

國立政治大學亞太研究英語碩士學位學
程

College of Social Sciences
National Chengchi University

碩士論文

Master's Thesis



我們與他們: 台灣社會阻止移工剝削的角色
Us vs. Them: Taiwanese Society's role in stopping
migrant worker abuse

Student: Rachel McGuffin

Advisor: Dr. Pai Po Lee and Dr. Dawei Kuan

中華民國 2016 年 02 月

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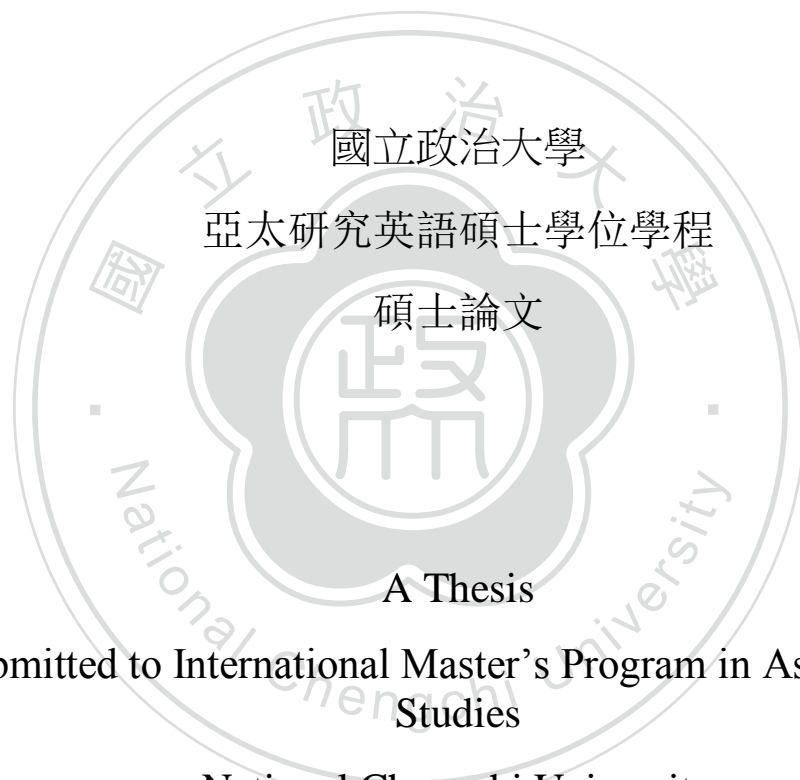
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碩士論文

A Thesis

Submitted to International Master's Program in Asia-Pacific
Studies

National Chengchi University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement

For the Degree of Master in Chinese Studies

中華民國 2016 年 02 月

February 2016

國立政治大學社會科學學院亞太研究英語碩士學位學程

National Chengchi University

International Master's Program in Asia-Pacific Studies

論文口試審定書

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題目 Topic：我們與他們：台灣社會阻止移工剝削的角色

Us vs. Them: Taiwanese society's role in stopping migrant
worker abuse

Approved by the Oral Examination Committee

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中 華 民 國 105 年 2 月 15 日

國立政治大學社會科學學院亞太研究英語碩士學位學程

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to extend my deepest appreciation to my adviser, Dr. Pai-po Lee, and my co-adviser, Dr. Dawei Kuan for their invaluable guidance and insight in completing this research. I would also like to thank my committee member, Dr. Shih, for all of his poignant suggestions and support in refining the research and ensuring the quality of this analysis. Additionally, I am incredibly grateful to National Chengchi University for providing the necessary tools, environment, and instruction to master this research and provide my contribution to the academia on human rights. Through National Chengchi University, I was able to meet a law student, Tzu-Huan Yang, who selflessly sacrificed time and energy to aid in my translation efforts, and for that I am deeply grateful.

Secondly, I must thank PhD Candidate and Biostatistician Byron Casey Jaeger at the University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill) for all of his dedicated effort in assisting with the statistical analysis of this research. Through his unfaltering patience and guidance, significant trends and relevant research points were discovered and analyzed with the utmost care to ensure accuracy and cohesiveness throughout the thesis. I am forever grateful for his mentorship and guidance throughout this process.

Thirdly, I would like to thank God for guiding me to choose a topic I am truly passionate about and supporting me every step of the way. I would also like to thank Tyler Joseph Gatsche, for keeping me sane during this long journey and providing the perfect sounding board for all of my irrelevant ideas and digressions. His constant support, meaningful suggestions, and inspiring encouragement have truly made up the backbone of this research.

Abstract

With a rising aging population and labor shortages across its key fishing and factory industries, the importation of migrant labor is more crucial than ever in keeping Taiwan's small but impressive economy propelling forward. With over half a million migrant workers and rising, Taiwan is increasingly facing social, legal, and institutional issues that arise when a temporary labor force is mixed in with the status quo population. A small number of grassroots organizations (NGOs) have sprung up in helping these workers, especially when handling human rights violations such as invasions of privacy and discrimination from employers, but progress has been haltingly slow because change has only been enacted on the macro-level, and not within society where prejudice persists. This research argues that those involved must focus their efforts on changing society's perceptions of these migrant workers in order to stop the cycle of labor abuse. Through quantitative data collection and literature analysis, this research explores Taiwanese attitudes towards migrant workers as people, migrant workers' rights, social norms, rule of law, and the correlations between these variables. The results from this research show that attitudes towards migrant workers are associated with the support of social norms that inhibit migrant workers' rights and found that these attitudes, social norms, and weakness of rule of law all contribute to the marginalization of the migrant worker population.

Keywords: migrant labor, human rights, civil society, social norms, homogeneous society

摘要

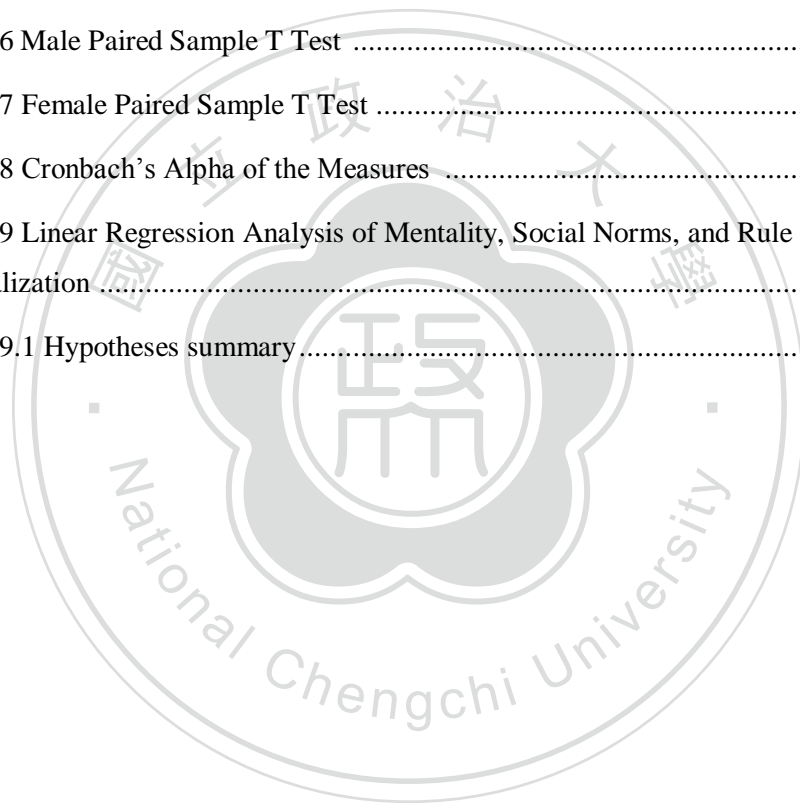
在人口高齡化、漁業與工業缺乏勞工的情況下，引進移工對於臺灣經濟發展的重要性日益提升。到目前為止，臺灣已有五十萬名移工，而且數字還在持續增加。這些逐漸增加的臨時移工人口，使得臺灣社會逐漸需要面對所引起的社會、法律與整個移工結構的問題。為了解決前述的問題，臺灣出現了幾個以幫助移工為目的的非政府組織。這些機構主要協助移工處理隱私受到侵犯或雇主歧視等人權問題。但由於非政府組織的主要著力於大方向價值觀的倡議，對於移工實質生活條件的改善仍然進步緩慢。本研究的主要關注於如何改變臺灣社會對於移工的觀念與態度，以停止虐待移工的惡性循環。研究方法為透過專家文獻論述與量化數據分析，探討臺灣人對於移工認知、移工權利、社會規範、法治態度等四方面的關係。研究結果顯示，人民對於移工的態度、對於社會規範的看法，以及法治觀念的具備程度，都與對移工的支持程度有顯著關聯，這些因素也都密切影響移工在臺灣的生活權益。

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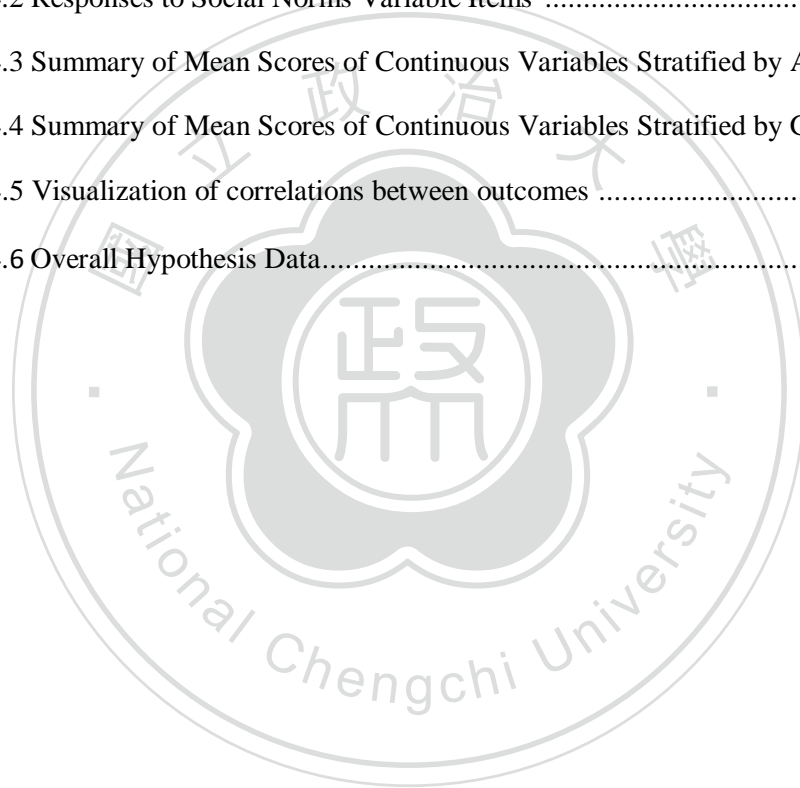
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1. Introduction

As Taiwan continues its bumpy transition into a full-fledged democracy, the issue of mistreatment of migrant workers has been brought to light time and time again as this new addition to Taiwanese society tests the preexisting notions on human rights and rule of law. These temporary guest workers, or migrant workers hoping to support their families with remittances come from the Philippines, Indonesia, Vietnam and Malaysia to Taiwan to fill labor shortages in domestic long-term care, fishery, and industrial work. As of 2015, there are over 500,000 of these workers currently on labor contracts in Taiwan, and their numbers are only predicted to grow as Taiwan's labor shortages increase (Taiwan Ministry of Labor, 2015). Migrant workers' contributions are often considered an essential part of the foundation of Taiwanese economy as well as society, as they free up dual income families to continue working in needed job fields. However, this addition of a temporary labor force to a mostly homogenous society has not been beneficial for all parties involved, as migrant workers throughout their tenure face a myriad of discrimination and marginalization from the government, the people, and the system as a whole.

Migrant workers are not always protected by the same policies as other immigrants, and before even stepping onto the island they are subject to different abuses including debt bondage and even coercion. These workers are placed in a "temporary status" position by the local government; therefore they are discouraged from ever assimilating into Taiwanese society (Tseng & Wang, 2013). Examples of the types of abuse perpetuated by the system include the payment of illegally high "brokerage fees" which reach upwards of 8000 USD for the sole privilege to work in Taiwan, the confiscation of passports by employers, the inability to freely move about the labor market, and an overall lack of protection and discrimination in domestic legislation and law enforcement (Lan, 2007). In the cases of verbal, physical, or sexual abuse of the migrant workers, the judicial system rarely prosecutes the employers or brokers and when it does the trial is conducted under domestic legislation which results in far lesser sentences. For example, conviction of sexual abuse or rape will result in a six month sentence under certain legislation as opposed to the six year sentence laid out in the adopted international human trafficking conventions (Taipei's Women Rescue Foundation, 2014).

Even though Taiwan opened its borders to migrant workers in 1992, NGOs and Taiwanese society were not fully aware of the exploitation of these people until the early 2000s. This could be attributed to many reasons: most migrant workers do not receive any days off or vacation time, there is a language barrier between workers and Taiwanese society, and civil society itself within Taiwan was also in its infancy after the end of authoritarian rule in 1989. Human rights, as understood by United Nation Conventions are still slowly permeating public consciousness, and there were no NGOs established for human rights in Taiwan until 2003. In regards to human trafficking including sex trafficking and labor exploitation, Taiwan was consistently placed as a Tier 2 country according to the U.S. State Department's rankings until 2009, which means during this time the government was not in full compliance in combatting human trafficking and was even placed on the watch list in 2006 because of the large amount of forced labor and sexual exploitation (American Institute Taiwan). Therefore efforts made by both the government and society have only in the past decade formalized into small, relatively weak institutions and efforts.

