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以數據觀點探索臺灣 PTT 母嬰板的參與式父職論述

A Data Driven Exploration on the Involved Fatherhood Discourse on the Babymother Forum in Taiwan

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以數據觀點探索臺灣 PTT 母嬰板的參與式父職論述

A Data Driven Exploration on the Involved Fatherhood Discourse on the Babymother Forum in Taiwan

本論文係吳冠賢君（學號 R07342004）在國立臺灣大學新聞研究所所完成之碩士學位論文，於民國 111 年 7 月 29 日承下列考試委員審查通過及口試及格，特此證明

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致謝

寫碩論是很孤單的過程。雖然很多人同時在走，但是各自的掙扎都是自己的。在各種自我懷疑和厭惡中，多虧了許多人的支持和包容才能夠好好走完這條漫漫長路。短短的致謝詞無法完整表達我的謝意，但希望藉此傳達些許感激。

首先要感謝老師們。指導教授謝吉隆老師不厭其煩地帶著我前進並適時給予關鍵的意見。張錦華老師從我很早期論文的問題意識還不清楚時就不吝分享對我的論文的意見以及教導，而葉德蘭老師也在百忙之中撥空幫忙看我的論文以及協助口試。兩位老師在各階段都非常用心地給我深刻且實際的建議，也同時給我足夠肯定讓我能夠好好正視自己的不足予以改善。也謝謝新聞所所有師生最強力的後盾錦屏姊，在大大小小問題轟炸下依然堅守崗位即時回應和協助。

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摘要

近幾十年來，「參與式父職」的觀念重塑了父親的形象。然而，參與式父職實作研究侷限於個案採訪或問券的回應，雙親各自被期待負擔的義務也仍稱不上性別平等。因而，本論文企圖以大數據輔助職性內容分析的方法，探索了解當代臺灣的父母如何描述與理解父職實作。

本研究以 PTT 的 Babymother 板為場域，觀察育兒者在育兒社群中的論述所建構出的父職樣貌。本研究先採用大數據方法，統計包含標題與文本的詞彙頻率、相對頻率以及詞彙關聯，企圖量化並偵測文本中的主題、論述策略、和主流意見。其中，父親、丈夫以及「隊友」的角色各自的語言建構是分析以及比較的重點。參考王大維所提出的父職參與的定義架構，這些結果會再經過質化的分析解釋。

研究發現，父親傳統的經濟功能對所有的父職角色仍然重要。被稱為父親的角色與父職參與的關係面向以及育兒行為面相，例如「陪睡」有較大關聯；被稱為「丈夫」的角色則與父職參與中所定義的支持行為有較大的關係。社群板眾所形成的特殊稱謂「隊友」一詞幾乎等同於「丈夫」的使用以及意義，則更直接的反映了版上對於父親應該支持母親的期待，卻仍服膺女性更善於育兒或家務的性別刻板印象。但整體而言，板上的父母親對於父職參與此一概念的接受度以及期待普遍很高，父親不能缺席對孩子的照顧以及情感上的聯繫。然而，在 Babymother 社群中，父親被期待的功能主要是能夠支持母親的「隊友」，而母親仍然是家中主責者。

本研究首次以臺灣的社群媒體論述作為研究對象，並且以大數據作為輿論分析以及質化研究的基礎，探索當代臺灣家庭中的性別角色。

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Abstract

The concept of “involved fatherhood” has reshaped the father image in recent decades. However, related research has been mostly limited to individual interviews or survey responses. Furthermore, the perceived duties of either parent are far from gender equal. Therefore, this paper takes a data approach to complement content analysis to explore the discourses and perceptions of Taiwanese parents on the practice of involved fatherhood. This research explores the construct of fatherhood by parents on the PTT *Babymother* parenting forum. First, data methods including: subject and word frequencies, relative frequencies and word associations are used to quantify topics, discourses and general opinions. The father, husband and “隊友” (teammate) roles are analyzed and compared for their respective constructs. The research then conducts content analyses on these results using a model proposed by 王大維 on involved fatherhood.

The research finds that the traditional function of the father to provide material support is still very important. The relational aspect of involved fatherhood and caring behavior to the child, like “sleep with”, is more associated with the father role. Supportive behavior to the mother is more associated with the husband role. The expectations of support is manifest in the term “隊友” (teammate) used almost synonymously with “husband” among the board, complying with the gender stereotype that women are more adept at childcare and homemaking. However, the *Babymother* board also shows that the idea of involved fatherhood is widely accepted and expected. Fathers are longer be absent in physical caring and emotional connection to the child. However, he is mainly seen as a “teammate” to support the mother, who is still mainly in charge of matters inside the home.

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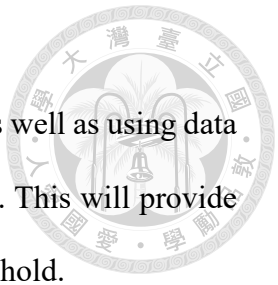

This research is the first to target social media discourses in Taiwan, as well as using data methods for the bases of social opinion analyses and content analysis. This will provide a new lens into the gender roles of the contemporary Taiwanese household.

Keywords: Gender roles, Parenting, Fathering, Family relations, Discourse analysis, Text mining, PTT

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Table of Contents

致謝 i

摘要 ii

Abstract iv

Table of Contents vi

List of Figures ix

List of Tables xi

Chapter 1 Introduction 1

1.1 Motivation 1

1.2 Research Background 2

1.2.1 Changes and Stigma in Ideal and Practice 4

1.2.2 Perceptions and Discourse of Parenthood, Old and New 6

1.3 Research Goals 8

Chapter 2 Literature Review 10

2.1 Gender Dichotomy in the Family 10

2.2 Shaping Fatherhood Ideas 12

2.3 Involved Fatherhood and the "Champion Teammate" 15

Chapter 3 Methods 24

3.1 Research Questions 24

3.2 Data 26

3.2.1 Data Selection and Cleaning 26

3.2.2 Data Coverage 29

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

3.3 Methodology and Theoretical Grounds 31

3.4 Analytical Strategies 33

3.4.1 Statistics and Frequency 33

3.4.2 Word Associations 35

3.4.3 Word Embeddings 35

Chapter 4 Results 38

4.1 Identifying Fatherhood on the *Babymother* board 38

4.1.1 Synonyms of the father 38

4.1.2 Themes on Fathering 46

4.2 A Father or Husband? 53

4.2.1 Text Subjects 54

4.2.2 Father and Husband Associations 67

4.2.3 Fatherhood as Family Relation 83

4.3 Different Kinds of "Teammates" 84

4.3.1 The "Teammate" 85

4.3.2 A Champion or a Pig? 92

4.3.3 "My Husband Counts as a Good Teammate" 106

4.4 "I'm Actually a Dad" 108

4.4.1 General Themes 110

4.4.2 The Father's Discourses 112

Chapter 5 Conclusion 119

5.1 Fatherhood Discourses on the *Babymother* Board 119

5.2 Discussion 121

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

5.3 Limitations.....123

REFERENCES.....125

English References.....125

Mandarin References.....131

Appendix.....134

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

List of Figures

Figure 1.1 The Coast Guard Administration Poster. (Remade by opinion.udn. Source: The Coast Guard Administration).....3

Figure 3.1 Number of Posts Per Year Downloaded from the *Babymother* Board.....30

Figure 3.2 The Ratio of Posts Mentioning Father since 2015 31

Figure 3.3 The Ratio of Posts Mentioning Mother and Father since 2015 31

Figure 3.4 Flow Chart of Analyses Methods.....37

Figure 4.1 Geometric Relations of Fatherhood Identities in CBOW Model.....44

Figure 4.2 Geometric Relations of Fatherhood Identities in Skip-Gram Model.....45

Figure 4.3 Common Log of Labels in Fatherhood Posts and Parenthood Posts 47

Figure 4.4 Standard Residuals of Father Name Occurrences and Subjects.....51

Figure 4.5 Log-Ratio of Father-Child Labels over Husband-Wife Labels.....55

Figure 4.6 Common Logarithm of Nouns Associated with Different Father Identities ..69

Figure 4.7 Common Logarithm of Adjectives Associated with Different Father Identities 74

Figure 4.8 Common Logarithm of Intransitive Verbs Associated with Different Father Identities 77

Figure 4.9 Common Logarithm of Transitive Verbs Associated with Different Father Identities 80

Figure 4.10 Common Log of Labels in Teammate Posts and Parenthood Posts.....85

Figure 4.11 Common Log of Labels in Good Teammate Posts and Pig Teammate Posts 92

Figure 4.12 Common Logarithm of Nouns Associated with Good and Bad Teammates98

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

Figure 4.13 Common Logarithm of Adjectives Associated with Good and Bad Teammates 101
Figure 4.14 Common Logarithm of Verbs Associated with Good and Bad Teammates 104
Figure 4.15 Common Log of Labels in Post by the Father and Parenthood Posts.....110

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

List of Tables

Table 3-1 Ultimate Lists of Father and Mother Search Keywords.....28

Table 3-2 Search Terms for each Father Role 28

Table 4-1 Synonyms for the Father and their Occurrences 40

Table 4-2 Cross-Comparison of Term Occurrences in each Label (Standard Terms) (bracketed numbers show the percentage of total occurrence of each term)49

Table 4-3 Cross-Comparison of Term Occurrences in each Label (Playful Terms).....50

Table 4-4 Occurrence of Explicit Relations within the Nuclear Family 54

Table 4-5 Top 20 Frequent Words in Father-Child Texts (Excluding Low Tf-idf Words) 60

Table 4-6 Top 20 Frequent Words in Random Sample of 20,000 Husband-Wife Texts..61

Table 4-7 Top 20 Frequent Words in Teammate Texts (Excluding Low Tf-idf Words) ..88

Table 4-8 Top 10 Words with Similar Context as “Teammate”.....90

Table 4-9 Uses of “算/算是” to Classify Teammates.....107

Table 4-10 Search Terms to Determine Fatherhood and Resulting Number of Posts ...109

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Motivation

I have always felt out of place in the gendered expectations of the home. Growing up seeing my parents perfectly playing out the gendered parenting scheme only confused me even more. My father works very hard, often returning home late or traveling abroad for business. My mother has been a full-time housemaker for nearly three decades, having quit her bookkeeping job soon after she was pregnant with her first child, my older brother. We were brought up well enough, with a nurturing mother always by our side and never lacking materially. It all seemed to fit so well, and I couldn't understand why I felt so much resistance.

It was only when I was much older that I saw how this arrangement was far from perfect for them both. The lack of time my father shared with my brother and me in our formulative years means that we find it harder to connect with him, making our relationships with him more strained and prone to misunderstandings. On the other hand, my mother has confided to me that she often wondered what she could have achieved if she had a career of her own, for she was hardworking, conscientious, efficient and ready to learn. The clear distinction of roles and expectations based on gender had compromised any other potentials my parents might have had. In their case, they luckily happened to be adept at their assigned gender role, so our family thrived moderately well. This is not the case for everyone. The problem was that other options were not readily available then.

With the legislation of same sex marriage, it appears that my generation is gradually breaking free from the bounds of gender dichotomy. Society continuously stresses the importance and achievements of gender equality. However, even more confusion about

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parental roles seems to arise. Discourses on the "新好爸爸" (new good dad) which encourage a caring and involved father in the family have become common. Recently, "隊友" (teammate) has become an informal term to refer to the husband in family matters, showing an expectation of participation and cooperation. Simultaneously, men are still pressured to be the main breadwinner and questioned if they earn less than their wives. In news about child neglect, the mother always gets the most blame and the father is often unmentioned. The basic assumptions on parenthood have not seemed to change that much.

Therefore, the main concern of this research is the constructs of parenthood and especially fatherhood, how they may affect perceptions and decisions for families, and what gender ideals and relations are implicit.

1.2 Research Background

To this day, gender stereotypes inside the family are very common and taken for granted. In June, 2020, an official poster from the Taiwanese Coast Guard Administration (海巡署) showed a mother at the beach using her phone complacently while her child was drowning behind her, evoking fierce criticism. As a commenter explains, it implies childcare is the mother's responsibility, reproducing stereotypical gender roles and unequal division of labor in the home (V 太太, 2020) and perpetuating a mother-blaming trope (王大維, 2000). The fact that it was a poster from a governmental office caused even more indignation. Only after the protests was the father added onto the picture. Over the past few decades, gender discourses have seen many changes, but some traditional ideology on gender responsibility are deep-rooted.

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Figure 1.1 The Coast Guard Administration Poster. (Remade by opinion.udn. Source: The Coast Guard Administration)

On the left is the original picture, with the captions reading: “When the child is quiet, something bad must have happened.” On the right is the modified picture; the captions read: “When the child is quiet, something bad might have happened.”

After the age of industrialization, the family as the primary social unit has become a site of patrol for the government as it is expected to produce healthy, stable and capable individuals as potential labor force (Lupton & Barclay, 1997: 36). This prompts society to encourage the (preferably heterosexual and middle-class) nuclear family, with two parents and a few kids as the “normal” family model. Some politicians even go so far to claim low marriage and birth rates as “national security crises.” These discourses, along

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

with continuous research and policies on boosting marriage and birth rates clearly indicates the nation's concern over the matter.

However, the Coast Guard Administration propaganda shows that views on family and parenting can be problematic. In the prevalent heterosexual family in Taiwan, the gender division of labor is described in the Chinese proverb "男主外，女主內" ("The man mainly presides outside, while the woman mainly presides inside"). This is also seen in western societies, in which Sunderland has observed that the mother as the default caregiver is naturalized. She argues that gender role distinction in the traditional domestic sphere results in "parenting" being almost exclusively "mothering" (2006). The father as a parent has been virtually non-existent.

1.2.1 Changes and Stigma in Ideal and Practice

This has started to change in the past few decades, as feminist movements in Taiwan advocate for women's participation in the labor force and for men's participation in the home (王叢桂, 2000). Simultaneously, structural changes in the economy also made it necessary for women to enter the workforce. According to a government report in 2016, 57.24% married women of ages 15 to 64 are employed (行政院主計處). To promote the rights of women inside the workforce, the "Gender Equality in Employment Act" was implemented in 2002, introducing paid paternal leave and thereby acknowledging the father's presence in childbirth. In accordance to the Act, Regulations for Implementing Unpaid Parental Leave for Raising Children and Labor Standards Act have been imposed and amended respectively since 2002 to better address the disparity of involvement in the workforce and in the home (Regulations for Implementing Unpaid Parental Leave for Raising Children, 2021). Other than maternity leave directly related to pregnancy, these

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laws allow for parental leave and subsidy that can be applied for by both parents, including fully paid paternity leave for five days. Labor insurance can also provide 80% of salary for the first six months of paternal leave (Ministry of Labor, 2021).

These trends may explain why more men are starting to "help" with housework and more fathers beginning to participate in the caring of children. In western societies, a new concept of "involved fatherhood" has emerged. In Taiwan, not only are researchers trying to apply the concept to Taiwanese contexts, but the media has also begun to discuss a similar but rather vague idea of the "新好爸爸" (new good dad), which has sprung up around the time that the "新好男人"(new hunk, literally translated as "new good man") is being discussed in the media (趙蕙鈴, 2011, p.85).

While change in policy and legislation is a basis for new practices, parents do not necessarily adopt or make full use of new rights, exhibiting what researchers call "a discrepancy between public discourse and the provision of public goods" (Gregory & Milner, 2011). Even in Scandinavian countries, known as welfare states (Jensen et al., 2019), women consistently spend 0.3 to 0.6 more hours on housework than men (Nordic Statistics Database, 2018). Then, it is perhaps not surprising that Taiwan's practice of gender equality in the home and workplace still has a long way to go. In 2020, the number of women applying for parental leave subsidy is 370,081, more than four times the number of men, which is 86,126 (Ministry of Labor, 2021). In a survey on motivations and concerns about taking parental leave, women are 54.2% more likely to take into consideration whether or not they have someone looking after their child(ren) when they consider the duration of their leave. Women take 1.8 more months of leave on average, and they are also almost twice as likely to anticipate leaving the workforce for good. An

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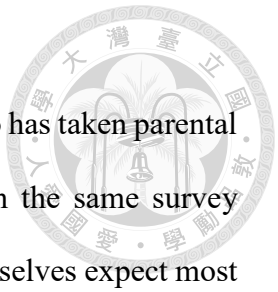

employer is twice more likely to hire someone to replace a woman who has taken parental leave (Ministry of Labor, 2021). These and many more statistics in the same survey indicate that the Taiwanese society, many employers and women themselves expect most of the childcare to be shouldered by mothers.

1.2.2 Perceptions and Discourse of Parenthood, Old and New

The need for fatherhood depictions to negotiate masculinity as fathers are advocated to engage in childcare shows an underlying view that care is feminine. A research has found that many articles in parenting magazines "overemphasize men's stereotypically masculine identities" or ties fatherhood with "feelings of emasculation for men," making it difficult for men to adopt new strategies of parenting (Schmitz, 2016). Another study found that members of a fathers' rights activist group stress a "new" kind of masculinity that incorporates aspects of care traditionally linked with femininity. It is still distanced from femininity and only certain kinds of care are deemed acceptable (Jordan, 2020).

It is also common to assume gender dichotomy in the family in media depictions from Taiwan. While masculinity is not a common concern, childcare is often highlighted for the mother. Many discussion forums or online communities such as the "*Babymother*" bulletin board on PTT and the "MamaClub" fanpage on Facebook have names that imply caring is more connected to the mother. The articles on 'Parenting,' one of the most prestigious parenting magazines in Taiwan, also show their target readers to be mainly mothers instead of both parents. Sunderland has made similar observations on parenting magazines in the US, noting how similar parenting magazines were to women's lifestyle magazines and *un*similar they were to men's magazines (2006). Women are portrayed as the main caregiver in various kinds of media. Content analyses in Taiwan on television

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advertisements, newspapers and popular parenting books have all seen this difference (陳志賢 & 楊巧玲, 2011, 2013; 游美惠 & 易言嬡, 2004; 楊運秀 et al., 2014). This is the status quo up to this day, despite emerging ideas of the "new father" anticipating fathers that participates in childcare, in contrast to "traditional" fathers.

Discussions among contemporary Taiwanese parents also reflect similar trends. The popular term "隊友" (teammate) taken from gaming provides an illustration. As it is adopted into parenting contexts, a "神隊友" (champion teammate, literally translated as divine or super teammate) would refer to someone or something that is helpful with daily chores, like an experienced nurse or a useful home appliance. It is mostly used to refer to the spouse when discussing a general "teammate". However, closer inspection reveals gendered assumptions in this parental team. The "teammate" is often used by mothers to refer to their partners or fathers to refer to themselves, but rarely used by either parent to refer to the mother. This implies that the mother acts as a team leader or the default player rather than an equal team player. It also shows that the mother is regarded as the suitable judge to assess whether her husband the father is a good teammate. In a word, this usage shows acknowledgement of parenthood as a shared responsibility, but on a limited level.

Not surprisingly, many mothers are aware of perpetuated stereotypes, stigma and inescapable gendered subject positions, mainly the "child-centric motherhood" (Mackenzie, 2018). Likewise, fathers are also dissatisfied with common gendered perceptions, calling for normalizing involved fatherhood (Scheibling, 2020ab). However, gender dynamics are complex in individual families. In some interviews, both of the parents conform to gendered expectations and state that it is natural for the mother to take on more childcare responsibilities (王舒芸 & 余漢儀, 1997: 130; Aunkofer et al., 2018:

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74). Conflicts also arise from different expectations of rights and responsibilities in shared parenting (Aunkofer et al., 2018: 73-74). Some couples reach consensus on their equal status in shared parenting responsibilities, regardless of the environment presupposing otherwise (Tiitinen & Ruusuvuori, 2015: 125-7).

It appears that parents' perceptions and arrangements of their roles are vastly diverse. However, very many portrayals of parenthood are over-simplified along the binary distinction of the two genders, which are not only unrealistic but also perpetuates stereotypes and under-represents diverse family models. As the general public have also become content producers with the development of the internet and social media, parents also have the means to produce their own narratives about their experiences as parents, especially mothers. This allows for more diverse presentation of parenthood, instead of the discourses dictated by experts and scholars. On the other hand, social norms may also affect how parents interpret their experiences, resulting in gendered framing. Self-presentation also means that they may consciously or subconsciously show themselves in a positive light. Therefore, these narratives reflect the understanding and performance of gender relations in the domestic sphere, especially what is interpreted as good parenthood.

1.3 Research Goals

With the rise of "新好男人" and "新好爸爸" at the turn of the century in Taiwan, the society seems to be redefining "fatherhood". Fatherhood is becoming to be not only about breadwinning, but more a caring and supportive partner or "teammate" for the mother in the responsibilities at home. The dichotomy between the workplace and home being a man or a woman's place is being blurred. However, in reality, the line is still very much existent. There are asymmetrical expectations on what constitutes good fathering

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and good mothering, with parenting almost being equivalent to "mothering" (Sunderland, 2006), and good fathering being a rather slippery concept.

Perhaps not surprisingly, in many online discussion boards like the "*Babymother*" board of PTT, accounts of lived parenthood experiences are still dominated by mothers, meaning that many accounts about the father is in fact based on the mother's view. His participation as the father of the child and husband to his wife[1] is both narrated and assessed by the mother. How language is formed around these different identities, as well as the community lingo of "teammate", will reflect how these different references to the father are interpreted. In the meanwhile, many fathers are also beginning to join in the conversation. Their input shows their own experiences and understanding of their role in this typically mother-dominated online environment, and in turn, the society that still intuitively think of the mother with more responsibility over the child.

I believe that these parenting and co-parenting experiences open a window to the real contemporary household. Based on these accounts, this research aims to explore what entails a good father or "champion teammate" in the eyes of Taiwanese parents, and its relationship with the concept of involved fatherhood. As social opinions are not generated in a vacuum, they portray not only the individual discussant's opinions but also their perceptions of how society views familial roles and the gender implications hidden within. How may their negotiations of perception and actual practice, as well as unintentional implications comply with or subvert gender biases? This will be the underlying question in the research.

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[1] More inclusive language would be a co-parent instead of husband. However, as in most cases the parents are married, the research will assume the identity is that of a husband unless specified otherwise.

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Chapter 2 Literature Review

2.1 Gender Dichotomy in the Family

The role distinction between fathers and mothers has long been justified and naturalized by biological differences between the sexes. A common hypothesis is that biological processes like pregnancy and breastfeeding give mothers more intimacy and connection with the baby. Some go further to say that women are born with maternal instincts. Many parents themselves also believe that mothers are inherently superior parents, whether it be due to biology or experience. In interviews of parents on their experiences, many mothers claim authority over the baby and most fathers also submit to being the secondary caregiver, even if they aspire to be involved fathers (Aunkofer et al., 2018; Borgkvist et al., 2020; Lupton & Barclay, 1997). In Taiwan, parents assert that women are by nature more patient and more attentive to details, so they think it best and safest that the mother be in charge of caring for the child (王舒芸 & 余漢儀, 1997). These views maintain the idea that the father by himself is an inadequate parent, at best an assistant to the mother.

However, this research adopts the view that gender is a social construct. As de Beauvoir famously states in her 'Second Sex', "one is not born, but becomes a woman" (1949). Similarly, it is now commonly accepted that there is not one single masculinity, but multiple fluid and diverse masculinities constructed by society (Gorman-Murray & Hopkins, 2014). This view puts forth the distinction between "sex" and "gender," the former referring to biological aspects and the latter to what is achieved through socialization. In the influential article by West and Zimmerman, they posit that "gender is a routine accomplishment embedded in everyday interaction" (1987: 125). They

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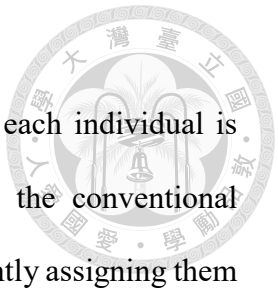

emphasize that the interactional and situated conduct performed by each individual is what realizes the distinction between the two genders. Therefore, the conventional separation of the "breadwinner" and "homemaker" roles and conveniently assigning them to the father and mother respectively is a perfect illustration of this "routine accomplishment". The seemingly clear distinction of these two roles is also constructed after industrialization. West and Zimmerman explicitly stated: "certain structural arrangements, for example, between work and family, actually produce or enable some capacities, such as to mother, that we formerly associated with biology" (1987: 126). While it is true that some aspects of motherhood are biological, the automatic association of these activities with other aspects such as childcare is artificial. Existing studies also find that interactions in marriage and family often encourages gender differentiation (Thompson & Walker, 1989), involving fatherhood and motherhood into a gendered cycle that reinforces itself.

As opposed to women being "naturally good" at nurturing and taking care of children, men's lack of competency at these "mothering" roles may be seen as proof of masculinity. There has been much insufficiency of research on fatherhood even in masculinity studies (Lupton & Barclay, 1997). In fact, articles reviewing research on fatherhood during the turn of the century observe that studies on fatherhood had been rather lacking until their recent decades, in contrast to research on motherhood (Lupton & Barclay, 1997; Marsiglio & Pleck, 2005). Marsiglio and Pleck summarize the many discussions and studies on fatherhood from a gendered perspective. They point out that different contexts such as age, race, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation and marital status all interplay to create different opportunities and struggles for men as they make sense of their role as men and fathers (2005). In sum, fatherhood is simultaneously an embodiment of gender

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expectations and a result of them. Analysis into fatherhood can reveal much about gender relations in Taiwan. These seemingly clear-cut distinctions were never really distinctive.

2.2 Shaping Fatherhood Ideas

As this research will explore what "good fatherhood" is in the eyes of contemporary Taiwanese parents, it is important to point out that there has never really been a standard way to be a good father. Mintz walks through the brief history of fatherhood in the US from the colonial period up to the end of the twentieth century and point out how factors such as religious ideology, health and mortality conditions, economy and policies can all shape fatherhood differently (1998). Government policies are most explicit in dictating what is encouraged as "normal" or preferred modes of behavior and being. This can be easily seen in contemporary Taiwan, with an abundance of legislation and policies on parental subsidies, childcare allowances and promises of support in all stages of childcare, indicating that marriage and childbirth is greatly encouraged. Public policies often go hand-in-hand with academic discourses, constructing what is desired through "scientific" proof for producing better outcomes. Fatherhood is dynamic and fluxes as times, social conditions and ideas change, shaped by various different discourses.

Since the late twentieth century, the word "patriarchy" has been used pejoratively to refer to a societal system in which men dominate power, influence and favorable norms (Oxford University Press), and is believed by many feminists to be a root structure that is deeply embedded in society, influencing behaviors of those inside the structure, including family decisions. It originates from Greek and Latin, and was used extensively to refer to authority figures in the Christian church (Oxford University Press). The etymology reflects an understanding of the family in western societies: the father figure is linked

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with authority and reverence. Coincidentally, Chinese traditions, which is strongly influenced by Confucian philosophy, also emphasize the importance of the father as head of the family (Abbott et al., 1992). While in Judeo-Christian societies the concept was closely related to hierarchy with the Heavenly Father at the top, in Chinese culture it was the Emperor. Both cases indicate that power has been one important dynamic within this paternal relationship, which may also account for the way many view fathers of the past: disciplinary, strict and emotionally aloof. This kind of observation has been made by parents from both western cultures and Taiwan (Lupton & Barclay, 1997; 王叢桂, 2000).

Industrialization and the Enlightenment were major factors that formed the strong connection between public policy and knowledge systems. The former boosted rise of populations and urbanization, and with it the motive for the state to govern the individual and the family; the latter stressed the power of human rationality and scientific methods to improve human conditions (Lupton & Barclay, 1997: 36). The father was seen as the "natural parent" of the child until the early eighteenth century because of this emphasis on rationality (Lupton & Barclay, 19997: 37). Another study has pointed out that parenthood has often been presented as problematic with a view of governmentality to what parents should do or keep in mind to become good or better parents (Assarsson & Aarsand, 2011). The nineteenth century saw a rise of social scientific research on the family and the child at a time when parental responsibility was shifting towards women, which was due partly to change in wage-earning practice (Mintz, 1988: 24). These research findings on child development, childhood psychology and family sociology pose implications on public policies for children welfare and family health (Lupton & Barclay, 1997: 36-41). The resulting public discourses try to work out the constructs of parenthood based on these studies. This includes child welfare reforms and surveillance on parenting

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

practices as well as child-rearing popular literature. The main subject scrutinized by these discourses were women and mothers, connecting care with femininity and believing women to be innately nurturing and loving to children (Lupton & Barclay, 1997). This may be what forms the common perception of parenthood and the strong emphasis mother-child relationship, which Mintz believes to be one major reason for the weakening of the father's role inside the family (1988: 24). We can also take note that most of these discourses revolve around middle class families in both western and Chinese culture. Working-class women have always been a source of income for the family. Sometimes even children had to earn for the family. These discourses either completely disregard the working-class family or problematized their parenting as abnormal or negligent.

Chinese society is also highly patriarchal. This is shaped by Confucian philosophy that stresses familial ethics and that the father (or the eldest male in the extended family) has the greatest and undisputable authority over the women and children in the household (Abbott et al., 1992: 2-3). Taiwanese culture has been highly influenced by traditional Chinese values, including this patriarchal structure. Since the father had to be authoritative, he was not encouraged to establish a close relationship with his children, because it was believed to negatively affect his authority in the home (王叢桂, 2000: 9-10). On the other hand, the woman was not encouraged to leave the home; her duty as a wife and more importantly a mother is essentially her most important virtue. In literature on historical great women, the first to be mentioned are almost always the "母儀" (motherly models) praised for raising exceptional children or being a great queen acting as a motherly figure for the nation alongside the emperor. As a result, not much has been discussed about father-child relationships in Taiwan. Both developmental psychology and

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family studies have always focused on the mother as the research subject, placing the responsibility of family welfare solely on her shoulders. This is due to both researcher bias and the fact that fathers were indeed mostly absent (王大維, 2000: 12-13).

Since the Chinese patriarch had almost complete authority in the family, early legislature in Taiwan adopted the "法不入家門" (the law does not enter the home) principle and seldom intervened in the family. In fact, a more adequate explanation would be that there were intricate laws wholly supporting the patriarchal system (李立如, 2003: 42-43). The articles about property in Family Part of the Civil Law dictated that a married couple's property was jointly owned but managed by the husband, meaning that the state viewed women as merely accessories to men (黃顯凱, 2021). Domestic Violence Prevention Act was only legislated in 1998, meaning that those suffering from domestic violence, mainly women and children, had no legal recourse when they encounter domestic violence. Women were also often discriminated against in the workplace because they were seen to be distracted by family. Before the Gender Equality in Employment Act was in place in 2002, many women were forced to sign "single contracts" that forced them to resign as soon as they reached the age of thirty, were married or pregnant (尤美女 et al., 1999: 7). These laws made it difficult for women to gain subjectivity and independence from men. In effect, women had to stay inside the home to take care of the home and the children, while men had to bring home the bacon for the family. This was how the gender role was strengthened by the state.

2.3 Involved Fatherhood and the "Champion Teammate"

The "new fatherhood" and "involved fatherhood" concepts possibly arise from the second wave of feminist movements' discussion on "private life" in the family and

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

economic changes in the society (Lupton & Barclay, 1997: 1). However, according to Griswold's review on the history of fatherhood in the US, parenting advice has been urging men to participate in childcare since the 1930's (qtd. in Lupton & Barclay, 1997: 40-41). It is not a completely novel concept; the same anxieties of being torn between involvement in the family and economic responsibilities have always been present, at least in the west (Lupton & Barclay, 1997). Mintz also points out in his review that the imagined linear development of fathers from the "patriarchal" to the "androgynous" is an oversimplified myth (1988). Feminism and women entering the workforce may be the ultimate reason that involved fatherhood becomes more urgent in contemporary times.

In the recent decades, many similar factors such as women employment and gender role reflections have played the same part in influencing fatherhood involvement in Taiwan (王叢桂, 2000), and may have prompted the emergence of the "new hunk" and the "new good dad." These new terms started to appear around 1995, but the media has started to call for father participation since the 1980's (趙蕙鈴, 2011: 85). As there was a lack of available resources and models for fatherhood in the Asian context, the Taiwanese looked to western studies, especially US parenting resources (王叢桂, 2000: 33). Wang's own study cites papers from the west showing the benefits of fatherhood involvement, such as positive correlation to high intelligence and emotional development in young children and having positive influence on gender equality concepts. In the past decade, the "Northern Europe mode" that promotes gender equality in the workforce and in the home has also been widely discussed (趙蕙鈴, 2011: 76). Apparently, Taiwanese academia and parenting experts are heavily influenced by discourses from the west.

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

The subject matter of studies around the turn of the century shows that many researchers adopt the view that father involvement in the family should be encouraged. Many studies focus on how to encourage more involvement, especially in a double income family (王舒芸 & 余漢儀, 1997; 王叢桂, 2000; 郭美娟 & 陳若琳, 2012). Others stress marital satisfaction and co-parenting, asserting the mother's role to encourage and lead the father in childcare as crucial (陳富美 & 利翠珊, 2004). Many echo the overview by Doherty et al. on "responsible fathering" (1998). Interviews with Taiwanese fathers also show the concept becoming common among parents (王舒芸 & 余漢儀, 1997; 王叢桂, 2000). These studies are also aware that past cultural habits and myths are still present, and many social factors do not give enough support for fathers to commit as much as they want, resulting in "selective fatherhood" (王舒芸 & 余漢儀, 1997). Many fathers express commitment to family and voice resolutions of not wanting to be like their own fathers (王叢桂, 2000). This echoes the findings in Lupton and Barclay's book on Australian fatherhood construction (1997).

A main perceived inhibitor of involvement is economic pressure and work. Accordingly, many researchers have explored this "cash and care" crisis (Hobson & Morgan, 2002). New policies implemented that stress gender equality of work and childcare influence parenting practices to an extent (Gregory & Milner, 2011), for example introducing paternal leave. However, studies show that while there is a rise of cultural acceptance of fathers taking more time from work for childcare, he is still seen to be the main breadwinner by organizations and parents, and the need to negotiate between work and family is typical for fathers around the world (Borgkvist et al., 2020; Gregory & Milner, 2011; Hattori, 2020; Kangas et al., 2019; Locke & Yarwood, 2017). Gregory

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and Milner call this an “unfinished process of change” (2011: 602). A study reviewing international parental leave policies show that longer duration of leave and higher wage compensation promotes more fathers to spend more time from work for their children (O’brien, 2009). Moreover, proactive policies, especially those that target fathers boost father involvement even more than those that only stress “gender equality,” because parents’ decisions are filtered by a gendered environment (Brandt & Kvande; O’brien, 2009). A “gendered” scheme recognizes and offsets the current gender gap in men’s and women’s involvement (Brandt & Kvande, 2009).

