explain her husband's low level of participation in the processes of caring for her mother-in-law. However, the gender division of care work in Fang's family reflects common situations in most Taiwanese households, even after hiring live-in migrant care workers. Compared to male family members, women usually take more responsibility for care, even after hiring live-in migrant care workers. Many female interviewees consider themselves as care managers after hiring migrant workers (Liang, 2018). In addition to providing assistance to migrant care workers when needed, they perform the emotional work involved in the process of organizing and coordinating care work as well as sustaining care relations and the care circle.

### **“I am Lucky to Have Her”: Uncertainties and Risks of Hiring a Live-in Migrant Care Worker**

The Taiwanese families hiring live-in migrant care workers are unable to get long-term care services from the government. The government assumes that those families who need it have solved their care needs through marketisation, purchasing care labour on their own budget. The marketisation of care not only reinforces the privatisation of care but increases risks to all parties involving in the care relationships.

Compared to Japan, which sets up a rigid qualification process for prospective migrant care workers (Ogawa, 2018), the Taiwanese government has very loose regulations on live-in migrant care workers in terms of their care skills and Mandarin language ability. The government stipulates that before migrant workers depart for Taiwan, they have to receive at least 90 hours vocational training in long-term care. However, the government does not regulate the content of the training. According to previous studies (Liang, 2011), in addition to the knowledge and skills in elderly care and basic Mandarin language, the recruiting agencies provide training courses on learning how to use home appliances and cook Taiwanese/Chinese food. The live-in migrant care workers I interviewed expressed the difficulties of taking care of the elderly. Many of them mentioned that taking care of the elderly in real life is much different from what they learn in the training centers. They emphasise the dynamics and complexities of care work and care relationships.

Taking care of the elderly with direct health care needs not only involves physical labour but requires a great amount of care knowledge and skills. Huang and her family decided to hire a live-in migrant care worker to care for her father-in-law when he was hospitalized due to a severe stroke. She talked about their care arrangement and how it worked.

At the beginning, we employed a local care worker to take care of my father-in-law in the hospital. When we realized that he would not fully recover, we decided to employ a migrant maid. The local worker is very expensive. We cannot afford that. We asked the broker to bring the migrant maid as soon as possible. I arranged for her (the migrant care worker) to stay in the hospital after she worked for us. I asked the local care worker to teach the migrant maid how to care for my in-law, especially how to use the nasogastric tube (for feeding).

The employers I interviewed are aware that the vocational training provided by the recruiting agencies is not sufficient. Many of them notice that the majority of live-in migrant care workers do not have the relevant work experiences before working in Taiwan. Some, like Huang and her family, rely on hospital resources or local care workers they hired previously to train and teach their live-in migrant care workers. Some coach the migrant workers to perform care work on

their own, like Lin's experience in the below description. The rest expects that the workers can learn how to care during the process of caring for the elderly. Yang's comment reflects the thoughts of the latter group of employers. She said: *"I am very busy. I don't have time to make sure if she (the live-in migrant care worker) knows everything. Taking care of my father-in-law is her job. If she has any questions, she can ask me..."*

Lin is in her early fifties. She and her husband run a restaurant together. Siti is the third live-in migrant care worker they have hired to take care of Lin's mother-in-law. Lin shared how she spent a lot of time and effort transforming Siti into the "right" care worker. She helped Siti to understand what dementia is and how to take care a person with dementia, like Lin's mother-in-law. Lin works as the mediator between her in-law and Siti.

When Siti was new to our family, she was shocked at my in-law's behavior and emotion. It's easy for my in-law to get angry and get depressed.... I needed to explain to her. It's because A-ma (the grandmother) is sick. She does not intend [to get angry]. But Siti's Mandarin was not very good at that time. It took me lots of time to explain and to make sure that she understood. I told her that A-ma's brain hurt.

When I met Lin, Siti was in her fifth year of working in Lin's family. During our interview, Lin recalled the difficulties she overcame in Siti's first year of the work contract. After Siti obtained the care skills and learned the tricks to getting along with Lin's in-law, Lin finally felt a bit of relief from the endless duties involved in care work. She concluded our interview by praising Siti: "I am lucky to have her."