Embedded in this system of labor importation are many areas in which migrant workers suffer abuse, so NGOs began their missions with the sole purpose of protecting the workers from abusive employers and brokers. Migrant labor is tightly monitored and controlled by the Taiwanese government through a broker and quota system, in which only after an application has been submitted and approved can the potential employer hire a migrant worker. The hiring process is also only allocated to broker agencies, these agencies act as the middle man between the employer and the migrant worker by brokering contracts and facilitating transportation. There are very few direct hiring system in place in Taiwan where employers can directly hire a migrant worker. The broker agencies are limited by law to only charge the migrant worker no more than one month salary for an entrance fee, but the agencies easily work around this condition by renaming it to "service fees" (Lennon Wang, Personal Communication 2015). The worker is often charged upwards of 8000 USD and spends one third of their three year contract repaying the broker agencies (Wolgram, 2012). Adding to this fee, the government also requires the employer to pay a monthly stabilization fee to ensure their migrant worker does not run away. NGOs grew from the need to represent the migrant worker's rights and aid them when abuses did arise.

As these abuses have become more prevalent with the surge of migrant work since 1992, a small but strong force within Taiwanese society has risen up to help these workers find their voice in the new democracy and advocate for fair and equal treatment. Taiwanese civil society has slowly been gaining momentum in bottom-up and top-down movements. Bottom-up awareness has grown as more people utilize the right to unionize and protest, and top down movements have occurred as the country accepted international norms on basic rights including labor regulations, welfare, and the provision of public goods. As it is encouraging to witness the growth of civil society and promotion of human rights in Taiwan, it is crucial to understand that until recently, the momentum of this growth has only been garnered for the Taiwanese public, which is made up of Taiwanese (including Hakka which are people that migrated from China) 84%, mainland Chinese 14%, and indigenous 2% (CIA World Factbook, 2015). With the combination of cultural influences, a homogenous society, and a nascent democracy, institutions fighting for equal rights of migrant workers are few and far between, and they face many challenges in shaking social norms that perpetuate abuse of these workers.

Research Objectives & Questions

There has been a wide range of literature analyzing challenges from the migrant workers' perspective, but there is little empirical evidence from the perspective of both Taiwanese society and the NGOs working the issue. The status quo of abuse has remained fundamentally unchanged for roughly twenty years, as seen in one example where it has taken twenty three years to raise the wage of caretakers from NT\$ 15,840 to NT\$ 17,500 which is still lower than the current minimum wage (NT\$ 20,008) (Taipei Times, 2015). The government has haltingly introduced new laws, subsidies, and services for these workers, but there has been little change in the treatment of these people. Thus the research objectives for this study are as follows:

1. Discover the reasons as to why progress for migrant workers' labor rights has been slow and fragmented.
2. Examine the attitudes of Taiwanese society towards the presence of migrant workers in Taiwan.

3. Analyze the relationships between Taiwanese feelings towards migrant workers, social norms, and rule of law.

This research hopes to delve into the reasons as to why top down change has had little impact in improving the lives of migrant workers in Taiwan, and begs the following research questions:

1. What is the society's role in improving treatment and rights of migrant workers?
2. Are there relationships between how Taiwanese people feel about migrant workers, social norms and rule of law? Does one influence the other?
3. Do Taiwanese people feel suspicious or disproving of migrant workers?

Social relations and the democratic government in Taiwan all revolve around the people. It is the people that vote for the government and thus influence the passing of laws, and it is the people that have the most interaction with migrant workers. If Taiwanese people have an "us vs. them" mentality in regards to the migrant workers, and these suspicions influence how Taiwanese treat the workers, a case can then logically be made that stopping the abuse must start with changing the people first, not the government. Additionally, if we find that people who do feel negatively towards migrant workers also ascribe heavily to social norms that perpetuate labor abuse, then the situation for migrant workers is better explained. Understanding the influence of Taiwanese people in mitigating this issue will not only help NGOs adopt better strategies for engaging society, it will also provide evidence as to why this problem hasn't been solved in over twenty years.

Thesis

In Taiwan's specific case, this paper argues changing the people's attitudes and perceptions of migrant workers at the micro level is crucial in stopping perpetual labor abuse. There are three main reasons as to why societal engagement is needed: 1) In Taiwan, social norms and cultural influences supersede the rule of law which results in the perpetuated exploitation of migrant workers 2) there is a separateness or "us vs them" mentality between migrant workers and society fostered by both the government and the people that causes alienation and 3) complete separation between migrant workers and Taiwanese society facilitates social conflict.

Assumptions

Treatment of migrant workers in Taiwan is a multifaceted issue with many complex, working mechanisms; therefore this argument cannot address them all nor can it provide a concrete path for change. Domestic policies, intergovernmental exchanges, business transactions, cultural differences, and societal participation all play a part in the system of migrant labor importation which means finding a causal relationship is irrelevant. Instead, this argument purports that within Taiwan, social norms and cultural influences trump the existing, secular rule of law institutions and therefore society is the most important actor in influencing the lives of migrant workers. This research cannot possibly hope to address all the problems that need to be changed in each realm of the issue listed above, so this research can only hope to explain how society has become to be this influential actor and possible avenues NGOs should take in order to spark change in the status quo.

Lastly, it is not the purpose of this research to assume overgeneralized sentiments such as all migrant workers are perfect guest workers or that all Taiwanese people shun migrant workers and marginalize them. Taiwanese society and migrant worker populations are dynamic, ever changing, living bodies that consist of a plethora of interactions, perceptions, and dealings, so it is the researcher's hope to further understand the undercurrents between these two populations in order to better explain why perpetual abuse is rising and how it can be solved in the future. The purpose is not to point fingers and villainize any actor involved in the migrant labor structure, the purpose is instead to comprehend the system and relationships between migrant workers and Taiwanese society.

Delimitations

For this study, the research will be focusing on the perspective of Taiwanese people and thus will survey Taiwanese society, not migrant workers because there is already a plethora of research from the migrant workers' viewpoints. Additionally, the research will not be limited to those that only have had migrant workers as employees, because it will be analyzing Taiwanese people's perceptions as a whole towards migrant workers, social norms, and rule of law. This thesis is not meant to prove that employers abuse their employees, this is a reality across the world; this thesis hopes to

explore Taiwanese peoples' opinions of migrant workers and possibly link those feelings to feelings about rule of law or social norms in Taiwan. Therefore the population for this study will be native Taiwanese people, minimum age of sixteen years old, with no discernment against occupation or gender. In depth interviews have been conducted with NGOs involved in the migrant worker issue, but quantitative data collection and analysis are the main research methods because those are the best methods in determining relationships between attitudes towards migrant workers, social norms, marginalization, and rule of law.



2. NGOs in Taiwan and the need for societal engagement

Historical Context - NGOs in Taiwan

In order to argue that societal engagement is key in creating a better environment for both Taiwanese and migrant worker relations, it is pertinent to understand NGO's and the government's role in the treatment of migrant workers. Below provides an overview of two major NGOs that have been in the field for over twenty years, engaging mostly the government and the migrant workers in setting up better policies and labor protection. Protecting the migrant workers and enacting top down policy changes are crucial pieces to solving the puzzle, but without proper engagement of another influential actor, society, it has become increasingly evident that society is the missing piece. In this historical breakdown, the development of NGOs will be discussed and the progress that has been made up to date in provision of aid, governmental engagement, and societal engagement.

Since the early 2000s, there have been two prominent NGOs that have laid the groundwork for non-governmental aid and organization and have been constant beacons of hope for these migrant workers: the Taiwan's International Worker's Association (TIWA) and the Serve the People Association (SPA). There are a handful of other organizations including the Garden of Hope, Taiwan Women Rescue Foundation, and ECPAT, all of which serve important functions such as provision of aid to labor and sex exploited victims. TIWA and the SPA have been chosen for analysis because their active role in not only providing aid to these workers, but also because they are one of the few NGOs that challenge the government and people to change their treatment and protection of these workers. Over the past fifteen years, they have consistently appealed the government for policy changes, and have been authors and catalysts for news articles and demonstrations throughout Taiwan.

TIWA was founded in 2001, branching from local Catholic Church groups to advocate for legal protection of migrant workers and providing another safe place for workers to coalesce. The founding goal of this NGO centered upon changing the Labor Standards Act in Taiwan to include migrant workers in its protection. Since its creation, it has opened a shelter housing migrant workers with labor disputes, arbitrated labor disputes, advocated for policy change including drafting labor laws,

and has performed constant rallying and supporting of the local migrant community in Taipei. TIWA currently has a full time staff of eight people and a regular flow of volunteers and helpers, mostly college students or graduate students. TIWA's mission, as stated by Executive Director Jingru Wu, is to "provide migrant workers with a voice and ensure they are treated as human beings, only then can we retire" (Wu J., personal communication, 2015). Their shelter is mostly funded by the government in which they receive 500 NTD per night per guest, and all of their other activities are funded by a small donor pool that has remained relatively the same over the years.

Since its establishment, TIWA has created two separate sub-groups, KASAPI, which is a smaller NGO dealing only with Filipino workers, and IPIT, which deals only with Indonesian workers, and also a collaboration platform known as the Migrant Empowerment Network of Taiwan (MENT). KASAPI, founded twelve years ago, now has a separate office with roughly six dedicated staff members to helping Filipinos with labor dispute cases as well as media coverage and public demonstrations. IPIT founded more recently due to the surge in Indonesian workers, also operates separately from TIWA and coordinates its own gatherings and labor dispute cases. MENT is not a separate organization, but instead represents the demonstrations and efforts by all organizations involved in advocating for policy change. TIWA, KASAPI, and IPIT all separately hold labor education meetings (in order to educate workers on their rights), arbitrate labor dispute cases, contribute to maintaining shelters, and engage in public demonstrations to raise awareness. This network is all located within Taipei, Taiwan and are consistently active in domestic media and facilitating cultural activities.

The SPA is similar in both size and mission. It operates out of Taoyuan, a neighboring city to Taipei and also serves three major functions: sheltering migrant workers, arbitrating labor disputes, and appealing to the government and people for changes. This NGO was founded in 2005 when the President of the Federation of Trade Unions in Taoyuan rejected a proposal for more institutionalized committees to help train future volunteers/staff. Union leaders, scholars, lawyers, and volunteers all contributed to the formation of the SPA, and since its creation has fought to provide protection for abused migrant workers with the goal that one day these workers will have the rights to unionize and voice their own concerns regarding labor and rights regulations (Wang L., personal communication 2015). The SPA currently has an eight

personnel team, with a fluid number of volunteers and donors that contribute to their cause. The staff often travels around Taiwan, to other cities such as Kaoshiung and Taizhong, and have even flown to neighboring the neighboring Penghu Islands to raise awareness and rescue abused migrant workers.

The SPA has a loose but wide ranging network of volunteers, donors, and businesses that all are connected mostly by Facebook groups. One example includes the newly formed volunteer group dealing specifically with raising funds for migrant worker’s medical expenses Yan YiGong (TIG). This newly formed volunteer group also works with a student led organization called Zhongzi She at National Chengchi University, which provides advice and aid to the Filipina cleaners on campus. These larger NGOs are just the starting points for a loose and indirectly connected group of individuals that are all fighting for the same cause.

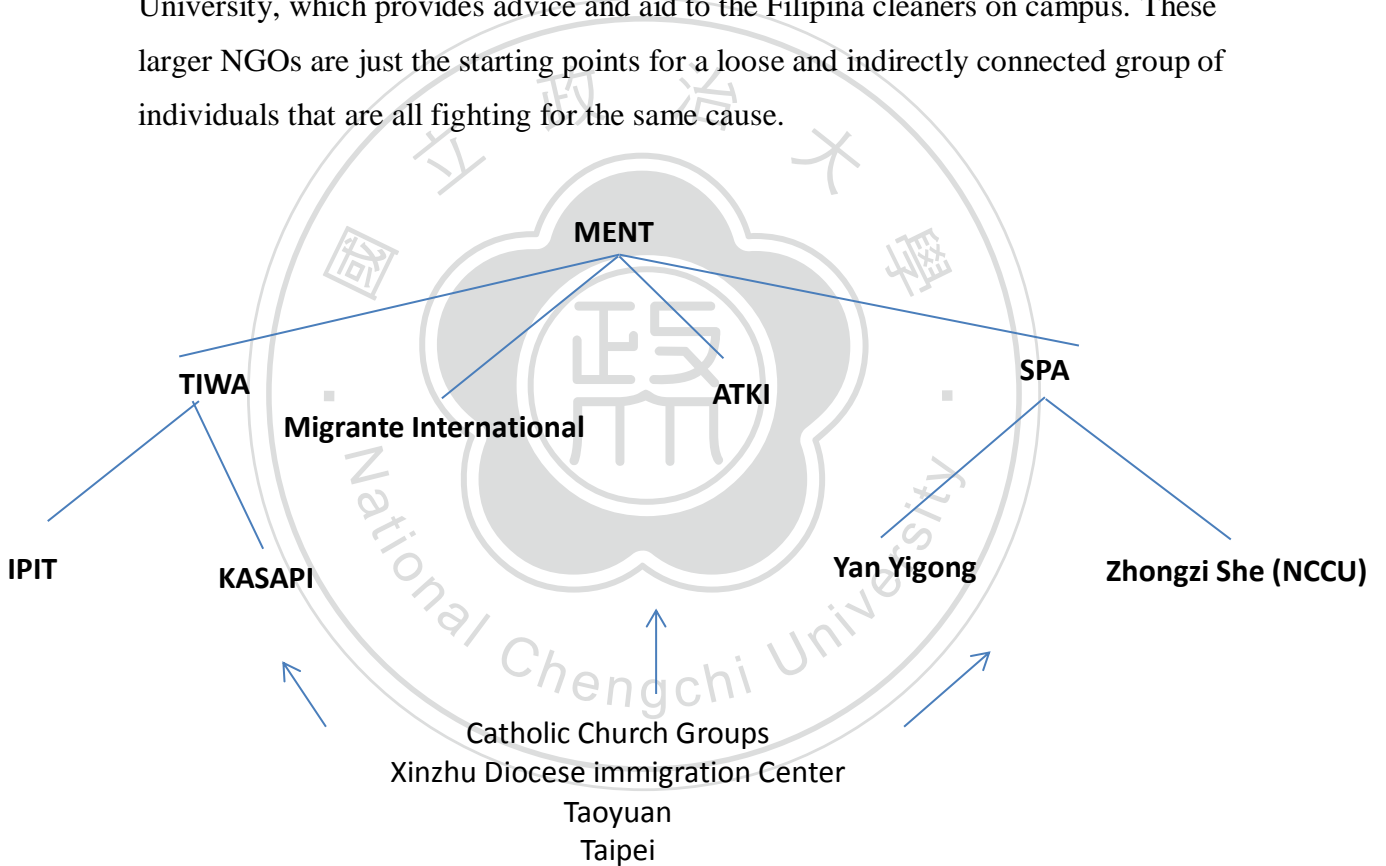


Figure 2.1 Breakdown of Domestic NGOs

NGOs’ Missions and Functionality

NGOs working with the migrant worker cause have three goals, or a combination of these goals as their primary missions which include provision of aid, public policy advocacy, and more recently societal engagement. Provision of aid contains many

activity goals aimed at providing basic needs for the migrant worker population in Taiwan. Provision of aid is the foundation for both NGOs and is the most pressing need of the migrant workers. Public policy advocacy acts as the outcome goal, or the end result in which migrant workers would have proper legislation and law enforcement to protect their basic rights. Achieving this type of goal requires diligence coupled with a long term vision and sustainability plan for the NGOs. It is not something that is accomplished at all once, nor does it happen overnight because top-down change requires institutionalization and time. Societal engagement, the last goal, acts as the bridge that connects NGO activities to the final desired result: a better environment for migrant workers in Taiwan. This engagement with the public is a newer concept, and is not as widely practiced across the third sector in Taiwan. However, scholars and activists alike in Taiwan argue that marginalization of migrant workers will only end if both the government (public policy) and society (public engagement) change their policies and attitudes toward these guest workers. Therefore it is crucial that NGOs engage not only just the government for policy changes but also the people, while at the same time providing aid to the migrant workers in need. Below is an analysis of these three core missions and their impact on changing migrant workers lives.