How fatherhood behavior and family life are represented in various kinds of media are also observed. Perhaps not surprisingly, fathers are consistently underrepresented, especially in caring contacts with children and doing domestic chores (Anderson & Hamilton, 2005; Adams et al., 2011; Tsai & Shumow, 2011). Moreover, several studies have found what Sunderland calls “linguistic absence of father terms” salient among popular media for parents and children (Anderson & Hamilton, 2005; Sunderland, 2006). These texts presuppose the mother as the primary caregiver for a child, implying that stereotypical gender roles in the family is a given fact. Adams et al. express worry that involved fatherhood is romanticized when depictions of fatherhood leave out performance of mundane chores (2011: 265). This may arise from concerns of “masculinity,” which is also explored. An Australian study on fathers attending antenatal classes also shows fathers struggling with the seemingly conflicting concepts of masculinity and care (Nash, 2017: 6). Discourses welcoming involved fatherhood sometimes introduce care into masculinity, but still show a need to validate that it is “still masculine,” or interpret care as “protection” (Jordan, 2020). Petroski and Edley note that fatherhood is often

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

understood in comparison with motherhood, which is “fundamentally flawed” and makes the problematic stereotype of “Mr. Mom” inevitable (2006).

Gender division in the family can also be found in Taiwanese media. In depictions of family life in television advertisements, the family members are seen engaging in gender stereotypical activities, stressing women to be more competent in the home (楊運秀 et al. 2014; 呂明心 et al., 2016). When a child is present with a lone parent, it is more likely to be the mother, and when the father is present, many times his sole function is just to be present to “complete” the family (楊運秀 et al. 2014). In news about parenting and family, women’s responsibility inside the home is emphasized, childcare and education are still undertaken by the mother, and the implied ideal care provider is the mother (陳志賢 & 楊巧玲, 2011, 2013). These results show the underlying perceptions of parenthood do not exactly match what is being claimed.

Research have also looked into discourses aimed at parents, such as parenting books, magazines and specific news sections. Most of the overall findings were consistent across different countries. Textual analysis in North America demonstrated the dominant textual discourses portray mothers as main caregivers while fathers are secondary and often incompetent (Sunderland, 2000, 2006; Wall & Arnold, 2007). Sunderland concludes that “parenting” is essentially seen as “mothering” (Sunderland, 2006). A content analysis on articles from parenting magazines in the US shows that the father's depictions emphasize traits associated with stereotypical masculine identities, such as the role of the breadwinner (Schimdt, 2016). A Taiwanese parenting education textbook commonly used by family care and early childhood education students showed "depoliticized" and “gender-blind” discourses (游美惠, 2004). Popular parenting education books for parents

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also showed similar contents (游美惠 & 易言嫚, 2004). A Taiwanese study focused on discourses surrounding the term "新好爸爸" (new good dad), a new father model fitting gender equality ideals, being discussed over the recent decades in the press. However, these discourses mainly depict a rather shallow ideal of a father model. Moreover, the proportion of depictions describing the father's instrumental function (providing for the family as opposed to emotional care) has risen, showing a discrepancy between the ideal and reality and perhaps a superficial change in fatherhood roles (趙蕙鈴, 2011). These research results consistently show that gendered assumptions on parenting and family roles and lack of diversity in family patterns are very common, regardless of the claims of gender equality throughout the early years of the twenty-first century.

Parents construct their understanding of fatherhood according to their experiences and interpretations while responding to or interacting with various discourses. Tiitinen and Ruusuvuori's analysis on conversations between nurses and parents in Finnish child-health clinics shows both parties invoking gendered presuppositions in both actions and words (2014). Occasionally, parents may resist such presuppositions and proactively assert their preferred modes of shared parenting (Aunkofer et al., 2018: 77; Tiitinen & Ruusuvuori, 2014). Some fathers express dissatisfaction at gendered presumptions made about their parenting, considering them to be condescending. However, in the same studies, other fathers are in harmony with these ideas (Jensen et al., 2019: 11-12; Nash, 2017: 7-8). Whether or not gender stereotypes are accepted, these different attitudes reflect that concepts of parenthood for individual fathers are not formed in vacuum. This is the same for narratives and discourses produced by parents themselves.

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

Communication technology also make it easier for a parent to proactively address their own parenthoof. Studies looking into social media have tried to identify the ways Dad-bloggers construct parenthood and fatherhood with their own interpretations. Many of them attempt to reconstruct fatherhood as opposed to the common portrayals in the media in order to normalize involved fatherhood. Some even consider themselves pro-feminist and advocate for "gender, sexual, and parental equality" (Scheibling, 2020ab). Naturally, these bloggers are predominantly white, married and relatively well-to-do. On the other hand, for less privileged groups, especially those underrepresented for accessing formal support, social media has also helped them to bond and share their experiences (McLeod, 2020). Online communities may be a more immediate means for marginalized groups to find support and narratives that fit more closely their experiences.

In contemporary Taiwan, a set of gaming terms have been adopted into family scenarios. These are terms related to "隊友" (teammate), including "神隊友" (champion teammate), "好隊友" (good teammate) and "豬隊友" (pig teammate). These uses refer to parenting as a team effort, with assessive adjectives prefixed as assessment of the quality of cooperation. The popular use of these terms in popular media and among parents reflect the perception that parenting should involve both parents, meaning that involved fatherhood is embraced to a certain extent. However, while the term "隊友" itself is gender-neutral, in practice it is more used to refer to the father than the mother, revealing gendered implications of the parenting team that may be interesting to look into.

Amidst the emerging interest of research on performances and discourses of involved fatherhood, 王大維 raises a concern that the expectations of father involvement have been unclear in most research. He asserts that an adequate definition of

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

involved fatherhood has been lacking and that mere participation does not equal involved fatherhood. Therefore, he proposes four elements that comprise involved fatherhood, 1) emotional: including incentive for involvement, satisfaction from involvement and guilt from failure of involvement; 2) cognitive: acceptance of childcare as a father's responsibility and identifying parenthood as part of being a father; 3) behavioral: practice of childcare, material and emotional support for both mother and child; and 4) relational: having positive connections and frequent interactions with child (2000).

This model differs from past research which mainly focus on the extent of fatherhood practices, since 王 believes that inner awareness, sense of identity and motivation are all equally crucial for strengthening the fatherhood role. He pointed out that the extent and range of the mother's duties exceed mere awareness and practice (2000). In practice, a survey from the Ministry of Labor in Taiwan shows that not only most housework and childcare chore but also the emotional and cognitive arrangements inside the home are undertaken by the mother (2020). On the other hand, this shows that 王's inclusion of different aspects in his framework is more appreciative of parenthood complexities. Therefore, I believe that his framework will serve as a more comprehensive basis for my analyses on the accounts of fathering in social media.

Despite explicit discourses encouraging involved fatherhood for decades, the reality to this day is still far from satisfactory, hence the need to stress it and encourage it. As media frames the world for its audience and readers while also reflecting popular opinion, further analysis can reveal various and perhaps conflicting accounts. This is the same for self-produced narratives. Therefore, this research is interested in how parents on social media construct fatherhood. What kinds of underlying messages are being transmitted by

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parents? What do they say about their understanding of fatherhood and gender? This research will attempt to answer these inquiries.

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

Chapter 3 Methods

3.1 Research Questions

This research hopes to understand the social construction and lived experiences of parenthood through Taiwanese parents' own accounts and comments on their lives. I have chosen the *Babymoth*er board on PTT as a platform to explore them.

Browsing through the posts of the *Babymother* board, I have observed that parents give many names to themselves and family members, including the father. As Kathleen Charmaz states that names are "rooted in actions and give rise to specific practices" (2006), different names for the father identify the father's role(s) inside the family.

Since involved fatherhood stresses involvement in the family, I will pay special attention to names referring to family relations and names surrounding the term "teammate". Family relation refer to either "father" or "husband", corresponding to the relationship with the other two legs of the (heteronormal) nuclear family, the child(ren) and the mother. The teammate terms, on the other hand, have no literal reference to the family, but suggests a cooperative relation with the mother. The discourses surrounding different names and the "actions" or "specific practices" they prompt can lend some insight into perceptions of the roles of father, husband and teammate.

With the above in mind, I wish to answer these questions:

Research question 1:

What are the different names used to refer to the father on the *Babymother* board? How may these names answer to different expectations? What are the implications to the occurrences of these different terms?

Research question 2:

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

Do discourses surrounding the terms differentiate between one another? How may these differences portray the understanding and perception of the father's different roles?

As specified, there will be two main focuses for this question:

RQ 2.1:

Are the father of the child and husband to the wife portrayed differently in these texts? If so, what are the differences and what implications do these differences carry?

RQ 2.2:

How are "teammates" constructed on the board? How are they assessed as good or bad ones? What are the differences between the discourses surrounding the good and bad ones?

The "隊友" is interesting because there is an accepted negative term derived from it: "豬隊友" (pig teammate). For the other names and terms there is no such common usage, perhaps because it would be quite harsh to call a spouse a "pig dad" or "bad husband". The "豬隊友" (pig teammate) can therefore help gain some insights into what is considered negative or at least not satisfactory in a father/husband.

While the discussants on the *Babymother* board are predominantly mothers, a few fathers also join the discussions. Their participation in this traditionally feminine realm, how they participate and how they portray the participation can navigate their reactions to construction and perception of fatherhood in this community. Therefore, the research would like to explore this question:

Research question 3:

How do fathers portray themselves as fathers/husbands? Do these accounts present different gendered perspectives of family life?

Gender stereotypes in the family not only exist for women but also for men, and they

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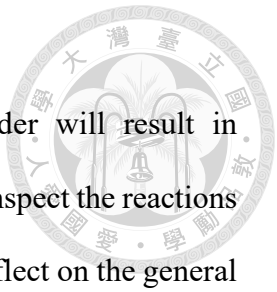

are problematic to both. Lack of representation from either gender will result in misunderstandings at the very least. This research question wishes to inspect the reactions from men and fathers as a minority and through this inspection also reflect on the general gendered assumptions and implications on the whole discussion board.

王's involved fatherhood model emphasizes participation as well as awareness, calling for meaningful connections and internal motivation other than material support. As it has become commonly accepted among the society, texts and discourses produced by parents will reveal their true understanding and practice of involved fatherhood. The explorations of this research aim to understand parents' linguistic construction of fatherhood, and through these discourses, the society in which they are dwelling.

3.2 Data

3.2.1 Data Selection and Cleaning

The main texts to be analyzed are articles crawled from the "*Babymother*" board on the PTT, a Tawainese BBS site. I chose these texts for a number of reasons. First, PTT has been one of the largest online forums in Taiwan for several decades since being founded in 1995, with over 20 million registered users in total and can accumulate hundreds of millions of users in one day (林思平, 2017: 137). Its users' comments are also frequently cited by news media. After the founding twenty years ago, many of its active users have started having children and actively interacting as parents, resulting in the opening of the "*Babymother*" board in December of 2004 (don323, 2004). The site is also relatively easy to crawl because it has a clear structure and has not established restrictions on web crawling. In addition, a notable characteristic of PTT users is that they are more skewed to university or higher education levels (林思平, 2017: 158). This

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

characteristic may also result in different interpretations of the society.

The data selection process begins with a few seed terms as search terms for a preliminary search. After that, I use a natural language processing (NLP) method called word embedding, with predictive models trained with the corpus of selected texts from the *Babymother* board from said preliminary search. The search and training processes are circular, with each cycle finding new keywords and adding them in the search. The detailed descriptions of the process are explained in the appendixes. The final resulting number of posts on parenting is 107,428. Posts containing father keywords are 41,607. The results from these searches range from 18,683 posts containing "老公" (informal for husband) to 1 post containing "孩子爹" (child's dad), "我的男人" (my man) or "我家男人" (my man). On the other hand, total posts containing mother keywords are 100, 410.

Parent	Keywords
Father	"父親" (father), "生父" (biological father), "人父" (one's father), "爸爸" (dad), "老爸/老爹" (old man), "阿爸" (dad, in Taiwanese dialect), "新手爸" (novice dad), "準爸" (soon-to-be dad), "親爸/親爹" (biological dad, with intimate connotations), "當爸的/當爹的" (one who is a dad), "奶爸[2]" (wet dad), "孩子爸", "孩子爹", "孩子的爸", "孩子的爹", "小孩爸", "小孩的爸", (variations of "child's dad"), "寶寶的爸" (baby's dad), "兒子的爸" (son's dad), "女兒的爸" (daughter's dad), "他爸" (his dad), "她爸" (her dad), "寶爸" (dad of _ children/ baby's dad), "版爸/板爸" (dad on the board), "帥爸" (handsome dad), "神爸" (super dad), "宅爸" (nerdy[3] dad), "瓶餵爸" (dad using a bottle to feed), "爹地", "爸比", "把拔", "把鼻", "拔拔", "爸拔", "拔比", "爸鼻", "爸把", "爸逼", "爸咪", "把爸", "拔爸", "爹低" (all variations of daddy), "外子" (very formal for "my husband"), "丈夫" (formal for husband), "先生" (husband), "老公" (informal for husband), "腦公", "我家男人" (my man), "另一半" (other half), "隊友" (team player)
Mother	"母親" (mother), "生母" (biological mother), "人母" (one's mother), "媽媽" (mom), "老媽/老母" (ma), "阿母/阿木" (mom, in Taiwanese dialect), "新手媽" (novice mom), "準媽" (soon-to-be mom), "親媽/親娘" (biological mom, with

[2] Literally means "milk dad", parallel to "奶媽" (wet nurse), which is literally "milk mom" in Mandarin.

[3] Meaning that this dad stays at home with little desire to go out on holidays.

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

	intimate connotations), “當媽的/當娘的” (one who is a mom), “孩子的媽/孩子媽/孩子的娘/孩子娘/小孩媽/小孩的媽” (child’s mom), “寶寶的媽”(baby’s mom), “寶媽” (mom of _ children/baby’s mom), “版媽/板媽” (mom on the board), “水媽/靚媽” (pretty mom), “神媽” (super mom), “宅媽” (nerdy[4] mom), “親餵媽” (breastfeeding mom), “孕媽” (pregnant mom), “全職媽” (stay-at-home mom), “媽咪”, “馬麻”, “麻咪”, “馬咪”, “麻麻”, “媽麻” (all variations of “mommy”), “內人” (very formal for “my wife”), “妻子” (formal for wife), “太太” (wife), “老婆” (informal for “wife”)

Table 3-1 Ultimate Lists of Father and Mother Search Keywords

The next step is distinguishing texts with different identities of fatherhood for further analyses according to my research questions. Posts with explicit reference to the father-child relation and husband-wife are specified for RQ 2.1. Posts containing “teammate” are extracted for RQ 2.2. Lastly, posts written by fathers are also obtained through keyword searching for the third research question. The table below shows the search terms for each text set.

RQ	Search Terms	
2.2	Father-Child	Husband-Wife
	“孩子爸”, “孩子爹”, “孩子的爸”, “孩子的爹”, “小孩爸”, “小孩的爸”, “寶寶的爸”, “寶爸”, “兒子的爸”, “兒子爸”, “女兒的爸”, “女兒爸”	“外子”, “我丈夫”, “我的丈夫”, “我先生”, “我的先生”, “我老公”, “我的老公”, “我腦公”, “我男人”, “我的男人”, “我家男人”
2.3	Good Teammate	Bad Teammate
	“好隊友”, “神隊友”	“豬隊友”
3	“我是先生”, “我是老公”, “我是.{0,8}爸”, “我是.{0,8}父親”, “身為.{0,3}老公”, “內人”, “我妻子”, “我太太”, “我的太太”, “我老婆”, “我的老婆”, “我岳父”, “我的岳父”, “我岳母”, “我的岳母”, “身為.{0,3}人夫”, “身為.{0,3}丈夫”, “身為.{0,8}爸爸”, “身為.{0,8}父親”, “小弟我”	

Table 3-2 Search Terms for each Father Role

For the texts to be analyzable, excess information is removed by regular expression, including routine information inside the post texts: rules for posting on the board and the

[4] See footnote 3.

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handle of the author. Website urls, time, dates, additional characters and metacharacters like new line marks are also removed. Mandarin texts need to be segmented into individual words, which is done by the CKIPtagger from the Academia Sinica. I have also added vocabulary to cover insufficient vocabulary. Lastly, the CKIPtagger has no stopword list, but it does have a parts of speech (POS) tagger, which can filter out many function words. Some words with little relevance are also added to the stopwords. The list of added vocabulary and stopwords can be seen in the appendixes.

3.2.2 Data Coverage

As of December 31, 2021, I obtained 158,021 articles[5]. Most were posted after 2015, which may be due to systemic deletion. The decrease after 2018 may be due to the restriction on new account registrations implemented in September 2018, which lasted until March 2020 when partially lifted for National Taiwan University accounts (藍詩孟, 2021). The restriction was fully lifted in July, 2021. Despite the decline, about 40 articles are posted per day, showing that the board has a stable base of users and discussions.

[5]The information includes article title, article author, article content, time of post, the url and the number of "pushes". The number of pushes is similar to votes up and down. A "push" is positive, a "boo" is negative and a reply is neutral.

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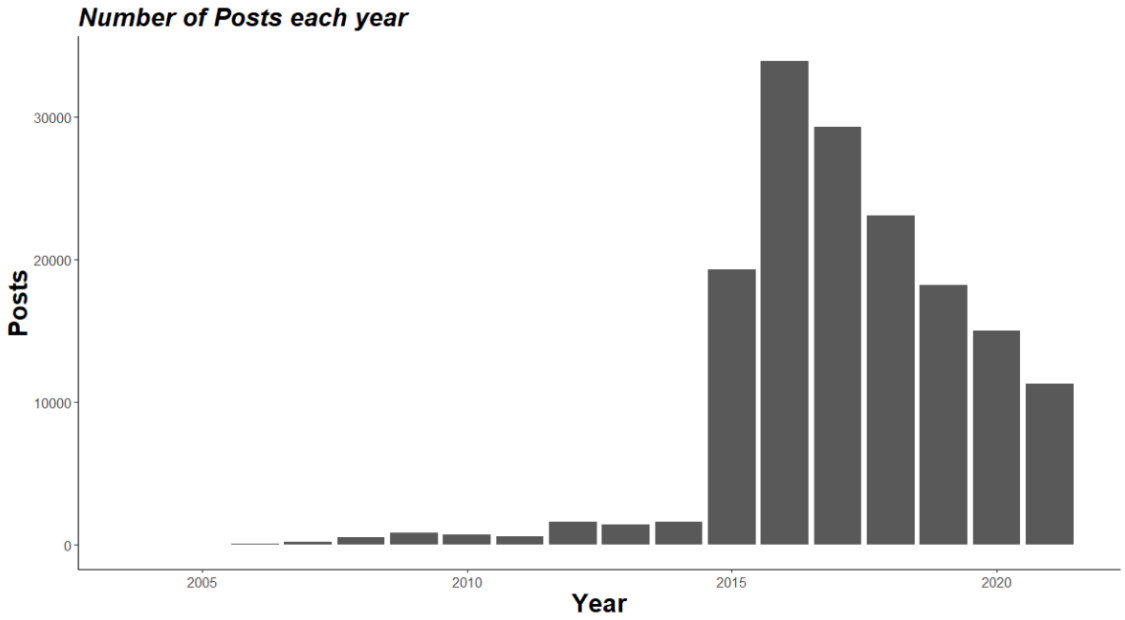

Figure 3.1 Number of Posts Per Year Downloaded from the *Babymother* Board

Using the keywords obtained with word embeddings, I retrieve 41,607 posts containing mentions of the father. For that of the mother there is more than the double amount: 100,410. As shown in Figure 2, the ratio of articles mentioning the father maintains at around 24-28%. In Figure 3, I added the ratio of articles containing mention of the mother to show the clear gap between mentions of either parent. Mothers are consistently brought up in more than 60% of the articles.

Mention of either parent is often not a third-person reference. Because of the shared identity as parents, first-person reference to the self or second-person reference addressing other parents are common. On the *Babymother* board, high frequency of mentions to the mother reflects that most writers and their assumed readers are mothers. As the total number of articles mentioning either father or mother is 107,506, there are only 7,018 articles exclusively mentioning the father, while 65,821 articles exclusively mention the mother. This means that the *Babymother* board is dominated by mothers.

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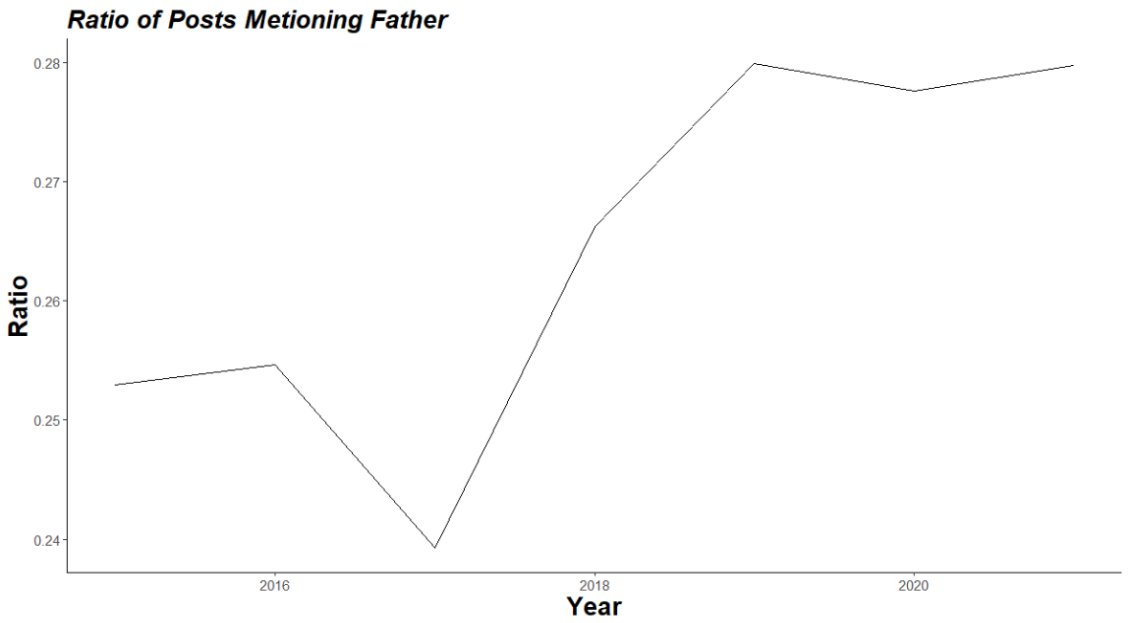

Figure 3.2 The Ratio of Posts Mentioning Father since 2015

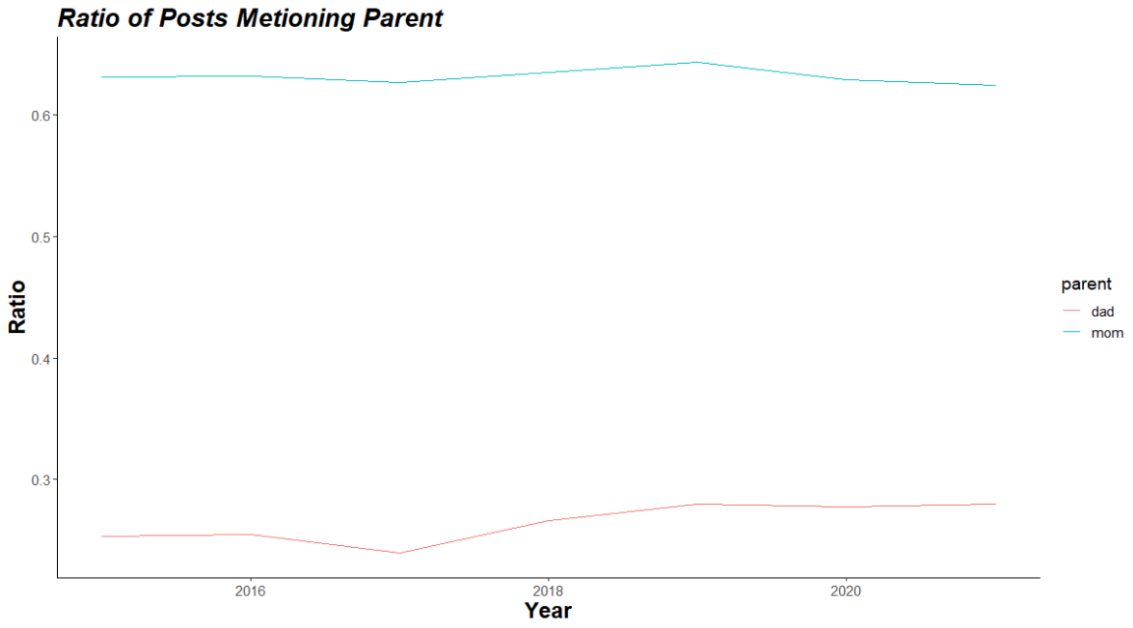

Figure 3.3 The Ratio of Posts Mentioning Mother and Father since 2015

3.3 Methodology and Theoretical Grounds

This research seeks to explore how Taiwanese parents perceive and construct fatherhood on social media by analyzing contents posted on the *Babymother* bulletin

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board. These contents are important because they not only describe the actual experiences of individual parents but also reflect how they view the experiences. On this board, users are predominantly mothers, making fatherhood construction a mainly secondhanded observation. This research will be based on the structuralist understanding that there is no "objective" world for humans; rather, the world is understood through their preconceptions. What this research aims to do is to break down the constructs of "truth" in the texts in what is said, how it is said, and what is not said.

Meaning is complex, unstable and always in progress with endless layers of interpretation of meaning. Michel Foucault especially points out the relationship between power and knowledge and how meaning is constructed through discourse. Discourse is "organized and organizes bodies of knowledge, with rules and regulations that govern particular practices" (Storey, 2012: 130). Each individual's perception of reality is formed through multiple discourses even though they are unconscious of it. With these perceptions, social media discussions may not bear explicit purpose of regulating behavior, but they are prescriptive in how they lay out their discussions, especially how they criticize or defend different behaviors.

The linguist Ferdinand de Saussure has influenced structuralism and post-structuralism, arguing that there is no natural connection between language and the concepts represented by it; the connection is established only by agreement among its users. There are only "differences without positive terms" in language (1974, Qtd. in Storey, 2012: 115), in other words, language defines "what is not" rather than "what is". On these grounds, language has meaning only through a system of difference and relationships, as well as a process of combination and selection. The combination and selection can be broken down to syntagma and paradigms. Simply put, syntagma is the

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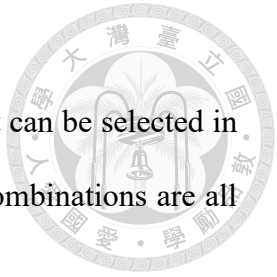

combination around a specific word and paradigms are the words that can be selected in its place (Fiske, 2002, translated by 張錦華: 81- 83). Choices and combinations are all meaningful in themselves.

The concept of "hegemonic struggle" will also be kept in mind in the analyses. This is highly influenced by Antonio Gramsci, who believes that hegemony is not a one-sided imposing of a dominant class but an active negotiation between different classes so that conflict is channeled safely (Storey, 2012: 82). Ives argues that Gramsci views language also as a vehicle by which to exercise power (2004). In Taiwan's wider society, women are more disadvantaged as a group, but in the "*Babymother"* discussion board, not only are women the majority, most of the discussants also hold a college or higher education degree. The different identities will no doubt influence the resistance, incorporation and negotiations of discourse among the parents. My content analyses will especially pay attention to how parents use language to construct their understandings of parenthood.

3.4 Analytical Strategies

This research employs a number of quantitative and automatic explorations of these social media texts. The results of the quantitative explorations will then be analyzed qualitatively. The methods are explained in this following section.

3.4.1 Statistics and Frequency

Basic statistical comparisons will be made throughout the research. This includes statistics on the use of different labels[6] or frequent words across different fatherhood

[6] It is required to pick a "label" to the article being posted. Some common labels on the Babymother board include "寶寶" (baby) and "懷孕" (pregnancy). These labels are not entirely distinct from one

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identity texts. A chi-square analysis will be performed for cross comparisons to better examine which labels evoke which father names more often. The null hypothesis is that each identity is named evenly throughout the different subjects. The p-value and standard residuals show the significance of the difference. The smaller the p-value, the more likely the null hypothesis is rejected. The higher the absolute value of the residual, the more likely it can reject the null hypothesis and show that the occurrence of a certain name is significantly higher or lower than the expected occurrence.

For statistics of labels in different texts, instead of plain frequency comparisons, the log-ratio and common log distribution will be used. The log-ratio is the binary logarithm of the ratio of relative frequencies (Hardie, 2014). Instead of only comparing the relative frequencies, calculated by dividing the frequency of the label by the size of the corpus, the log-ratio makes the differences symmetrical by reducing influence of the size of the corpus (Silge & Robinson, 2017), revealing the true differences between different sets of texts. Common log distributions also serve this purpose.

For word frequency analyses, the term frequency-inverse document frequency (tf-idf) metric is important. Tf-idf measures the importance of a word for a document in a corpus. It consists of two multipliers, the term frequency (tf) and inverse document frequency (idf). The tf refers to the relative frequency of a given term in a document. Idf calculates the inverse proportion of the given word over the entire corpus (Ramos, 2003). Simply put, when the tf-idf for a word is high, it means that the word is more specific and important for a single document; a low score indicates that the word is used commonly

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another, and it is often left to the author of the post to decide which label best matches their discussion.

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in many documents of the corpus and is thus of little importance to a specific document.

The tf-idf of the entire corpus including father keywords are calculated. Words with lowest scores in each post are eliminated to reduce the influence of words of little importance to each text. These scores are calculated by the tidytext package in R.

3.4.2 Word Associations

Word associations refer to words being strongly associated with one another (Manning & Schütze, 1999). In this research, word associations are defined as co-occurrences of terms within a certain radius of each other. These co-occurrences can expose cultural stereotypes reinforced in language (Manning & Schütze, 1999) or at least show association of certain concepts. As Saussure believes that language is meaningful through combination and selection, this would explore the combination surrounding the father's different identities.

The research will focus on words co-occurring with the father names and look for words that co-occur within a distance window of 2. This means that for each word, two words before and after the given word are all counted as an example co-occurrence. Words associated will be categorized by their parts-of-speech.

3.4.3 Word Embeddings

Word embedding models are trained on a large text corpus to find semantic relations between words. It assigns every word to a high-dimension vector, which define these semantic relations through the geometry between the vectors (Garg et al., 2018). I use a technique that trains the vectors using shallow neural network called word to vector (w2v). This technique has two methods: continuous bag of words (CBOW) and skip-gram. In the CBOW method, the context of each word is the input to predict the word

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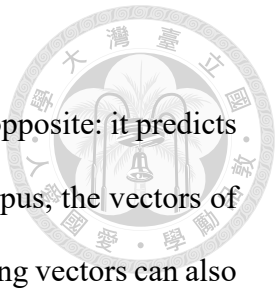

corresponding to it. On the other hand, the skip-gram model does the opposite: it predicts the surrounding context of a given word (Sarkar, 2018). In a large corpus, the vectors of a word are assigned by the syntagma used around the word. The resulting vectors can also be used to calculate the paradigms of the word. This is how I used this method to search for my data and answer research question one.

Any existing bias is also learned through the training algorithms and thus this method can be used to expose it. This is what Garg et al. has done, identifying and quantifying gender and racial bias over history and mapping them onto the real social perceptions of the era (2018). To put these functions to use, I have trained word to vector models with both CBOW and skip-gram with random sample texts crawled from the *Babymother* board, as I have specified earlier. The word2vec function in the genism Python package which can train both CBOW and skip-gram models will be used. Each training model only trains words that appear more than 15 times, and the context of each word is within five words before and after it. Each word is mapped onto a vector in a dimension of 300.

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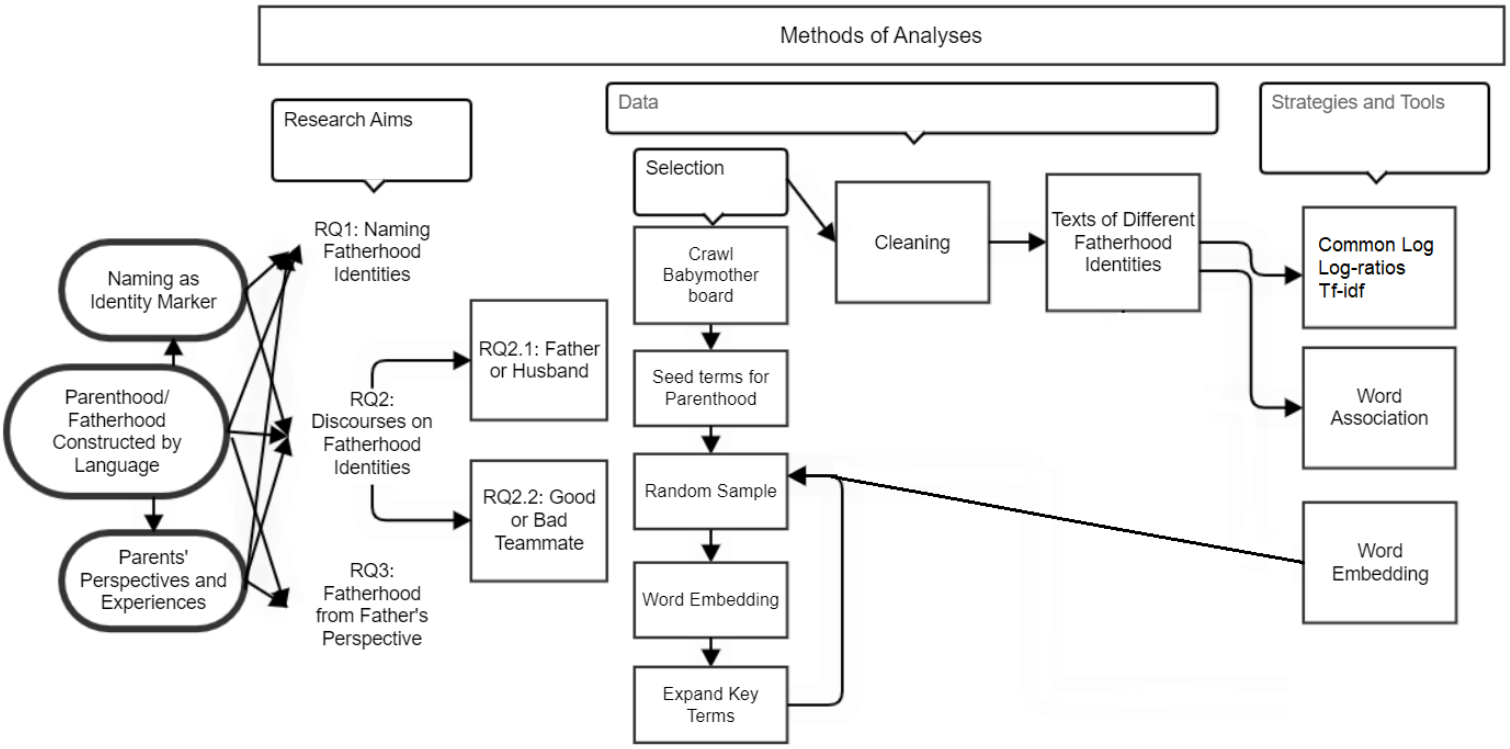

Figure 3.4 Flow Chart of Analyses Methods

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Chapter 4 Results

The results obtained by implementing the above strategies are shown in this next chapter. First, the different names of the father are identified. With these names, the research will employ the strategies specified in chapter three to understand how they are perceived and constructed by parents, largely mothers. Lastly, posts written by fathers themselves will be specifically looked into.