The word "lucky" reflects the uncertainties and risks perceived by the employers in the processes of recruiting, matching, and hiring live-in migrant care workers. The employers rely on for-profit recruiting agencies to match live-in migrant care workers for them. They usually need to pay recruiting agencies service fees for the match. However, many employers I interviewed expressed their worries about the prospective migrant workers in terms of the adaptation of all parties involved, language barriers, the concerns about care quality, and management of workers, including dealing with the chance that they will run away.

Lin shared how difficult it is to find the "right" live-in migrant care worker. Before Siti worked in their family, they had two other migrant care workers. One ran away, and another suspended her work contract.

Siti is the third migrant maid we have hired for my mother-in-law. The first one ran away after working in our family for a few months. I don't understand why she ran

away. We all treated her nicely. My broker said that maybe it's because we were too nice.... The second one requested to change to a new employer after finishing only her first week. She complained that it's too hard to take care my mother-in-law....

Many live-in migrant care workers do not receive the proper vocational training before their departure to work in Taiwan. They experience the difficulties of adjusting to a new environment and work relationships, the tasks included in their new jobs, and pressure of taking care of someone, especially when they have to deal with the more "difficult" care recipients, who have more demanding physical and mental conditions.

The story of Chang's family sounds dramatic, but it is not uncommon. Chang divorced a few years ago. After her divorce, she lived with her aged father and her two young children. The live-in migrant care worker she employed to take care of her father ran away two days before our interview appointment.

It's so ironic. She (the live-in migrant care worker) just ran away.... I don't know the reason. My father has dementia. In the daytime, I need to work, my two children are in school, and only she and my father stay at home alone. The day before yesterday, I picked up my kids from their afterschool program. When we arrived at home, she was not there. My father was alone sitting in the dark. I asked him what happened, and where is Saifa. He looked confused about the situation.... I waited for her until midnight. She didn't come back, and I knew that she had ran away. I called my broker. She (the broker) came right away after receiving my call. But there was nothing she could do. I am unlucky! I am not sure if I still want to hire another migrant maid. It seems that I don't have an alternative choice. I took a day off yesterday. But it's impossible to ask for long-term leave from my boss.

Chang works in a small company as the accountant assistant. In addition to the salary she needs to support her children, her father, and herself, she is responsible for household chores and care work that includes sustaining the family routine. Chang's older brother and his family live in another county. Although her brother pays the salary of the live-in migrant care worker, he and his family only visit Chang's father on the important holidays, three or four times every year. Indeed, Chang needs someone to shoulder her care responsibility and daily routine household work. But after experiencing the disappearance of their live-in migrant care worker, she seems reluctant to hire a new one.

A few of the employers I interviewed have experiences of live-in migrant care workers running away. Most of them don't see any signals that there are problems with their care workers. They experience the similar emotions as Chang, worrying about the uncertainties and

risks of hiring live-in migrant care workers. Even for those employers who do not have not had to deal with the situation of a runaway migrant worker, during the interviews, many of them expressed this underlying worry.

## **Conclusion**

Care provision for the elderly has dramatically transformed in industrialized countries in recent decades, largely because of social and demographic changes, including women's entry into the formal labour market. Women who might have provided unpaid care to their elderly kin are unavailable during working hours, or have migrated nationally or internationally for work or life style preferences. Consequently, the demand for outsourced care has exploded. Most developed countries have looked to migrant workers to address this issue, but the strategies and solutions they have implemented and their approaches to such workers varies widely (Redfoot and Houser, 2005; Hussein and Manthorpe, 2005; Michel and Peng, 2012; Song, 2015).

This essay uses the Taiwan case to discuss how family members (in most cases, women) negotiate the responsibilities of family care and paid jobs in the social context where the government provides very limited social care and work support. The intersections of the care regime and migration regime promote the employment of live-in migrant care workers as a substitute for family carers. However, this solution creates paradoxes. In the context of labour migration, all parties participate in the process of organizing, coordinating and providing care confront potential uncertainties and risks (Christensen & Manthorpe, 2016). This essay focuses on the side of family carers and questions how hiring a live-in migrant care workers could be the solution for working carers without public support.

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