The three largest contributions both NGOs have successfully achieved in the provision of aid are shelters, legal representation in arbitration cases, and cultural activities including labor education. Both TIWA and the SPA established small shelters in which abused migrant workers who were currently in disputes with their employers could stay for protection. Previously it was the broker agencies' responsibility to provide housing for workers in this situation, which created a myriad of problems and further abuse such as immediate deportation, harassment, and in some extreme cases, kidnapping (Wang L., personal communication 2015). Therefore TIWA and the SPA began renting small apartments which later became the shelter system that now exists in Taiwan. According to the Executive Director of the SPA, Lennon Wang, there are roughly fifteen similar shelters across the island, all varying in sizes and degrees of regulations stipulated by the government (Wang, L., personal communication, 2015).

Both shelters have provided crucial assistance in aiding migrant workers. TIWA's shelter can hold a maximum of forty five workers, with roughly a handful of

staff to manage the operation. Each shelter for the SPA also can house roughly sixty occupants, and has two to three staff members, including a translator, working at the shelter. Both directors explained that many migrant workers have used Facebook or Line (a messaging app) to reach out to the NGOs pleading for rescue and protection. Once these workers are rescued, often personally by the directors of the NGOs, they are brought to the shelter to wait out the labor dispute case. It is crucial to note here that as per stipulated by the government, the shelters can only house legal migrant workers, the workers who have run away without filing a case are considered illegal and put in detention centers to await deportation. The government subsidizes the shelters by providing 500 NTD (roughly 15 USD) per night per worker. All other expenses must be covered by the NGOs.

The second largest contribution both NGOs have accomplished in the provision of aid is arbitrating labor disputes between workers and the government, which is the only avenue in which workers can pursue justice for the crimes committed against them. When an employer or broker conducts an illegal activity, say physically abusing the worker, this worker can call a hotline provided by the government and officially file a labor dispute against the employer or worker. The worker must then negotiate between the government and employer in settling the case. TIWA and the SPA are both actively involved in representing the interests of the workers in these cases. If the migrant worker is successful in proving their case, they may wait for a transfer of employment to fill the rest of their contract. Other alternatives include deportation, running away, or returning to the employer.

TIWA and the SPA have arbitrated labor disputes since the creation of their NGOs, and it has been proven that without their help many migrant workers would not have had the resources to pursue their disputes. As confirmed by both directors in the NGOs, the majority of migrant workers who contact the government via the 1955 hotline are treated with indifference and even hostility by the hotline staff. These workers reach out to TIWA and the SPA because they are either unaware of their legal rights and options, or they have tried to reach out to police or the hotline and have been mistreated due to the language barrier or racial discrimination. Therefore both NGOs perform invaluable assistance in ensuring these workers are heard and their cases filed correctly. Most of the daily work time for both NGOs is dedicated to labor dispute cases. As of 2014, the SPA officially had seventy closed cases on record,

and TIWA could not provide statistics about their cases (Wu Jingru, personal communication 2015). It is important to note that each shelter usually holds at least forty people at any given time, each with their own individual labor dispute case. Although there is a lack of statistical data to quantitatively analyze, it is evident that there are many cases being handled at any given time.

Lastly, both NGOs conduct regular cultural activities in order to improve the workers' quality of life and provide them an avenue towards camaraderie, independence, and self-worth. TIWA provides a space every Sunday for gatherings including food, sports, musical fun, as well as education opportunities. Additionally, most Sundays TIWA and its subgroups will conduct labor education lessons, where they educate migrant workers on their rights and answer legal questions about their situations. The SPA also regularly holds Chinese classes and organizes trips around Taipei to help workers familiarize themselves with an otherwise alien environment. Gatherings are scheduled as often as possible, but as a majority of migrant workers do not enjoy a day off every week, it is difficult to set specific dates and demonstrations. These activities are the crux of migrant worker solidarity because it helps spread information on legal rights, options, and support throughout the community. Migrant workers are not allowed to vote in Taiwan which hinders the possibility of changing the status quo via legislation. Therefore cultural activities are essentially the first step towards galvanizing and unionizing the migrant worker population to work and fight abuse together.

Since the early 2000s when abuses became known, the government pressured by international and domestic forces, has implemented policies and services to better the situation of migrant workers. At the very foundation of the migrant worker issue lays the Labor Standards Act, which since its creation in 1984 has served as an incomplete foundation for the protection labor rights. Within this law, labor regulations, standards, compensations and more are laid in detail in order to protect workers from exploitation or abuse. Article 3 specifically lists the occupation fields in which the law is applicable to, and migrant caregivers are not listed among them (Labor Standards Act, Article 3 2015). This means the protection of wages, working hours and more is not extended to migrant caregivers, who are required by law to live with their employers with no regulated working hours or days off. This loophole was the catalyst for MENT, formally known as the Promotion of the Household Alliance

Service Act (PAHSA) that was formed in the early 2000s. People connected to the newly formed NGOs first petitioned the government to revise the law, and as they were met with no success, they instead drafted their own law (Household Service Act). For fourteen years the act was never passed, until June 2015 when the new Long-Term Care Services Act was passed into law (Hsiao, 2015).

This new law is a substantial gain in legitimizing the struggle for migrant workers' rights in Taiwan, but it is far from eliminating the mistreatment. Firstly, the new law is vague, only listing working hours per week and mentioning nothing about wage regulation (Taiwan International Workers' , 2015). Secondly, as seen in the past decade with rising labor dispute cases from all migrant labor professions, the existence of legislation alone is insufficient in changing a system in which paychecks and passports are withheld, labor regulations and living conditions standards are not met, and employers are rarely prosecuted for their crimes against their worker.

Putting the law aside, NGOs have also contributed to gains from the government to include better control of the 1955 migrant worker hotline, establishment of service desks at airports, immediate dispatch of police in migrant worker emergencies, and shelter subsidies. The hotline, originally set up in 2003, is a 24 hour service, funded by the government but contracted to a private company, in which migrant workers can call to officially file a labor dispute case. For years, migrant workers called the hotline but often encountered reluctance and suspicion from the tellers, which dissuaded many from properly filing their cases (Wu J., personal communication, 2015). The same issue was happening with the police, in which police were not immediately dispatched in a migrant worker called stating their welfare was in danger. However, after constant complaints, demonstrations, and media coverage, mostly facilitated by local NGOs, these problems have been addressed.

The NGOs have worked since their creation to provide aid to migrant workers and to fight against public policy, and although there are gains listed above not much has changed for their situation. Fishermen are still getting deducted large amounts from their salaries for broker and employer fees, migrant caregivers are still forced to live with the employer with little legislative protection, and labor dispute cases are only on the rise. With the adoption of new international and domestic legislation, why

isn't the overall situation for migrant workers improving? This research tests the hypothesis that the change must come from Taiwanese society, that the cycle of marginalization will only be solved by a shift in society's attitudes as migrant workers are no longer considered as slaves but as people with equal rights.

NGOs have made tangible gains in expanding aid and changing public policy, but they have yet to galvanize the public to support the needs of the migrant workers. The strategy of public engagement is still in its infancy stage with some successes that are difficult to measure. However it is crucial to study the progress made so far in hopes to understand potential methods that could change people's perceptions of migrant workers.

Societal engagement by these NGOs has grown in recent years to include efforts in performing demonstrations, providing news stories or editorials, conducting cross-cultural activities, and holding educational seminars. Apple Daily News and Liberty Times Net are two local media sources in Taiwan that conduct a fair amount of the reporting on the work done by TIWA and the SPA. Both organizations have loose ties with international NGOs such as the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the International Domestic Worker's Federation to promulgate their cause in hopes of reaching a wider audience. MENT also conducts a large scale rally every two years around Christmas time in which supporters gather in the thousands to march in downtown Taipei. Lastly, these NGOs are informally connected to a wide range of small groups throughout Taiwanese society.

Table 2.1 NGO's roles and challenges

	Provision of Aid	Public Policy Advocacy	Societal Engagement
Functions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Shelters - Legal Representation - Cultural Activities Office/Shelters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Labor Standards Act - 1955 Hotline - Smartphone APP Protests 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Media coverage - Grand Rally every 2 years - Demonstrations ??
Challenges	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Funding - Limited Staff - Geographic constraints 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No unionization - Workers can't vote - Small scale 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Homogeneous society - Lack of resources

Facilitating interactions and establishing connections between the two parallel populations: Taiwanese and migrant workers is a constant effort for these human rights NGOs because once people's attitudes change, the laws and system will follow. Although these organizations are small and sparsely funded, they have been able to organize regular demonstrations and coordinate with media to reach out to the public. If they can close the cultural and societal gap between these two populations, then migrant workers will stand a much better chance at equal rights in Taiwan. NGOs employ many different strategies (shock, multimedia, cross-cultural activities) in hopes to break this barrier, but as with any large scale effort to change societal perception, it does not simply happen overnight like the passing of a new legislation. However, without the people's support, legislation, law enforcement, and any top-down change will be met with resistance and weak implementation.

Contending Theories

Rule of Law

As NGOs slowly advocate for a systemic change in the governmental handling of migrant workers, they continue to face a dilemma in which the concept of rule of law

is still weak and this weakness works to their disadvantage. This is a country in which social norms and cultural influences are often the final say in maintaining social order and evidence has found that these norms often supersede governmental law enforcement. Therefore if any governmental gains towards improving migrant workers' conditions are in contradiction with widely accepted cultural norms, the implementation of these gains often face large resistance or may even be ignored. This section will analyze the progression of rule of law through modern Taiwanese regimes, discuss the weak application of this concept in modern Taiwanese society, and lastly analyze the influence of social norms in regards to migrant workers.

Before analyzing the progression and application of rule of law in Taiwan, it is crucial to define the concept. Rule of law has taken on many definitions and dimensions in academia, but for this research its definition is comprised of two underlying parts explored by Rachel Belton in her paper, *Competing Definitions of the Rule of Law* (2005), 1) the goods or ends that a government brings to society including law and order, a government bound by law, equality before the law, and human rights and 2) institutions within a government necessary to implement rule of law or justice for its society. Therefore this concept is measured in two key areas: goods created and distributed by the government and its horizontal institutions within that facilitate the just distribution of these goods. Rule of law provides not only checks and balances for authority over a society, but also ensures secular equality and opportunity for its people. Ideally, rule of law should be transcendent of cultural norms, external pressures, and corruption. This is adaptation of the concept gained tremendous momentum in American and European society in the 1990s as countries around the world experienced political revolutions and supranational organizations such as the United Nations in turn advocated the installation of rule of law for these states in political turmoil (Carothers, 1998). Taiwan is no exception as the fall of the authoritarian regime sparked the transition towards a transparent and democratic government.

The starting point for the implementation of the rule of law in Taiwan begins with the Japanese occupation in 1895, as the army systemically and methodically mapped out the island and established institutions to govern social order. This system was imposed on the aboriginal population of Taiwan, which consisted largely of immigrants from China's Fujian Province as well as others that had lived on the island

for centuries. People were required to register for census, speak only Japanese, wear traditional Japanese dress, and attend the Japanese education system. Additionally, men were recruited to fight for the Japanese army. This was a complete overhaul of the once tribal society in Taiwan, and the arm of the Japanese rule of law was consolidated in Japanese outposts or *paichusuos* that were set up in every village of Taiwan (Martin, 2007). This implementation of an outside governmental system was met with little large scale resistance as Japanese outnumbered the Taiwanese population and possessed more deadly weapons.