4.1 Identifying Fatherhood on the *Babymother* board

The *Babymother* board is an online social media platform that encourages engagement and interaction. Users create a community within this board by creating their own lingo and inside jokes using creative and humorous language. Even though mentions of the father seem few in comparison to the mother, they still make up for about a quarter of mentions and is thus included in nicknaming. The use of different nicknames is not purely incidental but is part of the "selection" process that gives meaning to language as posited by Saussure. I will first attempt to answer the first research question and find out what "paradigms" may be used in place of "father".

4.1.1 Synonyms of the father

It is nearly impossible to list every one of the different ways to refer to the father by browsing through every post. Automatic training and filtering can help provide an objective starting point. Using the word embedding models trained on the parenting texts, I calculated the top similar words to "爸爸", "爸" (dad), and "父親" (father) with both CBOW and skip-gram algorithms. The results sketch out an outline of fatherhood.

In general, fitting results either refer to the relationship with the child (as a father) or the mother (as a husband). Of course, other relations such as son or son-in-law are also

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alternative roles of the father in different contexts, but this research will restrict analyses to the relations inside the nuclear family. As the texts are all from informal social media, many informal words and phrases that have no standardized written form are used. They will all be translated as the same word. For example, "爹" is an archaic Chinese word for father, and is now used informally like "爸", albeit less frequently. Any similar use of "爹" with "爸" is grouped and counted with "爸". The same goes for all the forms of "爸比" (daddy). Other than results calculated from the models, I have also searched manually for combinations with the words "爸" and "爹", which are difficult to capture by automatic methods. The ultimate results are listed and sorted out below.

Original Word	English	Occurrence in Post	Frequency Count
父親	Father	548	935
生父	Biological father	91	140
人父	One's father	270	295
爸爸	Dad	14936	27285
老爸/老爹	Old man	632	889
阿爸	Dad (Taiwanese dialect)	103	166
新手爸/準爸	Novice dad/ Soon-to-be dad	1885	2331
當爸的 [7]	One who is a dad	29	30
親爸/親爹	Biological dad	51	65
奶爸	Wet dad	142	219
孩子爸/爹 [8]	Child's dad	924	1055
_寶爸	Dad of _(adjective or number) baby	284	348
XX 爸/爹 [9]	XX's (child's nickname) dad	464	845
你爸/你爹	Your (addressing the child) dad	13	17

[7] Also including "當爹的" and "為爹的", with the same meaning.

[8] Including "孩子爹", "孩子的爸", "孩子的爹", "小孩爸", "小孩的爸", "寶寶的爸", "女兒的爸", "女兒爸", "兒子爸", and "兒子的爸"

[9] Including "XX 的爸", "XX 的爹", "XX 爹", "XX 他/她爸", and "XX 他/她爹".

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

Adj. 爸/爹 [10]	Adjective + dad	32	35
O 爸	O (dad's nickname) dad	26	49
版爸 [11]	Dad on the board (addressing other fathers)	351	391
爸比 [12]	Daddy	2240	3917
外子/丈夫	My husband (very formal)/ Husband (formal)	239	415
先生 [13]	Husband/mister	8925	19647
老公/腦公	Husband (informal)/ Hubby	18786	45968
我男人 [14]	My man	2	4
隊友 [15]	Player	3047	6372
豬隊友	Pig teammate	484	707
神隊友	Champion teammate	390	482
好隊友	Good teammate	168	183

Table 4-1 Synonyms for the Father and their Occurrences

Overall, the most common words are "老公" (informal form of husband, occurring 45,968 times), "爸爸" (dad, occurring 27,285 times) and "先生" (husband, occurring 19,647 times), all general and standard terms. As the *Babymother* board is an informal social site, there is also a trend that informal language is used more frequently. This is seen in the frequencies of terms containing "父" (father, total of 1370 occurrences) and "爸" (dad, total of 37,642 occurrences) as well as the increase of frequency in the words

[10] For example: "矮爸" (shorty dad) and "傻爹" (foolish dad), adding a descriptive modifier.

[11] Including "板爸" (dad on the board), "帥爸" (handsome dad) and "神爸" (superdad).

[12] Including "把拔", "拔比", "拔拔", "爹地", "爹低", "把鼻", "把拔", "爸拔", "爸鼻", "爸把", "爸逼", "爸咪", "把爸", "拔爸", "爹爹".

[13] I have tried to filter out as many instances where this word is used as "mister" instead of "husband" as I could, and this list shows the remaining statistics.

[14] Including "我家男人".

[15] Not excluding "豬隊友", "神隊友", and "好隊友".

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meaning husband (“外子”, 90 times, “丈夫”, 325 times, “先生”, 19647 times and “老公”, 45968) as the form becomes more informal.

The exception to this trend is “腦公” (hubby), a deliberate mispronounciation of “老公” (husband) to stress intimacy. It also gives an impression of acting cute. Its total occurrence is only 204, possibly because it does not suit a context foregrounding parenthood instead of the married couple. With the same stress on a couple’s relationship, “我男人” (my man) is also very rare, with only 4 occurrences. In comparison, the many different forms of “daddy” are used much more frequently at total occurrence of 3917, even though they also deliberately vary Mandarin tones or end in specific vowels to stress endearment and intimacy. The cuteness seems to be so much more appropriate that various forms of “daddy” and “mommy” are used even when addressing other parents:

> “板上的爸比媽咪們早安啊～” “Good morning to the daddies and mommies on the board~” (qqmasumi, 2019, M.1555030440.A.9C2)

The cuteness is tolerated as it stresses intimacy with the child as a parent, a common identity for the discussants who may have little to none interaction in person.

The above table shows the word “爸” (dad) (and sometimes “爹”) used with much creativity and playfulness perhaps for similar reasons. Very many modifiers can be prefixed onto it to stress different traits. Apart from it evoking the father identity and that it is a monosyllabic and simple word to play with, it also has a semantic quality of being light and informal. In comparison, “父” (father) can also be broken down into a monosyllabic unit with prefixes, but it is stiff and formal. The words that include “父” are all standard and fixed terms, connoting seriousness and formality.

The various prefixes for “爸” are numerous and scattered, making it necessary to

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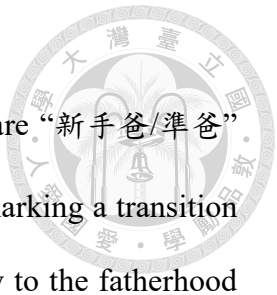

categorize them into several subcategories. The most used prefixes are “新手爸/準爸” (novice dad/ soon-to-be dad) with a combined occurrence of 2331, marking a transition to fatherhood identity. The excitement and helplessness of being new to the fatherhood experience is a reason to join the community in itself. Identification as the child’s father, as in “the child’s dad” or prefixing the child’s nickname is also quite common at a frequency of 2248. In contrast, prefixes stressing the father’s own individuality, such as his nickname or his own traits are not as common, with only 84 occurrences. This may reflect the cultural habit of modesty in Taiwan. Stressing the child’s identity can distinguish oneself from other discussants and also not seem self-centered. It also shows an awareness of fatherhood as related to the child.

However, despite the great variety of “爸”-related words, the role of the father does not occur as frequently as that of the husband in total occurrence. The father role has a total occurrence of 23,023, while the husband role has 67,057 (73,423 if counting “隊友” teammate). This may be because the child is too young to express itself, resulting in more meaningful interactions between the two adults. As most of the discussants are mothers, the relation between her and her husband is prompted more often.

The various forms of “爸” also show Taiwan’s rich linguistic resources. Other than Mandarin, some terms are from Taiwanese Hokkien (the dominant dialect), and some are transliterations of English (for example, “爹地” is pronounced roughly like “daddy”). The very many footnotes on this table with many other terms illustrate this richness and creativity. Language variation arising from informality inevitably adds complexity to automatic calculations and analyses. The word “先生” serves as an example in its uses. Even while it is a rather formal term to refer to one’s husband, and is indeed mostly used

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to mean “husband” in the context of the *Babymother* board, its heteronym as “mister” can also be used playfully, as sometimes mothers will jokingly address their sons or husbands as “Mr. (surname or nickname)”. The researcher has tried to minimize these complications but they would likely not be completely eliminated.

Apart from family relation words, “司機” (driver, 657 occurrences in total) and “長工” (hired help, 50 occurrences in total) are also occasionally used jokingly to refer to the dad/husband. These are not as common and they still mostly refer to literal car drivers and hired help, but they reveal perceptions on the function or behavior of the father. Words relating to “隊友” (teammate, 6372 occurrences), including “好隊友, 183 occurrences” (good teammate), “豬隊友” (pig teammate, 707 occurrences) and “神隊友” (champion teammate, 482 occurrences) show gaming language appropriated to liven up discussions. As observed in the introduction, while “teammate” is not a gendered term in itself, it is mostly used to refer to the husband on this discussion board. This is so commonly accepted that a father would not call himself but not his wife a teammate:

> “我真心佩服我老婆還有所有工作人員[…]身為隊友的我 能做的就是幫他們把這個網站分享出去” “I am sincerely impressed with my wife and all the staff […] As a teammate, all I can do is to help them spread word about this website.” (ilmdy, 2021, M.1617170147.A.996)

This husband asserts his role as a “teammate”, and while it is not explicitly stated, he possibly sees himself as a helpful and good one. Assessive adjectives can also be prefixed onto “teammate” to create subcategories stating the adequacy of the teammate. A good “teammate” is either a “good teammate” or “champion teammate”, and a bad one is a “pig teammate”. The good and bad teammates are roughly equal in number.

From the embedding models that have been built by the parenting texts from the *Babymother* board, we can observe the linguistic contexts of these fatherhood names.

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Embedding models are built with machine learning on each word's contexts. Closer relations of different words show that the contexts for their uses are similar. Both models are plotted for standard terms like "父親" (father) and "先生" (husband) and informal parenting terms in the *Babymother* board like "隊友" (teammate) and "奶爸" (wet dad).

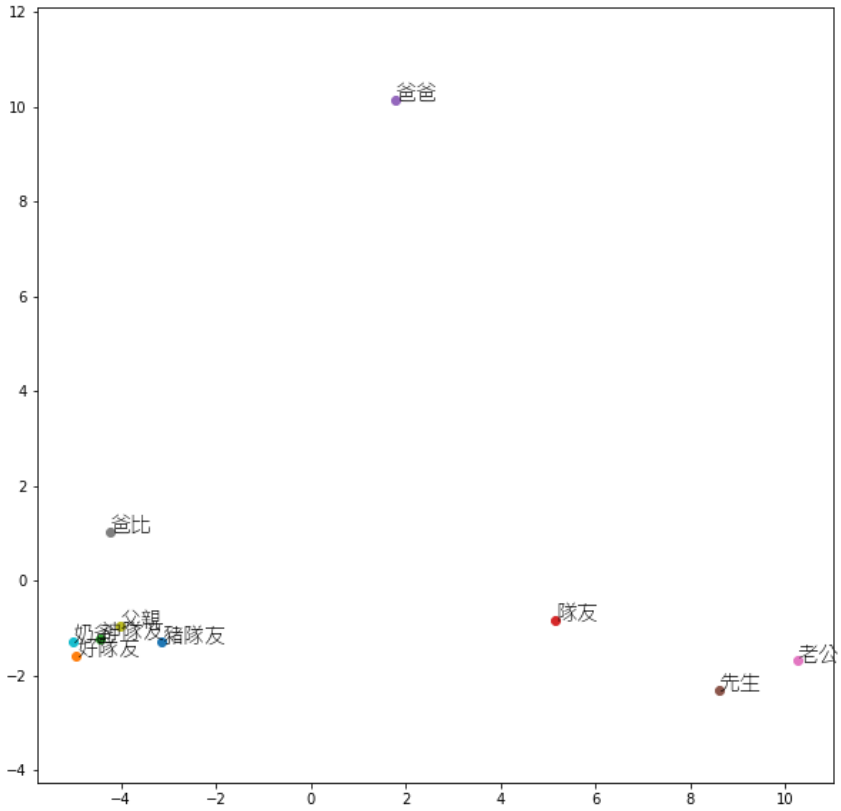

Figure 4.1 Geometric Relations of Fatherhood Identities in CBOW Model

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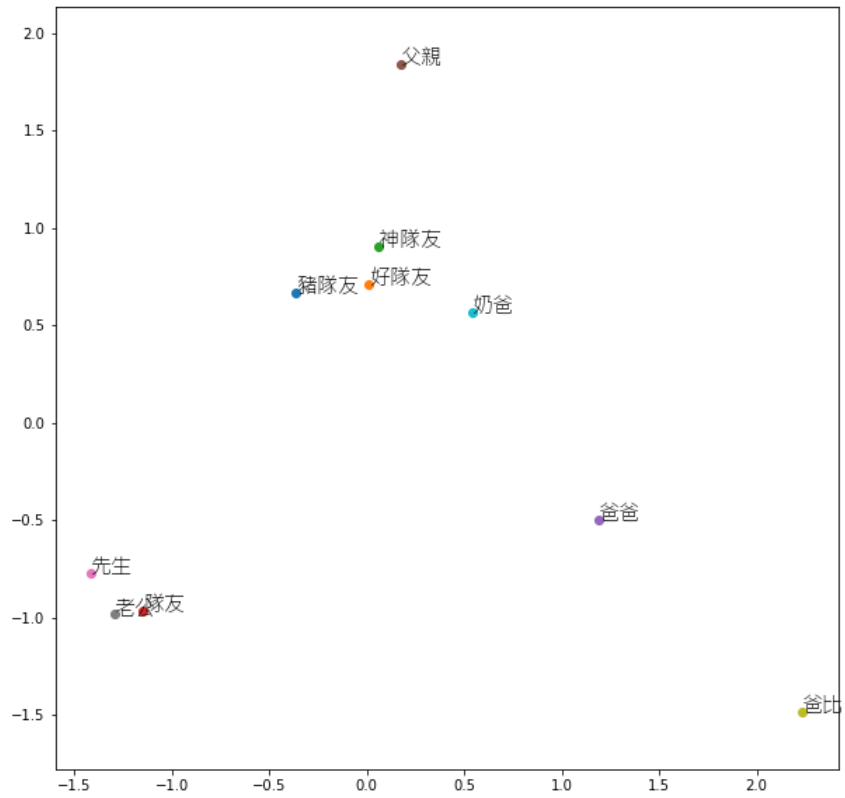

Figure 4.2 Geometric Relations of Fatherhood Identities in Skip-Gram Model

The two plots are not exactly the same but share similiarities. Both plots show the "隊友" (teammate) being closer to "先生" (husband/ mister) and "老公" (informal "husband") by different extents, meaning the context of their uses are similar. On top of that, the skip-gram model shows a closer relation between "隊友" and "老公", as they are both informal forms and may be used quite similarly. However, the terms similar in form: "豬隊友" (pig teammate), "好隊友" (good teammate) and "神隊友" (champion teammate), are in their own separate clusters, with "奶爸" (wet dad) close by. Adding the assessive modifiers onto the "隊友" (teammate) has changed significantly how these terms are used. Of the different kinds of "teammates", the "奶爸" (wet dad) is more similar to the positive kinds. Though most similar in literal meaning, "父親" (father) and

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

“爸爸” (dad) are used completely differently. Moreover, “爸爸” is removed from all of the other terms in both plots. Overall, words evoking the “father” identity are used more diversely, while “husband” words are more closely related.

“父親” (father) and “爸比” (the most frequently used form of “daddy”) show different qualities in the two plots. In the CBOW model, “爸比” is closest to the “好/神/豬隊友” (good/ champion/ bad teammate) cluster, which is understandable, as they are all playful terms. However, “父親” (father), which is one of the most formal forms, is also in the midst of these informal forms. On the other hand, in the skip-gram model, “父親” and “爸比” are both used in completely distinct contexts. The inconsistency is difficult to explain, but this difficulty in fact shows that literal meaning and superficial forms are not definitive of the way different identities of the father are constructed linguistically in these parents’ discourses.

4.1.2 Themes on Fathering

Most of the synonyms for the father/husband that are shown above are keywords for determining whether a text contains mention of the father. According to the theories of language construct, the discourses in these texts reveal how fatherhood is viewed. At the very least, they show in which contexts fathers are deemed relevant. The figure below shows a comparitive common log of the number of labels appearing in texts that mention the father (fatherhood posts) and texts that mention either parent (parenthood posts). Since parenthood posts have twice the number of texts (100,410) to the fatherhood texts (41,607), the common log can reduce the difference and make the numbers more comparable. To simplify analyses and reduce noise from insignificant labels, only those exceeding over 0.1% of the posts in either text set are included.

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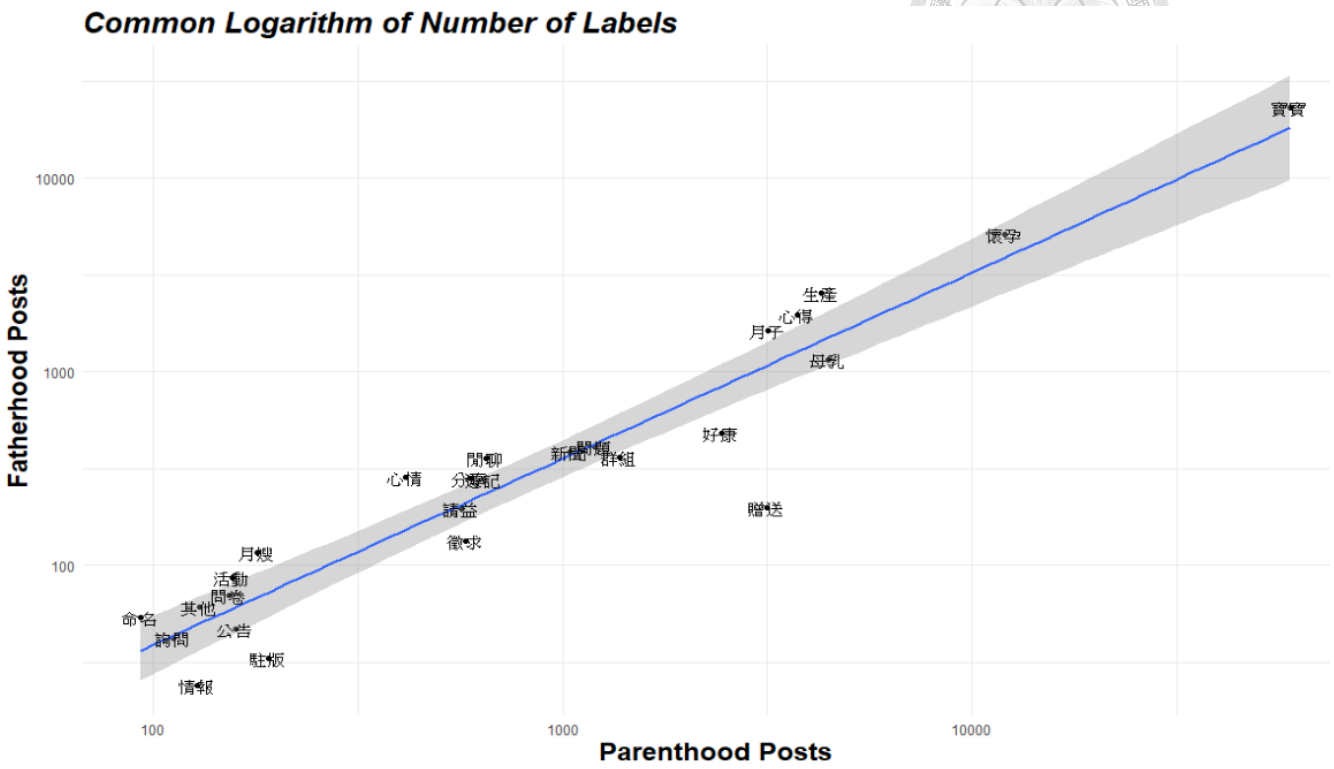

Figure 4.3 Common Log of Labels in Fatherhood Posts and Parenthood Posts

The labels located above the line are more likely to mention father keywords. The higher the point is relative to the line, the more likely the labeled post mentions the father; labels lower than the line are not likely to contain father keywords, meaning that the texts mention the mother and exclude the father.

Generally, labels with personal content are more likely to contain father keywords. Those less personal exclusively mention the mother. This confirms that the mother is understood as the primary parent, as discussants on the board assume readers to be mothers and intuitively address mothers in "好康/情報" (information on sales or activities). A personal label excluding the father is "母乳" (breastmilk/ beastfeeding), a biological event difficult for the father to participate in. Other labels pertaining to maternal experiences include "懷孕" (pregnancy) and "生產" (labor), but they involve

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

the father possibly because of involved fatherhood and "新好男人" (new good man) concepts that encourage fathers and men to be caring and involved. As they are large experiences spanning a long period or requiring a lot of help and support, contemporary husbands/fathers would be expected to take some part.

These common log calculations also help to determine which labels are relevant to fatherhood and are meaningful for further exploration. These labels are: "寶寶" (baby), "懷孕" (pregnancy), "生產" (labor), "心得" (opinions/ takeaways), "月子" (post natal care)[16], "問題" (problem), "新聞" (news), "閒聊" (chitchat), "分享" (sharing), "遊記" (travel log), "請益" (inquiry), "心情" (feelings), "月嫂" (post natal nurse)[17], "活動" (activity), "問卷" (survey), "詢問" (query), "討論" (discussion) and "命名" (naming). Of these labels, "新聞" (news)[18], "遊記" (travel log), "月嫂" (post natal nurse)[19], "活動" (activity)[20], "問卷" (survey)[21] and "命名" (naming)[22] have little pertinence with individual parenting experiences and practices; and "其他" (other) are unclassified discussions about anything. They will be excluded from further explorations.

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[16] Literally translated as "the Month", a Chinese tradition requiring mothers to take a month to recuperate because pregnancy and labor are considered very demanding. It is still very popular in Taiwan today.

[17] A nurse (not necessarily medically trained) who takes care of the mother during the post natal care (see footnote 16) as a profession.

[18] News reports or responses to news events.

[19] People recommending, not recommending or looking for nurses.

[20] Sales or parent-children activitiy information.

[21] People asking parents to fill in surveys for academic or commercial purposes.

[22] Parents asking for suggestions on their children's names.

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To simplify analyses, I will also regroup some of the labels. “心得”, “閒聊”, “分享” and “心情” all portray personal opinions or comments and thus are grouped into one category I will call “opinions”. “問題”, “請益”, “詢問” and “討論” are all advice-seeking posts and will be grouped into “questions”. In sum, six labels will be analyzed: “寶寶” (Baby), “懷孕” (Pregnancy), “生產” (Labor), “月子” (Postnatal care, or postnatal), “Opinions” and “Questions”. The first four are specific in content, with the first centered on the baby and the latter three on different stages of maternity (taking a mother-centric view of parenthood). The last two are personal comments, observations and problems that parents encounter in any stage. These labels are not mutually exclusive and may overlap in content. However, they do reflect the article writer’s perception of the main topic.

The next part looks at these labels and which father terms are used more often in each label. The cross-comparison table is split into two to make the tables more readable. The top table shows the occurrences of the general terms that are used in general contexts. The bottom table shows the more playful terms used habitually in the context of parenting discussions and the *Babymother* board.

Label	Father Names				Percentage in Fatherhood Texts
	父親(Father) n = 935	爸爸(Dad) n = 27285	先生(Husband) n = 20416	老公(informal form of husband) n = 45760	
寶寶(Baby)	465(49.73%)	17629(64.61%)	9059(44.37%)	19646(42.93%)	55.64%
懷孕(Pregnancy)	81(8.66%)	1556(5.70%)	3102(15.19%)	7617(16.65%)	12.38%
生產(Labor)	32(3.42%)	1073(3.93%)	2422(11.86%)	7093(15.50%)	6.13%
月子(Postnatal care)	11(1.18%)	770(2.82%)	1068(5.23%)	2618(5.72%)	3.92%
Opinions	95(10.16%)	2262(8.29%)	1616(7.92%)	3851(8.42%)	6.95%
Questions	7(0.75%)	502(1.84%)	271(1.33%)	392(0.86%)	1.65%
Other	244(26.10%)	3493(12.81%)	2878(14.10%)	4543(9.92%)	13.33%

Table 4-2 Cross-Comparison of Term Occurrences in each Label (Standard Terms)

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

(bracketed numbers show the percentage of total occurrence of each term)

Label	Father Names						Percentage in Fatherhood Texts
	新手爸[23](Novice dad) n = 2331	孩子爸[24] (Child's dad) n = 1405	爸比[25](Daddy) n = 3917	隊友 (Teammate) n = 6372	豬隊友(Pig teammate) n = 707	好隊友[26] (Good teammate) n = 694	
寶寶(Baby)	1084 (46.50%)	826 (58.79%)	2461 (62.83%)	3238 (50.82%)	383 (54.17%)	280 (40.35%)	55.64%
懷孕 (Pregnancy)	262 (11.24%)	92 (6.55%)	190 (4.85%)	787 (12.35%)	87 (12.31%)	78 (11.24%)	12.38%
生產 (Labor)	142 (6.09%)	66 (4.70%)	197 (5.03%)	697 (10.94%)	51 (7.21%)	71 (10.23%)	6.13%
月子 (Postnatal care)	135 (5.79%)	20 (1.42%)	50 (1.28%)	216 (3.39%)	29 (4.10%)	42 (6.05%)	3.92%
Opinions	219 (9.40%)	103 (7.33%)	297 (7.58%)	632 (9.92%)	60 (8.49%)	98 (14.12%)	6.95%
Questions	31 (1.33%)	33 (2.35%)	33 (0.84%)	105 (1.65%)	4 (0.57%)	5 (0.72%)	1.65%
Other	458 (19.65%)	265 (18.86%)	689 (17.59%)	697 (10.93%)	93 (13.15%)	120 (17.29)	13.33%

Table 4-3 Cross-Comparison of Term Occurrences in each Label (Playful Terms)

(bracketed numbers show the percentage of total occurrence of each term)

[23] Including “準爸” (Soon-to-be dad)

[24] Including all “child’s dad” equivalents in footnote 8.

[25] Including all equivalents in footnote 12.

[26] Including both “好隊友” (good teammate) and “神隊友” (champion teammate).

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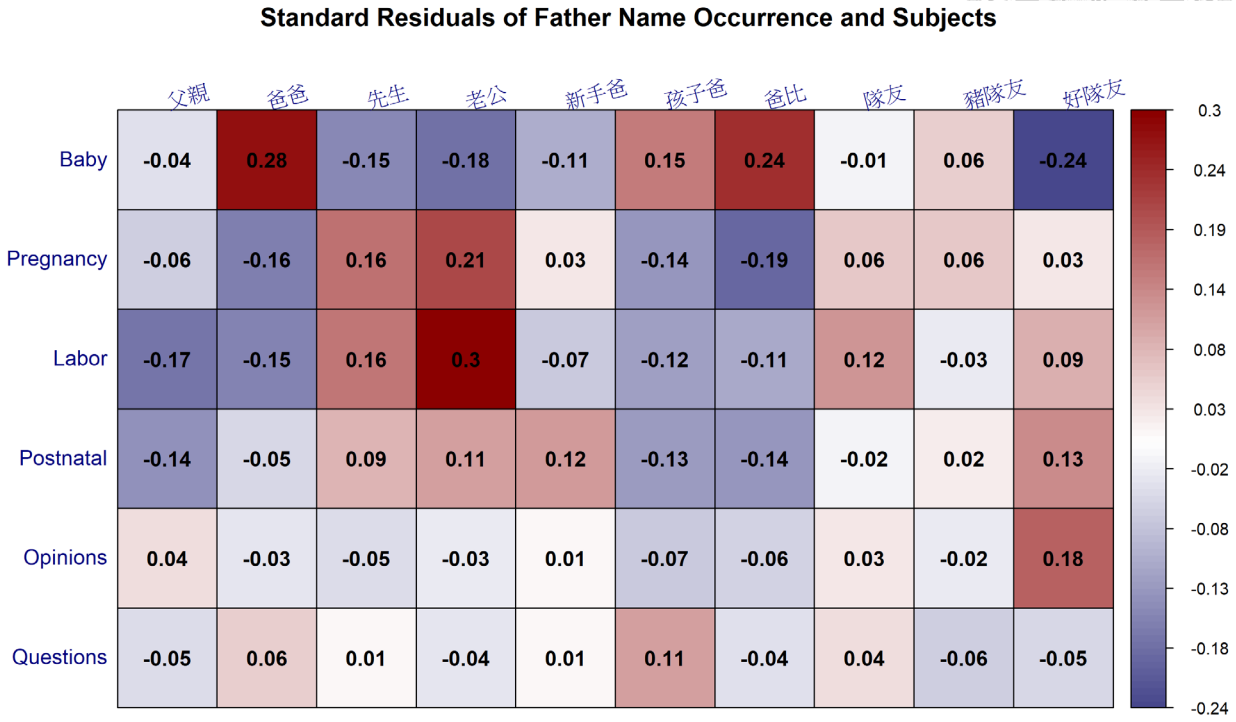

Figure 4.4 Standard Residuals of Father Name Occurrences and Subjects

The result of the chi-square test is: $\chi 2 = 0.7338292$, df = 54, p-value = 1, with the standard residuals shown in the figure above. They show that differences in the occurrences of different father names are not statistically significant. This may be due to faulty categorization, or it may reflect that the label assignment is done subjectively by parents and the contents discussed in each label overlap. While the statistical results are not significant, there are still some trends in the use of the father names in different labels. I will look at the first four categories and the last two separately.

Unsurprisingly, the father role rather than husband role is more often evoked in the "baby" label, with the exceptions of "父親" (father) and "新手爸" (novice dad). It has already been noted that "父親" is formal and used much less frequently than "爸爸" and all the other terms in this section of analysis. The recognition of being a novice is only slightly stressed in "pregnancy" and "postnatal Care", both marking a beginning of

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

parenthood experience and the latter being the stage where the father can truly interact physically with the child, hence the higher frequency.

“Pregnancy” and “labor” are labels that evokes the husband role more often. As noted earlirt these are motherhood experiences requiring care and support. Therefore, the father’s direct relation with the mother is stressed. Similarly, the cooperative and supportive term of “隊友” (teammate) is also used slightly more often in these labels. “Postnatal care” also has slightly higher occurrences with husband terms, possibly because of its significance to the mother. Postnatal care also requires many deliberations and arrangements. The parents have to decide on who to perform it (a specialized center or either parent’s mother), how long it should take and how to arrange childcare. These decisions are made between the couple, and their relation is thus more often mentioned.

As observed in the plots on the fatherhood terms, “隊友” is used similarly to the “husband” words, especially regarding the labels with higher frequencies. The observation that uses of “豬/神/好隊友” (pig/ champion/ good teammate) is distanced from “隊友” uses is also consistent. Within the different kinds of teammates, the pig teammate is relatively evenly distributed among the labels. The good teammates are slightly more frequent in “Labor” and “Postnatal” while less frequent in “Baby”. It is rather unclear at this stage of analysis why that is the case.

There is an inclination that “questions” are asked more from the father’s perspective. The inclination is stronger with the forms of “child’s dad”, which stress the father-child relation even more. This may be because contents under this label addresses readers, so the mutual identity of being parents is used to engage readers to interact. The good teammates also have higher frequency in this label category. The observations on the good

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

and bad teammates do not assert that fathers are good or bad in certain stages of parenthood or infancy. More analyses will be needed to explain the distributions.

4.2 A Father or Husband?

Since the *Babymother* board is an anonymous discussion board with parenting as the common subject, family relations are the center of discussions. Each person portrayed in these accounts is often identified as a family member. In a typical nuclear family, the father of the child would be husband to the mother. As shown above, the two relational identities are not used in the same contexts, even though they roughly refer to the same person. To make sure that the terms refer to the same person (the father/husband inside the nuclear family) and not other fathers or husbands in the extended family or friends, explicit statement of the relationship is stressed. The father-child relationship looks at various forms of "child's dad"; as a parallel, the husband-wife relationship looks at forms of "my husband". Past research has found that the relation between the father and his child and wife often influence his motivation and involvement (Doherty et al., 1998; 王叢桂, 2000; 王大維, 2000). Thus, these terms that name these relationships are important.

Relationship	Keywords Included	Occurrence in Post	Frequency Count
Father-child	"孩子爸", "孩子爹", "孩子的爸", "孩子的爹", "小孩爸", "小孩的爸" (child's dad), "寶寶的爸" (baby's dad), "_寶爸" (dad of _ baby), "兒子爸", "兒子的爸" (son's dad), "女兒爸", "女兒的爸" (daughter's dad)[27]	956	1405
Husband-wife	"我丈夫", "我的丈夫", "我先生", "我的先生", "我老公", "我的老公", "我腦公" (my husband), "我男人", "我的男人" (my man)	6147	10103

[27] "XX 爸", "XX 的爸", "XX 的爹", "XX 爹", "XX 他/她爸", "XX 他/她爹" (XX' s [child' s nickname] dad) are omitted for simplicity of search.

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

Table 4-4 Occurrence of Explicit Relations within the Nuclear Family

In these explicit assertions of relationship, the husband-wife relationship is much more often evoked than the father-child relationship. This is understandable, because the person writing the posts is usually a parent; between the father and mother, it is more likely to be the mother[28]. It is more direct to refer to her husband's relation to herself instead of his relation with the child. On the other hand, the father-child relationship may be called on by either parent. It should be interesting to understand in what contexts the different relations are especially stressed.

4.2.1 Text Subjects

This section aims to understand the uses and constructs of the different roles between the father and husband by exmining the contexts in which they appear. The labels assigned to posts containing mentions of each name and frequent terms in these posts are observed for this purpose. Labels of the posts are general statements of the main theme of the post. Frequent terms show the specific contents in these posts and possible topics of discussion.

The distribution of labels among the different texts roughly portray which contexts evoke either family relation. The log-ratios of the label occurrences in each text set is used for analysis. A label is included in the analysis when its number exceeds 0.3% in either set of texts. The plot below shows the log-ratio of the labels occurring in father-child texts over those in husband-wife texts. A positive value indicates that a label is more likely to appear in the father-child texts and a negative value indicates the opposite. The

[28] Different forms of "my wife", including "內人", "我妻子", "我的太太", "我太太", "我的老婆" and "我老婆" appears in 1438 posts in total, about 23.39% the number of "my husband".

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

absolute values indicate the difference in the probablility. The most probable ten labels are for each set are plotted out. Because these show the relative ratios of frequency, it is important to note that the frequencies of these labels may not necessarily be very high, but higher compared to the other set of texts.

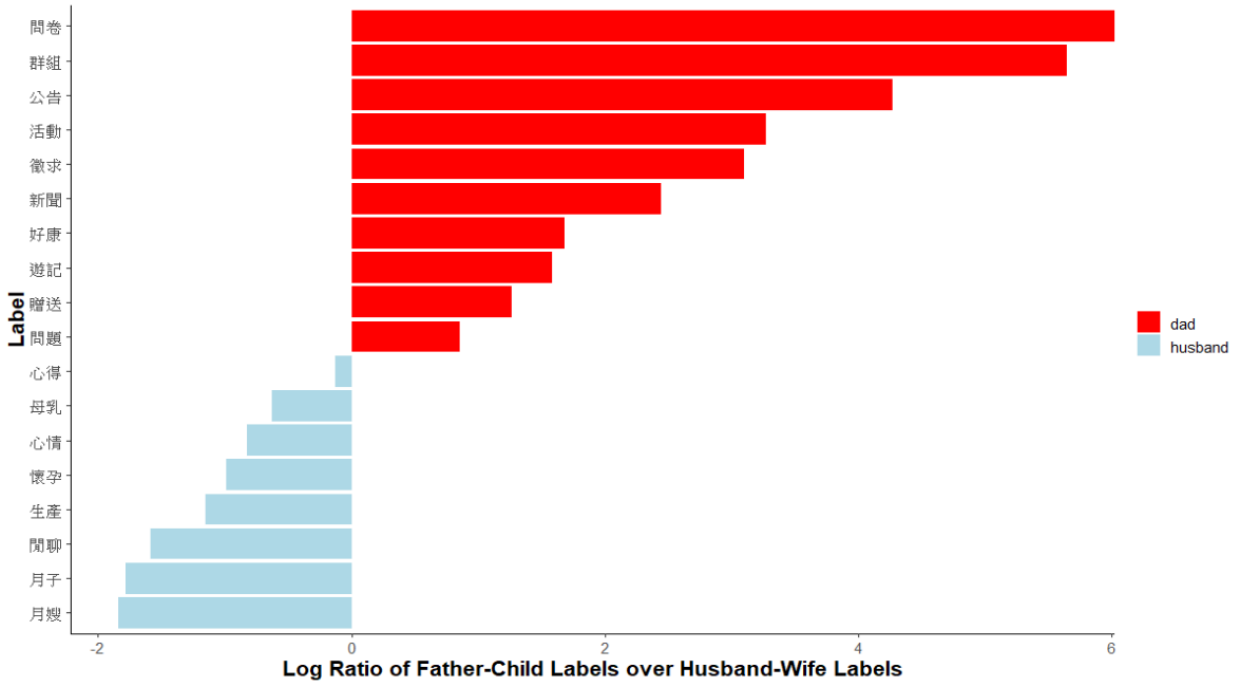

Figure 4.5 Log-Ratio of Father-Child Labels over Husband-Wife Labels

Most of the labels with the highest relative frequency in the father-child texts have been deemed irrelevant to fathering in the previous stages. Four of these occur infrequently in fatherhood texts overall: “群組” (groups), “公告” (announcements), “徵求” (wanted), “好康” (good sales/ activities), and “贈送” (giving things away). Titles and excerpts of these posts are listed as illustrations:

> “[群組] 新手爸爸群徵人 (…) 多位 1~2 年的雞寶狗寶爸爸於團內”
> “[Groups] [Dads] wanted for novice dad group

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

(…) many chicken baby and dog[29] baby dads of 1~2 years in the group" (yang1012, 2020, M.1598543234.A.EB2)

"[好康] combi 高雄特賣會小小分享(…) 可是孩子的爹就一整個欲罷不能還特別請了特休來跟我血拼" "[Good sales/ activities] Sharing a little on the combi sale in Kaoshiung (…) But the child's dad was completely insatiable and even took leave from work to come shopping with me" (carolto1109, 2016, M.1463644721.A.BA2)

These examples also show themes overlapping in different labels. "群組" (groups) mostly signal groups wanting new blood or parents wanting to join parenting groups. "好康" (good sales/ activities) not only shares information on sales but also mixes in personal experiences and comments. The common denominator is that these posts address readers and thus emphasize the role of the parent, which in this case is the father.[30]

Other labels with higher relative frequencies in the father-child texts are judged to have little pertinence to everyday parenthood practices: "問卷" (survey), "活動" (activity), "新聞" (news) and "遊記" (travel log). "問卷" and "活動" are similar to the labels above that interact with readers, the former asking for replies and the latter sharing information. Since news shared on this board are highly likely to be child-centered or parenthood-centered, the father-child relation is more likely to be mentioned in "新聞":

"[新聞] 小孩哭不要打針 「爸爸苦勸 200 分鐘」 (…) 孩子的爸爸也很有耐心 (…)" "[News] Child cries and rejects injection 'Dad painstakingly urges for 200 minutes' (…) The child's dad is also very patient (…)" (pigshow1121, 2018, M.1540894463.A.E9D)

These show the cognitive awareness of the identity of a father/parent. On the other

[29] The "chicken" and "dog" refers to the Chinese zodiac signs that are assigned to each year.

[30] In this vein, the most likely addressee in the board is first the mother. The father of the child is just more likely to be addressed than the husband.

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

hand, “遊記” shows how traveling can present opportunities for father-child interactions and hence realization of the relational aspect of involved fatherhood:

> “[遊記] 宜蘭 蘭城晶英酒店。布丁 3y11m (…) 有一次孩子的爸嫌行李箱空間不夠懶得帶，兒子哭著鬧革命歡了一整晚” “[Travel log] Yilan Silks Place Hotel. Pudding (the child) 3 years and 11 months (…) One time, the child’s dad didn’t bother to bring [it] because there wasn’t enough room in the luggage, our son caused a riot, crying the whole night” (AmandaFish, 2017, M.1504545434.A.361)

“問題” (problem) is the only label that has been included in the cross-analyses previously, showing consistent results. This label is based on problem-solving, presenting many parenting problems, which may very likely be child-related:

> “[問題] 下班自己顧小孩，該怎麼進修？ (…) 如果問起小孩爸，其實小孩不太找他” “[Problem] How do I advance my studies when taking care of the child myself after work? (…) If I ask the child’s dad, the child doesn’t really go to him much” (meettheright, 2016, M.1458055563.A.40C)

Having a child changes the parents’ lives significantly with many potential problems and arrangements that need to be sorted out between the parents. These problems themselves is reminder of this change in identity, either of fatherhood or motherhood.

Among the husband-wife texts, “月嫂” (post-natal nurse) has also been seen as irrelevant to parenting experiences. Perhaps because the nurse is an outsider to the family, even presence of the child does not evoke the identity of the father:

> “[月嫂] 有人跟我一樣會思念月嫂的嗎 (…) 那幾天她跟我老公輪流顧我跟寶寶。” “[Postnatal nurse] Does anyone also miss the nurse like I do (…) Those days she takes turn with my husband to care for me and the baby.” (nrohfwife, 2019, M.1562889224.A.CDE)

This excerpt also shows the mother as a subject of care in postnatal care, another possible explanation for the frequent reference to the husband role. This possibly also explains why labels related to different stages of early maternity like “月子” (post natal care), “生

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

產” (labor), “懷孕” (pregnancy) and “母乳” (breastmilk or breastfeeding) all have higher relative frequencies in the husband-wife texts. Previously, “母乳” has been excluded from cross analyses because it occurs infrequently among fatherhood posts. Its connection to motherhood seems to be why it is relatively frequent in the husband-wife posts:

> “[母乳] 終於我選擇放過我自己 (…) 因為真的很痛，我請我老公下手按摩胸部，他邊按我邊哭，胸部像是烏青部位被按壓” “[Breastfeeding] Finally I chose to cut myself some slack (…) Because it really hurts, I asked my husband to massage my breasts for me. While he was massaging I was crying all the way, as my breasts felt like a bruised part being pressed on” (shower89, 2017, M.1512328360.A.30A)

It has been also been explained that these stages or aspects of motherhood require a lot of support and help, physically or emotionally, highlighting the behavioral dimension of involved fatherhood:

> “[生產] 5 月 26 日生產日誌...神經叢受損寶寶... (…) 小兒科醫生來了 看過寶寶的狀況後 請我先生跟他 9F 去辦理小孩住院問題” “[Labor] Labor jounal for May 26th… baby with damaged nerve plexus … (…) The pediatrician came and saw the baby’s condition. He asked my husband to go with him to the 9th floor for the child’s hospitalization procedures.” (saluawu, 2009, M.1243851227.A.AF0)

These stages also involve many people outside the nuclear family, whether it is a doctor, a nurse or someone from the extended family:

> “Re:[31] [懷孕] 如何說服先生和婆婆同意住月中 (…) 出一張嘴的是我老公跟婆婆” “Re: [Pregnancy] How do I convince my husband and mother-in-law to agree to my living in a post natal care center (…) The ones doing lip service are my husband and mother-in-law” (wangping, 2020, M.1604765508.A.CDC)

This excerpt introduces the husband’s original family, and most importantly, the mother-in-law. The extended family plays important parts in many decisions for the couple,

[31] This means that this is a “repost” posted to reply to a post.

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

because they are available resources for all kinds of support, from informative to monetary to caregiving. However, as this excerpt shows, their involvement also poses potential for disagreement and even conflict.

The potential for conflict and negativity may explain the relatively higher frequency in labels that indicate expressions of emotions: "閒聊" (chitchat), "心情" (feelings) and "心得" (opinions/ takeaways):

> "Re: [心情] 長輩的無聊話與干涉教養問題 (…) 我先生有給[婆婆紅包]。我自己這邊就是母親節、生日、過年基本上都是給婆婆大紅包" "Re: [Feelings] Problem with elders saying stupid things and interfering with upbringing (…) My husband does give [red envelopes to my mother-in-law]. I myself give my mother-in-law big red envelopes for Mother's Day, birthdays and New Year's" (g970714, 2020, M.1593583279.A)

Of course, thoughts and opinions from the mother may not necessarily be negative. Whichever the case, because the thoughts and feelings are from her perspective, her direct relation to her husband is often stressed in these kinds of posts:

> "[心得] 自我修復練習/隊友是最重要的支持 (…) 我先生也是從樓下廣場兩小時慢慢訓練[顧孩子]到現在" "[Opinions/ takeaways] Practicing self-healing/ the teammate is the most important support (…) My husband also slowly trained [taking care of child] from two hours in the square downstairs to his level now" (iamis, 2019, M.1577461065.A.64B)

> "[閒聊] 覺得心暖暖的(…) 我告訴我先生這些[好]事，他說台灣還是有很多很多很棒的人事物""[Chitchat] Feeling warm in my heart (…) I told my husband these [nice] things and he said that there are still very many great people and things in Taiwan" (sarah32kimo, 2016, M.1475393086.A.ACF)

The above excerpts show a range of emotions and attitudes towards partners and family. Even the positive ones acknowledge the negativity experienced by fellow parents.

The above analyses and examples show a range of cognitive, relational and behavioral accounts of involved fatherhood. However, the emotional aspects of fatherhood are few because most accounts have been given by the mother. The following

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

analysis shifts attention to contents in the posts. An intuitive quantitative analysis for this is word frequency. These statistics can quickly capture recurring words and from them a glimpse of recurring topics. Please note that low tf-idf words have been eliminated, including common and frequent words like "媽媽" (mom), "爸爸" (dad) and "寶寶" (baby). The list of eliminated words are listed in the appendixes.

Rank	Original Word	English	Frequency	Rank	Original Word	English	Frequency
1	醫生	Doctor	737	11	問	Ask	479
2	睡	Sleep	735	12	哭	Cry	468
3	帶	Take with/ take care of (child)	735	13	家	Home	459
4	開始	Start	705	14	爸媽	Dad and mom	455
5	買	Buy	704	15	醫師	Doctor	442
6	大寶	Oldest child (informal)	543	16	喝	Drink	429
7	玩	Play	513	17	打	Beat/ call (on the phone)/ inject/ type	411
8	爸	Dad	500	18	喜歡	Like	410
9	女兒	Daughter	488	19	愛	Love	406
10	找	Look for	480	20	狀況	Situation	399

Table 4-5 Top 20 Frequent Words in Father-Child Texts (Excluding Low Tf-idf Words)

Rank	Original Word	English	Frequency	Rank	Original Word	English	Frequency
1	醫生	Doctor	5530	11	醫院	Hospital	2882
2	婆婆	Wife's mother-in-law	4544	12	醫師	Doctor	2691
3	開始	Start	4227	13	打	Beat/ call (on the phone)/ inject/ type	2675
4	帶	Take with/ take care of (child)	3973	14	哭	Cry	2629
5	睡	Sleep	3886	15	兒子	Son	2578
6	問	Ask	3483	16	玩	Play	2363

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

7	買	Buy	3404	17	懷孕	Be pregnant	2359
8	痛	Hurt/ pain	3359	18	狀況	Situation	2308
9	生	Give birth to/ raw	3106	19	喝	Drink	2288
10	女兒	Daughter	3027	20	大寶	Oldest child (informal)	2279

Table 4-6 Top 20 Frequent Words in Random Sample of 20,000 Husband-Wife Texts (Excluding Low Tf-idf Words)

While the most general terms referring to the nuclear family triad is eliminated, both texts show references to children in more specific terms, such as "女兒" (daughter) or "大寶" (Oldest child). These terms are also present in the husband-wife texts. However, terms for parents like "爸" (dad) and "爸媽" (dad and mom) appear more frequently in father-child texts. The high frequency of "爸" is likely because the text filters. On the other hand, "爸媽" sometimes portrays the father and mother as a parenting unit:

> "沒症狀讓爸媽更焦急呀！" "The lack of symptoms makes dad and mom more anxious!" (pabbys0804, 2019, M.1563203738.A.020)

> "我們現在也是爸媽愛抱" "Now we as dad and mom also love to hold [the baby]" (gaun, 2017, M.1496203623.A.39D)

The frequent occurrence of the parenting unit is somewhat consistent with earlier observations that relational and cognitive aspects of involved fatherhood are connected to references of the "child's dad".

Sometimes, "爸媽" also refers to the grandparents of the child:

> "話說我們現在是跟我爸媽住 假日的時候會回娘家" "The thing is, we are currently living with my dad and mom. We go back to my wife's home on weekends and holidays." (oSaKuLa, 2017, M.1483201059.A.B67)

The extended family is present yet again. "婆婆" (wife's mother-in-law) is an important character in the extended family, seen among the top frequent words in the husband-wife

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

texts. Since she is the husband's mother, her appearance along with evocation of the "husband" identity is understandable.

> "我先生非常容易暈車暈船暈機暈捷運(連吊床都不行)，我婆婆說他小時候非常難帶" "My husband is very prone to motion sickness whether on cars, boats, planes or the MRT (he can't even handle a hammock). My mother-in-law said that he was very difficult to take care of when he was young" (mscmrsc, 2016, M.1475180016.A.654)

Her involvement in her son's family also carries parenting ideals from the last generation, creating a special relationship and potential for tension between the two mothers of different generations in East Asian society.

> "有後援心裡是真心感謝，而且我婆婆還是每天從林口來台北，即便教養觀念跟以前的世代不同" "I am sincerely grateful in my heart for having backup, especially because my mother-in-law comes to Taipei from Linkou every day, even though [my] ideas for raising children are different from previous generations." (g970714, 2020, M.1593583279.A)

In both text sets, doctors are major players in parenting experiences from pregnancy to child-rearing, either as informative authority assisting with and answering to worries that parents may encounter regarding the family's health and development, or as medical professionals working with the pregnant mother or troubled child. The hospital setting is more prominent in the husband-wife texts, however, with "醫院" (hospital), "醫師" (doctor) and "痛" (hurt/ pain) among the frequent words:

> "有些人形容[哺乳]比生產還痛 (…) 所以我在懷孕期間叫我先生載我去義大醫院參加母乳哺育課程" "Some people describe [breastfeeding] being more painful than labor (…) So during my pregnancy I asked my husband to drive me to E-da Hospital to participation in breastfeeding classes" (inonat, 2016, M.1468065547.A.3C9)

> "又痛又累哭著跟老公講想剖腹" "[I was] both in pain and exhausted so I cried to my husband that I wanted a c-section" (saluawu, 2009, M.1243851227.A.AF0)

This echoes previous obervations that maternal contents such as pregnancy and labor are

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

frequent topics in husband-wife texts. These topics involve physiological changes, discomfort and anxiety, needing much medical advise and assistance. The most likely to provide support from the family is the husband. Fittingly, "懷孕" (being pregnant) and "生" (give birth to) are frequent terms among these texts as well:

> "生完第三天了 (…) 記憶猶新時上來做個紀錄。" "This is the third day after labor. (…) here to make a record when the memory is still fresh" (lalipo, 2018, M.1521765560.A.20D)

It also seems that "打" (beat/ call/ inject/ type) is frequently used to mean injection for anesthesia or children's vaccinations in both texts:

> "本來預計今天孩子的爸排好休假要[帶小孩]去打第二劑[疫苗]" "The original plan was that the child's dad had arranged a day off to [take the child] to take the second dose [of vaccination]" (masakoyeh, 2019, M.1546944420.A.F99)

> "因為之前有看媽寶版知道小孩打點滴不容易" "Because I've seen discussions on the Babymother board so I know that it is not easy to inject a drip on a child" (skyf1ying, 2018, M.1524727096.A.E75)

> "第一時間打了無痛加上我的耐痛指數頗高" "I had epidural anesthesia injection right away plus my pain threshold is quite high" (ktts, 2018, M.1526314938.A.90F)

The first excerpt is taken from father-child texts and the last two are taken from husband-wife texts, showing that the use of either fatherhood identity is not wholly distinctive on the child's involvement or subject matter. On the other hand, they also display different kinds of behaviors of involved fatherhood.

The many heteronyms of "打" and its high frequency in both text sets also depict mundane daily lives made up of trivial experiences from playful interactions, calling family members to typing up a post to record parenting experiences:

> "(…) 雖然知道不該打孩子耳光 (…)" "(…) Though [I] know we shouldn't slap children (…)" (pigshow1121, 2018, M.1540894463.A.E9D)

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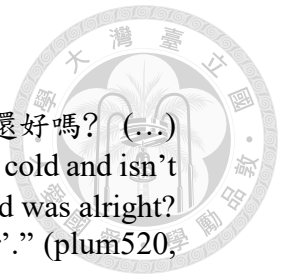

"今天孩子的爸感冒不舒服，在床上躺著，叫女兒去看爸爸還好嗎？（…）女兒就打他爸爸腳，說：不乖。" "Today the child's dad has a cold and isn't well, so he was lying on the bed. I asked my daughter to see if dad was alright? (…) Our daughter slapped her dad's feet, saying: 'bad behavior'." (plum520, 2016, M.1462097363.A.18C)

"也曾打過 1925 安心專線聊過" "I have also called the 1925 hotline for a talk" (mindy1025, 2020[32])

It is the same with "開始" (start), marking the onset of any procedure or behavior.

In addition, words like "帶" (take with/ take care of), "睡" (sleep) "買" (drink), "喝" (drink), "玩" (play) and "哭" (cry) portray family life with a child:

"(…) 吃短效助眠藥有時也會提早醒來 所以沒辦法寶寶睡我也跟著睡 (…) 我先生 (…) 當初安胎中育兒用品都沒買" "(…) Sometimes even after taking short-acting hypnotics I wake up early, so I wasn't able to get sleep when the baby's sleeping (…) My husband (…) didn't buy any baby products during preterm" (mindy1025, 2020[33])

"孩子的爸爸也會單獨陪哥哥玩~" "The children's dad also plays with the older son singly~" (babycu, 2020, M.1601361332.A.84E)

"至今也都還不能睡過夜，晚上都一直要找奶頭。這樣不論是孩子爸爸自己顧，或是過年因為和老公都要提早上班，要交給親妹幫忙帶都會很困難" "[The child] still can't sleep through the night up to now, always looking for my nipples at night. It would be difficult whether the child's dad is taking care of it by himself, or when my husband and I both have to go to work in advance during the New Year's holidays and have to hand [the child] to my younger sister to help with caring." (superdunkpig, 2018, M.1546075719.A.BE2)

In the latter excerpt, both roles of the father and husband are juxtaposed in the same sentence. The "child's dad" is mentioned in the direct interaction with the child, but between work and arranging for care, the "husband" is evoked. Perhaps this is also why "玩" (play) is relatively more frequent in the father-child texts. These verbs portray

[32] Deleted since extracted. Backup url: https://pttyes.com/BabyMother/M.1589965646.A.2AB

[33] See footnote 32.

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mixtures of relational and behavioral aspects of involved fatherhood in everyday lives.

Words like “問” (ask) and “狀況” (situation) point to issues of parenthood, as well as the need for communication and information sharing arising from these issues:

> “(…) 回阿嬤家我問他哭什麼 (…)” “(…) we went back to grandma’s home and I asked him [the child] what he was crying about (…)” (babycu, 2020, M.1601361332.A.84E)

> “(…) 醫生診斷後說無大礙，只是孩子還是咳嗽有痰狀況而已” “(…) The doctor’s diagnosis said there was no big problem, just that the child has the situation of still coughing phlem” (abc12692, 2017, M.1496921603.A.AED)

> “狀況是這樣的 (…) 目前問到的托嬰都不收半日的” “Here’s the situation (…) the daycare centers I asked so far are all not taking [children] for [only] half a day” (yiyishih, 2016, M.1476371501.A.7E5)

Same as most households, these parents deal with big or small situations on a daily basis. The *Babymother* board provides a platform for parents to ask for advice or share their lives and frustrations.

The new necessities of parenting such as nannies, daycare centers or baby-related products contribute partly to the high frequency of “找” (look for) in the father-child texts:

> “決定要去評估[小孩認知情形]後第一件事當然是找醫院 (…)” “After deciding to assess [the child’s cognitive developments] the first thing is of course to look for a hospital (…)” (birdbaby, 2018, M.1529457770.A.7C0)

> “我主要是想要找少添加+單瓶不貴的 3 階奶粉” “I am mainly looking for 3rd stage baby formula with little additives + inexpensive by each jar” (cloverba, 2017, M.1488778086.A.B90)

“找” also has connotations of asking for someone or going to someone for help:

> “但是有負面情緒當然要找老公處理阿 他是孩子的爸爸耶= =” “But if you have negative emotions of course you should get your husband to deal with it. He is the child’s dad (emoticon to express indignation)” (bonny33, 2016, M.1475337655.A.4B3)

> “如果在阿嬤家[孩子]就會找不在的爸爸，在我家就會找不在的阿嬤” “If [we were] at grandma’s [the child] would look for dad, who is not present; at home he would look for grandma, who is not present” (babycu, 2020,

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

M.1601361332.A.84E)

The excerpts show that the word either indicates interactions between all the different players inside and outside the household, or the behavioral arrangements of childcare, support and necessities.

"家" (home) is relatively more frequent in father-child texts. It can be the family's home, the nanny's home or the grandparents' homes:

> "(…) 午睡起來[我]就都待在家等爸爸接弟弟回家" "(…) After nap [I] only stay home and wait for dad to take our son home" (yaping100, 2016, M.1459080541.A.682)

> "但保母家的玩具帶回家後就丟一旁 開始玩自己家的 (…) ps 孩子的爸說他小時候都這樣把表哥的電動玩具帶回家…" "But when [the child] takes toys from nanny's home, she tosses them aside and starts playing with toys from home (…) ps The child's dad says he takes his cousin's electrical toys home like that when he was little" (sakuralove, 2018, M.1525657162.A.C22)

This reinforces the intuition that the father identity is referred to more often in child-related contexts or family-related contexts. The presence of "喜歡" (like) and "愛" (love) in the frequent terms also seem to signal intimate relations:

> "然而女兒兩歲了,很喜歡爸爸 (…) 孩子的爸爸是個很負責任的人,但是我總覺得我女兒從爸爸得到的愛好少" "But our daughter is two years old and she likes her dad very much (…) the child's dad is a very responsible person, but I always feel that my daughter gets so little love from dad" (bigchief, 2016, M.1478527838.A.4ED)

> "無論全職媽媽或是職場媽媽, 都是用心愛孩子的媽媽!" "No matter if you're a full-time mom or a working mom, you all love your children wholeheartedly!" (chanasa, 2017, M.1483690485.A.A00)

In addition to intimacy, "喜歡" and "愛" can also refer to preferences or habits:

> "目前小孩爸 只喜歡陪玩 不喜歡管跟教" "Currently the child's dad only likes to play [with the child] but doesn't like to discipline or teach" (andtwo, 2018, M.1523435193.A.466)

> "送托後的女兒一樣很愛笑" "After sending my daughter to daycare she still loves to laugh" (chanasa, 2017, M.1483690485.A.A00)

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Indications of affection and preference both show personal thoughts and feelings, which portray how the relational dimension of involved fatherhood may be played out.

These results show some of the different contexts that foreground the different roles of the father in a nuclear family. The similarities also paint a picture of the general discussions surrounding the father regardless of the names they are called. Terms referring explicitly to the father-child relation shows more interactions with the child or interactions within the nuclear family unit, as suggested by the terms. When the extended family is concerned, especially family from the father's side, or when the partnership between the couple is demanded, the husband role brings out the behavioral aspects of involved fatherhood relating to the mother. However, text excerpts also show that the larger general contexts and topics are generally not entirely distinct between the different roles. There are overlaps in each topic and different use of language. The differences are more accurately described as tendencies rather than certainties.

The texts excerpted above show a mix of daily interactions and conditions of living in a family, making the posts seem almost like stream-of-consciousness journals, often diverging with many sub-topics and are not always coherent. Therefore, the following analyses will focus on immediate texts surrounding these roles.

4.2.2 Father and Husband Associations

This section delves further into the language surrounding the role of the father. Word association is the chosen method for this.

I have replaced the various forms of "child's dad"[34] by "孩子爸"; words for

[34] "孩子爹", "孩子的爸", "孩子的爹", "小孩爸", "小孩的爸" (child's dad), "寶寶的爸" (baby's dad),

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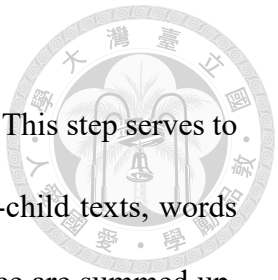

"husband", including "丈夫" and "先生" are also replaced by "老公". This step serves to simplify the pairs and to avoid dilution of associations. In the father-child texts, words co-occurring with "_爸" (_dad) and the frequency of the co-occurrence are summed up. In the husband-wife texts, words co-occurring with "老公" are summed up in the same manner. The criteria for the father identity ("爸") seems somewhat lax but is necessary because of the vast variety of uses for the word. The relative frequency of words associated with either identity is plotted by their common logarithms to make the differences comparable. Words closer to the line have closer relative frequencies, and words on either side shows tendency to show up in either set of texts. The associated words are categorized by their part-of-speech (POS) by the Ckiptagger, reorganized as nouns, adjectives[35], intransitive verbs and transitive words. Each POS is plotted separately.

"女兒的爸", "女兒爸" (daughter's dad), "兒子的爸" and "兒子爸" (son's dad) are replaced.

[35] Originally the Ckiptagger POS categorizations of [VH] (stative intransitive verb) and [VHC] (stative causative verb). These "verbs" can function as adjectives (Chung, 2006: 26) and are mainly perceived as adjectives by non-linguistically trained people. Therefore, they are categorized as adjective here.

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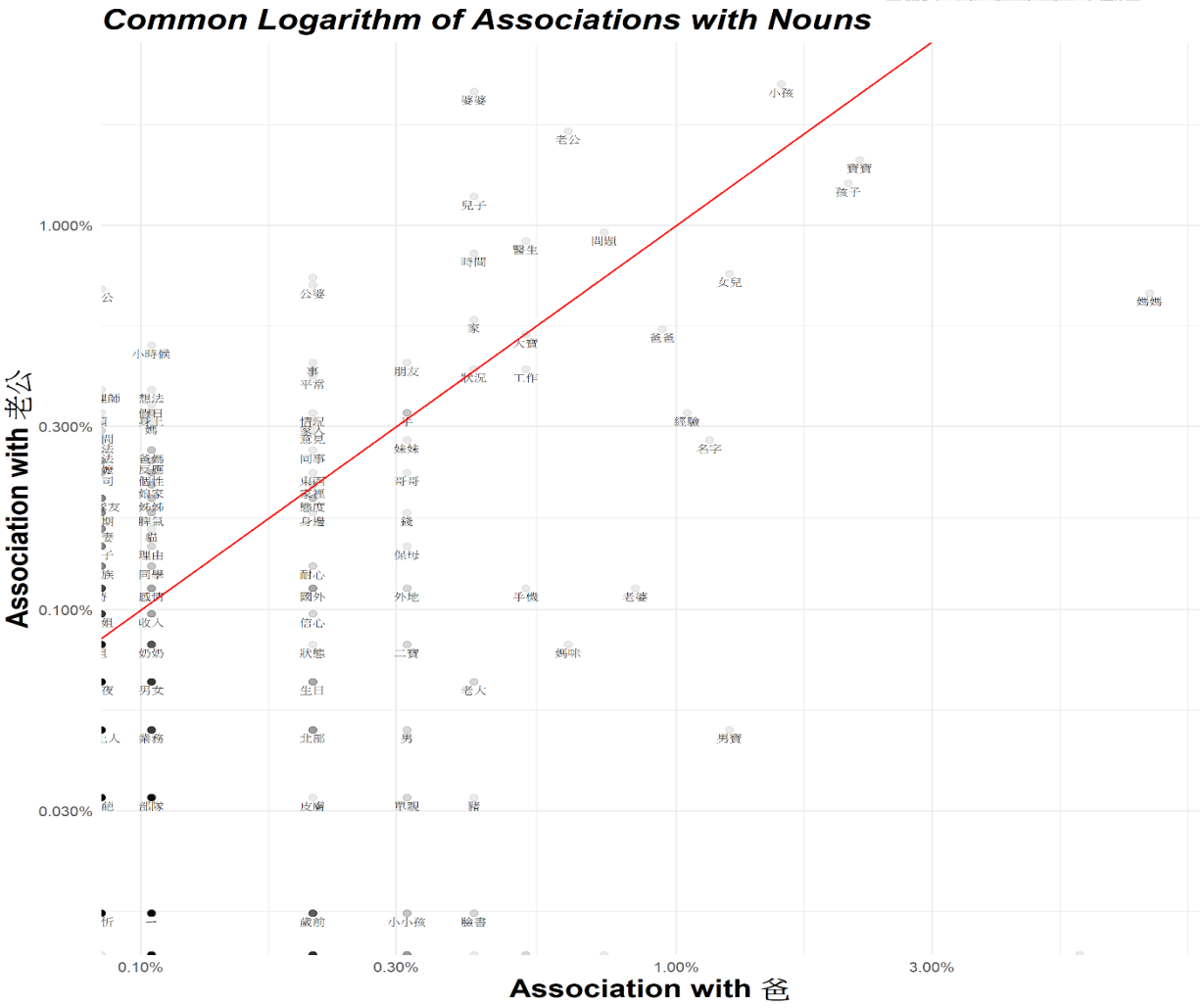

Figure 4.6 Common Logarithm of Nouns Associated with Different Father Identities

The most frequent words shown in both texts are family members, located in the top right corner of the plot. More general words for the child: “孩子”, “小孩” (child) and “寶寶” (baby) are rather close to the red line, showing similar relative frequencies, though “孩子” and “寶寶” are relatively more associated with the father and “小孩” with the husband. This shows that the child is associated with both identities, but it should also be noted that the former two words connote more intimacy. Because I have specifically set the word segmentations of “child’s” “dad” to the compounded “child’s dad” for all of the keywords, these show frequent associations between the child and the “child’s dad”.

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Specification of the child in gender or relation to siblings, such as “女兒” (daughter), “大寶” (oldest child), “妹妹” (younger sister, sometimes refers to the younger female child or any young female), “哥哥” (older brother, sometimes refers to older male children), and “男寶” (male baby), tend to co-occur with the father. The exceptions are “兒子” (son) and “姊姊” (older sister, sometimes refers to older female children) which occur more often with the husband. Previous observations established that the “child’s father” tends to occur in contexts involving the child, which also roughly explains the relatively higher co-occurrence with “保母” (nanny):

> “(…) 反而比較常抱著哥哥，孩子的爸爸也會單獨陪哥哥玩~” “ (…) we actually hold the older son more often, and the children’s dad also plays with the older son singly~” (babycu, 2020, M.1601361332.A.84E)

> “主要照顧者是寶寶的爸爸以及保母” “The main caregivers are the baby’s dad and the nanny” (reneerou, 2019, M.1555063252.A.13A)

The cognitive aspect of involved fatherhood is stressed as a common parenthood experience and accounts for the different kinds of “_寶” (_baby), “名字” (name) and “經驗” (experience) associated with the father:

> “可惜應該是無法成立一個爸寶版 猴寶爸爸們你們並不孤單！” “It’s a pity we probably won’t be able to set up a Babydaddy board. Monkey baby dads you are not alone!” (dofya, 2017, M.1493226593.A.15E)

> “先生請大寶的命名老師組合了一些名字，經過寶爸寶媽雙方家人投票後(…)” “My husband asked the master who named our oldest child to put together some names. After both families of the baby’s dad and baby’s mom have voted (…)” (missingine, 2019, M.1577686590.A.B92)

> “有女寶爸爸願意分享經驗嗎？” “Are there girl baby’s dads who are willing to share their experience?” (lightdance, 2020, M.1593488710.A.016)

Co-occurrence of the husband and the son is relatively high while co-occurrence of the father and the son is also relatively low compared to the daughter. This may be related

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to gendered perceptions much like “daddy’s girl” in western cultures. In both cultures, the concept of “daddy’s boy” is not as prevalent. It appears that the gender of the child affects the cognitive or relational aspects.