Once Japan lost WWII and was required to return Taiwan to China, not two years passed until Nationalist Party (KMT) members in China fled to Taiwan for temporary refuge from the civil war against the communists. The entire political party moved its operational base to Taiwan, and its leader Chiang Kai-shek enacted land reforms that redistributed wealth among the Taiwanese. As it became more apparent that the KMT could not return to China, they began to focus efforts in governing the island. Japanese officials were replaced by KMT officials, and the KMT gave an incredible amount of power to policemen where they could keep social order without further judicial review by the Policemen Violation Code (PVC) (Martin, 2007). The KMT wanted to leverage local Taiwanese resources to bolster its wealth and power, and quickly the authoritarian regime established absolute control over the island by declaring martial law. It operated much the same as it did in Mainland China, a government centered on a one party system fueled by nepotism and clientelism. In the aspect of rule of law as providing goods to the society, the KMT updated the infrastructure within the island and maintained institutions for social order, but it was not an equal and fair government with checks and balances. Instead, the authoritarian regime suppressed personal freedoms and utilized the judicial system as a method for punishing unruly clientele (Chiashin & Weitseng, 2014). This partial and biased rule of law lasted for forty years and just recently ended in 1989.

As Lee Tenghui became the first elected President of Taiwan, monumental changes took form in legislation, governmental institutions, law enforcement, and international engagement. This was no longer an area tightly controlled by a one party system, but instead a newly formed state in which the government and people were attempting to find their way towards more transparent law and order. As A. Bedner explained in the article, Editorial: *Developing the Rule of Law in East Asia* (2013),

Southeast Asian states including Taiwan turned to the western hemisphere for inspiration in crafting their version of democracy. The Taiwanese constitution was modeled with Sun Yatsen's principles with parallels to the U.S. Constitution, and characters from the German state were borrowed and applied to the Taiwanese legal system. Most importantly, these concepts were transplanted from other culture's and societies, and although were widely received, some principles remained distant from the local, cultural beliefs, such as human rights. One a macro-level, the concept of rule of law is advocated and encouraged, but there is a deeper attraction to preexisting notions of hierarchy and order that often marginalizes the newly transplanted system. There are still deeply-rooted beliefs that favor a more authoritarian system and a closed-off society that are difficult to supersede (Yun-han et al, 2001).

Lastly, the implementation and acceptance of Rule of Law is hindered greatly by the constant struggle between sentiment (情), reason (理), and law (法) which is deeply rooted within Taiwanese society. Because of the homogeneous nature of Taiwanese society, sentiment is often the most important pillar, and it refers to being sensitive and empathetic to those in need; reason acts as the middle man between sentiment and law where people are assumed to act rationally and work to achieve harmony in all things and law is the arbitrary institution of rules enforced by the government (Yang & Jiang, 2014). In most democracies, the hierarchy of maintaining social order is the opposite: law, reason, sentiment. As modern law is an implant from other cultures, it does not always fit in harmony with sentiment, as summarized by Martin: "It is a cultural space of legitimacy in which the solidification of the rule of law is kept within boundaries of a social sensibility that does not take law as the last word" (Martin, 2007, 694). In other words, at the local level sentiment often outweighs the law, and in the case of migrant workers, this sentiment works to their disadvantage as human rights and acts such as paying overtime do not fit into the accepted sentiments.

Social Norms

This leads to the strong influence that social norms can take over the transplanted system of rule of law, and in this case is disadvantageous to the migrant worker cause. One example of this is the labor culture in Taiwan, which often encourages exploitation of their workforce. For example, many Taiwanese workers

will work overtime with no pay in order to make a better impression on their bosses. This unequal treatment of employees ranged across the market spectrum, from factory workers to English teachers, this concept of work with no pay is not a new concept. It is viewed as a type of sacrifice by the employee in order to gain favor with their employer, and it is through this type of intangible system that mistreatment and abuse of power often occurs. Therefore, how can we ask an employer to provide rights to their employees that they never had? It is a relatively alien concept that has littler internalization by an fields in Taiwanese business society.

Another example of a local, social norm that works against migrant workers' rights is the widespread acceptance of confiscation of passports. According to the research of the Taipei Women's Rescue Foundation compiled in 2014, 70% of migrant workers have had their passports confiscated and female domestic caregivers work on average 17.72 hours per day. Taking an employer's passport is illegal in many countries including Taiwan, because it places total control of that person's mobility in the hands of the employer. In the case of migrant caretakers in Taiwan, the employer has total control of the workers' living situation, work responsibilities, day to day mobility, and even cell phone privileges. Total control over this person's life is widely accepted in Taiwanese society which can make it extremely difficult for the worker to overcome a situation of abuse.

Lastly, through the in-depth interviews conducted for this research, it was evident that there is an accepted trend among employers and employees of "relationship over contract." This implies that although a contract exists, the relationship between employer and employee trumps the importance of the signed document. For example, Daisy, a Filipina caretaker that has been working in Taipei for 18 months (2015) explained that the employer had no pressure to adhere to the their labor contract because all that mattered was the interaction between them. If Daisy did satisfactory work (dictated by her employer) then the employer would reward her with a day of rest. Employees working overtime and workers taking on additional job duties are not norms special only for migrant workers, but are also perpetuated in Taiwan's own labor force (Lan 2007).

The combination of governmental institutions with histories of partial treatment coupled with the strength of sentiment over law mentality perpetuated

throughout society has fed into the mistreatment of migrant workers in all fields. Judiciary courts with strong ties to the local population often rule in favor of the employer, law enforcement and government provided services such as hotlines lack oversight and equality, and legislation intended to protect human rights (of the migrant workers) are accepted on a macro-level but lack any horizontal accountability within the government or vertical implementation of the policies. Additionally, sentiments such as the acceptance of working overtime with no pay, confiscating passports to ensure workers do not run away, and the reluctance to involve police or the law in communal matters all contribute to abuse of these workers.

Us vs. Them Mentality

Another factor that greatly hinders the progression of migrant workers' rights in Taiwan is the division between Taiwanese citizens and the workers, perpetuated by both the government and society. This schism is often referred to as the "us vs. them" mentality, where Taiwanese view migrant workers as outsiders and there is no incentive from either sentiment or reason to care for their needs as they would their own. Scholars such as Eileen Boris (2008) explain that "alien maids" are both accepted and ostracized, emancipated and imprisoned all at the same time, as they are crucial to Taiwan's economic development but always kept on the outside of societal interaction (994). Even if the NGOs could pressure the government to create the most comprehensive legislation for migrant workers' protection and ensure implementation of judicial and law enforcement reform, this us vs. them mentality could potentially cancel out these gains. This mentality needs to be explained through its root causes, governmental policies and cultural influences.

Before migrant workers were allowed to cross Taiwan's borders, the government had already established the parameters in which these people would only operate in a "temporary status" and would always be considered guest workers. Some examples of these separation policies include: migrant workers under any circumstances will be granted citizenship (unlike other white collar immigrants), migrant workers are only allowed to stay in Taiwan a maximum of fourteen years, and they must receive yearly health checkups and are deported if found pregnant without a husband or if their husband decides to divorce them (Kastner, 2014).

Additionally, the government will immediately deport a migrant worker if they are caught running away, and the migrant worker must pay 10,000 NTD fine.

There are four specific policies that greatly hinder the freedom of migrant workers and squanders potential connections between them and Taiwanese society. The first prohibits migrant workers from freely navigating the job market unlike other white collar immigrants, allowing them to only transfer when the employer dies or the migrant worker suffers abuse. As Pei Chia-Lan analyzes in her article, *Legal Servitude and Free Illegality* (2007),

“the government deprives migrant workers to freely circulate in the domestic market, this measure deprives workers of the proletariat’s trump card-market mobility-thus helping employers stabilize the relations of production and aggravating inequality in the worker-employer relationship” (259).

Without the same freedom as other Taiwanese or even other immigrants, migrant workers are marginalized and pushed even further from society. Secondly, is the policy of the stabilization fees mentioned earlier in this paper. This policy places an enormous amount of control over the worker, as the government has now required the employer to be solely responsible for the legal status of this worker. This often leads to domination of the migrant worker, controlling their every movement to ensure their investment stays stable. Thirdly, the National Immigration Agency launched a new smartphone application in the summer of 2015 that allows anyone to scan a foreigner’s ID card to determine their legal status. The official logic behind this new application is that the government hopes this will curb the hiring of illegal migrant workers because employers will now be better informed. Whether the result is intentional or unintentional, this application only exacerbates the feelings of suspicion between employers and migrant workers, and perpetuates the notion that all migrant workers are criminals of some kind. Additionally, according official complaints by TIWA and the SPA, most families that hire illegal caretakers for example willingly engage in this practice because they want to avoid the lengthy process between the government and the broker agency.

The fourth and final policy that greatly inhibits any assimilation is the prohibition of citizenship for any migrant worker. The longest a migrant worker is permitted to stay in Taiwan as a worker is fourteen years; however they are required

to leave every three years and repeat the application in their home country (Hsiao, 2015). This means that they must pay another US\$ 6000-8000 every three years for the opportunity to come back and work in Taiwan. The only avenue for citizenship for these workers is marriage, and this is often a dangerous path in itself. There is four year waiting period before the bride is allowed to apply in case the husband decides to send her back (Kastner, 2014). The issue that often arises is that the husband will not allow his wife to apply for fear that she will leave him once she has a Taiwanese ID card. Therefore there is no long term vision of even the smallest form of assimilation within the Taiwanese society.

With these four governmental policies is evident that the government adopts a protective nature of Taiwanese homogenous society. Castles and Davidson (2000) found in their research that north-east Asian states (Taiwan, South Korea, and Japan) “promote ethnic homogeneity through their policies more than any other country in the world” (as cited by Tseng & Wang 2013, p.4). There is a distinct otherness between local Taiwanese people and outsiders, and this separation is perpetuated by both the government and inclusiveness of their society. Shu-Ju Ada purports in the article, *Contextual politics of difference in transnational care: the rhetoric of Filipina domestics' employers in Taiwan* (2004), the Taiwanese use their differences in terms of race, national identity, and class to sanction their exploitative attitudes toward domestic workers.

In addition to governmental policies, there are deeply rooted cultural influences that keep migrant workers in a perpetual ostracized state. There is extensive literature on the analysis of “Asian values,” but for this research, I want to focus on a few cultural norms that are commonly found in Taiwanese society. The first refers to the social network surrounding an individual, and how that individual specifically uses that network for personal gains. As defined in the book *Culture and Customs in Taiwan* by Gary Marvin Davison and Barbara E. Reed (1998), *guanxi* requires a person to establish good personal and professional connections by “utilizing the resulting human relations to maximize one’s chances of economic success, contribute greater glory to the eternal family, and to the achievement of a more stable social order” (207). Within this circle of connections, a type of quid pro quo exists in which people reciprocate favors and extend their help in order to maintain a stable flow of relationships. This circle is fluid and thus can include more

people, but in the case of migrant workers, because they have no leverage for the relationship they are excluded from network. Previous research does not completely cover the success or challenges of foreigners integrating into the *guanxi* network, but it is evident by the interactions between migrant workers and employers that no such connection exists.

This *guanxi* network also feeds into the phenomenon called amoral familialism, which is where moral order is not extended past the family. This term was first coined in 1958 by Edward Banfield, a political scientist who visited Italy and discovered a social system that revolved around nuclear family structures that acted based off of self-interest. The idea is brought to light again by Richard Robison in his article, *The Politics of Asian Values* (1996), which he observes that amoral familialism is an “obstacle to social cohesion and cooperation” (311). When analyzing Asian societies, and Taiwan is no exception, the family unit is often at the core of social relations. Some then argue though that while this does promote responsibility and motivation for economic growth, this reality also hinders growing connections with outsiders of the family or *guanxi* network.

The second phenomenon that feeds into the us vs. them mentality is the hierarchy and newly developed social classes within Taiwanese society. Confucianism is prevalent in Taiwanese society, and with these traditional values exists a hierarchy of social order, where each person is expected to dutifully maintain their position as well as be filial to their elders. As the Taiwanese have experienced a substantial economic miracle in the past decades, their middle class has grown substantially and have risen in their regional status as an economic power. This newly found status has enabled some of the population to develop a sense of superiority over the blue-collar workers, and specifically migrant workers. According to Alex Wolfgram, the majority of employers in his research believed that migrant workers were of a lower social class and therefore needed to be better controlled, lest they run away and cause more trouble in Taiwan.

The Separation

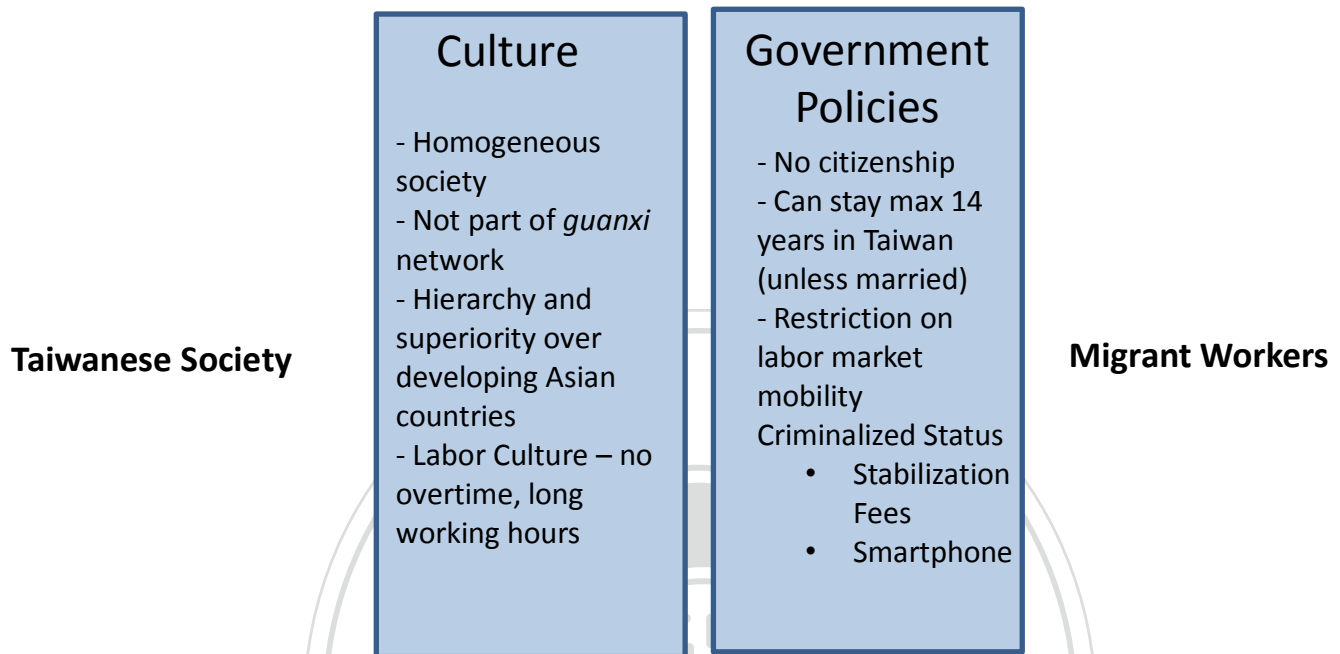


Figure 2.2 Causes behind separation of Taiwanese society and migrant workers

The governmental policies and cultural influences listed above have created a rift between the homogeneous population and the migrant workers, and closing this gap must start with connections or changes in public sentiment. There is conflicting and vague legislation both protecting and ostracizing the migrant workers, which only widens the misunderstandings and conflicts between the two populations. For example, there is the Labor Standards Act and international conventions adopted by the United Nations to protect all laborers' rights, but at the same time there are political parties such as the Taiwanese Solidarity Union that do not agree with paying the minimum wage to migrant workers and in fact advocate to pay them in their home currency (Fu ,2015). The internalization of the “us vs them” mentality perpetuates a superiority complex among Taiwanese employers, and although legislation is important for providing a protective framework, the abuse will only stop when people begin to change their attitudes towards migrant workers.

Marginalization of Migrant Workers

From analyzing existing literature on migrant workers' situation in Taiwan, the research points to the marginalization of this class of people from both above (government) and below (society). Marginalization in this study will be defined using the Merriam-Webster dictionary as: "to put or keep (someone) in a powerless or unimportant position within a society or group." Thus a marginalized group is highly vulnerable to exploitation. NGOs like TIWA and the SPA work tirelessly to peel away the barriers in an attempt to get the government to provide more comprehensive protection, but there are major hurdles standing in their way such as migrant workers not possessing the right to vote so there is no pressure from constituents and migrant workers have not effectively unionized into an organization that can apply pressure. The lack of legal protection from above combined with the ostracization from below in society has created a tolerant environment for marginalization.

Since the beginning, migrant workers have not been allowed to vote on any legislation within Taiwan, and this prohibition may be the reason these workers remain trapped in a system that they cannot change. As mentioned above, this exclusion is purposefully executed by the government and also the people as this fear exists that migrant workers will permanently settle and will have some negative effects on Taiwanese society (Shu Ju 2004). By not allowing the migrant workers to vote, it creates an unbalanced, unhealthy relationship of power where there is little incentive to change it. Jingru Wu, Executive Director of TIWA also detailed in our in-depth interview that this problem is exacerbated by Taiwanese constituents because they want their political officials to focus on Taiwanese society, not outsiders. Jingru Wu went on to explain that when TIWA is successful in proposing new legislation to an official, often times the official has to pull the bill because he or she receives complaints from their constituents. TIWA also has received threats and complaints from the local community, claiming they have ill intentions because helping migrant workers would only hurt employers monetarily. A non-empathetic society has made it nearly impossible to enact change at the macro-level.

Additionally, migrant workers have not pooled the resources to unionize, and without a strong, organized solidarity, progress is fragmented and not uniformly implemented. There are many reasons as to why these workers have been unable to

form in numbers, including no days off, no way of communicating with others (many are not allowed cell phones or allowed to use employer's technology), and knowledge gaps about the area, language, and their rights. Lennon Wang, Executive Director of the SPA explained in our in-depth interview that unionization is already weak in Taiwan, and that only small unions can form due to lack of funding and organization. This is a primary concern for the SPA, as their core mission is to provide an avenue for migrant workers to find their own voice and be able to fight for their own rights within the legal system. Migrant workers are able though to come together in mass for major religious holidays such as Ramadan at Taipei Main Station or the grand rally that takes place every year in December in Taipei. Unfortunately, these are only short bursts of solidarity and only lead to media coverage and more awareness about their cause. It has no real effect on high-level leadership because it cannot sustain these numbers or organize them for a long term fight.

Major political parties active in Taiwan on some occasions take a more xenophobic, homogeneity protection stance against migrant workers as can be seen by their rhetoric and actions. The Taiwan Solidarity Union in 2015 made an official statement supporting the separation of minimum wage for domestic and foreign laborers in which employers would pay the foreign laborers in their own currency. According to Lii Wen's news article, *Minister grilled about caretakers* (2015) in Taipei Times, "DPP Legislator Chen Chieh-ju (陳潔如) said that cases of collusion between ministry officials and brokerage firms are rampant across the nation." Therefore it is important to note that opposition to changing the status quo can be felt at even the highest levels of the Taiwanese government.

Another major source of marginalization is the requirement of migrant workers to live either with their employers (caretakers) or in dormitories specified by their labor contracts. When conducting an interview with a previous migrant worker employer, the reason for this requirement was explained as the insurance that the migrant worker would not run away. The migrant worker in this specific case did in fact run away. At a recent protest in the summer of 2015 organized by TIWA and KASAPI, migrant fisherman protested that their employers were deducting 5,000 NTD from their salary for dormitory expenses that they never lived in (because they reside on the boat) (Yang 2015). Mr. Laliberte, a researcher for the International

Labor Organization elucidated in his lecture at National Chengchi University that the live-in requirements found in many Asian countries for migrant workers places these people in extremely vulnerable positions, such as sexual/verbal abuse and provision of personal mobility.

Lastly, migrant workers receive little to no legal protection once unfortunate circumstances arise. One pertinent example is a Vietnamese man, A-dao, who had been working in Taiwan for eleven years in a factory before being badly burned in an occupational accident in 2013. A-dao had renewed three year contracts with the same employer, and since he did not have a physical copy of the last labor contract, the employer refused to pay any compensation (Henley 2015). After paying NT\$ 130,000 (US\$ 3,949) to the broker agency for each contract, and deductions made by the employer to total A-dao's salary at NT\$ 12,000 per month, A-dao had no choice but to sue the employer for illegal garnishing of wages and refusal of compensation. A-dao is still in the legal process of suing, which in the meantime NGOs have been raising money to pay for the treatment and five surgeries needed to recover.

With lack of constituent support, no unionization, and vulnerable living conditions migrant workers have not been able to correct their position in society as a marginalized group. TIWA expressed on several occasions the most effective methods for enacting top-down change are constant complaining, case filing, and creating noise around the problem until a satisfactory answer is received. As mentioned previously, NGOs have made progress in the services provided by the government, but the overall stance and policy making has remained unchanged. The government continues to view these people as temporary workers, with no rights for permanent settlement, with deportation as the most efficient solution to any conflict. Therefore, pressure on the government must come from the people, as Taiwan is a democracy with a growing civil society.

3. Research Framework

Methodology

In order to provide a solid argument that NGOs working with migrant workers in Taiwan should engage society, we must first find out if and how much society is involved with perpetuating the abuse of migrant workers. Individual's perceptions, preferences, and understanding of these workers need further analysis to determine the level of internalization of the "us vs them" mentality. Secondly, this research needs to understand how much society supports using social norms (which often is unfavorable for the migrant worker) over using secular rule of law. If people discriminate against migrant workers and do not rely upon governmental regulation/intervention to solve their disputes but instead on themselves or brokers, this shows that individual actors play a major role in suppressing the workers. Therefore, it can be validated that NGOs need not only engage the government, but also the society.

The research for this study will then focus on four variables discussed in the literature review: the weakness of rule of law, the level of discrimination or feeling of separateness (us vs them mentality), the influence of social norms, and the marginalization of migrant workers through quantitative data collection and analysis. Discrimination for this study will be defined as follows: "treating a person or particular group of people differently, especially in a worse way from the way in which you treat other people, because of their skin colour, sex, sexuality, etc" (Cambridge Dictionaries Online 2015). The definition of social norms is highly contested amongst the social sciences, but for this research the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy's definition will be used which states that social norms are "customary rules that govern behavior in groups and societies...and are mainly seen as constraining behavior." In short, social norms are the intangible rules that dictate what is acceptable and unacceptable in society which makes them constraining by nature.

Thus the research framework for this study is as follows:

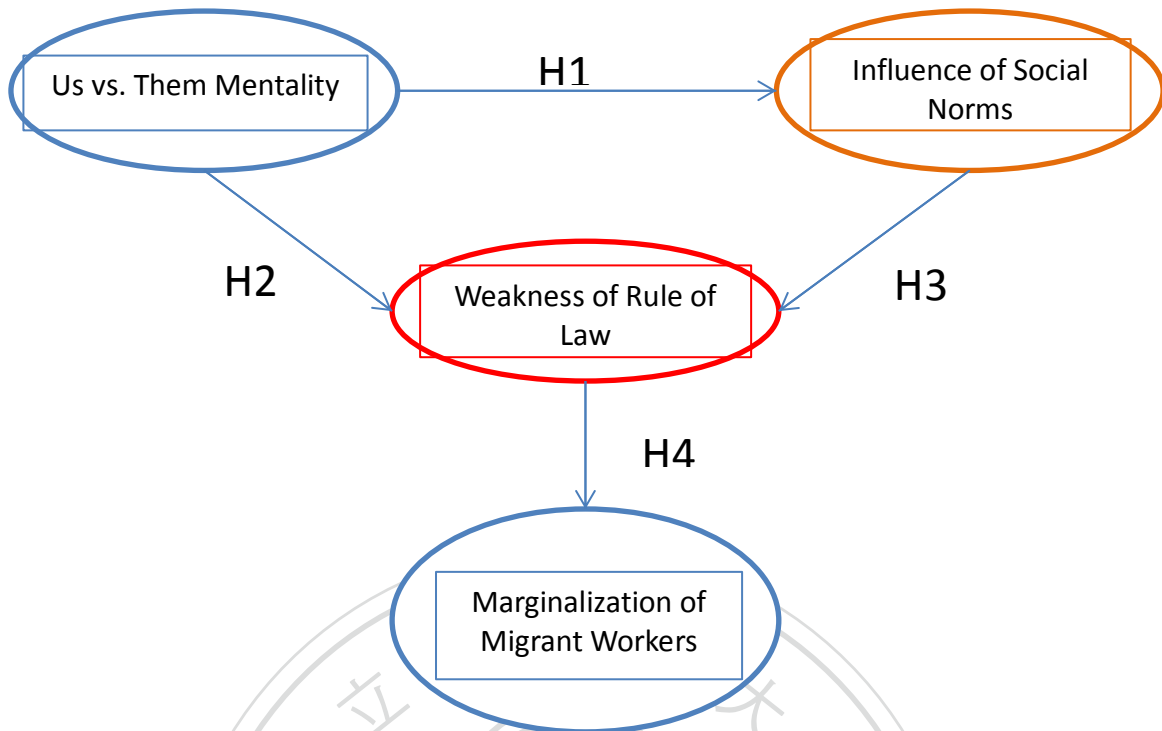


Figure 3.1 Research Framework

As observed in the diagram, it is researcher's belief that the combination of three underlying factors contribute to the marginalization of migrant workers: us vs. them mentality, influence of social norms, and the weakness of rule of law. As discussed in the literature review, it is evident that rule of law as a concept and enforcement of law in Taiwan is relatively weak, but what is missing is the understanding of people's own perceptions towards migrant workers and the power that their social norms hold over rule of law. Therefore, as seen in the diagram it is through the combination of society, social norms, and weakness or rule of law that allows the mistreatment of migrant workers to perpetuate.

Hypotheses

This research purports four hypotheses in regards to the perceptions of migrant workers:

- 1) There is a positive relationship between high discrimination against migrant workers and the acceptance of social norms.

- 2) There is a positive relationship between high discrimination against migrant workers and the perceived weakness of rule of law.
- 3) There is a positive relationship between acceptance of social norms and weakness of rule of law.
- 4) Discrimination, acceptance of social norms, and weakness of rule of law all contribute to the marginalization of migrant workers.

Sampling

In order to gauge Taiwanese society's response and feelings towards migrant workers, the researcher has chosen a purposeful sampling technique of Taiwanese people based off of three main criteria: gender, age and occupation. Ages will be separated into six groups: 16-24, 25-32, 33-40, 41-49, 50-57, 58 years of age and older. This research also hopes to explore the differences or similarities in perceptions of migrant workers and rule of law between the different age groups and genders. The second criteria will be based off of occupation with the hopes to get a wider representation of people from different facets of society. This research will poll students from local high schools and universities, Taiwanese people working blue collar jobs, and Taiwanese people working white collar or higher paid jobs. These ranges in ages and occupations will hopefully provide a more complete analysis of major feelings perpetuated in Taiwanese society.

Instruments

For this study, the researcher will use a survey technique popular in the social sciences referred to as the Likert Scale, which is a questionnaire that is framed in statements using a five values of strongly disagree, disagree, neutral, agree, and strongly agree. The survey is divided into two main parts: background of the person (age, gender, occupation), and 28 statements divided up between the four variables. The survey is balanced with roughly the same amount of negative and positive statements to guard against acquiescence bias. The statements have also been translated into Mandarin Chinese in order to avoid any issues that arise from a language barrier. A pilot study will be conducted on 25 participants to gauge the validity of this instrument and data analysis.

In this survey, there will be two categories of discrimination: a high level of discrimination where the participant feels they are above the migrant worker and a lower level of discrimination in which there is a sense of separation or insider/outside mentality. For the lower level of discrimination, the sense of separation is not necessarily where the participant feels negatively about the worker, but instead there is the notion that the worker is outside of the participants' community. Examples from the four variables in the research framework can be found below:

High level discrimination (suspicion/lower class):

Migrant workers in Taiwan should not receive the same labor rights as Taiwanese workers.