Associations with the husband himself are more likely with the husband; likewise, associations with the father are more likely with the father, showing consistency in role naming. However, as both terms are located near the upper right corner, associations with the other role is not uncommon. In these texts, these two roles usually refer to the same person. The juxtaposition of the two roles sometimes shows awareness of the difference and maybe even conflict in the two roles:

> “(…)早上我老公，也就是孩子的爸拿了南瓜子饅頭給寶寶吃” “(…) this morning my husband, who is the child’s dad, gave the baby pumpkin seed steamed bun to eat” (ritalin0925, 2019, M.1557149114.A.663)

> “有了小孩，我找不到老公，只找的到孩子的爸。有了小孩，我找不到自己，只看的到孩子的媽” “With the child, I can’t find my husband, only the child’s dad. With the child, I can’t find myself; I can only see the child’s mom.” (rimadyl, 2016, M.1474344839.A.FAB)

“神隊友” is also more associated with the husband, with zero co-occurrences with the father. “隊友” has been observed to be more similar to the husband than the father in previous analyses, with more similar contexts of use. The assessment of good or bad teammates is usually done to the husband role than the father:

> “雖然先生不是神隊友 但至少不是豬隊友” “My husband is not a champion teammate, but at least he’s not a pig teammate” (RoseGold, 2017, M.1490155347.A.E89)

Words referring to the mother like “媽媽” (mom), “老婆” (wife) and “媽咪” (mommy) all co-occur more often with the father, partly because the husband texts are all written from the mother’s perspective. Apart from that, because she is the default parent in a discussion board about parenting, her interaction with either role is inevitable. On the

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other hand, the extended family on the father's side, including "婆婆" (wife's mother-in-law), "公婆" (wife's in-laws) and "公公" (wife's father-in-law) are all more associated with the husband, as observed in previous analyses. However, the extended family on the mother's side, "娘家", is also more associated with the husband. "爸媽" (dad and mom) and "家人" (family) may depict the same relations. This confirms the previous explanation that involvement of those outside the nuclear family also tends to prompt the husband role. The husband also has relative higher associations with "醫生" (doctor), "朋友" (friend), "同事" (colleague) and "護理師" (medical nurse).

"工作" (work) leans toward the father identity more while "家" (home) leans toward the husband identity, though both terms stray only slightly from the line. Work is important for modern family life and needs to be considered into family arrangements. The home is an important setting for the family to live and interact. Both are crucial but often at odds with each other. Specified settings far from the home like "國外" (abroad), "外地" (out of town) or "北部" (the northern region) interestingly prompts the father role more often. Perhaps this displays compensation for perceived discord in the concept of the "ideal" contemporary father-child relationship that stresses time spent together:

> "要帶寶寶回去生產前就工作的外地 孩子爸因為工作所以跟我們會分隔兩地" "I'm taking the baby out of town where I had been working before labor. The child's dad has work so we will be in two separate places" (WANWENMO, 2017, M.1510152640.A.9BF)

However, analyses on the left side of the plot should be taken with a grain of salt, especially regarding the words associated with father. The difference in number of texts influences the relative ratios of co-occurrences. Therefore, the lower part of the plot are words with one to three occurrences with the father, but still higher relatively compared

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with the husband. The upper part shows much more words because the corpus is bigger, increasing the richness of vocabulary. Most of the different words co-occurring with each role will be noted but not analyzed for fear of over-speculating on insignificant results.

Nouns related to opinions such as “意見” (opinion), “想法” (thoughts) and “反應” (reaction) as well as general concepts of individuality like “個性” (personality) and “脾氣” (temperament) lean towards the husband. “小時候” (childhood) and “假日” (holidays) are also more associated with the husband.

Some notable nouns co-occurring with the father are “臉書” (Facebook) and “小小孩” (small child), “耐心” (patience), “信心” (confidence), “狀態” (condition), “生日” (birthday) and “皮膚” (skin). Some of these are backdrops for parent-child interaction, and some are desired states of interaction.

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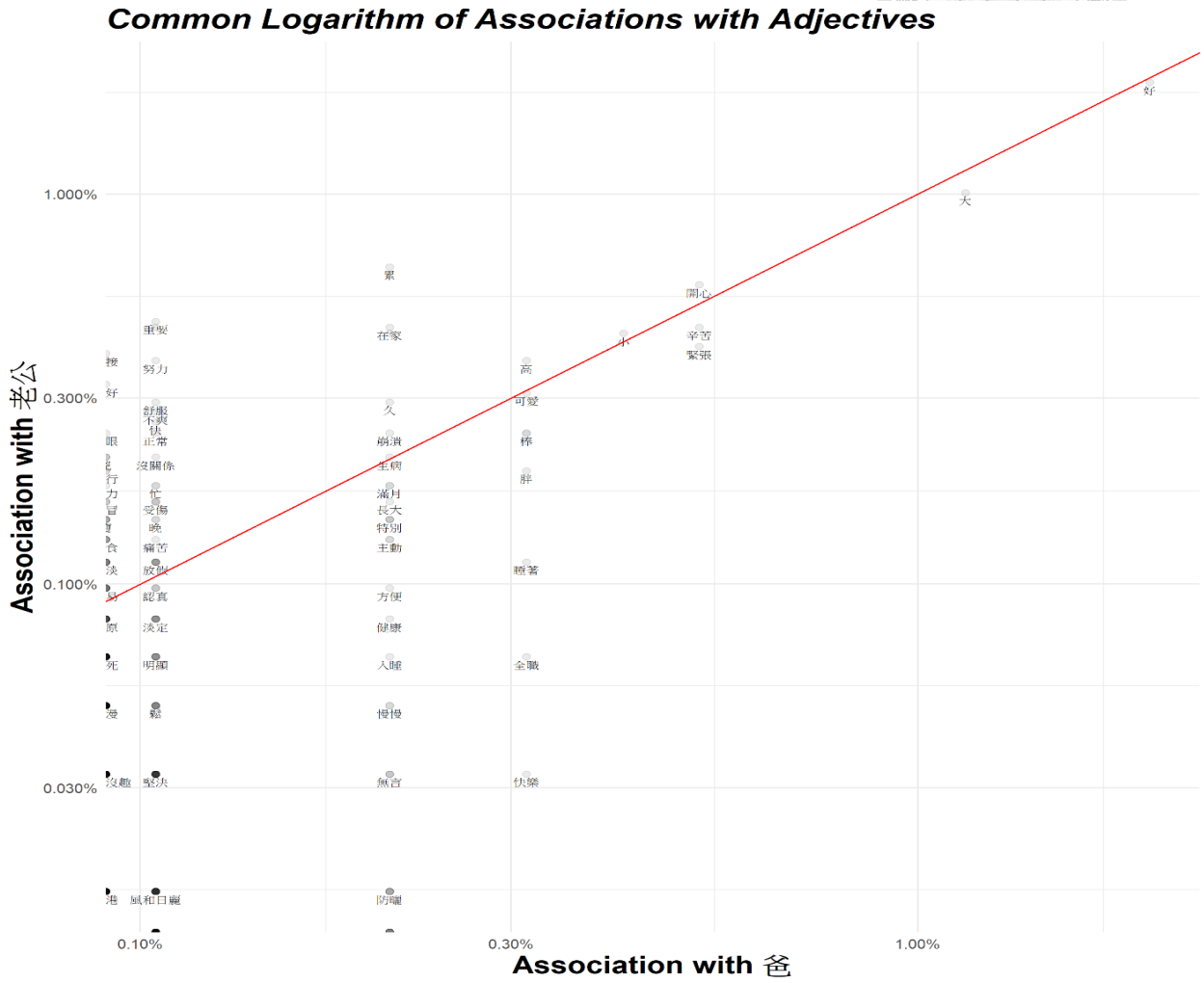

Figure 4.7 Common Logarithm of Adjectives Associated with Different Father Identities

High frequency adjectives with low tf-idf scores like “好” (good), “大” (big) and “小” (small) run close to the line. Other words that are similarly associated with either identity depict general conditions of life, including a wide range of emotions: “開心” (glad), “辛苦” (toilsome), “緊張” (nervous), “崩潰” (breaking down) and “痛苦” (painful); descriptions for people: “高” (tall) “可愛” (cute), and “棒” (great); and situations that need arrangement: “生病” (fallen sick) and “放假” (on vacation). Even so, there is a slight inclination for child-related or parenting adjectives to lean towards the

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father. “可愛” (cute), “滿月” (one month old) and “長大” (growing up) depict proximity to and interaction with the child, which is the relational aspect of involved fatherhood:

> “寶爸覺得雖然長大是好事，追上一般寶寶進度（…）” “The baby’s dad thinks that even though it is good that [the baby is] growing up and catching up with the normal progress of babies (…)” (wishlpl, 2016, M.1472216429.A.25B)

“全職” (full-time) points specifically to parenthood in this context, referring to stay-at-home parents and indicating the behavioral dimension, whether temporarily or long-term:

> “發現媽寶版上的全職爸爸並不少！” “[I] found there are quite a few full-time dads on the Babymother board!” (dofya, 2017, M.1493226593.A.15E)

“睡著” (fallen asleep) and “入睡” (falling asleep) are aspects of daily life more associated with the father. In fact, “方便” (convenient) and “防曬” (sunblocking) also refer to products or hacks for better or easier management of daily life:

> “另外他的收納也很方便，跟孩子爸一起出門時，如果不需要用到推車，單手就可以收起來” “In addition, its storage is also very convenient. When we are out with the child’s dad, it can be stowed away with one hand if we don’t need the stroller.” (sing18, 2019, M.1565859536.A.0FC)

“快樂” (happy) and “健康” (healthy) are general hopes for the child and family:

> “（孩子的爸最愛，希望他快樂又謙虛）” “(This is the child’s dad favorite, hoping he would be happy and modest)” (OldB, 2019, M.1570440543.A.E50)

Interestingly, “在家” (at home) is more associated with the husband. However, the term itself suggests the possibility of not being at home:

> “等到二寶生完 2 個月，我老公不在家時” “2 months after giving birth to the second baby, when my husband wasn’t home” (valine, 2019, M.1558447936.A.EB9)

Of course, many husbands are also at home to care for their wife and children:

> “出院是農曆年間 我媽跟我先生都可以在家裡聽我使喚” “when I am out of the hospital it will be the lunar New Years holidays, when my mom and my husband can be home to listen to my commands” (newnewyao, 2019, M.1560083000.A.206)

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In fact, “累” (tired), “久” (for a long time), “努力” (hardworking), and “忙” (busy) show parents’ toils inside and outside the home as well as among family:

> “那天我先生很累了在家睡覺” “That day my husband was very tired so was sleeping at home” (anitana, 2016, M.1457805508.A.DD0)

> “也被大寶的哭聲折磨很久的我老公 (…)” “my husband, also been tormented by our first child for very long (…)” (beryl517, 2019, M.1563849008.A.C54)

> “(…) 那就努力跟先生溝通看看” “(…) then try hard to communicate with your husband” (u65915uuu, 2016, M.1474339723.A.D89)

As the last excerpt shows, many struggles need to be negotiated and communicated between the parents and family members, making the partnership between the couple more important.

“舒服” (comfortable), “不爽” (pissed), “傻眼” (dumbfounded) and “受傷” (hurt) mostly refer to feelings. They often result from the toils mentioned earlier:

> “不過這同時也是同住很令我不舒服的地方 老公整個是等著被伺候的感覺” “But this is also a part of living together [with my husband’s family] that makes me uncomfortable. It feels like my husband is just waiting to be waited on.” (OOUCH, 2016, M.1460804762.A.AC6)

> “我跟我老公看到那瓶點滴都傻眼” “My husband and I were both dumbfounded when we saw the drip infusion bottle” (firstladyt, 2021[36])

> “很擔心小孩看到他會不會不給他抱 (…) 這樣我老公會很受傷....” “I’m worried that the child won’t let him hug/hold [him] when he sees him (…) this would hurt my husband a lot” (kumatan99, 2016, M.1482774484.A.F77)

These tend to be interactions between the parents or personal feelings. Associations with trivial everyday life show various extents of intimacy and involvement in the home.

[36] Deleted since extracted. Backup url: https://ptt.reviews/BabyMother/M.1617344436.A.3C9

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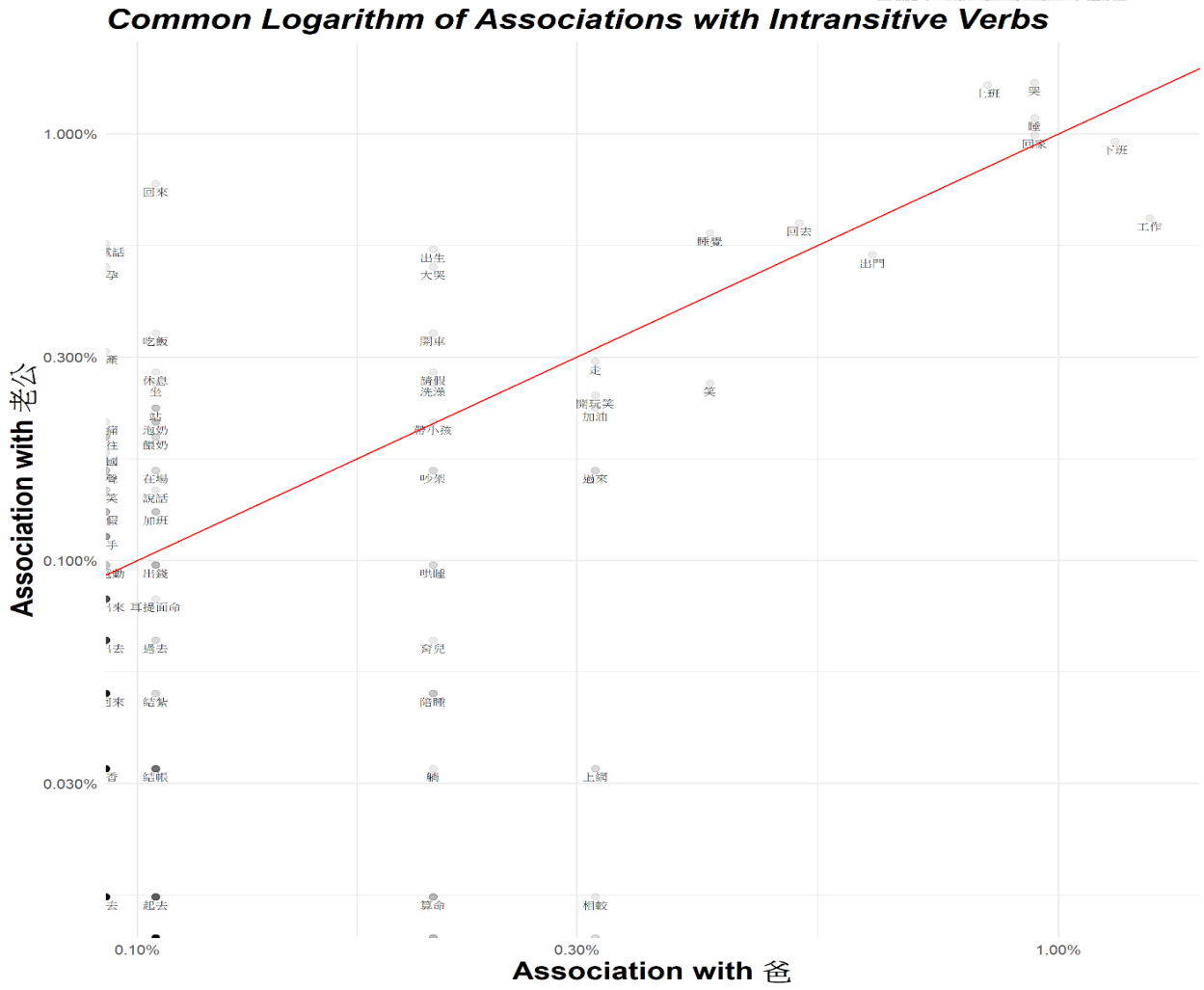

Figure 4.8 Common Logarithm of Intransitive Verbs Associated with Different Father Identities

Common intransitive verbs along the line show work, life at home and transition in between: “上班” (be on duty) and “下班” (be off duty) are work; “哭” (cry) “睡” (sleep), “睡覺” (sleep), “洗澡” (take a shower/ bathe) and “帶小孩” (take care of child) are life and chores of the home; “回去” (go back), “出門” (leave the house), “走” (go), “回家” (go back home), “請假” (take leave) are all transitional actions between the home and somewhere else, be it work, the hospital or leisurely activities with the family. These different aspects are mutually important and often dependent on one another:

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> “會吵到孩子的爸睡覺，爸爸會沒精神上班” “[you] will disturb the child’s dad’s sleep. Dad will be too exhausted for work” (sseen, 2019, M.1553335214.A.DEA)
>
> “第一胎時我先生跟我一起全職帶小孩兩個月 小孩都是先生在抱 洗澡也他洗” “During the first birth my husband and took care of the child for two months full time. My husband was the one who held the child and bathed [it]” (MA2007, 2017, M.1505995828.A.629)
>
> “我先生工作不太好請假” “It’s not easy for my husband to take leave from work” (butkam, 2016, M.1464271961.A.9ED)

They also reveal various behaviors expected of involved fatherhood.

Apart from daily occurrences, “開玩笑” (joke) “加油” (keep up spirits) are also frequent associations with both the father and husband, showing interactions between the parents and even between readers on the board:

> “下班回家還跟孩子的爸開玩笑是不是太累了” “When I got off work and went home I even joked to the child’s dad that I may have been too tired” (blt5945130, 2019, M.1556267320.A.CD2)
>
> “但還好有還有我老公在旁邊幫我加油打氣” “But at least I have my husband at my side to cheer me on and keep my spirits up” (k6094000, 2015[37])
>
> “雙寶爸爸加油！” “You can do it, dad of two babies!” (QQmimi, 2016, M.1471341292.A.C8A)

The last excerpt explains the slightly higher association between “加油” and the father. It is often used to cheer people on, which on this board includes encouraging other parents on the *Babymother* board, inducing interaction and thus calling on the father identity.

While “帶小孩” (take care of the child) is associated with both identities, more specific interactions co-occur with either identity differently. “哄睡” (coax to sleep) and “陪睡” (sleep with) are more associated with the father. “泡奶” (make formula) and “餵

[37] Deleted since extracted. Backup url: https://pttcareer.com/babymother/M.1446458698.A.397.html

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奶” (feed milk) are more associated with the husband. While both sets of activities interact with the child, the former involves direct interaction while the latter doesn’t:

> “(…) 為了不讓寶寶半夜踹到我肚子 已由孩子的爸陪睡了” “(…) to make sure the baby doesn’t kick my stomach at night, its sleeping with the child’s dad” (swen920, 2016, M.1465629224.A.F25)

> “(…) 公婆就叫我老公泡奶給他喝” “so my in-laws told my husband to make formula for him to drink” (dr781217, 2018, M.1519761927.A.4E5)

Yet again, “工作” (work) is slightly more associated with the father. However, as the previous excerpts show, both identities are associated with the breadmaking role. The role of raising the child, “育兒”, however, is more associated with the father. In fact, the father actively talks about it:

> “我自己已經是個二寶爸了，在育兒的路上，媽寶板給了我非常大的幫助” “I myself am a dad of two babies already. On the road of child rearing, the Babymother board has given me great help” (meles, 2016, M.1476715048.A.F4E)

“懷孕” (be pregnant), “出生” (be born) and “陪產” (accompany to labor) being more associated with the husband is also consistent with previous observations of the specific behavior of supporting the mother.

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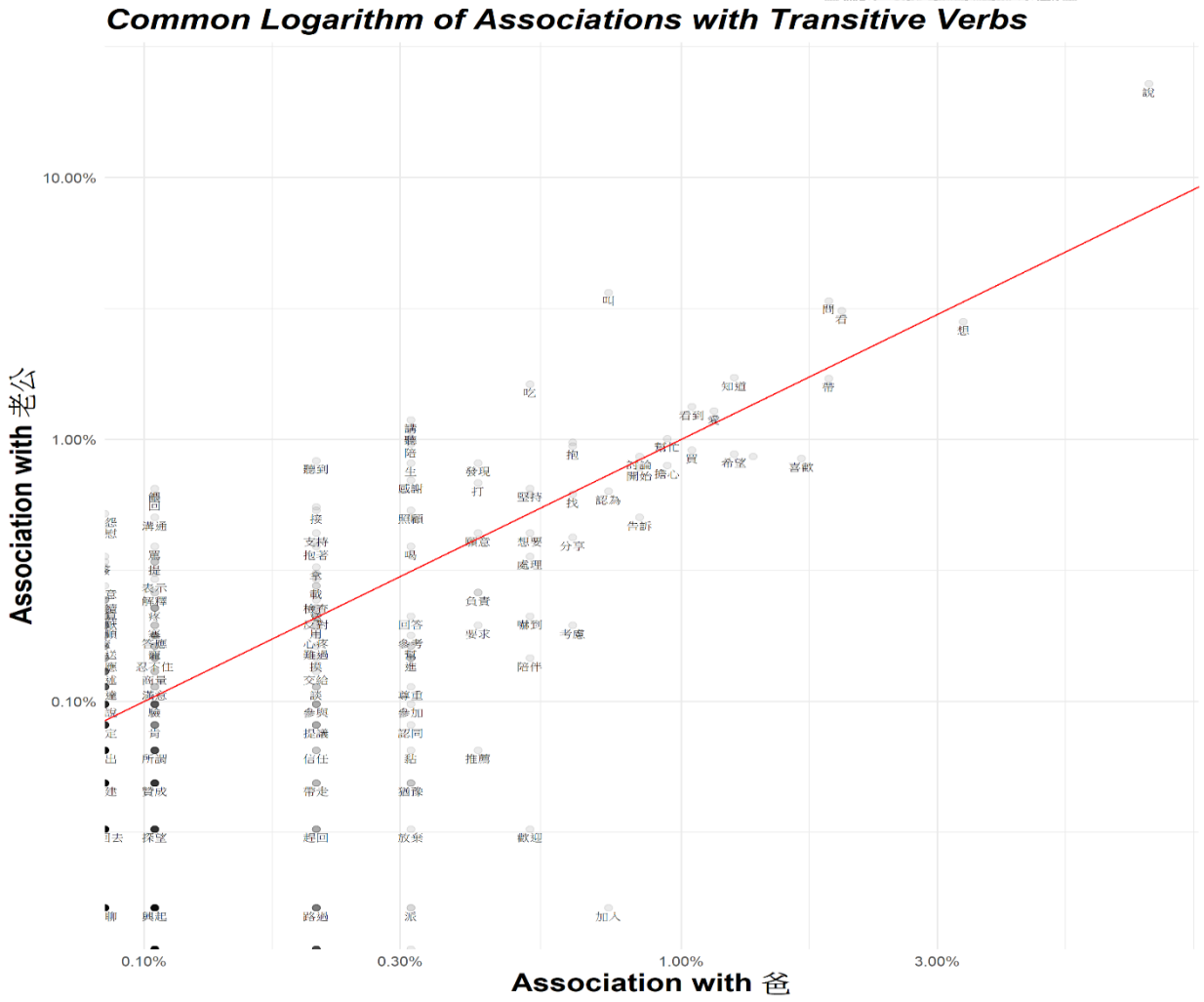

Figure 4.9 Common Logarithm of Transitive Verbs Associated with Different Father Identities

The many associated transitive verbs result in the plot being quite tangled. High frequency words that have appeared among the frequent word tables such as “開始” (start), “帶” (take with/ take care of) and “買” (buy), as well as words with low tf-idf scores like “說” (say), “想” (think), “看” (look at/ take care of) and “幫忙” (help) are generally scattered near the line. However, there is a tendency for communication-related words to lean towards the husband, including “說”, “問” (ask), “叫” (call/ tell one to do something), “講” (say), “聽” (listen to), “聽到” (hear), “溝通” (communicate) and “罵”

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(scold). Since contexts of the husband role often involve interactions between the couple and outside the nuclear family, they are sure to involve communication:

> “(…) 公婆就叫我老公泡奶給他喝，說他餓了才哭，我老公就說 (…)” “(…) so my in-laws told my husband to make formula for him [the child] to drink, saying that he was crying because he was hungry. So my husband said (…)” (dr781217, 2018, M.1519761927.A.4E5)

> “出院是農曆年間 我媽跟我先生都可以在家裡聽我使喚” “when I am out of the hospital it will be the lunar New Years holidays, when my mom and my husband can be home to listen to my commands” (newnewyao, 2019, M.1560083000.A.206)

“陪” (accompany), “生” (give birth to) and “支持” (support) all seem relevant to the maternity stages that the husband is more related to:

> “(…) 我先生就支持我，讓我整個孕期 (…) 是安心的是放鬆的懷著寶寶” “(…) my husband supports me, making me feel safe and relaxed during my whole pregnancy with the baby” (bossgirl, 2020, M.1595315373.A.EBA)

> “(…) 也感謝我的老公一直很堅強的支持照顧我” “(…) I also thank my husband for firmly supporting and taking care of me” (i780809, 2018, M.1527810950.A.E2F)

The last excerpt also shows giving thanks as a common interaction between the different players in parenting functions.

Of course, the husband also gives the child company:

> “其實之前我先生也會單獨陪我女鵝一起睡覺 (…)” “actually my husband would also sleep with my daughter singly (…)” (orange7299, 2016, M.1480905780.A.FE6)

“陪” is often used to mean accompany with a specific activity, as the excerpt above shows. In contrast, the father is more associated with “陪伴”, which is the same in literal meaning but is used more in writing and conveys more the concept of being by one’s side, physically as well as emotionally:

> “能夠花時間陪伴孩子的爸爸，現在應該越來越多了” “There should be more and more dads able to spend time with children now” (seibu, 2017,

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

M.1490455402.A.C45)

This excerpt also shows that "陪伴" is not traditionally expected behavior of the father but is becoming desired in fatherhood.

In addition to expecting a general function from the father, he is also associated with specific daily family chores and interactions with the child. "負責" (be responsible for) refer to specific division of labor:

> "本來 23:30 我擠奶、孩子的爸負責餵食" "At first, I pump breastmilk at 23:30 and the child's dad is responsible for feeding" (miaum6, 2019, M.1553649263.A.613)

"黏" (attached to) is the intimate relation between the family members:

> "但聽到朋友說他們孩子的爸爸也是很晚下班，但下班常和小孩玩很開心，小孩也會很喜歡爸爸，也常會黏爸爸。" "But I heard a friend say that their children's dad also gets off work late, but he often gladly plays with the child after work. The child also likes dad and is very attached to dad." (QQj, 2016, M.1463973923.A.B87)

Other than interactions inside the family, "加入" (join), "分享" (share), "歡迎" (welcome), "推薦" (recommend) and "參考" (refer to) all portray interactions with discussants on the board.

> "有女寶爸爸願意分享經驗嗎？" "Are there girl baby's dads who are willing to share their experience?" (lightdance, 2020, M.1593488710.A.016)

> "所以就來分享給有趣興[興趣]的爸爸媽媽們參考" "So I'm here to share with dads and moms who are interested for reference" (anoan, 2012, M.1339058539.A.07F)

> "如果剛好有在用 TG 的鼠寶爸爸媽媽，歡迎加入。" "If any mouse baby[38] dads and moms happen to use TG [Telegram], we welcome you to join [the group]" (KKANT, 2020, M.1578552703.A.826)

[38] See footnote 29.

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4.2.3 Fatherhood as Family Relation

This section aims to compare the difference of language use between texts that refer to the father-child relation and those that refer to the husband-wife relation, and by this comparison, derive some insights into how each relation is perceived.

Generally speaking, evocation of the father-child relationship is stressed with discussions on the relational aspects of involved fatherhood. When addressing and engaging readers, the common identity of being a parent prompts the cognitive dimension of fatherhood awareness. The language use around the father-child relationship is more intimate and nurturing. In fact, terms like “child’s dad” or “baby’s dad” create an image of a caring father in itself. The husband identity is more often evoked when discussion is more focused on the couple, or outside the nuclear family. These point to certain behaviors of the involved father/husband, including physical presence and emotional support for the mother, as well as information and idea exhanges with the mother on family affairs.

However, many traits of involved fatherhood are not so distinct. Many excerpts show both identities engaging in the relational or behavioral aspects of fatherhood, especially the latter. Even the seemingly distinct kinds of parenthood behaviors between the household and workplace are associated with both identities. After all, the father/husband’s traditional familial role has been to earn a living for the family so both are quite highly associated with it. Both relations are also associated with parenting performances that are directly related to the child, like “陪睡” (sleep with), “泡奶” (making formula) and “洗澡” (bathe). There do seem to be different tendencies between specific chores and either relation, with more intimate ones leaning to the father and functional ones to the husband.

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It should also be noted that work related words are only present in direct association with the father/husband names. They are not among the subject labels nor the frequent words. This is in part because the *Babymother* board centers on the household, and work is almost always mentioned in relation to family arrangements. It may also reflect the gendered expectations of "男主外女主內" ("The man mainly presides outside, while the woman mainly presides inside"), posing a potential conflict between desired and real involvement of the father inside the home, as well as a paradox in encouraging involved fatherhood while unable to have fathers get off work for their children.

Lastly, the compared texts are asymmetrical in size and identity of post writer, with the husband-wife posts almost wholly written by mothers and father- child posts written by either parent. Because of the demographic in the *Babymother* board, the posts are written mainly by mothers. The contents of the posts, however, show that father involvement is generally accepted and practiced to certain extents. The common use and acceptance of the term "隊友" (teammate) directly portrays the acknowledgement of father involvement. Details on its use and implications are explored in the next section.

4.3 Different Kinds of "Teammates"

In contrast to the conventional roles of father and husband, "隊友" (teammate) suggests an alternative kind of family relation. It is a playful metaphor taken from gaming jargon for the family in their missions, obstacles and accomplishments. The metaphor extends to the commonly accepted uses of "神隊友" (champion teammate) to be a helpful one and "豬隊友" (pig teammate) to be useless or even trouble-making for other members. The literal meaning of "隊友" is not gendered, but it tends to refer to the "father" (or "husband" may be more fitting) more than any other person. The following analyses will

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explore the term's uses and implications on fathering and parenting.

4.3.1 The "Teammate"

Posts that include "隊友" are the focus for this part of the analysis. Because the word embedding models show that "隊友" and "好/神/豬隊友" (good/ champion/pig) teammates are used in different contexts, this first section will only focus on "隊友" and will exclude "好/神/豬隊友". There are 2066 posts that contain "隊友".

The labels assigned to texts that include "隊友" are compared with texts including father keywords to understand the general context in which this particular term is used. The frequency of each label is plotted by their common logarithm. To simplify analyses and reduce noise from insignificant labels, only those exceeding over 0.1 % of the posts in either text set are included.

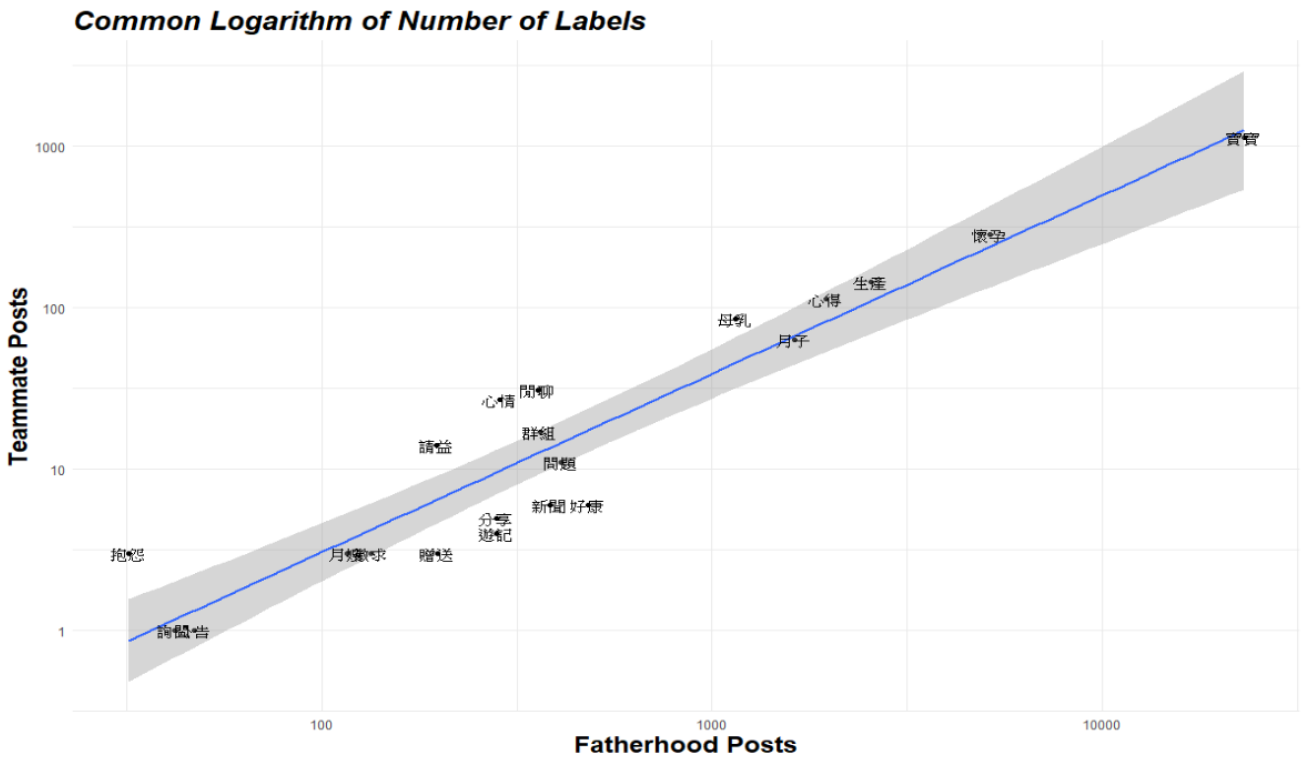

Figure 4.10 Common Log of Labels in Teammate Posts and Parenthood Posts

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Labels above the line are “懷孕” (pregnancy), “生產” (labor), “心得” (opinions/ takeaways), “母乳” (breastmilk or breastfeeding), “閒聊” (chitchat), “心情” (feelings), “群組” (groups), “請益” (inquiry) and “抱怨” (complaint). “寶寶” (baby) and “月子” (post natal care) are also very close to the line. These are labels more likely assigned to posts that include “隊友” among all posts that include father keywords.

“寶寶” is the most frequently used label in all posts that include either parent, and is a main topic for the discussants. Maternal topics are also common for teammate posts, as seen in “懷孕”, “生產”, “母乳” and “月子”. These are observed to be maternal stages that involve many struggles, so the teammate is much needed:

> “[母乳] 我的母乳哺餵之路(上) (…) 哺餵母乳是一條很漫長 大部分人都會堅持 6 個月以上的路 在這條路上最重要的就是隊友 也就是老公先生爸爸的支持” “[Breastmilk] My road of breastfeeding (part 1) (…) Breastfeeding is a long road that most people strive on for more than 6 months. The most important on the road is support of the teammate, aka the husband and dad” (inonat, 2016, M.1468065547.A.3C9)

> “[生產] 醫院待產心情不安中 (…) 因為太突然了，隊友明天還是要去上半天班，如果我是在明天中午前就生了，該怎麼辦？” “[Labor] Waiting for delivery at the hospital and feeling uneasy (…) Because it’s too short notice, the teammate has to go to work for half a day tomorrow, what should I do if I deliver before noon tomorrow?” (moxa0110, 2016, M.1476970546.A.538)

These excerpts show once more the difficulty perceived by the mother and her expectation that her “teammate” should fulfill the supporting behavior of involved fatherhood.

“心得” (opinions/ takeaways), “閒聊” (chitchat), “心情” (feelings) and “抱怨” (complaint) are mostly personal opinions and feelings arising from parenting experiences, which may be positive or negative:

> “[心得] 自我修復練習/隊友是最重要的支持 (…) 一位疲憊媽媽如果能進行自我修復練習，其中最重要的一定是來自隊友的支持。” “[Opinion/ takeaways] Practicing self-healing/ the teammate is the most important support

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(…) if an exhausted mom can practice self-healing, the most important is support from the teammate." (iamis, 2019, M.1577461065.A.64B)

"Re: [心情] 接近崩潰邊緣 (…) 隊友下班回家，我真的是抱著隊友落淚" "Re: [Feelings] Near the edge of breaking down (…) when the teammate came home from work, I actually shed tears holding on to him" (pearlkung, 2016, M.1476359798.A.879)

These parenting experiences result in the labels "請益" (inquiry) and "群組" (groups), which reflect the need to share experiences and information as parents:

"[請益] 女寶爸爸一打一出門時如何上廁所？ (…) 我是一個非常想要 me time 的媽媽 哈哈 隊友也很想讓我放風" "[Inquiry] How to go to the bathroom when dad is out alone with baby girl? (…) I am a mom who really wants some me time haha. The teammate also wants me to relax" (lightdance, 2020, M.1593488710.A.016)

"[群組] 台中北區 小區域無後援 [39]媽媽群組 (…) 台中除了隊友可說是無依靠" "[Groups] Taichung North District Small-region group for no-backup-moms (…) in Taichung I have nobody to rely on except my teammate" (QQChiu, 2018, M.1524030553.A.A62)

As these labels mostly reflect the mother's personal feelings and needs, the presence of the teammate reflects his presence as expected support.

Seven of the labels listed above, including "懷孕" (pregnancy), "生產" (labor), "心得" (opinions/ takeaways), "母乳" (breastmilk or breastfeeding), "月子" (post natal care), "閒聊" (chitchat) and "心情" (feelings) are all more frequently used in husband-wife texts as opposed to father-child texts. This indirectly shows the teammate referring to a father's supporting role as a husband, in direct relation with the mother.

The top word frequencies are also calculated to observe recurring topics discussed

[39] Literally means "no backup support". Backup is usually extended family who can help with parenting, especially taking care of the child.

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around the use of "隊友".

Rank	Original Word	English	Frequency	Rank	Original Word	English	Frequency
1	隊友	Teammate	4320	11	哭	Cry	1126
2	睡	Sleep	2083	12	問	Ask	984
3	開始	Start	1597	13	打	Beat/ call (on the phone)/ inject/ type	961
4	醫生	Doctor	1580	14	女兒	Daughter	954
5	帶	Take with/ take care of (child)	1576	15	生	Give birth to/ raw	896
6	婆婆	Wife's mother-in-law	1544	16	家	Home	863
7	買	Buy	1450	17	奶	Milk/ feed milk	859
8	痛	Hurt/ pain	1180	18	玩	Play	857
9	大寶	Oldest child (informal)	1170	19	怕	Be afraid of	850
10	喝	Drink	1130	20	醫師	Doctor	835

Table 4-7 Top 20 Frequent Words in Teammate Texts (Excluding Low Tf-idf Words)

Being the search term, "隊友" is the most frequently used word in these texts. Other than that, the top frequent words of this text set share many similarities to those of the earlier texts. Being a focal topic for the *Babymother* board, different terms referring to the child are unsurprisingly among the top frequent words. "婆婆" (wife's mother-in-law) and "醫生/醫師" (doctor) also show up as important supporting roles. Daily life descriptions like "睡" (sleep), "帶" (Take with/ take care of) "買" (buy), "喝" (drink), "哭" (cry) and "玩" (play) are recurrent as well.

The presence of the wife's mother-in-law marks a similarity with the husband-wife texts, because of her connection to the family through the husband. Frequent uses of the doctor, "痛" (hurt/ pain) and "生" (give birth to) echo the labels referring to maternal

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topics and is yet evidence of similarity to husband-wife texts. As previous excerpts have shown, mothers need their teammates to provide physical and emotional support in the stages of maternity, hence the reference of the teammate:

> "結果上廁所完在馬桶一站起來，突然一陣血崩…這時候我就慌了，哭著大叫，隊友馬上衝進來安撫我（…）還記得產後回診的時候，醫生很嚴肅地告訴我（…）" "After finishing going to the toilet, as soon as I stood up there was a sudden metrorrhagia…At this moment I panicked, crying and shouting. The teammate immediately rushed in to console me (…) I remember when I went for a follow-up after labor, the doctor told me very seriously (…)" (shanwind626, 2020, M.1598434011.A.96D)

Because of the literal meaning, the contexts which use "隊友" to refer to the father also seem to carry more nurturing or supportive undertones. This can be seen in "奶" (milk/ feed milk) and "家" (home), both not frequent words for the husband-wife texts:

> "(…) 一開始就該讓隊友積極參與，媽媽要放手等等，剛開始是有的，會讓他餵個奶試著哄睡（…)" "(…) the mom should have the teammate actively participating from the start, let go a little and all that. I did do that at first, letting him [the teammate] feed the milk or try to coax [the baby] to sleep" (justsai, 2015, M.1448043310.A.F80)

> "但既然這是我跟隊友選擇的路，就要一起努力攜手撐起這個家~" "But since this is a road that my teammate and I have chosen to step on, we should put in our efforts together to hold this home up~" (shanwind626, 2020, M.1598434011.A.96D)

The excerpts that have included use of the term "teammate" show the parents on the *Babymother* board using the term "teammate" casually to refer to the husband without explanation. However, since the term itself does not point to anyone specifically, occasionally the literal meaning, namely, a cooperative partner, is also used. In a repost to a father asking for advice about his irresponsible wife, a sympathetic mother writes:

> "夫妻真的就像隊友一樣，彼此相互體諒很重要" "The husband and wife really are like teammates. It is very important to be considerate of each other" (ShoMing, 2020, M.1590605863.A.AC6)

In some posts, the definition is extended beyond the couple:

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

> “我的育兒隊友是...退休的公公（…）就是上一代的暖男 連廚房、家務事處理的人都是我公公”“My parenting teammate is … my retired father-in-law. (…) the warm guy[40] of the last generation. Even kitchen and housework are all dealt with by my father-in-law” (wangping, 2020, M.1604765508.A.CDC)

Compared with the other texts, these descriptions are not as taken for granted, with explanations needed to justify naming these people as teammates, involving these people being supportive or helpful to parenting.

Automatic calculations can also help to pinpoint who or what a “teammate” may be. The word embedding models calculated previously can do just that. With the relations between different words, they calculate which words are most similar to “teammate”, meaning the results are words with similar relationships with the same words. For people, they may perform many similar actions. For actions or modifiers, they may pose similar meanings to the discussants.

CBOW			Skip-gram		
Word	English	Similarity	Word	English	Similarity
老公	Husband (informal)	0.8737	老公	Husband (informal)	0.7638
先生	Husband	0.8489	先生	Husband	0.6505
我媽	My mom	0.8030	公公	Wife’s father-in-law	0.5656
老婆	Wife (informal)	0.7916	婆婆	Wife’s mother-in-law	0.5621
婆婆	Wife’s mother-in-law	0.7793	他媽	His mom	0.5544
公婆	Wife’s in-laws	0.7780	大姑	Husband’s older sister	0.5508
公公	Wife’s father-in-law	0.7134	老媽	Ma	0.5482
家人	Family	0.6898	好隊友	Good teammate	0.5354
太太	Wife	0.6834	我媽	My mom	0.5283
豬隊友	Pig teammate	0.6440	小姑	Husband’s younger sister	0.5215

Table 4-8 Top 10 Words with Similar Context as “Teammate”

The results here show consistency that teammate is more similar to husband rather

[40] Colloquial to refer to a considerate man unlike the stereotypically emotionally-detached man.

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

than wife. Even the grandparents (“我媽”, “婆婆”, “公公”, “他媽”, etc.) are sometimes more similar than the wife. These results show, once again, not only that the extended family constitute a large portion of the discussions, but also that they perform many parenting functions for the family.

As the observations and calculations show, the “teammate” is almost equivalent to “husband”. Sometimes the term is used so habitually in this sense that the husband does not even have to be supportive or helpful to be called a teammate:

> “產後 2 個多月，昨天是隊友生日。他哥們貼了辣妹圖，並留言說是因老婆也就是我本人身材走鐘，讓我很不開心。” “2 months after labor, it was the teammate’s birthday yesterday. His mates posted a hot chick picture and left a message saying that it was because the wife, which is me, is out of shape, making me very unhappy.” (nouria, 2015, M.1449262034.A.C26)

Later in the same text, the mother chooses to call her husband a “優質奶爸” (high quality wet dad) when she explains that he does put in work for the child. Here, “隊友” (teammate) is just another word for “husband”, without regard to the cooperative meaning of the word. Apparently, the word alone does not entail father involvement, though it may convey the idea of the “ought” in contrast to the “is” of father involvement in contemporary parenting.

To look into father involvement in this discussion board, the firsthand evaluations of these mothers on their spouses may be a good place to start, since accounts from fathers are scarcer. From observations it seems that adding an evaluative modifier to “teammate” is a better indicator of the performance of an involved father, at least to the expectations of the mother. It would require more explanation to justify calling a husband a “神”, “好” or “豬” (champion, good or pig) teammate. Thus, in the next part, the research will specifically explore these terms.

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4.3.2 A Champion or a Pig?

What is the difference between good and bad husbands/ teammates? Through assessment of the teammate, a normative construct is established, dictating what to do and what not to do. This is especially true for the “豬隊友” (pig teammate), because justification is usually needed to put negative labels on a spouse. The research hopes to understand these constructs and implications through the strategies that have been used throughout the research, which focus on the linguistic contexts around these names. In the following analyses, “神隊友” (champion teammate) and “好隊友” (good teammate) are combined as “good teammates” because they are both positive assessments of the teammate. The “good teammates” have a total of 550 posts containing a mention, and the “豬隊友” (pig teammate) has 484.

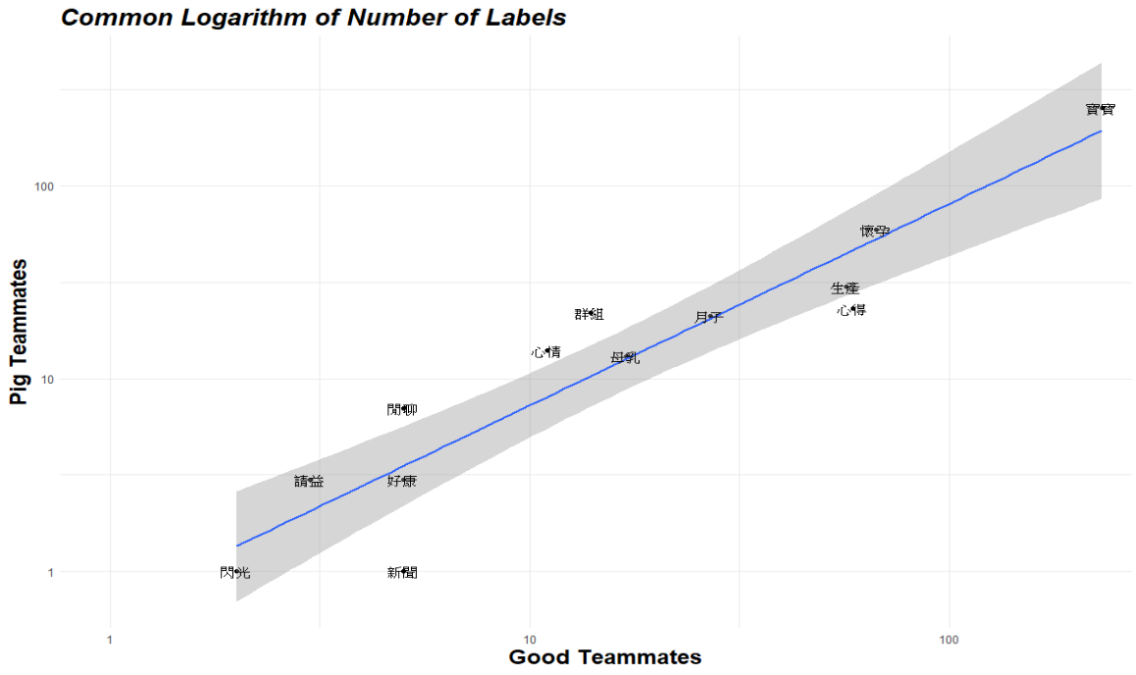

Figure 4.11 Common Log of Labels in Good Teammate Posts and Pig Teammate Posts

The number of labels distributed between the good teammates and pig teammates

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

are plotted to understand the general subject discussed around the terms.

The labels running close to the line are “懷孕” (pregnancy), “月子” (postnatal care) and “母乳” (breastmilk or breastfeeding), all of which have been established repeatedly to be stages in much need of support. As a result, the husband would be assessed on his fulfillment of the supporting behavior in involved fatherhood. In a repost to a father worrying about his wife’s emotional conditions after pregnancy, a mother shares her experiences and advice:

> “Re: [懷孕] 老婆懷孕了，但是不開心 (…) 從懷孕開始，就是不斷的擔心 (…) 這還不包括身體的不適(…)應該要去做一些實際的作為 (…) 當一個神隊友，而不是精神喊話的導師 (…)” “Re: [Pregnancy] My wife is pregnant but unhappy (…) from the start of pregnancy is nonstop worry (…) not to mention physical discomfort (…) [the teammate] should take some practical actions (…) Be a champion teammate, not a spiritual mentor giving pep talks” (mikato, 2019, M.1564333613.A.E75)

This implies that taking (the right) actions makes all the difference. As a contrast, inaction to the many chores of the family results in being assessed as a pig teammate, whether intentionally or because of being held back by other responsibilities:

> “[母乳] 奶量天生少，該不該堅持？ (…) 還要做家事還有大寶要照顧，豬隊友可以分擔的很少....” “[Breastmilk] If I have little lactation by biology, should I keep trying? (…) and there is still housework to do and the oldest child to care for, the pig teammate can share little [of the burden] …” (ms5673, 2017, M.1498897209.A.6B1)

The inability to fulfill the needs of the mother is perhaps one important reason why “寶寶” (baby) is slightly inclined towards the pig teammate. Childcare requires longterm and intense devotion, which is very exhausting and contributes to negativity. Sometimes, it seems that the perceptions of a mother’s obligation exacerbate their feelings of relative deprivation, especially when there is no backup. There is a clear gap between the expected duties of either parents perceived by the parent as well as by his/her partner. A working

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

mother describes an instance of this gap in the sense of responsibility:

> “[寶寶] 媽媽們 你累了嗎 (…) 公司聚餐/部門活動/朋友聚會全部推掉，原因當然是因為要陪寶包，但剛剛豬隊友打給我，告知今天會晚歸要與同事聚餐” “[Baby] Moms, are you tired (…) [I have] turned down all dinners with colleagues/ activities with the group/ get-togethers with friends, the reason of course being that I have to be with the babe. But just now the pig teammate called me and told me he would be late home because he is having dinner with his colleagues” (yjchenw, 2016, M.1456483017.A.4F0)

Different ideas for child-rearing also hold potential for conflict:

> “[寶寶] 一歲寶寶夜奶仍頻繁 (…) 每次想硬起來 豬隊友都會一堆意見” “[Baby] One year old baby still frequently nurses at night (…) every time I want to put my foot down, the pig player has problems” (cw2016, 2017, M.1500509881.A.A5D)

“生產” (labor) is the only maternity stage label that is much more frequent in the good teammates posts. This is possibly because holding and seeing the baby after a long toil is generally a feel-good moment for the parents:

> “[生產] 39 週+6 生產文 (…) 謝謝我的好隊友，沒有你的陪伴跟鼓勵我也沒有生出來的勇氣！” “[Labor] 39 weeks + 6 [days] labor post (…) Thank you my good teammate, without your company and encouragement I wouldn’t have the courage to give birth!” (chenchenzee, 2017, M.1513344052.A.D18)

Posts with “好康” (good sales/ activities) or “新聞” (news) labels usually have fewer contents about the individual parent or their partner. Good teammates with “好康” in topic labels usually refers to sales of product or courses that helps make a good teammate:

> “[好康] 美強生 A+神隊友教室” “[Good sales/ activities] Mead Johnson A+ champion teammate classroom” (Aquariuskye, 2019, M.1571408350.A.3E0)

“新聞” labels show news articles relevant to the board. Sometimes parents will also add in their own comments to the news event. For positive news, they will praise the good teammates; for negative news, they will reflect on their own experiences:

> “[新聞] 母抱 2 月女嬰跳樓，落鐵皮屋頂暫救回 (…) 看起來應該是產後憂鬱…… (…) 好在有個好隊友一直安慰拍拍我才能撐到現在~” “[News]

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

> Mother jumps off building with 2-month baby girl in arms. Falls on tin sheet roof and momentarily saved (…) Looks like postpartum depression… (…) Fortunately I have a good teammate who keeps comforting me and giving me pats on the back so that I could get this far~" (sudaygirl, 2017, M.1491923676.A.D38)

The excerpted content is a comment from the mother sharing the news. Complaints about the teammate would more likely be an individual post, as later analyses will reveal.

"閃光" (display of affection[41]) is unsurprisingly also more frequent in good teammate texts, since it is about affectionate relationships. This label is also very infrequent overall (six in total of parenthood posts), echoing previous observations that the relationship between husband and wife is not stressed on this board.

"心得" (opinions/ takeaways) and "心情" (feelings) may seem very similar, as both signal reflections of parenting experiences. However, the two are quite distinctly on either side of the line. "得" in "心得" is literally "gain", therefore sharing experiences in "心得" often goes along with what is learned from the experience, with hopes to help other parents with their own experiences:

> "[心得] 神隊友老公的處理之道 (…) 但好隊友就是這時候表現的，我全職育兒的路上一直很快樂，另一半支持是很大的因素。" "[Opinions/ takeaways] Champion teammate husband's way to deal with things (…) but this is when a good teammate is shown. I have always been happy in my road of stay-at-home parenting, the support from my other half plays a big part." (qqqm, 2019, M.1566464342.A.4AC)

She goes on to describe how her husband deals with her emotions when she is frustrated with the child, in turn helping herself to be a good parent. Sometimes the opinion being shared is that about a good product or a good service provider to make parenting easier.

[41] Literally means "flash" or "dazzle", which is colloquial to mean display of affection between a couple.

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Many times, the conclusion would revert to the importance of family support:

> "[心得] 育兒用品經驗分享(必買與不必買品) (…) 任何再好用的商品，還是擁有神隊友爸爸、阿公阿嬤來的好" "[Opinions/ takeaways] Sharing experience on parenting items (must-buy's and not necessary buy's) (…) Any product, however useful, cannot compare with having a champion teammate dad and grandpa grandma" (g970714, 2020, M.1594955552.A.4EF)

On the other hand, "心情" connotes emotions and therefore seems more connected to venting negativity. The overall atmosphere of the *Babymother* board is quite accepting and supportive, making it a safe space to let off emotional steam:

> "[心情] 恐懼多於喜悅各種 (文長慎入) (…) 希望我的母愛趕快長出來，然後繼續洗腦我的豬隊友我不要麻油雞吃到飽" "[Feelings] All kinds of fear more than joy (long post, beware) (…) I hope my maternal love sprouts out sooner. I will also keep brainwashing my pig teammate that I don't want all the sesame oil chicken soup[42] I can eat" (EM2A, 2017, M.1499885830.A.515)

This post, as the subject states, is a soon-to-be mother's long emotional rant of her apprehension at the life changing experience of becoming a mother. Her pig teammate seems to be called one because he is who is putting her through the fear. "閒聊" (chitchat) labels mark similar kinds of reflections on life. These reflections are not all negative, some also share experiences of mutual growth:

> "[閒聊] 有了孩子後，老公會幫什麼?(…) 一開始頗擔心老公不會照顧小孩 但好在他有慢慢從豬隊友晉升到神隊友" "[Chitchat] What does your husband help with after you have a child? (…) At first, I was worried that my husband couldn't take care of the child, but fortunately he slowly leveled up from pig teammate to champion teammate" (Richert, 2020, M.1590393906.A.60A)

Apprehension and uncertainty give rise to the necessity of "群組" (groups) and "請益" (inquiry), which provide connection to others with common experiences, either for

[42] A soup believed to be very nutritious and often made for pregnant women or during post natal care.

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

practical advice or simply for sharing thoughts and feelings:

> “[群組] 台中全職豬寶媽 (…) 不管你是想分享自己的寶寶、還是育兒資訊、曬娃、共學、寶寶出遊，甚至神隊友豬隊友都可以分享，非常歡迎！”
> “[Groups] Pig baby stay-at-home mothers in Taichung (…) No matter if you want to share about your baby, parenting information, show off your baby, co-learn, outings with the baby, even champion teammates and pig teammates, we welcome you to share!” (yuchin95, 2019, M.1576692722.A.5FE)

Higher relative frequency of “群組” in the pig teammate posts show that pig teammates seem a more likely subject to share. This is said both jokingly as well as really acknowledging the negativity that may be experienced in parenting. Inquiries can also be made by fathers to try to transcend from being a pig teammate:

> “[請益] 如何安撫軍眷媽咪 (…) 一方面想做個好爸爸也想做個好丈夫 (…) 但是偶爾還是有豬隊友的情況。” “[Inquiry] How to comfort military family mommy (…) On the one hand I want to be a good father and good husband (…) but sometimes some pig teammate situations arise.” (stu8529, 2020, M.1594851958.A.297)

“請益” has the same number in either good or bad teammate posts (three posts each). They ask about how to become a good teammate, avoid being a bad one and bring out the best in all parties involved, including the couple and their extended family. Reposts also attempt to advise on these points. The above excerpt also shows awareness that being a good teammate is desired for most fathers.

The language around the good/bad teammates is observed through words associated with either teammate. Before calculating the word co-occurrences, I replaced all “好隊友” (good teammate) with “神隊友” (champion teammate) for the same reasons as the replacements in earlier word association analyses. The frequency of co-occurrences with the good teammates and pig teammates are plotted by the word’s POS. Because the sizes of the corpuses are relatively small, the verbs are combined in one plot.

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

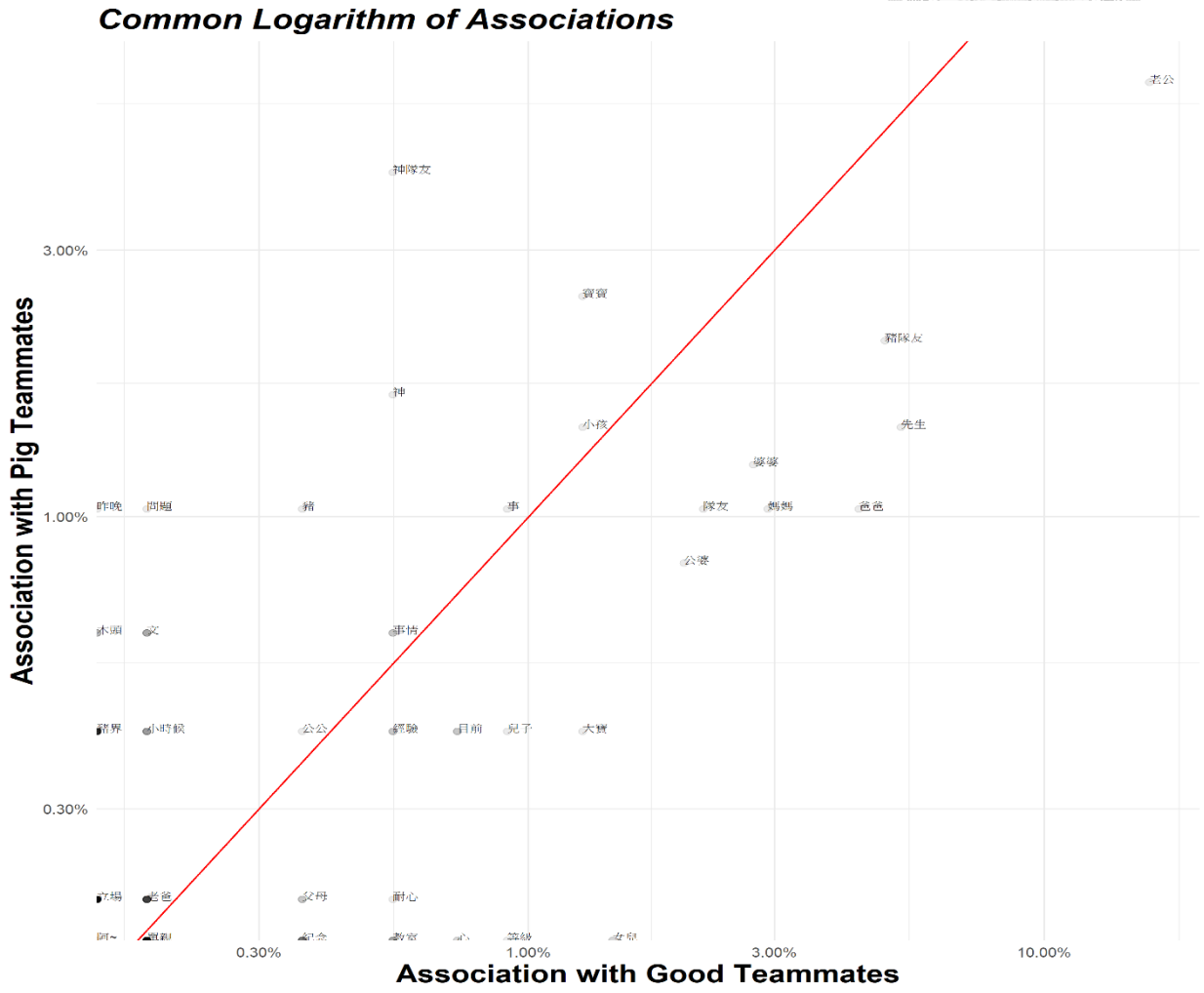

Figure 4.12 Common Logarithm of Nouns Associated with Good and Bad Teammates

The good teammates are somehow more associated with most of the adults involved in parenting, including “老公”, “先生” (husband), “爸爸” (dad), “媽媽” (mom), “婆婆” (wife’s mother-in-law), “公婆” (wife’s in-laws), and even “隊友” (teammate). Some of these show the direct reference of these people as good/ champion teammates:

> “(…) 任何再好用的商品，還是擁有神隊友爸爸、阿公阿嬤來的好” “(…) Any product, however useful, cannot compare with having a champion teammate dad and grandpa grandma” (g970714, 2020, M.1594955552.A.4EF)

> “我家的神隊友是婆婆！！！她超棒的 觀念很新 (…)” “The champion teammate in my family is my mother-in-law!!! She’s super great with very new ideas (…)” (RoseGold, 2017, M.1490155347.A.E89)

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Sometimes these associations show the interactions between the different players that make a teammate a good teammate:

> “爸爸神隊友 因為媽媽很淺眠又難入睡” “Dad is a champion teammate, because mom wakes easily and does not fall asleep easily” (minikacat, 2018, M.1521518182.A.F3A)

> “(…) 加上我家神隊友立刻兇我婆婆” “(…) in addition my champion teammate immediately scolded my mother-in-law” (rinb0919, 2016, M.1471418741.A.4AA)

The teammate is expected to be perceptive of his wife’s needs and sometimes even take sides when there is potential conflict between his mother and wife. The relatively infrequent association between the pig teammate and husband shows that it is more commonly accepted to refer directly to the husband:

> “(…) 每次想硬起來 豬隊友都會一堆意見” “(…) every time I want to put my foot down, the pig player has problems” (cw2016, 2017, M.1500509881.A.A5D)

In fact, sometimes the husband is called a pig teammate without any context, not perogatively but more as a form of endearment:

> “(…) 決定明天下午把小孩丟給豬隊友一個人好好的放空一下” “(…) decided to give the child to the pig teammate tomorrow afternoon to properly relax by myself” (kakakuku, 2017, M.1496325623.A.BCE)

“公公” (wife’s father-in-law) is one of the few people on the pig teammate side. However, his overall co-occurrence with either teammate is scarce and he is quite near the line.

“豬隊友” (pig teammate) and “神隊友” (champion teammate) are both more associated with each other, showing that juxtaposition of the two terms is quite common:

> “雖然先生不是神隊友 但至少不是豬隊友” “My husband is not a champion teammate but at least he’s not a pig teammate” (RoseGold, 2017, M.1490155347.A.E89)

“神” (super/ champion) and “豬” (pig) also occur more often with the bad teammate, they

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either stress the "pigness" of the bad teammate or express sarcasm:

> "這時豬隊友又有神表現了 (…) 馬上叫豬隊友給我閉嘴。" "This is when the pig teammate has champion behavior (…) I immediately told the pig teammate to shut up." (luxury0918, 2017, M.1492845524.A.CAC)

Words referring to the child seem to be scattered across both kinds of teammates, with the general ones leaning slightly to the pig teammates and the specific ones leaning to the good teammates. "大寶" (oldest child) is specially associated with the good teammate, perhaps because the "oldest" child implies the existence of more children. This is when support is especially needed and appreciated:

> "感謝家人後援跟神隊友幫忙顧大寶 家人的支持跟隊友表現極度重要 沒有他們我真不敢生第二胎" "I thank my family backing up and the champion teammate helping to take care of our firstborn. Support from family and the teammate's performance are extremely important. Without them I really wouldn't dare to have a second child." (sacrum, 2019, M.1546828118.A.DA7)

Slightly more association of "寶寶" (baby) with the pig teammate seems consistent with the observation that different ideas involving the child is prone to conflict:

> "(…) 那大家都會買餐椅給寶寶坐嗎？因為我豬隊友說不用買" "(…) so does everyone buy high chairs for the baby to sit? Because my pig teammate said it wasn't necessary" (lisa68, 2016, M.1463853953.A.203)

Some other notable words include "耐心" (patience) and "問題" (problem), which are located on either side of the line quite neatly according to intuition:

> "(…) 這邊要說我有一個很有耐心的好隊友 (…)" "(…) here's to add that I have a good teammate with lots of patience (…)" (LovelyVivi, 2016, M.1455853393.A.B10)

> "現在又發現一個問題 因為豬隊友不想寶寶繼續送幼兒園" "Now I found another problem, because the pig teammate doesn't want to keep sending the baby to preschool" (diestern, 2017, M.1502711919.A.114)

"目前" (current situation) and "昨晚" (last night) are also separated by the line:

> "昨晚豬隊友忘了把奶拿去冰" "Last night my pig teammate forgot to put the milk in the fridge" (littleshort, 2016, M.1482546074.A.E03)

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

“就放寬心讓老公自己跟嫩嬰在家，久了就會有一個好隊友了ＸＤＤ 至少到目前為止在我心中老公照顧孩子的能力滿分！” “Just relax and let your husband be home with your young infant, and after a while your will get a good teammate XDD At least up to now my husband’s ability to take care of the child has a perfect score in my heart!” (yyaa, 2019, M.1551184663.A.A77)

It seems like pig teammate complaints use specific events to explain the negative assessment, while good teammate posts talk more about the larger picture at hand. “目前” also holds some reservations that the good teammate may not be so good all the time.