Low level discrimination: (a feeling of separateness)

The government should allow migrant workers in Taiwan a chance to become citizens.

Influence of social norms:

It is reasonable for an employer to hold onto a migrant worker's passport because this is the employer's responsibility.

Weakness of rule of law:

The government should not interfere with a dispute between an employer and employee.

Marginalization

I think migrant workers should have the right to unionize.

Data Analysis

The SPSS program will be used to analyze the data from this survey including descriptive statistics, correlational data, linear regression models, and Paired T Tests. However, for the pilot study, only descriptive statistics have been computed to provide an overall picture of the data trends.

Pilot Study

For this research, a small pilot study has been conducted to analyze the instrument implementation and data analysis to ensure minimal mistakes. This study consisted of

administering a 31 question survey based off of the Likert Scale to 25 Taiwanese participants. The independent categorical variables are shown below:

Table 3.1 Pilot Study Demographic Variables

Demographic Variables	Percentage of Sample Size
Gender	
Male	64
Female	36
Ages	
16-30	84
31-45	12
43-60	4
Occupation	
Student	60
Self Employed	4
Employed	36

The sampling of this survey was a purposeful sampling technique that included high school and college students, business owners, and blue and white collar workers. Due to time constraints, a large portion of the sample size for the pilot study are students and are of younger age, so that will be taken into account when analyzing it for the hypotheses.

For the pilot survey only two variables were analyzed: mentality and social norms. In computing the data some items were positively coded and interpreted in reverse for the analysis. The chart below shows responses that would support the hypotheses of this study:

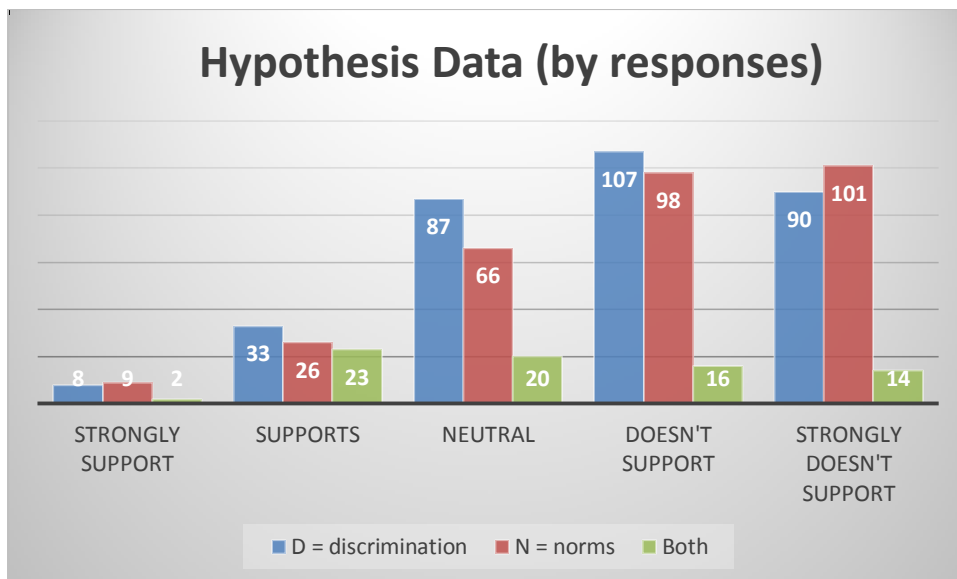


Figure 3.2 Pilot Study Hypotheses Data Results

This chart is not based off of the percentage of people that feel a certain way, it is a chart that shows the number of responses that either support or do not support my arguments. This pilot study was conducted on mostly Taiwanese people ages 16-30, and thus a large amount either answered neutral or did not show signs of feeling discriminatory or a strong lenience towards social norms. There was however, a group of responses that did in fact support some of the hypotheses which will be explained further.

It is crucial to note there that so far a percentage of people that are discriminatory or do favor social norms over rule of law has not been presented. The reason for this is because a standard needs to be established: how many questions must a person answer before they are considered discriminatory? Or how many until they are considered more in favor of social norms? For this pilot study, it was calculated to see how many people responded to at least one question with a positive response for either discrimination or preference of norms over law:

17 out of 25 participants (68%) answered at least one question with a preference for norms over rule of law.

18 out of 25 participants (72%) answered at least one question with a discriminatory response against migrant workers.

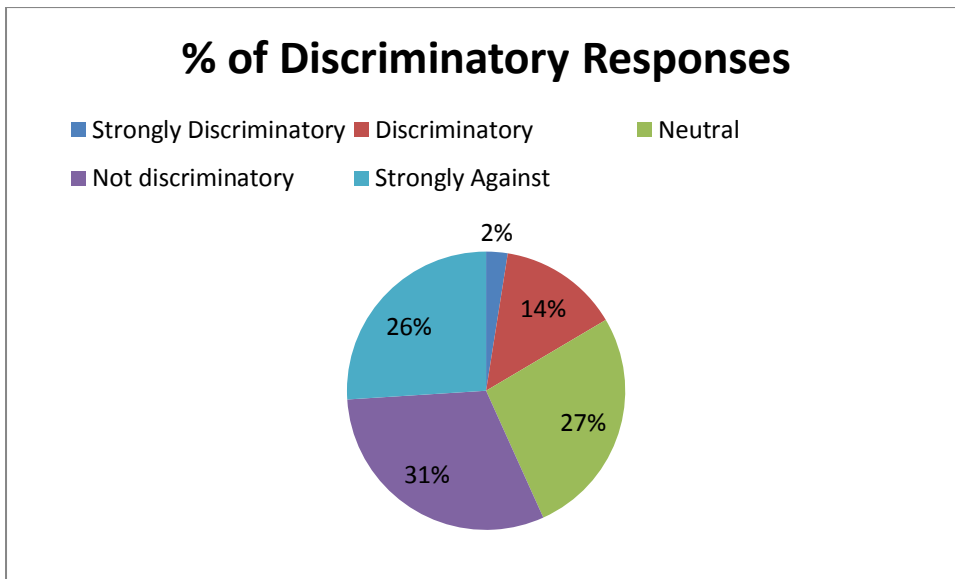


Figure 3.3 Percentage of Discriminatory Responses in Pilot Study

According to Figure 3.3, 16% of responses are discriminatory towards migrant workers.

I support the new app launched by the government that allows anyone to check a foreigners' ID to see their immigration status. 48% of participants agreed with this statement and 40% were neutral.

Migrant workers understand the labor culture in Taiwan. 36% of participants disagree with this statement and 48% are neutral.

In regards to perceptions towards migrant workers and American workers, the following trends were found:

Statements 11 & 19: 44% participants think that migrant workers who run away from their jobs should be punished and 84% of participants think Americans who quit their job should not be punished. Therefore there is some degree of difference in how the participants feel about Americans and migrant workers.

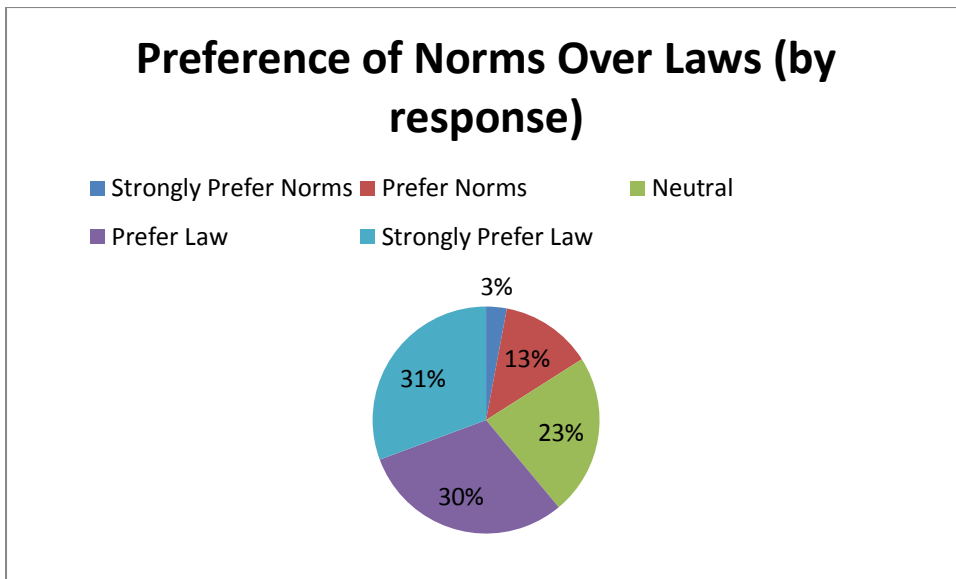


Figure 3.4 Preference of Norms over Laws (by response) in Pilot Study

This data set shows that 16% of responses prefer norms over rule of law and 23% are neutral. It is hypothesized that this percentage will increase as older age groups are tested.

Based off of this pilot survey, the following changes will be made to the data collection: two more continuous variables of marginalization and rule of law will be added to the survey in order to better understand perceptions towards migrant workers, two more comparisons of American workers and migrant workers will be added to further break down feelings towards the different groups, and age groups will be separated into smaller chunks for more accurate perceptions.

4. Research Findings & Analysis

In this chapter, relationships between the variables will be explored as well as the results and analysis of the data. The chapter is comprised of five parts: the first section will provide an overview of descriptive statistics which were used to analyze the demographic characteristics of respondents and responses to the items in the survey, the second section presents the test of reliability through Cronbach's Alpha Value to confirm internal reliability of composite variables, the third section illustrates the correlational data conducted specifically through the bivariate correlation analysis (Pearson's coefficient), the fourth section applies a linear regression analysis to the data to explore validity of this study's framework, and the fifth and final section presents a summary of the findings and discussion of results.

Descriptive Statistics

This research consisted of conducting a survey on Taiwanese people from different age groups and backgrounds in order to understand their feelings and perceptions about migrant workers in Taiwan, social norms that generally oppress migrant workers, the strength of confidence in rule of law, and migrant workers' legal rights in Taiwan. An online questionnaire was used and participants were recruited through several methods: the researcher is part of a popular television show and so used this popularity to provide the survey to the television show's audience, teachers of Erxin Primary School in Keelung, Taiwan participated in the survey, and through the researcher's institution and peers the survey was also conducted. This purposeful sampling was used in order to ensure a wide variety of Taiwanese participants from different geographical areas and demographic backgrounds. There were 303 total participants, out of this number 296 were valid because some participants left items blank on the questionnaire.

The demographic characteristics were analyzed to provide a minimal background of participants based on age, gender, and occupation. Below is a chart of these demographic variables:

Table 4.1 Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

Demographic Variable	Frequency	Percent
Gender		
Male	122	41
Female	175	59
Age		
16-24	143	48.1
25-32	74	24.9
33-40	25	8.4
41-49	43	14.4
50-57	10	3.3
58+	2	.67
Occupation		
Student	128	43
Employed	137	46.1
Unemployed	16	5.3
Self-employed	16	5.3

Descriptive Statistics for Continuous Variables

In this section, mean scores, deviations and important trends will be discussed for the four main variables: mentality, social norms, rule of law, and marginalization. In this section, the items marked with an asterisk (*) are reverse coded items which have been positively coded and interpreted in reverse for the analysis. The higher the mean value for an item, the more strongly the participants felt about that specific attribute. High standard deviations imply there was a large variety in responses to the items and low standard deviations would mean that most observations clustered around the mean value.

Mentality

The table below shows the mean values and standard deviations for the mentality variable. High scores (5) indicate agreement to the statements and low scores (1) show disagreement.

Table 4.2 Descriptive Statistics of the Mentality Variable

	Question Item	Mean	Std. Dev
M6	If a migrant worker and Taiwanese worker do the same job, the Taiwanese worker should get paid a higher salary.	2.28	1.29
M7	Migrant workers in Taiwan should not receive the same labor rights as Taiwanese workers.	1.93	1.11
M9	Migrant workers who run away from their jobs should be punished by the government.	3.51	1.14
M10	The government should not allow Americans who work in Taiwan to become citizens.	2.13	1.13
M13	Myself or someone I know has a good friend that is a migrant worker.	3.26	1.47
M14	Migrant workers in the factories or migrant caretakers are not well educated.	2.39	1.13
M16	Americans who quit their jobs in Taiwan should be punished by the government.	1.96	1.03
M22	I support the new app launched by the government that allows anyone to check a foreigners' ID to see their immigration status.	3.64	1.22
M25	Migrant workers take away jobs from the Taiwanese.	2.39	1.13
M29	Americans working in Taiwan take away jobs from the Taiwanese.	2.48	1.15
M31*	The Taiwanese government should allow migrant workers to become citizens.	2.48	1.2

In this table, most respondents strongly agreed with the launch of the new governmental smartphone application that allows any citizen to scan a foreigner's identification card as this item had the highest mean score: 3.64. The item that had the lowest mean score shows that most people disagree with the statement that migrant workers should not have the same labor rights as Taiwanese workers. Below is a graph summarizing the mentality responses by percentages and there are six items dealing specifically with people's feelings towards Americans and migrant workers.