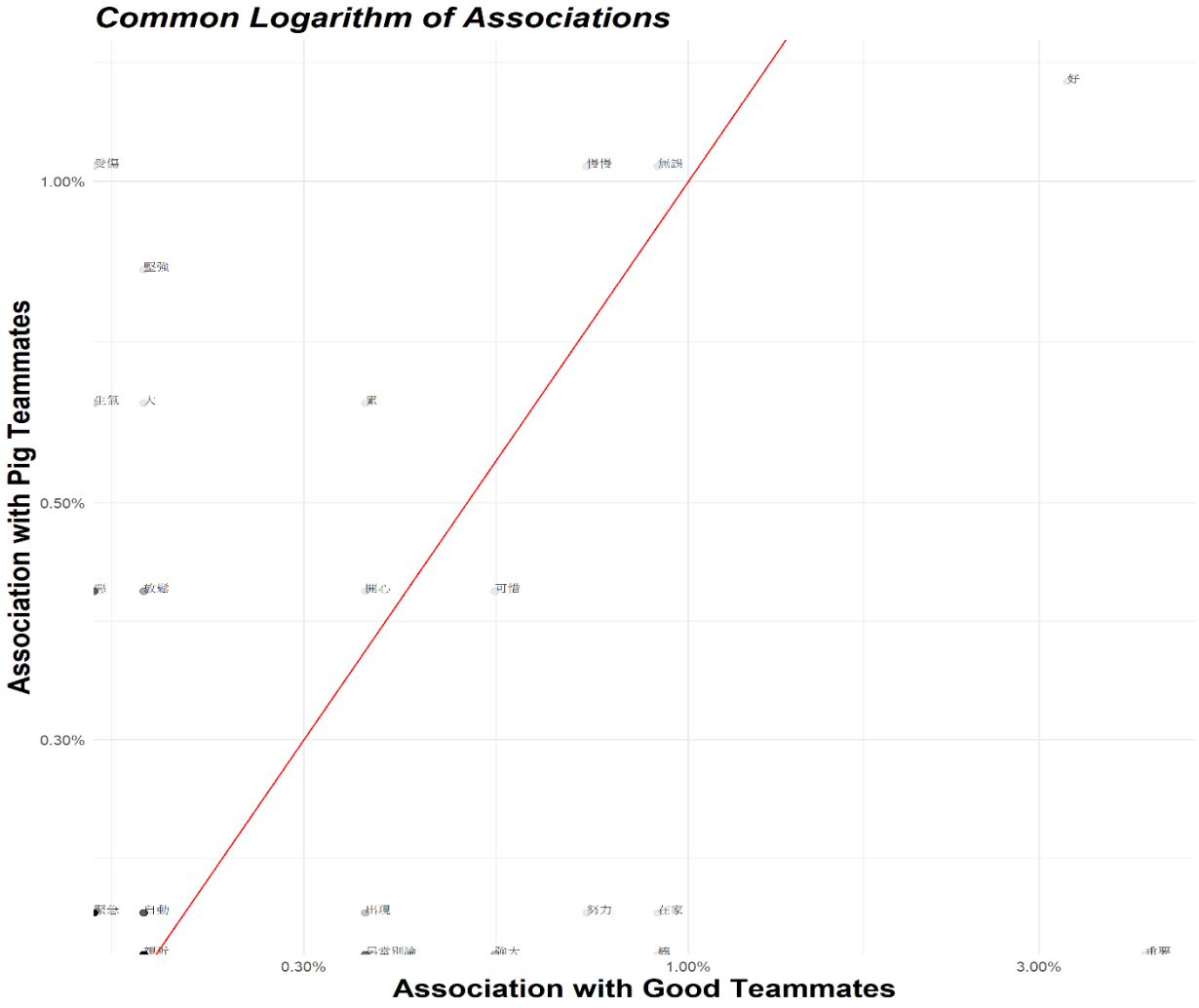

Figure 4.13 Common Logarithm of Adjectives Associated with Good and Bad Teammates

“重要” (important) can be seen in the bottom right corner and is the most frequent co-occurring word with the good teammate, with the co-occurrence with the pig teammate

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

being 0, stressing the indispensability of a good teammate:

> “有個神隊友真的比什麼都重要。” “Having a champion teammate is more important than anything.” (sexysunny, 2018, M.1524347093.A.E2A)

“棒” (great) and “強大” (resourceful) are also positive adjectives that only appear in association with the good teammate.

By contrast, “受傷” (hurt) and “生氣” (angry) only co-occur with the pig teammate. These are undesired emotional states arising from having a pig teammate:

> “如果不是因為有個豬隊友！我幹嘛常常生氣！” “If I didn’t have a pig teammate! Why would I be angry all the time!” (tp6qo4m3, 2017, M.1483680130.A.65C)

> “(…) 我真的很受傷，豬隊友對寶寶的愛不及我的萬分之一 (…)” “(…) I am really hurt. The love my pig teammate has for the baby does not even cover a ten thousandth of mine (…)” (turnlight, 2016, M.1454926447.A.C46)

Positive adjectives like “好” (good) and “努力” (hard-working) are self-explanatory. In fact, putting in effort itself is one of the determinants of a good teammate. Even when he is not quite there yet, the effort alone is applaudable, as a mother defends her husband even though she asks about his impatience:

> “(…) 我知道他很努力的要當好隊友好爸爸，但是兒子真的很歡，他應該很累了..” “(…) I know that he is trying hard to be a good teammate and good dad. But our son is really a brat and he was probably very tired…” (ftru4518, 2018, M.1518486235.A.565)

“在家” (at home) is also an important quality for being a good teammate:

> “(…) 這邊要說我有一個很有耐心的好隊友,只要他在家 (…) 他都會幫忙 (…)” “(…) here’s to add that I have a good teammate with lots of patience, as long as he is home (…) he always helps (…)” (LovelyVivi, 2016, M.1455853393.A.B10)

“無誤” (no mistake) and “可惜” (pity) have similar co-occurrences with either kind of teammate but opposite sentiments. They stress the state of the teammate. The first

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

affirms the “champion” or “pig” qualities of the teammates. “可惜” in good teammate texts laments the fact that good teammates could not always be at their side:

> “隊友在的時候是神隊友 可惜不能天天在家（攤手）” “When he’s there, the teammate is a champion teammate. It’s a pity that he can’t be home every day (palmspread)” (jennifer0115, 2019, M.1557457525.A.757)

On the other hand, the pig teammate is lamented for not living up to expectations:

> “(…) 可惜我的豬隊友像個木頭在一旁傻笑 (…)” “(…) it’s a pity that my pig teammate only grinned stupidly like a block of wood at my side (…)” (ceri, 2017, M.1488531255.A.59C)

Both the kinds of teammates are associated with “累” (exhausted) but it is slightly more associated with the pig teammate. Being tired is perhaps one of the most common states of being a parent, not only physically but also emotionally:

> “新手媽媽覺得照顧寶寶睡不飽不累，累得是有個豬隊友...” “Novice mom doesn’t think it is tiring to take care of the baby and not get enough sleep. What’s tiring is having a pig teammate…” (cutedemon, 2016, M.1476742346.A.F57)

It is disheartening for mothers when they feel like they are alone in their struggles. This is why being “堅強” (strong) is important when a mother feels that she has a pig teammate:

> “有堅強的自我，才能跟豬隊友據理力爭” “You can only reason with your pig teammate when you have a strong sense of self’ (laches, 2016, M.1476213892.A.C28)

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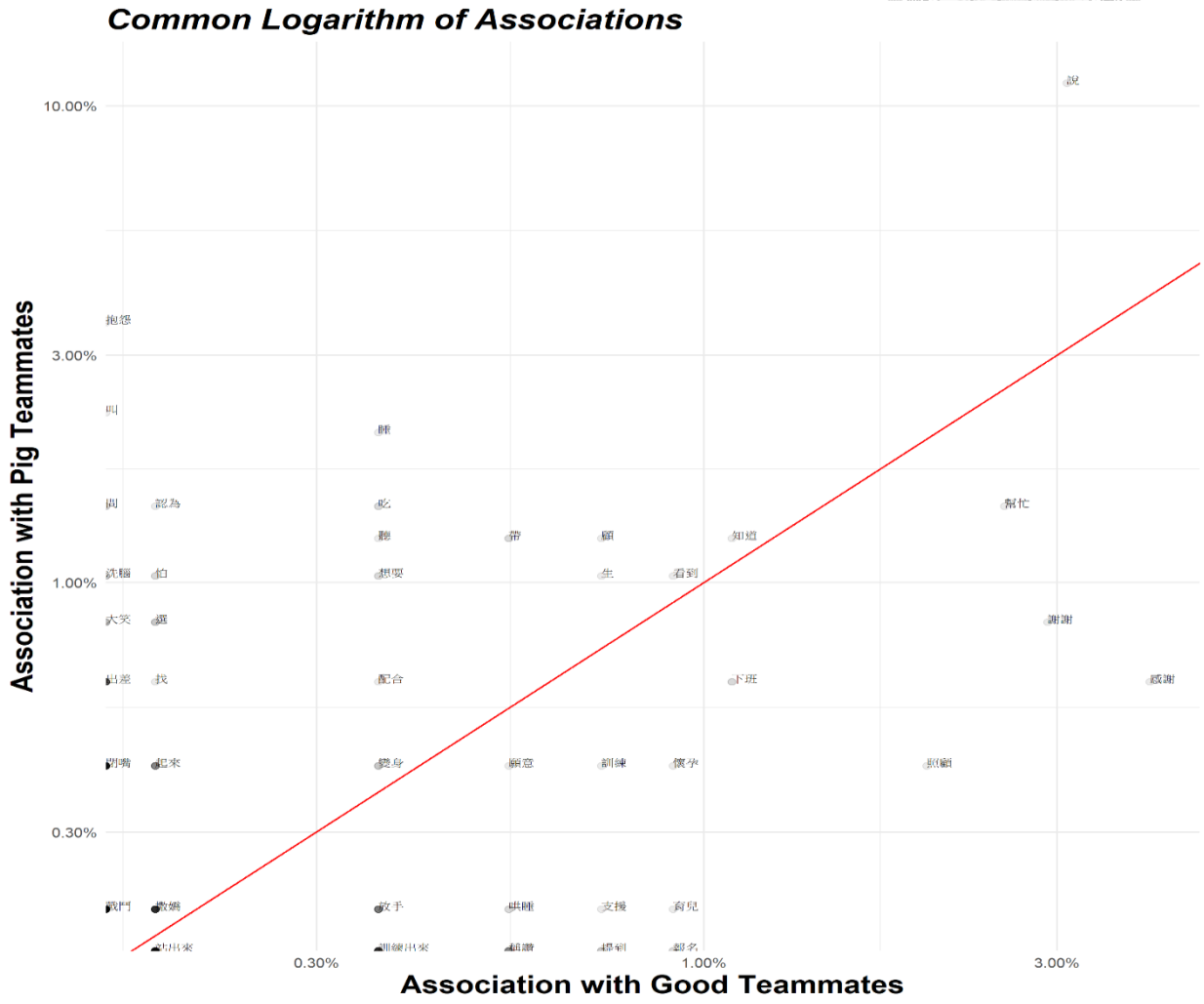

Figure 4.14 Common Logarithm of Verbs Associated with Good and Bad Teammates

Verbs most associated with good teammates show an abundance of appreciation in "感謝/謝謝" (thank) and "幫忙" (help):

> "感謝家人後援跟神隊友幫忙顧大寶" "I thank my family being backup and the champion teammate helping to take care of our firstborn" (sacrum, 2019, M.1546828118.A.DA7)

> "(…) 謝謝我的好隊友，沒有你的陪伴跟鼓勵我也沒有生出來的勇氣！" "(…) Thanks my good teammate, without your company and encouragement I wouldn't have the courage to give birth!" (chenchenzee, 2017, M.1513344052.A.D18)

In contrast, "抱怨" (complain) is highly associated with the pig teammate with no co-

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occurrence with the good teammate.

There seems to be more direct communication (or perhaps miscommunication) with the pig teammate. “說” (say), “叫” (shout/ call/ tell one to do something), “認為” (think), “問” (ask) and “聽” (listen) all incline more to the pig teammate. This echoes the previous observation that complaints of the pig teammate are often specific detailed events:

> “(…) 馬上叫豬隊友給我閉嘴” “(…) I immediately told the pig teammate to shut up” (luxury0918, 2017, M.1492845524.A.CAC)

> “(…) 因為他[小孩]有點感冒跡象,豬隊友又說他就是感冒全身痠痛嘛(…)” “(…) Because [the child] has some signs of a cold, the pig teammate said that he just had a cold so feels sore all over (…)” (castlelife, 2015[43])

They also portray exchange of ideas, which is also prone to conflict:

> “因為豬隊友認為聽公婆的取代一餐無所謂 (…)” “Because the pig teammate thinks it doesn’t matter to listen to my in-laws and substitute one meal (…)” (HiDawn, 2015, M.1451319672.A.AC4)

The pig teammate is also more associated with daily actions like “睡” (sleep) and “吃” (eat). Many nurturing or specific household chores are associated with the good teammates, including “照顧” (take care of) “育兒” (rear the child) and “哄睡” (coax to sleep). “顧” (look after) and “帶” (take with/ take care of) are slightly to the pig teammate’s side, but they often portray lack of these actions:

> “(…) 但都是我在顧寶寶，豬隊友完全不幫忙” “ (…) but it’s always me taking care of the baby, with the pig teammate not at all helping” (turnlight, 2016, M.1454926447.A.C46)

> “生小孩後發現自己帶比帶著個豬隊友輕鬆多了” “After giving birth I found that it is easier to take care [of the child] by myself than taking a pig teammate along” (moknaa, 2018, M.1515642628.A.3E0)

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[43] Deleted since extracted. Backup url: https://ptt-chat.com/BabyMother/l/CHAT.M.1436501161.A.38F

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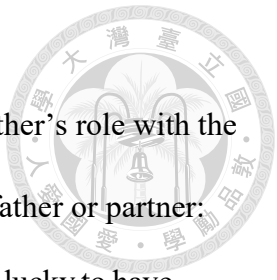

“訓練” (train), “支援” (assist) and “稱讚” (praise) reveal the mother’s role with the teammate as a mentor or as a superior to teach and guide him to be a father or partner:

> “家裡有神隊友真的很幸運！只好訓練老公了~~~” “It’s really lucky to have a champion teammate at home! I will have to train my husband~~~” (huiyenchen, 2020, M.1591105861.A.774)

> “後來某幾次發現我老公（神隊友 一定要稱讚一下）(…)” “Later a few times I found that my husband (a champion teammate, he needs to be praised) (…)” (lovechipx2, 2018, M.1528343298.A.411)

Some other notable verbs include “願意” (be willing), pointing to motivation being a determinant for the type of teammate; “放手” (let go) refers to a healthier mindset that the mother should adopt to improve her own state and even her interaction with the teammate. Work-related words like “下班” (be off duty) and “工作” (work, not seen on the plot but has 5 co-occurrences with the good teammate and 0 with the pig teammate) are more inclined to the good teammate, but “出差” (be on business trip) is only associated with the pig teammate.

In general, the teammate terms show fatherhood from a mother’s perspective, even when the father writes the posts. His status as a teammate revolves around his ability to perform the supporting role of involved fatherhood, as well as his perceived awareness of his responsibilities. Sometimes, internal awareness is even more important for the mother, proving 王大維’s model to be appropriate.

4.3.3 “My Husband Counts as a Good Teammate”

The naming of a good or bad teammate is sometimes done via a special kind of verb in Mandarin called “classifactory verbs” (tagged as VG in Ckiptagger). These verbs serve functions such as: 1) express what something is called, or 2) express how something is classified or perceived (Hsu, 2021). The second function is especially important in

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expressing the assessment of a certain kind of person or behavior. Hsu has specifically pointed out the appraisive quality of the classificatory verb "算" or "算是" (2021), which can be literally translated to "count as".

In this section, the combination of the classificatory verbs "算/算是" along with the assessive modifiers of "神/好/豬" (champion/ good/ pig) are analyzed to further understand the evaluation of the teammate. They are used 33 times on the good teammates and only 4 times on the pig teammate, including combinations with negation, explanation or conditions. In three cases of good teammates, extended family members are referred to as the good teammate, including the wife's parents and her in-laws. There has been no reference to other family members as pig teammates in this fashion.

Teammate Type	Referrent	No Negation	Negation
Good Teammate	Husband	25	5
	Other	2	1
Pig Teammate	husband	1	3

Table 4-9 Uses of "算/算是" to Classify Teammates

Generally, this classificatory verb is more often used on the good teammate. Its use on the pig teammate is more likely a negation. Instead of the more straightforward "是", "算是" portrays reservation. Not directly calling the husband a good teammate may present an attempt to portray modesty or moderation. A mother my not want to be seen as bragging with unrestrained praise of her own husband as a champion teammate, especially seeing many other parents who are struggling. A father may also refrain from calling himself a good teammate because it would seem haughty.

Apart from that, this reluctance of approval also shows a perceived authority to evaluate her husband's adequacy as a partner and father. On the other hand, relatively

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

more negation in counting the husband as a pig teammate is a defence of what may seem inadequate behavior. Even the father seems to submit to this perception that he has to earn his wife's stamp of approval, wondering whether he could count as a good teammate. This echoes many studies that show the fathers admitting the authority of the mother when it comes to childcare (Aunkofer et al., 2018; Borgkvist et al., 2020; Lupton & Barclay, 1997). In fact, how mothers can help to "guide" fathers in becoming more competent parents have also been suggested by past research (陳富美 & 利翠珊, 2004).

While seemingly innocent, using "隊友" (teammate) to refer only to the father essentially distances him from parenthood practices, making him at best secondary to the household and to childcare. Using "神/好" (champion/ good) and "豬" (pig) as assessment of the teammate implies that the mother is in charge like a "team leader". While this would seem that mothers have more power and authority in household matters and parenting, it also perpetuates the stereotype that mothers are biologically or naturally more adept parents. This results in the vicious cycle assuming that she holds primary responsibility for the child, which in turn reinforces the perception that fathers are merely "teammates". As 王大維 points out, research exploring how the mother helps to guide fathers in becoming better parents may also fall into the mother blaming trope (2000), because she is essentially seen as responsible for her husband's parenting. The mother's role as "team leader" is not a priviledge but obligatory. Of course, family relations are diverse and there exist fathers who are in fact primary caregivers of the child and the mother may occasionally be called a "豬隊友", but these would be seen as exceptions.

4.4 "I'm Actually a Dad"

The *Babymother* board is not wholly dominated by mothers and their opinions.

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

Fathers are not blocked from reading the posts or participating in discussion, and there certainly are fathers who actively post their experiences and opinions on the board; some have even been chosen as board managers (meles, 2016). To understand the father's view on his own roles in a mother-dominated space, this section looks exclusively at posts written by the father/ husband. Posts are retrieved by the designated search terms and then manually checked. The total number of posts is 1701.

Search terms	Number of Posts
"我是先生", "我是老公", "我是.{0,8}爸", "我是.{0,8}父親", "身為.{0,3}老公", "內人", "我妻子", "我太太", "我的太太", "我老婆", "我的老婆", "我岳父", "我的岳父", "我岳母", "我的岳母", "身為.{0,3}人夫", "身為.{0,3}丈夫", "身為.{0,8}爸爸", "身為.{0,8}父親", "小弟我"	1701

Table 4-10 Search Terms to Determine Fatherhood and Resulting Number of Posts

The posts do not contain all posts written by the father. Sometimes, the posts authors are ambiguous and other times the fathers do not use explicit references. However, these posts can still provide a glimpse into fathers' discourses on parenthood.

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4.4.1 General Themes

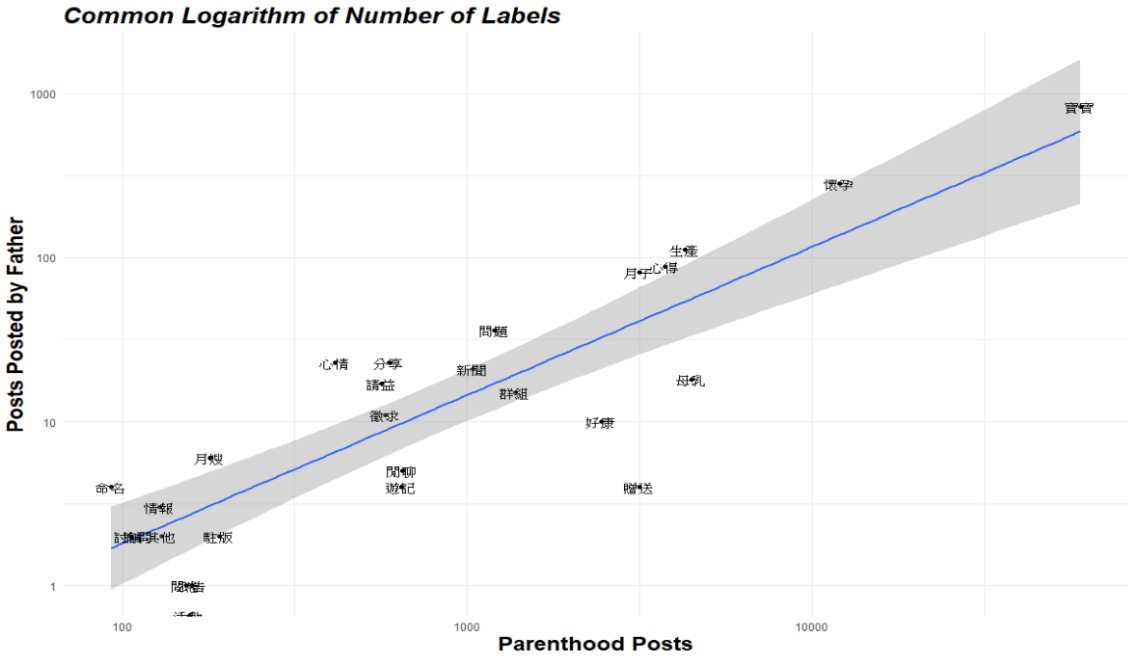

Figure 4.15 Common Log of Labels in Post by the Father and Parenthood Posts

This section takes a look at the labels of posts written by the father in relation to all posts mentioning a parent. The labels will show the general themes that a father concerns himself with on the *Babymother* board. Labels lying above the blue line coincide greatly with those of fatherhood posts in Figure 4.3. This shows that the general perception of subjects related to the father is similar among both parents.

Popular labels including "寶寶" (baby) and the different maternal stages, namely "懷孕" (pregnancy), "生產" (labor), "月子" (post-natal care) and "月嫂" (post-natal nurse) are all above the line, showing that these specific issues are common concerns and that the behavioral aspects of involved fatherhood is expected by both parents:

> "[寶寶] 無後援新手爸媽如何調適" "[Baby] How do novice dad and mom without backup adjust themselves" (HalfLucifer, 2016, M.1459659393.A.23C)

> "[生產] 剖腹時麻醉失效" "[Labor] Anesthesia not effective during c-section" (nick32408, 2021, M.1620230027.A.9E5)

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

As the maternity stages are mother-centered, contents under these labels mostly show the father in a supportive role, whether the writer is the father or mother. There is not much difference of opinion between the parents regarding this role.

The father also shares many personal thoughts and comments in "心得" (opinions/ takeaways) and "心情" (feelings). These show the emotional and cognitive recognitions of being a father and husband:

> "[心得] 各位是怎麼教育自己小孩不要吵到樓下?" "[Opinions/ takeaways] How does everyone educate their children not to disturb downstairs neighbors?" (gamniam, 2020, M.1601870260.A.100)

> "[心情] 懷孕中被要求住院照顧長輩" "[Feelings] Asked to stay at the hospital to take care of elder during pregnancy" (d94425140, 2019, M.1558620595.A.053)

Both titles show awareness of the responsibility they hold towards their child and wife. With responsibility, there will also be problems waiting to be solved, resulting in labels like "問題" (problem) and "請益" (inquiry)

> "[問題] 該如何分配照顧寶寶的時間" "[Question] How do we allocate our time for childcare" (skateboy, 2019, M.1558275793.A.442)

These titles also show that contents under different labels often overlap. However, these comments and questions can only arise with a certain extent of concern and participation.

Fathers also share quite a lot of news articles while adding on their own comments and reflections, which are in fact quite alike to "心得" (opinions/ takeaways) labels:

> "Fw[44]: [新聞] 小孩幼兒園燙傷 園方不聞不問 (…) 這樣的意外，應該都超過所有小朋友及家長所能承受的了。" "Fw: [News] Child scalded at preschool, the school shows apathy (…) An accident like this is probably more than what children and parents can bear." (wsa28, 2018, M.1542026789.A.16C)

[44] This indicates that the post is shared from another PTT discussion board.

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

Fathers also post under relatively pure instrumental labels like “徵求” (wanted), “情報” (information) and “命名” (naming), which usually have fewer accounts on parenting experiences, but show participation in related parenting information and decisions.

4.4.2 The Father’s Discourses

As the selected posts are not comprehensive, excessive use of quantitative methods may be biased and misleading. Therefore, the father’s understanding of his own roles as a minority in a mother-dominated sphere will be explored with a qualitative approach. I have summarized some main discourse tactics as: 1) elevation of the Mother, 2) embracing the “champion teammate” role, 3) defensiveness and justification and 4) discussing issues apart from childcare and homemaking. These tactics will be elaborated and their implications discussed in turn.

First is elevation of the Mother. The Mother is capitalized to symbolize all mothers, including the writer’s own wife/ mother of his children and also the general readership on the *Babymother* board. As a contrast, sometimes he also portrays himself in a humbly.

This is most explicitly seen in terms like “老婆大人” (wife boss), “太座[45]” (respect term for the wife) and occasionally “女王” (queen) when referring to the mother. Of course, these terms do not explicitly mean that their wives are tyrants. Rather, they are supposed to show appreciation and respect for the wives and mothers in a light and joking manner. This kind of half-joking language sometimes extends to other vocabulary:

> “我還記得我大約每兩天就要在下班時間，回家的路上順便買碗剉冰孝敬老婆大人。” “I still remember I had to buy a bowl of shaved ice about every two days on my way home from work to pay respect to the wife boss.”

[45] Originally a respect term for addressee’s wife, now often used to refer to one’s own wife.

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

(E46M36MT, 2017, M.1511943979.A.132)

In this case, this husband jokingly says “孝敬”, which is originally used when a junior or person of lower ranking gives dedication and respect to an elder. The patriarchal authority order is subverted and the wife is presented as having higher position and reverence.

The elevation is not necessarily only for humorous and informal banter but a portrayal of appreciation for the many physical and emotional struggles a mother may go through, which is especially common in labor experiences:

> “她好偉大，我覺得自己欠她太多了。(…) 真的覺得老婆你辛苦了，我愛你。” “She is so great, I feel that I owe her too much. (…) I really think you have worked so hard my wife, I love you.” (nick32408, 2021, M.1620230027.A.9E5)

In line with this elevation of the Mother, the father writer may also call himself “小弟” (literally little brother, often used as humble term for a man to refer to himself) for humble portrayal of the self while extending his respect and appreciation to all mothers:

> “在這小弟要向全天下的女性深深一鞠躬 妳們超級偉大的 辛苦了!!!” “Here I would like to bow deeply to all women in the world. You are super great and have done hard work!” (aoil, 2010, M.1268398379.A.AD0)

> “剖腹產光用想的就好痛，媽媽們真偉大！” “A c-section seems to hurt so much by just imagining it. Moms are so powerful!” (bin955099, 2020, M.1583331980.A.FF4)

The latter excerpt is in fact a response to the readers in a post sharing about his wife’s bed rest and labor. He responds to a reader calling him a champion teammate:

> “神隊友不敢當 XD 但變得比較有責任感是真的” “I wouldn’t dare call myself a champion teammate XD but I really have become more responsible” (bin955099, 2020, M.1583331980.A.FF4)

The last excerpt shows that appreciation of the mother/wife and becoming a champion teammate often go hand in hand. True appreciation of the toils of childbirth and child rearing would seem to quite naturally lead to more related action and

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

acknowledgement of the roles of a father/husband. The same father who is called a champion teammate reflects that the anxiety of seeing his wife bedridden with their child for months played a great part in shaping his attitude to his family and influencing the cognitive and behavioral aspects of involved fatherhood:

> "如果沒有安胎的歷程，我應該會是個「豬隊友」吧！(…) 更不可能有請育嬰假的打算" "If there hadn't been the process of bed rest, I might become a 'pig teammate'! (…) I would never have intended to take parental leave" (bin955099, 2020, M.1583331980.A.FF4)

The discouse I call "embracing the 'champion teammate' role" often manifests in modesty like the one seen above or a nonchalant attitude in taking on responsibilities. In a repost to someone asking about a father's roles, a father states as-a-matter-of-factly:

> "小弟不是神隊友，只是還算疼老婆和女兒的普通爸爸。(…) 在我的認知裡，當爸的大部分都都比我強。" "I am not a champion teammate, just a normal dad that can count as affectionate to my wife and daughter. (…) As I perceive it, most dads are better than me." (szto, 2018, M.1527438058.A.DF9)

Toning down one's own contribution to the family is not surprising in a society that encourages modesty. In effect, it also normalizes paternal involvement, viewing involvement as a fact rather than something to fuss over. The current paradox in parenting expectations between the genders is indeed a concern for some fathers:

> "是的，當大家都在鼓勵一起參與育嬰時，但是所有提倡的都是以媽媽為出發點，但是爸爸都被當空氣，這樣怎麼能夠提倡的起來呢？" "Yes, when everyone is encouraging engaging in childcare together, but all promotions are centered on the mom and the dad is ignored, how would that help to promote it?" (halfmountain, 2021, M.1636686218.A.0E7)

One way that some fathers have attempted to address this is by urging fathers to try to look past gendered stigma and expectations:

> "(…)男人育兒的心理負擔通常是外來的，但女性還要面對家庭社會給予的內在包袱。(…) 請各位多多捍衛老婆的融入社會權。" "(…) the psychological load for men to take care of the child is usually external. But women have to face the internal burdens from the family and society. (…)

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

please do more to defend your wife's right to integrate into society." (softEX, 2019, M.1553788885.A.F35)

These would often include personal experiences and suggestions in how they may help make things easier for their wives and families:

> "男人一定要出來說話 雖然我厭惡父權文化, 但台灣的社會暫時還擺脫不了父權架構" "the man has to stand out and speak up. Even though I despise the patriarchy, Taiwanese society is temporarily not going to be rid of patriarchal sturctures just yet." (futae, 2018, M.1540068556.A.1E0)

Sometimes the father's suggestions may even seem rather harsh:

> "我真的覺得, 媽媽有 100%的決定權, 男人不要機機歪歪, 上產台的不是你!" "I really think that the mom has 100% right to decide. Men, stop whining as you're not the one delivering!" (futae, 2018, M.1540068556.A.1E0)

These are not necessarily attempting to please mothers by denigrating their own sex. What they do attempt to show is their awareness of the general empathetic and supportive discussion atmosphere, especially regarding the struggles contemporary mothers are going through. These are the some of the ways to show their support.

At a glance, discourses elevating the Mother and embracing the "champion teammate" seem to subvert the power hierarchy in patriarchy and even gender roles in the family. Indeed, they are understanding and appreciative of women's physical experiences and the importance of domestic labor. They also encourage fathers to connect with the home and family. However, the Mother seen as a noble and great role for women is in fact one of the reasons why many mothers are stressed out and struggling. This is why one of the main sentiments underlying the discussions is that it is okay to struggle. More importantly, the notion of the "great Mother" complies with the idea that being a mother is a woman's vocation. One of the excerpts above expresses respect for "all women in the world", unintentionally implying that being a mother is the default option for women. On the other hand, fathers aspiring to be a champion teammate or humbly portraying

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

themselves also complies with the gender stereotype that mothers are in charge of the home and fathers are secondary. These kinds of discourses do serve in subverting gendered roles and expectations, but only to a certain extent.

Defensiveness and justification are seen when a couple's views are not in line. The may seek advice on the *Babymother* board. For example, this father asks for help in negotiating views between his wife and mother:

> "現在死胡同，求解..... 女人的心我也知道要悉心照顧 但這狀況真的很為難....." "Now we are at a dead end, please help…… I know I should look after a woman's heart with the utmost care, but this situation is really hard……" (anthracene, 2020, M.1595524779.A.52D)

In a way, defensiveness and justification reflects an inability or unwillingness to comply with the underlying requirement of empathy and respect. Mere mention of respect and concern is not enough. In this case, the father's attempt to appease "女人" (women) has not succeeded and instead elicited criticism of hiding true intentions and not respecting the main caregiver's concerns for the child.

"尊重" (respect), along with "溝通" (communicate) or "討論" (discuss) are important actions that criticized fathers will emphasize in the attempt to defend themselves that they are not selfish or uncaring:

> "就是因為尊重，所以來求救" "I come here asking for help precisely because I respect [her]" (anthracene, 2020, M.1595524779.A.52D)

> "想太多 一開始就溝通過了 依她方式為主 有需求問題我們幫忙" "That's only in your head. I have communicated in the first place. Her methods are the main methods and when there are needs or problems we help" (zxc9411, 2021, M.1626605439.A.861)

Many of these discourses can also be combined. Sometimes the appreciation towards the wife and humble portrayal of the self in fact portrays defensiveness:

> "因為我獨立帶過小孩，所以我非常了解帶小孩真的比上班累太多太多

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

(…) 因為我真的覺得很累(我知道我太太更累)” “Because I have taken care of the child idependently, so I am very aware that caring for the child is really so much more exhausting than going to work (…) Because I really feel tired (I know my wife is even more tired)” (BpQpA, 2016, M.1478967254.A.928)

This father repeatedly stresses acknowledgement to his wife's burdens of childcare, possibly because he is apprehensive of being perceived as unappreciative. This is seen throughout the post, as he confesses to negative sentiments towards his wife but also bashes himself for not being prepared to be a father. Putting down himself is a way he can express his problems without seeming selfish.

Some of these observations may be over-simplified as a battle or at least tension between the sexes, but that is not entirely the case. All of these discourses are used by both parents extensively. By no means are mothers given unconditional empathy, nor are appreciation and empathy withheld from fathers. The conversation habits in the *Babymother* board is expected of all the discussants and are in fact exemplary of women's conversation habits in particular. Women's conversations are usually solidarity-seeking and tend to provide more encourageing feedback in conversations than men, who are typically less cooperative and supportive (Holmes & Wilson, 2017: 336-7). The above discourses show fathers adopting this kind of conversation practice, showing engagement and support for fellow discussants as much as possible.

On the other hand, norms for men's conversations are those of “public referentially-oriented interaction” (Holmes & Wilson, 2017: 337). This may explain the last discourse I have observed, which is that some fathers tend to talk about issues like regulations or policies, which are removed from childcare itself but related to general parenting, as this father talks about applying for unemployed parenting subsidies:

“為什麼我（以及我太太）的就業 / 薪資狀況都沒有變化的情況下 會從資格符合變成資格不符？” “Why have we become qualified to unqualified

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

> when my (and my wife's) employment/ salary status have not changed?" (PsMonkey, 2018, M.1516340882.A.DAA)

There is a hint of implication that childcare is regarded as a mother's realm in some posts:

> "我是先生 是幫我太太問的 因為她很苦惱" "I'm the husband, here to ask for my wife because she's vexed" (pagoda, 2018, M.1518024227.A.A88)

His question is about children's books recommendations. This conforms the traditional perception of a closer relationship with the mother and child but not between father and child (Mintz, 1988: 24). Sometimes parenting is also discussed as a science, as a father may share his comments on parenting books and methods:

> "本書最推薦的，是在育嬰時，已經撐不下去的父母 (…) 畢境，身心健康的父母，絕對是孩子的最大保證。" "This book is most recommended for parents who are struggling to hang on with their baby (…) After all, parents who are physically and mentally healthy are definitely the biggest assurance for a child." (djboy, 2009, M.1250086981.A.5DE)

On the other hand, sometimes experienced fathers also feel confidence in giving advice to mothers on parenting. This may in fact reflect male speech tendencies and see their experience and knowledge a means to exert power.

For many fathers who have involved themselves in parenting, like the examples from the previous discourses, they are not shy to share their personal emotional connections with their wives and children. The willingness to post and share their thoughts on the *Babymother* board itself is a filter of at least the emotional and cognitive elements of involved fatherhood. Their experiences are their own accounts of the behavioral and relational aspects of involved fatherhood. Although they are the minority in such discussion sites, their identifying as caring parents and active sharing of experiences and feelings are demonstrations and statements of the loosening of traditional gender norms and practices.