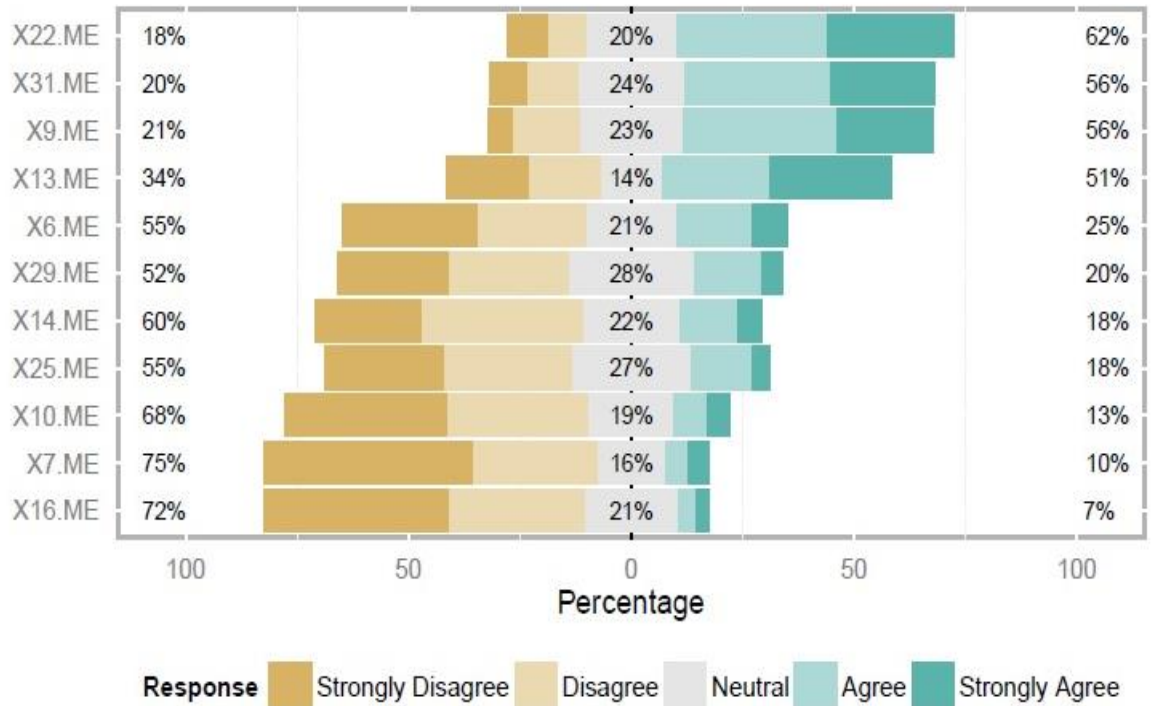


Figure 4.1 Responses to Mentality Variable items

Within this mentality section, a portion of the items was dedicated to explore the difference in feelings towards Americans working in Taiwan and migrant workers working in Taiwan in order to find out if disparity existed. According to the responses seen above, 56% of participants felt that migrant workers should be allowed to become citizens (X.31.ME) and 68% of participants also felt that Americans should be allowed the same right (S.10.ME). 55% of participants do not feel that migrant workers take jobs away from Taiwanese people (X.25.ME) and the same percentage is found in regards to how the participants feel towards Americans (X.29.ME). Lastly, 56% of participants feel that migrant workers should be punished if they run away from their employment (X.9.ME) and only 7% felt that Americans should be punished if they run away from their employment (X.16.ME). These figures potentially indicate that there is a greater tolerance or acceptance of Americans as opposed to migrant workers in Taiwan.

Social Norms

Below is a table detailing the means and standard deviations for all items pertaining to the social norms variable.

Table 4.3 Descriptive Statistics of the Social Norms Variable

	Question Item	Mean	St Dev
N4	I think a caretaker should have to live with their employer if the employer requires it.	3.1	1.07
N8	It is reasonable for an employer to hold onto a migrant worker's passport because this is the employer's responsibility.	2.23	1.27
N17	The government should not interfere with a dispute between an employer and employee.	2	.98
N19	An employer doesn't have to follow their labor contract and should be able to change an employee's responsibilities and benefits.	1.38	.86
N23	An employer has the right to decide when an employee gets to rest.	2.16	1.01
N24	An employer should have the right to punish their migrant worker, and they don't necessarily need to follow the law/contract for the punishment.	1.27	.6
N26	Only the employer, not the employee, has the right to determine if the work is dangerous.	1.52	.76
N27	If a Taiwanese family hires a migrant worker, that family is responsible for that worker, not the government.	2.03	1.03

In this section, common social norms associated with employers and migrant workers that were found during the qualitative research of this study are explored. The highest mean score of 3.1 is seen in agreeance with the requirement of caretakers living with the employer if the employer deems it necessary. Most items in this section have a low mean score which indicates respondents in fact answered in a way that disagreed with many of the norms that are in practice today. For example, below is a chart showing that 95% (X.24.N) of participants feel that an employer must adhere to the labor contract and not be allowed to perform illegal punishment, and 93% (X.19.N) feel that an employer should not be allowed to force the worker to conduct other responsibilities not listed on the contract (which all of these were found in the qualitative analysis to be widely accepted). This disparity between findings in qualitative research and this survey could be explained several ways: respondents could have been reluctant to answer in a way that would cast them in an unfavorable light or there could have been issues in the wording of the items.

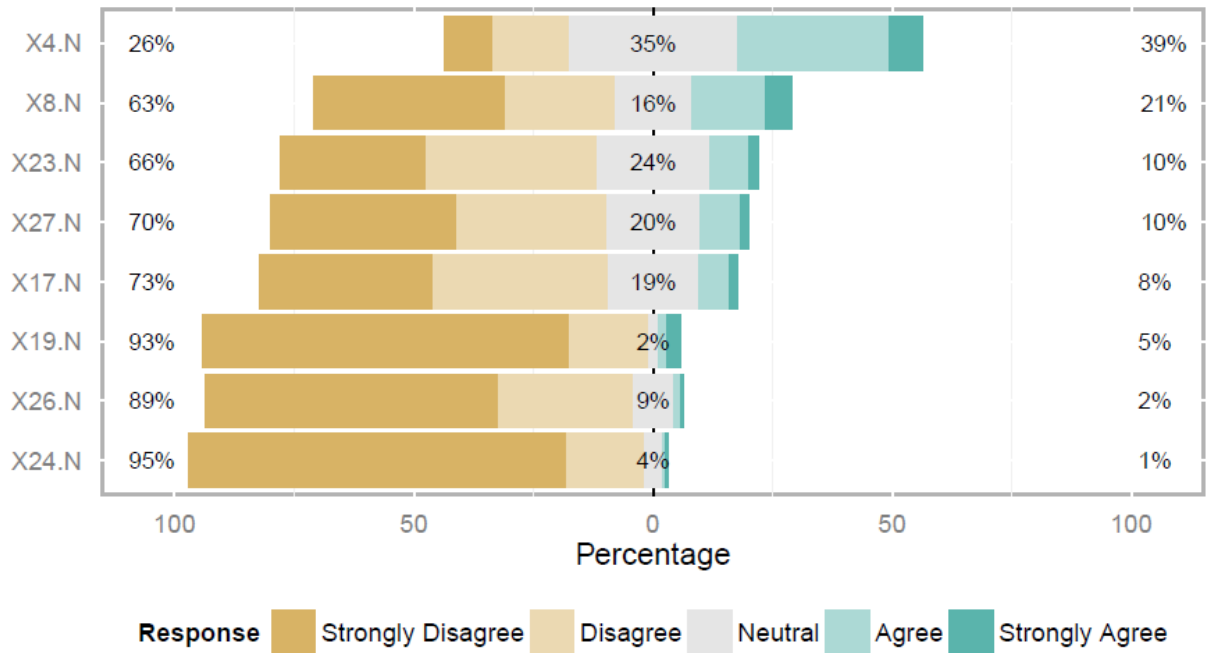


Figure 4.2 Responses to Social Norms Variable Items

Marginalization

The following table displays the items belonging to the marginalization variable in which migrant workers are placed in a more vulnerable position to exploitation. All items for this section were reverse coded.

Table 4.4 Descriptive Statistics of the Marginalization Variable

	Question Item	Mean	St Dev
MA11*	If a migrant caretaker doesn't like their job in Taiwan they should have the right to quit and find another job.	1.97	1.07
MA20*	I think migrant workers should have the right to unionize.	1.93	1.04
MA28*	I think migrant workers should be allowed to vote for legislation that affects them in Taiwan.	2.82	1.3
MA30*	Migrant workers should be allowed to rent their own housing independently of their work.	2.32	1.09

Statement MA28 holds the highest mean score of 2.82 showing that respondents erred on the side disagreement in regards to allowing migrant workers the right to vote for

pertinent legislation. The second highest score of 2.32 indicates respondents felt uneasy or undecided about allowing migrant workers to rent their own housing independently of their work. These means show that most of the respondents answered in favor of improving the status of migrants workers, i.e. letting them unionize and allowing them more job mobility. Once again, this trend could be contributed to several factors: almost half of the sample were younger in age which could have effected their outlook on migrant workers or many could just be uncomfortable with answering too honestly.

Rule of Law

The table below details items pertaining to the rule of law variable in regards to judicial systems and government involvement. All items were also reverse coded.

Table 4.5 Descriptive Statistics of the Rule of Law Items

	Question Item	Mean	Std Dev
R15*	I feel Taiwanese courts follow the laws and not their personal biases when making judgments.	2.83	1.84
R18*	I strongly believe in the judicial system of Taiwan.	3.77	1.07
R21*	I think the government is more important in maintaining social order than the community.	1.98	1.03

The highest mean score of 3.77 shows that respondents do not strongly believe or trust in the judicial system of Taiwan and the second highest mean shows that a portion of the respondents do not feel the courts are unbiased in their legal processes (mean 2.83). The lowest mean score of 1.98 shows that most participants do feel that the government is more important than the community in maintaining social order. Therefore it is found that there is a positive affinity for a strong government, but that there is also a lack of trust in the judicial system of Taiwan. If citizens do not trust their government, for example in settling of legal disputes as surveyed above, it is reasonable to assume that people then are less likely to desire governmental involvement in their personal affairs. Without strong governmental regulation of the treatment of migrant workers, people are left with less incentive to treat their workers fairly.

Descriptive Statistics for Demographic Variables

After compiling the descriptive data, intriguing trends were found for both the gender and age demographic variables. Occupation did not seem to follow any particular pattern or show any trends and therefore will not be analyzed in detail. Below are four figures placed in a grid to display age groups and response mean scores:

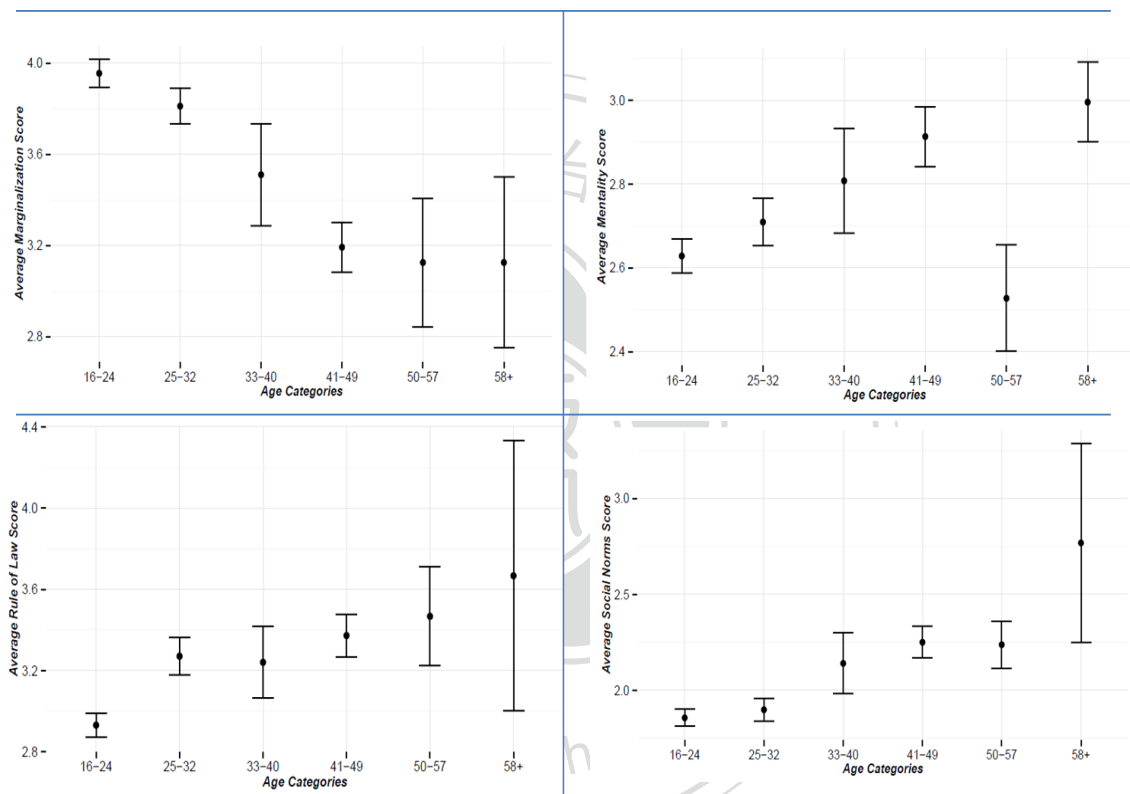


Figure 4.3 Summary of Mean Scores of Continuous Variables Stratified by Age

In the figure above, several noteworthy trends appear. Firstly, in the top left it shows that older respondents responded negatively to statements regarding marginalization. In this figure, the items are not reverse coded which means that as age increased, more and more respondents felt that migrant workers should not have certain legal rights that would improve marginalization conditions such as job mobility, accommodation rights, or voting rights. Items for the rule of law variable were not reverse coded for this figure as well, and shows an opposite phenomenon: as age increases, so do people's trust and belief in the rule of law within Taiwan. The mentality and social norms variables on the right side of the figure show the general

trend that as age increases, respondents answered more discriminatory towards migrant workers, and more in favor of social norms that in fact perpetuate migrant worker abuse. Overall, those respondents that were older answered in favor of more control over migrant workers; this could be attributed to socio-historical factors that come with living in a strongly homogenous society with protective mindsets.