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

Chapter 5 Conclusion

5.1 Fatherhood Discourses on the *Babymother* Board

This research attempts to find perceptions of the father's role and the underlying (gendered) implications using quantitative methods. Some of these roles are named simply a father or husband, some combine different lexical components to emphasize different aspects of these roles, and others are creative role names like the parenting "teammate". The large variety of terms referring to the father, which is the main target of my first research question, seems to each highlight various aspects of involved fatherhood. The use of different father terms is not random, but reflects the actions and practices each of these names are perceived to be related to. The frequencies of these names show that the relational and cognitive aspects of involved fatherhood are especially important for the discussants. The father's relation to the mother is also directly pertinent as she narrates her parenting experience alongside her husband.

Further exploration, both quantitative and qualitative, also reveal high variety in the contents of the posts, ranging from pure informative interactions to very personal and intimate details to emotional rants. My second research question attempts to find perceived connections between different fatherhood names and parenthood topics in the larger contexts of a post and the direct linguistic contexts around the role. The connections are not clearly distinctive for different identities, but certain patterns can be observed. Most of the patterns seem to match intuitions: the relational aspects of involved fatherhood stress the father, while the behaviors of involved fatherhood like caring for the child and supporting the mother are respectively associated with the father role and the husband role. The behavior aspect of work, however, is associated equally to both roles.

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Language use surrounding “隊友” (teammate) and derived terms has also been explored. The evaluations of good or bad teammates are especially normative from the standpoint of the mother to her husband. Common acceptance of “隊友” to be used synonymously for “husband” shows the view of the father and mother each contributing materially and emotionally is no longer accepted, at least not explicitly. However, the expected role of the husband/ teammate in this parenting team is still mainly secondary. The mother acts and talks like a supervisor and leader to her teammate and evaluates the adequacy of her teammate’s involvement. The term itself reveals the emphasis of the involved father’s “supporting” role. Occasionally, members from the extended family are also counted as teammates, as they play very important roles in many Taiwanese families’ parenting and influence parenting decisions. The relationship between the parents is also affected by the extent and quality of involvement from extended family members.

Qualitative inspection into the posts written by fathers show awareness of the implicit discussion rules of the board. Even though some men try to distance themselves from the domestic sphere and discuss public domain topics, many experienced fathers are also not shy to make suggestions to fellow parents (mothers). Active sharing of their experiences shows many fathers embracing the general concept of involved fatherhood. Most also adapt women’s language norms and take part in the discussions mostly in engaging and supportive language. However, fathers aspiring to be a “好隊友” (good teammate) or “神隊友” (champion teammate) to their wives show that the specific understanding of involved fatherhood is mainly as a supporting role to the mother who leads in the home and childcare, thus complying with gendered parenting norms.

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

5.2 Discussion

The *Babymother* board is a popular discussion site for Taiwanese parents to share personal experiences, ask for help or suggestions and rant. While the specific contents may be very personal and sometimes even intimate, there is an underlying need to feel connection in the act of sharing. Social media can provide a safe site for this kind of connection (McLeod, 2020). While individual circumstances and events may be different, people seek for approval, understanding or empathy. For positive feedback, the writer has to construct their stories and comments in language they perceive to be acceptable. Complete disregard for general sentiments may not be censored or deleted but will likely be "booed" by other parents and accused of being irresponsible or immoral. With this in mind, the posts on the board not only portray personal experiences and views but also reflect understanding of the general attitudes of their peers, and in turn show their attempt to conform, subvert or negotiate with these attitudes (Ives, 2004).

Unsurprisingly, the understanding of parenthood is mother-centered, as shown in the popular labels referring to different stages of maternity. The main discussants on the board are mothers. Apparently, the default parent for caring and homemaking is still the mother. The presumption that the mother is the "natural" parent has survived time (王舒芸 & 余漢儀, 1997) and is still experienced by both parents, similar to Sunderland's observation that parenthood is often equated to motherhood (2006). However, fatherhood discussions are no longer limited to the stereotypical incompetent bumbling fathers that Sunderland has observed (2000). In fact, as recounted by Taiwanese parents in past interviews, the concept of involved fatherhood has gained acceptance among them (王舒芸 & 余漢儀, 1997; 王叢桂, 2000). Discussions on the *Babymother* board show a matter-of-fact

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

attitude towards fathers' participation. The aspects of involved fatherhood suggested by 王, including the cognitive, emotional, relational and behavioral, are realized to different extents by each individual father. Among them, the most widely accepted expectation of an involved father, other than providing material support, seems to be a helpful "teammate" to the mother who is mostly in charge. In a word, this is the particular behavior of supporting the mother as posted by 王 (2000). This view is in line with past research suggesting that the extent and quality of fatherhood involvement depends on the mother's attitude (陳富美 & 利翠珊, 2004), implying that teaching and guiding the husbands to be a good father is her responsibility and authority. 王 has noted the mother-blaming implications of this view (2000). When fitting the cognitive, emotional and relational, not to mention the behavioral aspects of involved fatherhood onto the mother, she clearly fulfills each aspect to a further extent.

On the one hand, fathers' participation in parenthood and voicing out in this realm dominated by women is an act of subversion in itself. Their participation in childcare and even homemaking, which are originally seen as feminine or emasculating (Schmitz, 2016) are no longer shameful. On the other hand, the glorification of motherhood also shows compliance to the view emphasizing women's role as mothers and caregivers of the family. Being parents, the hegemonic views of marriage and childbirth are rarely questioned, and women are seen as naturally maternal. In the midst of this, some parents have also seen some problems with gendered parenthood discourses in the community and in society. Similar to dad bloggers in North America (Scheibling, 2020ab), highly educated fathers in Taiwan are able to criticize the problematic gendered assumptions in medical and legal practices that hinder fathers from further involvement. However, most

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

discussions on this issue revolve around the mother first, father secondary assumption.

The objective of using quantitative methods to explore and observe mothers' discourses surrounding fatherhood is to grasp the patterns of the general attitude on involved fatherhood. These attempts keep in mind that discourses are multiple and the numbers reflect tendencies rather than fixed views. Text mining can also bring into view recurring issues or closely-related issues that may have otherwise been overlooked. One of these is the extended family, especially the grandparents from either side of the family. Involvement of the grandparents reflect gendered expectations of procreation in Taiwanese culture that have survived for generations, complicating gender and family relations for the parents of a young child.

5.3 Limitations

First, there are limitations in the data cleaning and handling. Being a social media discussion site, many colloquial words, phrases and sometimes grammatical or lexical mistakes will be misleading for automatic calculations and segmentation of Mandarin words. The online community has also developed its own slang and jargon, which may also be missed by established word segmentation packages.

Secondly, as this research focuses solely on the *Babymother* board on PTT, the demographic is highly skewed toward college-educated users of a certain age group. The discussions and constructs, then, will not be reprensentative of perceptions of parenthood and fatherhood in the wider community, but rather an elite and young group of parents in general. Furthermore, there may also be voluntary bias.

Lastly, the research assumes the most hegemonic type of family, namely, the heterosexual nuclear family as default for simplicity of research. Many of the automatic

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

search terms are based on heterosexual nuclear family relations. Only a few discussions of single families and divorced couples are present. After same-sex marriage has been legalized in Taiwan, same-sex couples have also joined in some of the discussions, especially lesbian couples with children. It would also be quite interesting to study how fatherhood, motherhood and parenthood may be perceived, performed and subverted by these new or previously overlooked family types.

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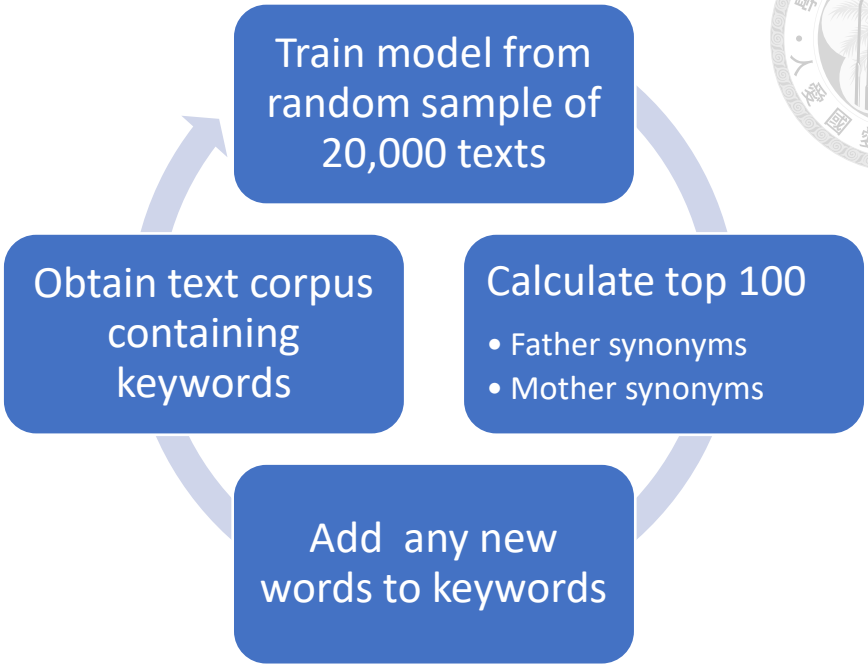
Appendix

Regarding Data Selection

My preliminary keywords are “爸爸” (dad), “父親” (father), “老公” (informal form of husband), “先生” (husband), “爸比” (daddy), and “把拔” (another form of daddy) for the father. For the mother, the preliminary keywords are “媽媽” (mom), “母親” (mother), “老婆” (informal for wife), “太太” (wife) and “媽咪” (mommy). Contents containing any of these words are then used as a basis to train the model that will in turn be used for data selection. The data selection process is a circular one. This process ends when no more words can be added. Due to hardware constraints, my models are trained on 20,000 random samples of each text corpus. Before training the model, I also filter out posts that are irrelevant to parenthood practices, mainly advertisement, recruitment for surveys or interviewees, information about sales or children’s activities, and posts asking for advice on naming children.

For each model trained, I calculate the top 100 similar words as “爸爸”, “爸” (dad), “父親”, “媽媽”, “媽” (mom) and “母親” (mother) respectively with both CBOW and skip-gram models and look for any words that may refer to the father or mother. From these words, I add in any words that have been missed to the father or mother keyword list and then repeat the training process. Other than words directly referring to either parent, gender parallels of the other parent will also be added. As the single character “爸” can be suffixed to many different words, I have manually looked for terms that may be missed and added these words to the list.

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326



For RQ 2.1, the family roles will be called out by explicit statement of the relation. This emphasis on the family relations is necessary in order to filter out instances where members of the extended family or friends are referred to.

For RQ 2.2, the keyword is “teammate”. However, the positive or negative modifier before teammate will also be used to distinguish between the good and bad teammates.

For research question three, I will search for cues that indicate the post author is male. This is determined by explicit statement or reference to wives and in-laws. The posts obtained are also checked to see if they really are written by fathers. It should be noted that this search is very likely not comprehensive, and may not even capture the majority of the posts. In a random sample of 200 posts, I have identified 5 posts written by the father, but only 1 post has been included in the father-written posts.

The ultimate results for the most similar words are listed here, with the numbers following being the predicted similarity.

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

The CBOW model:

爸爸:[('阿嬤', 0.6248874664306641), ('媽媽', 0.6187106370925903), ('外婆', 0.5774707198143005), ('把拔', 0.5438135266304016), ('阿公', 0.5368703007698059), ('隊友', 0.527845025062561), ('抱抱', 0.5274320244789124), ('爸媽', 0.5265702605247498), ('弟弟', 0.525644838809967), ('姐姐', 0.5169789791107178), ('爸', 0.506881833076477), ('外公', 0.5056922435760498), ('家人', 0.49896377325057983), ('奶奶', 0.4963095188140869), ('妹妹', 0.4925278127193451), ('陪玩', 0.48754796385765076), ('她們', 0.48660388588905334), ('姑姑', 0.48510539531707764), ('長輩', 0.4777029752731323), ('媽', 0.47254079580307007), ('陪睡', 0.4703487157821655), ('父母', 0.46742406487464905), ('另一半', 0.46605440974235535), ('鄰居', 0.4614463150501251), ('姊姊', 0.45879504084587097), ('先生', 0.4501008987426758), ('爺爺', 0.4479231834411621), ('老公', 0.44679415225982666), ('哥哥', 0.44572681188583374), ('路人', 0.4433205723762512), ('陌生人', 0.4426261782646179), ('你們', 0.4425469636917114), ('阿媽', 0.43885159492492676), ('全職', 0.43713751435279846), ('家長', 0.4340403378009796), ('我媽', 0.4319882392883301), ('婆婆', 0.43008938431739807), ('爸比', 0.4293598532676697), ('老師', 0.4285289943218231), ('太太', 0.42609816789627075), ('撒嬌', 0.4259909987449646), ('別人', 0.4256872236728668), ('媳婦', 0.4237823784351349), ('掰掰', 0.4232213497161865), ('大姑', 0.4218154549598694), ('抱', 0.4214222729206085), ('我', 0.4212241768836975), ('他', 0.42061880230903625), ('公婆', 0.41984736919403076), ('岳母', 0.4190896451473236), ('公公', 0.4158878028392792), ('做家事', 0.41369280219078064), ('阿罵', 0.41292762756347656), ('老人家', 0.4127461314201355), ('孫子', 0.41200491786003113), ('妳', 0.4117654860019684), ('同學', 0.4080849587917328), ('同事', 0.40736085176467896), ('豬隊友', 0.4057405889034271), ('你', 0.4054424464702606), ('弟妹', 0.4048512876033783), ('孩子', 0.40114936232566833), ('保母', 0.40053656697273254), ('爺奶', 0.39804747700691223), ('親朋好友', 0.3937612473964691), ('親人', 0.39330601692199707), ('娘家', 0.3932223618030548), ('嬸嬸', 0.391998827457428), ('姨婆', 0.3918777406215668), ('大嫂', 0.3916876018047333), ('我爸', 0.390455037355423), ('外傭', 0.3903810381889343), ('阿姨', 0.3889715075492859), ('老爸', 0.38504067063331604), ('誰', 0.38286763429641724), ('哭哭', 0.3825787305831909), ('她', 0.3805078864097595), ('老婆', 0.3801869750022888), ('下班', 0.3800242245197296), ('親', 0.37986689805984497), ('好友', 0.3791145980358124), ('狗狗', 0.37898188829421997), ('人家', 0.3770545721054077), ('對方', 0.3755425810813904), ('道歉', 0.3747173249721527), ('保母帶', 0.3690636456012726), ('職業婦女', 0.3655104339122772), ('抗議', 0.36326730251312256), ('拍拍', 0.3627015948295593), ('親友', 0.3616248071193695), ('看書', 0.3602559268474579), ('親戚', 0.36020830273628235), ('做事', 0.3601618707180023), ('主動', 0.3598904013633728), ('職業', 0.3594464957714081), ('嫂嫂', 0.35769036412239075), ('拔拔', 0.3569178879261017), ('說話', 0.3564228117465973), ('保姆', 0.3559181690216045), ('累', 0.35570788383483887)]
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doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

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doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

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doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

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doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

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doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

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doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

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Regarding Data Cleaning

Removed patterns: “(http|https)://[a-zA-Z0-9./?=_-]+”, “引述《[a-zA-Z0-9./_()].+》之銘言”, “Sent from [a-zA-Z0-9 -./_()]+”, “[/_.★↑｜▲△～—→——┐—／┘●※]+?”, “媽寶版提醒您.*”, “作者.+:[0-9]{2}\\s[0-9]{4}?”, “[0-9]{4}/[0-9]{2}/[0-9]{2}”, “[0-9]{4}-[0-9]{2}-[0-9]{2}”, “[0-9]{4}年[0-9]{1,2}月[0-9]{1,2}日”, “[0-9]{1,2}/[0-9]{1,2}, “[0-9]{1,2}-[0-9]{1,2}, “[0-9]{1,2}月[0-9]{1,2}日”, “[0-9]{2}:[0-9]{2}”, “新聞網址”

The CKIPtagger is chosen for segmentations because it is developed by Taiwanese academia, making it more fitting for my texts which are mainly written by Taiwanese parents. Most of the vocabulary are added in the earlier explorative stages. I looked for common word pairs to see if words and phrases have been wrongly segmented. Some words I have specially added into the dictionary because I wanted to analyze them as one unit. Some of the most important are teammate words with their modifiers. Thus, “神隊友” (champion teammate) would be one term, which would have been otherwise

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

segmented as “神” (champion) and “隊友” (teammate). The same is done for “好隊友” (good teammate) and “豬隊友” (pig teammate).

Words excluded for low tf-idf scores include: “一起”, “中”, “大”, “住”, “先”, “先生”, “分享”, “吃”, “問題”, “好”, “媽媽”, “孩子”, “完”, “寶寶”, “小”, “小孩”, “已經”, “希望”, “幫忙”, “建議”, “想”, “應該”, “我們”, “時”, “時間”, “月”, “比較”, “爸爸”, “發現”, “目前”, “看”, “看到”, “知道”, “老公”, “覺得”, “說”, “請”, “謝謝”, “需要”

Posts extracted from the *BabyMother* board in alphabetical order by user id

user	title	url
abc12692 (胖次戴頭上)	[寶寶]爸爸腸病毒好了能抱寶寶嗎？	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1496921603.A.AED.html
AmandaFish (阿曼達)	[遊記] 宜蘭 蘭城晶英酒店。布丁3y11m	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1504545434.A.361.html
andtwo (大隻不能玻璃心嗎?)	[寶寶] 小男生一直勃起	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1523435193.A.466.html
anitana (阿妮塔)	Re: [寶寶] 寶寶在保母家窒息休克	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1457805508.A.DD0.html
anoan (愛諾安・劭劭麻)	[遊記] 夜宿屏東海生館經驗分享	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1339058539.A.07F.html
anthracene (James)	〔寶寶〕請問老婆跟媽媽的內心如何照料	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1595524779.A.52D.html
aoil (阿油)	[生產] 小芽芽生產記	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1268398379.A.AD0.html
Aquariuskye (kufufu)	[好康] 美強生 A+神隊友教室	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1571408350.A.3E0.html
babycu (Elaine)	[寶寶] 一直在找不在現場的人…	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1601361332.A.84E.html
beryl517 (布丁)	[心得] 看日劇<坡道上的家>有感	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1563849008.A.C54.html

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

bigchief (誰能救救我的統計作業?)	[討拍] 覺得爸爸在躲避跟兩歲女兒的相處	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1478527838.A.4ED.html
bin955099 (冰的)	[心得]最積極的耍廢：爸爸的「陪安胎」心得	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1583331980.A.FF4.html
birdbaby (鳥寶貝>///<)	[寶寶] 語言及人際互動發展遲緩就診經驗分享	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1529457770.A.7C0.html
blt5945130 (chihuahua)	[懷孕] 17 週下墜痠痛感	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1556267320.A.CD2.html
bonny33 (幸福肥人妻)	Re: [懷孕] 覺得無法調適心情	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1475337655.A.4B3.html
bossgirl (我是米蟲)	Re: [懷孕] 剪指甲被罵	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1595315373.A.EBA.html
BPDattractor (love is psychosis)	[寶寶] 幫助先生成為爸爸	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1610722278.A.FE6.html
BpQpA (為妳留的累)	[寶寶] 副食品的壓力...	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1478967254.A.928.html
butkam (靜)	[寶寶] 當媽之後最想做的事情是出國玩	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1464271961.A.9ED.html
carolto1109 (即將-起程)	[好康] combi 高雄特賣會小小分享	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1463644721.A.BA2.html
castlelife	[寶寶] 3Y 腸胃炎脫水記	https://ptt-chat.com/BabyMother/l/CHAT.M.1436501161.A.38F
ceri (C.)	Re: [生產] 請教各位媽媽如何鼓勵打氣呢	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1488531255.A.59C.html
chanasa (現在辛苦 未來就會幸福)	[寶寶] 托嬰有感	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1483690485.A.A00.html
chenchenzee (可莉丙)	[生產] 39 週+6 生產文	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1513344052.A.D18.html
cloverba (我在這裡~請看見我~)	[寶寶] 1 歲換奶	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1488778086.A.B90.html
cutedemon (可愛的惡魔)	[寶寶] 有豬隊友想不產後憂鬱好難（抱怨文）	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1476742346.A.F57.html
cw2016 (CHrIstY_Fun)	[寶寶] 一歲寶寶夜奶仍頻繁	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1500509881.A.A5D.html
d94425140 (阿裕)	[心情] 懷孕中被要求住院照顧長輩	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1558620595.A.053.html

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

diestern (星)	[懷孕] 有人 38 週才換產檢醫院兼找到月中嗎？	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1502711919.A.114.html
djboy (雞尾酒)	[寶寶] 嬰兒睡眠書藉綜評(2)~百歲派	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1250086981.A.5DE.html
dofya (dofya)	[徵求] 猴寶爸爸 Line 群！	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1493226593.A.15E.html
don323 (咚薯叔)	[申請新板] BabyMother	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1104118818.A.C76.html
dr781217 (綠綠)	[寶寶] 孩子吃飯問題抱怨+求解…文長	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1519761927.A.4E5.html
E46M36MT (Give Me M3)	Re: [寶寶] 雙胞胎一定安胎嗎？	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1511943979.A.132.html
EM2A (死 結)	[心情] 恐懼多於喜悅各種 (文長慎入)	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1499885830.A.515.html
firstladyt (丹丹)	[生產] 桃園敏盛 40+1 無產兆催生分享	https://ptt.reviews/BabyMother/M.1617344436.A.3C9
ftru4518 (shi)	[寶寶] 每到夜晚就沒耐心的隊友	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1518486235.A.565.html
futae (goblin bat)	[心得] 各路神仙要我老婆剖腹,最後她順利自然產	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1540068556.A.1E0.html
g970714 (candy)	[心得] 育兒用品經驗分享（必買與不必買品）	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1594955552.A.4EF.html
g970714 (candy)	Re: [心情] 長輩的無聊話與干涉教養問題	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1593583279.A.924.html
gamnia (Mr.G)	[心得] 各位是怎麼教育自己小孩不要吵到樓下?	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1601870260.A.100.html
gaun (妮可魯 覺得一次兩次還可 0)	[寶寶] 哄睡？自行入睡？	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1496203623.A.39D.html
HalfLucifer ( )	[寶寶] 無後援新手爸媽如何調適	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1459659393.A.23C.html
halfmountain (毛巾先生~開飯嚕~)	Re: [寶寶] 因小孩照顧問題與先生爭吵	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1636686218.A.0E7.html
HiDawn (Dawn)	[寶寶] 會單純用米麩取代一餐嗎	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1451319672.A.AC4.html
huiyenchen (純粹)	[懷孕] 月中一天一萬跟 6500 怎麼選？	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1591105861.A.774.html

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

i780809 (小丸)	[懷孕] 雖然懷孕了，但心情很矛盾	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1527810950.A.E2F.html
iamis (包子臉)	[心得] 自我修復練習/隊友是最重要的支持	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1577461065.A.64B.html
ilmdy (用心對待)	[寶寶] 寶寶共讀共玩網站分享	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1617170147.A.996.html
inonat ( )	[母乳] 我的母乳哺餵之路(上)	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1468065547.A.3C9.html
jennifer0115 (花)	[寶寶] 偽單親職業媽媽生二寶？	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1557457525.A.757.html
Jotard (不明白)	Re: [抱怨] 北捷性別歧視，不通人情	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1479657761.A.E39.html
justsai (執子之手,與子偕老)	[心情] 陪伴的時間	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1448043310.A.F80.html
k6094000	[寶寶] 女羊寶命名建議及生產經驗~	https://pttcareer.com/babymother/M.1446458698.A.397.html
kakakuku (Alice)	請推薦一個下午偽單身可做的事	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1496325623.A.BCE.html
KKANT (高高)	[群組] 2020 鼠寶 TG 群	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1578552703.A.826.html
ktts (sophie)	[生產] 活生生血淋淋的生產全紀錄	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1526314938.A.90F.html
kumatan99 (kumatan)	[寶寶] 3m 寶寶會認人？	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1482774484.A.F77.html
laches (laches)	Re: [心情] 覺得無論是哪個角色，自己都扮演不好	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1476213892.A.C28.html
lalipo (拉莉波)	[生產] 新竹馬偕自然產紀錄	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1521765560.A.20D.html
lightdance (Grace 恩典多美麗)	[請益] 女寶爸爸一打一出門時如何上廁所？	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1593488710.A.016.html
lisa68 (vivia)	[寶寶] 吃飯一定坐餐椅	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1463853953.A.203.html
littleshort (小矮 *^‿‿^*)	[母乳] 母奶在保冰袋可儲存多久時間	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1482546074.A.E03.html
lovechipx2 (花栗鼠)	Re: [寶寶] 哄睡上的困擾	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1528343298.A.411.html
LovelyVivi (一定要華麗的搞搖滾)	[母乳] 親餵+瓶餵	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1455853393.A.B10.html
LOVEMASHA (LoveMASHA)	Re: [寶寶] 一直抱，我做錯了嗎？	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1498991102.A.718.html

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

lulicat (嚕哩貓)	Re: [生產] 為了坐月子鬧離婚值得嗎？（文長）	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1577415008.A.3B6.html
luxury0918 (Grace Kao)	[生產] 禾馨物理性水球催生經驗	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1492845524.A.CAC.html
MA2007 ( )	[生產] 有打無痛/沒打/腰痛經驗分享	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1505995828.A.629.html
masakoyeh (末日)	[寶寶] 打完流感第一劑之後還是中獎了	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1546944420.A.F99.html
meettheright (用 PTT 看世界(￣ c￣)y ▂)	[問題] 下班自己顧小孩，該怎麼進修？	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1458055563.A.40C.html
meles (海闊天空)	[公告] 上任公告，請大家多多指教	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1476715048.A.F4E.html
miaum6 (MiA)	[寶寶] 3m 想戒夜奶，作息請益	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1553649263.A.613.html
mikato (mikato)	Re: [懷孕] 老婆懷孕了，但是不開心	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1564333613.A.E75.html
mindy1025 (幸福)	[生產] 產後憂鬱&育兒焦慮	https://pttyes.com/BabyMother/M.1589965646.A.2AB
minikacat (minika)	Re: [寶寶] 也有上學後早出晚歸的寶寶嗎	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1521518182.A.F3A.html
miraim0316 (miraim0316)	[寶寶] 產後憂鬱？承認當了媽就跟別人不一樣	https://ptt-chat.com/BabyMother/l/CHAT.M.1433745854.A.C8A
missingine (missingine)	[寶寶] 女豬寶命名請益	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1577686590.A.B92.html
moknaa (呆呆)	Re: [議題] 我單身，但我想生寶寶	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1515642628.A.3E0.html
moxa0110 (Ines)	[生產] 醫院待產心情不安中	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1476970546.A.538.html
ms5673 (ms5673)	[母乳] 奶量天生少，該不該堅持？	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1498897209.A.6B1.html
mscmrsc (肥宅)	[寶寶] 會暈車的寶寶能坐搖椅嗎?	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1475180016.A.654.html
newnewyao (扭扭腰)	Re: [懷孕] 不住月中不請月嫂的經驗	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1560083000.A.206.html
nick32408 (Feuer frei!)	[生產] 剖腹時麻醉失效	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1620230027.A.9E5.html
nouria (低調過生活)	產婦的玻璃心(抱怨文長慎入)	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1449262034.A.C26.html

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

nrohfwife (nrohfwife)	[月嫂] 有人跟我一樣會思念月嫂的嗎	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1562889224.A.CDE.html
OldB (愛吃批薩的老 B)	[寶寶] 男豬寶命名請益（陳）	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1570440543.A.E50.html
OOUCH (誰在遠方唱歌)	[寶寶] 該自己帶?婆婆帶?保母帶?	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1460804762.A.AC6.html
orange7299 (Orange)	[寶寶] 是喊瞑？還是正常的？	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1480905780.A.FE6.html
oSaKuLa (鐵)	[寶寶] 妖怪婆婆	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1483201059.A.B67.html
pabbys0804 ()	[寶寶] 反覆高燒卻毫無感冒症狀	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1563203738.A.020.html
pagoda (....)	[寶寶] 想尋找類似"賴馬"系列的童書&CD	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1518024227.A.A88.html
pearlkung (等待天使)	Re: [心情] 接近崩潰邊緣	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1476359798.A.879.html
pigshow1121 ()	[新聞] 小孩哭不要打針 「爸爸苦勸200 分鐘，	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1540894463.A.E9D.html
plum520 (momo)	[寶寶] 我的耍寶女兒	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1462097363.A.18C.html
PsMonkey (痞子軍團團長)	[寶寶] 莫名的育兒津貼年度資格檢定不符	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1516340882.A.DAA.html
QQChiu (QQChiu)	[群組] 台中北區小區域無後援媽媽群組	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1524030553.A.A62.html
QQj (Qoo)	[詢問]如何增進孩子與孩子爸爸的感情?	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1463973923.A.B87.html
qqmasumi (I can, I hope)	[寶寶] 男豬寶取名請益（畢）	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1555030440.A.9C2.html
QQmimi (！！)	[寶寶] 雙寶爸加油	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1471341292.A.C8A.html
qqqm (@@)	[心得] 神隊友老公的處理之道	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1566464342.A.4AC.html
qqqm (@@)	[心情] 神隊友養成實錄	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1531410409.A.A5F.html
queenrabbits (葵兔子)	Re: [寶寶] 疲倦的時候	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1490208872.A.702.html
reneerou (Rou)	[寶寶] 長輩餵食問題	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1555063252.A.13A.html
Richert (向上提升)	[閒聊] 有了孩子後，老公會幫什麼?	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1590393906.A.60A.html

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

rimadyl (NSAID)	Re: [心情] 我覺得我的人生毀了	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1474344839.A.FAB.html
rinb0919 (冷葉)	Re: [寶寶] 請益有關幽門狹窄	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1471418741.A.4AA.html
ritalin0925 (Rita)	[寶寶] 交流～照顧寶寶應注意而未注意的事項	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1557149114.A.663.html
RoseGold (玫瑰金)	Re: [月子] 住月子中心真的必要嗎？	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1490155347.A.E89.html
sacrum ( )	[心得] 疑似高位破水的處理及心得	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1546828118.A.DA7.html
saluawu (念著你的我)	[生產] 5 月 26 日生產日誌	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1243851227.A.AF0.html
sakuralove (空白)	[寶寶] 出門硬要帶玩具?	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1525657162.A.C22.html
sarah32kimo (sarah)	[閒聊] 覺得心暖暖的	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1475393086.A.ACF.html
seibu (難過)	[新聞] 貨車司機爸 10 年伴讀 模範生兒好感恩	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1490455402.A.C45.html
sexysunny (艾希)	[懷孕] 孕期紀錄	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1524347093.A.E2A.html
shanwind626 (開心每一天)	[心得] 前置胎盤孕程紀錄-高雄長庚剖腹產	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1598434011.A.96D.html
ShoMing (小小遊戲設計師)	Re: [寶寶] 感覺老婆不是很負責任	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1590605863.A.AC6.html
shower89 (My Love)	[母乳] 終於我選擇放過我自己	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1512328360.A.30A.html
sing18 (艾里)	[寶寶] Nipper 推車使用分享	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1565859536.A.0FC.html
skateboy (新生活)	[問題] 該如何分配照顧寶寶的時間	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1558275793.A.442.html
skyf1ying (天路客與撒拉弗)	[心情]寶寶連日生病 媽媽快崩潰	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1524727096.A.E75.html
softEX (NNA)	Re: [寶寶] 有男生育嬰留停嗎？	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1553788885.A.F35.html
sseen (Balle)	Re: [寶寶] 第一胎的被剝奪感	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1553335214.A.DEA.html
stu8529 (桑肯)	[請益] 如何安撫軍眷媽咪	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1594851958.A.297.html
sudaygirl (凌笑笑)	[新聞] 母抱 2 月女嬰跳樓，落鐵皮屋頂暫救回	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1491923676.A.D38.html

doi:10.6342/NTU202203326

superdunkpig (dunk)	[寶寶] 跟母奶味道接近的配方奶	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1546075719.A.BE2.html
swen920 (殺了我吧)	[寶寶] 有睡覺很會翻的寶寶嗎？	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1465629224.A.F25.html
Syuanruru (syuan)	[詢問]快 2y 一大早喝鮮奶 加熱方法請益	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1605064636.A.690.html
szto (新手爸爸倒數中!?)	Re: [寶寶] 身為爸爸應該要做的事	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1527438058.A.DF9.html
tanina (^^)	Re: [寶寶] 什麼時候開始有當爸爸的自覺？	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1478447963.A.B6D.html
tonyapple (tired)	[寶寶] 餵完奶後尖叫不已	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1499429243.A.90A.html
tp6qo4m3 (小羽)	[寶寶] 懷孕脾氣會影響寶寶	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1483680130.A.65C.html
turnlight (沒有誤解只有偏見)	[寶寶] 寶寶的喜好，我很受傷	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1454926447.A.C46.html
u65915uuu (Samantha)	Re: [心情] 我覺得我的人生毀了	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1474339723.A.D89.html
valine (valine)	[懷孕] 三寶好像來報到了	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1558447936.A.EB9.html
wangping (年終出清)	Re: [懷孕] 如何說服先生和婆婆同意住月中	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1604765508.A.CDC.html
WANWENMO (OD)	[寶寶] 怕生寶寶準備送保母	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1510152640.A.9BF.html
wishlpl (alone)	[寶寶] 滿月寶寶體重增加的幅度	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1472216429.A.25B.html
wsa28 (wsa28)	Fw: [新聞] 小孩幼兒園燙傷 園方不聞不問	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1542026789.A.16C.html
yang1012 (@Nippon)	[群組] 新手爸爸群徵人	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1598543234.A.EB2.html
yaping100 (yaping100 ￼N)	[寶寶] 小孩一直生病 ，要怎麼改善 ？	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1459080541.A.682.html
YDAPOPO (阿達)	Re: [心情] 多久後才有當爸爸的自覺？	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1526867993.A.D67.html
yiyishih (yiyi)	[懷孕] 老公不想讓我回職場	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1476371501.A.7E5.html
yjchenw (jane)	[寶寶] 媽媽們 你累了嗎	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1456483017.A.4F0.html

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yuchin95 (taro)	[群組] 台中全職豬寶媽	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1576692722.A.5FE.html
yyaa (yaya)	[心得] 好爸爸\隊友養成計畫	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1551184663.A.A77.html
zxc9411 (zzz)	[寶寶] 老婆執著於書上教養方式	https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/BabyMother/M.1626605439.A.861.html

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