Below is a similar figure displaying the mean scores stratified now by gender:

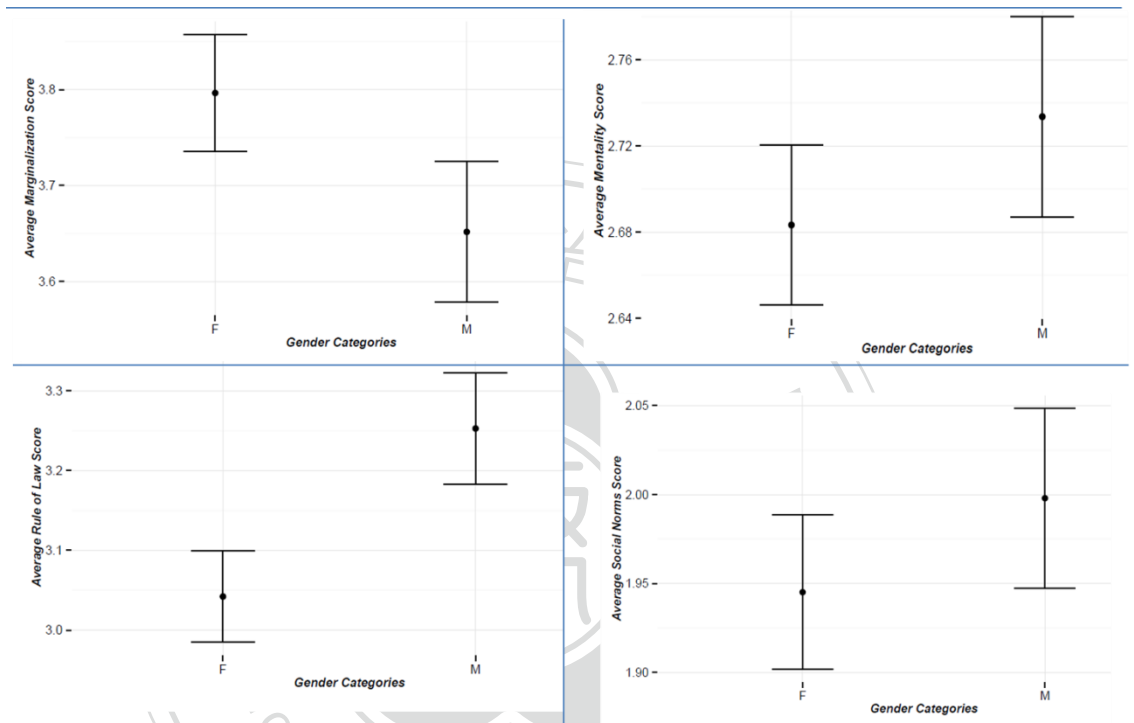


Figure 4.4 Summary of Mean Scores of Continuous Variables Stratified by Gender

In the figure above, it is evident that the different genders generally solicit different responses depending upon the continuous variable. For the marginalization and rule of law variables on the left side of the figure, the data shows that males generally are not as supportive as females in reducing marginalization and also males have a much higher trust in the rule of law in Taiwan. On the right side of the figure, males again answered more discriminatorily and more in favor of social norms than women respondents. This has significant implications because of the strong patriarchal nature of older Taiwanese society; in other words, it is often the man of the family who hires the migrant worker, and factory/fishery employers are most often male than female.

Paired T Tests for Gender Influences on Feelings towards Americans and Migrant Workers

In the descriptive statistics, the general trend was found that males answered more discriminatorily than females, and so in this section that trend will be explored further to analyze feelings towards migrant workers and American workers in Taiwan by both the male and female respondents. Out of the six items on the survey that measured feelings on this subject, only one comparison was found to have a large difference in responses: 56% of responses believed that migrant workers should be punished if they quit their job, while only 7% thought Americans should be punished. Therefore, it is hypothesized that there is a difference in responses between these two categories, and that this difference is positive meaning respondents who feel discriminatorily towards migrant workers do not feel discriminatorily towards American workers.

The null hypothesis would be the difference in means is zero or less than zero meaning respondents felt the same way about migrants and Americans or they are more discriminatory towards Americans than migrants. Below are two Paired T Tests which analyze males' responses and females' responses to the two items.

Table 4.6 Male Paired Sample T Test

	Paired Differences					t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference				
				Lower	Upper			
M3 - M4	1.5917	1.2669	.1156	1.3627	1.8207	13.763	119	.000

As found in the table, the $T(119)=13.763$, $p<.001$, which means the null hypothesis is rejected. Males did answer discriminatorily towards migrant workers, and not so towards American workers.

Table 4.7 Female Paired Sample T Test

Paired Samples Test

	Paired Differences					t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference				
				Lower	Upper			
M3 - M4	1.2571	1.3967	.1056	1.0488	1.4655	11.907	174	.000

In the female table, $T(174)=11.907$, $p<.001$, which means females also responded more discriminatorily towards migrant workers and less so towards American workers. However, when the two tests are compared, it is evident that the mean responses are much higher for males (1.591) than for females (1.257), showing that as a whole, the male respondents were more discriminatory than the females.

Reliability Analysis

The reliability test used in this research is Cronbach’s alpha coefficient test which analyzes the internal consistency of the scales used in the survey. Below are the four main variables with their subsequent Cronbach alpha coefficients:

Table 4.8 Cronbach’s Alpha of the Measures

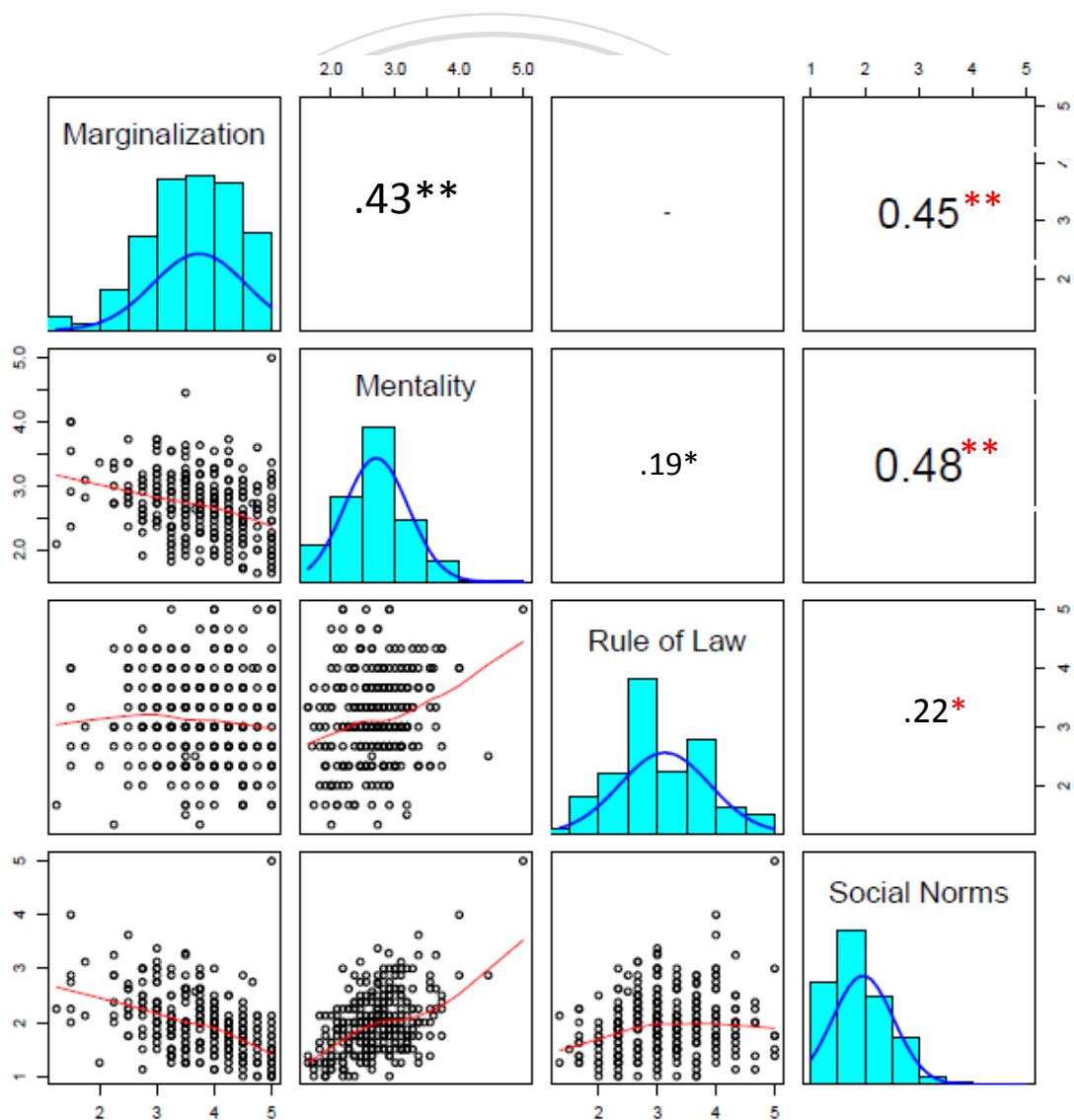
Scale	N	Cronbach’s Alpha
Mentality	11	.7
Social Norms	9	.72
Marginalization	4	.68
Rule of Law	2	.65

In the table above, all variables are above .6 and are therefore acceptable. The social norms variable has the highest Cronbach alpha value of .72, with social norms as second with .7.

Correlations and Linear Regression Models

Correlations between Variables

In this section, major relationships between mentality, social norms, rule of law, and marginalization are discussed using a visualization where histograms, scatterplots, and bivariate correlations of the four outcomes are displayed on diagonal blocks. In the figure below, blue lines represent normal distributions with means and standard deviations equal to the sample means and standard deviations of the respective averaged Likert score. On the lower left blocks, scatter plots of the outcomes are displayed with red lines indicating general trends. On the upper right blocks, the absolute value of the sample correlation between the diagonal outcomes is printed with font size proportional to the degree of correlation.



Note: **= $p < .01$

*= $p < .05$

Figure 4.5 Visualization of correlations between outcomes

According to the figure, the strongest overall correlation is noted between mentality and social norms ($r=.48, p<.01$), where the R2 value of 23% of the variance in social norms outcomes is explained by mentality scores. This correlation supports H1 and the second highest correlation is between marginalization and social norms ($r=.45, p<.01$), where the R2 value of 20% of the variance in social norms is explained by marginalization which supports H4. There is also a highly significant relationship between marginalization and mentality ($r=.43, p<.01$) which also supports H4. The relationships between rule of law and mentality and rule of law and social norms are lower and less significant, but still noteworthy. There is no correlational relationship found between rule of law and marginalization.

Linear Regression Analysis

In the overall framework, it is hypothesized that mentality towards migrant workers, acceptance of social norms that abuse migrant workers, and the distrust of rule of law all contribute to the marginalization of the migrant labor population. This linear regression model below explores the correlations between the measures and tests whether these predictors are significant in influencing the final outcome of marginalization.

Table 4.9 Linear Regression Analysis of Mentality, Social Norms, and Rule of Law on Marginalization

Independent variables	Dependent Variable: Marginalization	
	Beta (β)	t
Mentality	.363	4.480***
Social Norms	.449	5.049***
Rule of Law	.021	.508
Constant	.464	
F value	31.939***	
R Squared	.252	

Several important data trends can be found in the table above. Firstly, it is found that about 25% of the variance in marginalization responses can be accounted for with the three predictors ($r^2=.252, p<.001$) of mentality, social norms, and rule of law. Secondly, the t-tests for the beta coefficients for mentality and social norms as well as the F Value of the model are all highly significant. With these large values, it is

evident that the model's regression is big enough to have significant predictive capabilities. Therefore, the framework of this research is validated.

Summary and Discussion of the Results

This section will discuss the summary of the data in relation to the hypotheses of this study. The table below shows that H1 and H4 are fully accepted, H2 is rejected, and H3 is partially accepted based on the analysis of the results. Further relationships and significance of these relationships are discussed below.

Table 4.9.1 Hypotheses summary

Hypothesis	Description	Results
H1	H1. There is a positive relationship between high discrimination (mentality) against migrant workers and the acceptance of social norms.	Accepted
H2	H2. There is a positive relationship between high discrimination against migrant workers and the perceived weakness of rule of law.	Rejected
H3	H3. There is a positive relationship between acceptance of social norms and weakness of rule of law.	Partially Accepted
H4	H4. Discrimination, acceptance of social norms, and weakness of rule of law all contribute to the marginalization of migrant workers.	Accepted

H1. There is a positive relationship between high discrimination (mentality) against migrant workers and the acceptance of social norms.

As analyzed in the data, the strongest Pearson correlation coefficient was found between social norms and mentality showing that 20% of the variance in social norms outcomes can be explained by mentality responses. It also can be seen on the scatterplot in Figure 4.5 that as response scores increased for social norms (x axis), responses also increased with the mentality outcome (y axis). This means that as respondents answered in favor of oppressive social norms, they also answered discriminatorily towards migrant workers, which is a positive relationship. The relationship between these two outcomes was also found in the descriptive statistics

when the data was stratified by both age and gender: older respondents and males that had higher means in mentality also had higher means in social norms. Therefore H1 is accepted.

H2. There is a positive relationship between high discrimination against migrant workers and the perceived weakness of rule of law.

The correlation between these two outcomes was found to be less significant with r value = .19, $p < .05$, which means only a meager 3% of the variance in the responses of social norms could be attributed to the mentality items. Additionally, in the descriptive statistics it was found that as respondents answered more discriminatorily towards migrant workers, they still answered in favor of rule of law, which goes against this hypothesis. Therefore H2 is rejected.

H3. There is a positive relationship between acceptance of social norms and weakness of rule of law.

The correlation between rule of law and social norms is lower than the other relationships with only 4% of the variance in rule of law responses attributed to social norms, and the p value is less significant at less than .05. However, when analyzing the scatterplot in Figure 4.5, it is seen that there is a small positive relationship between the two outcomes. This relationship needs to be further explored, perhaps using different parameters for rule of law to better test the correlation between the two. Therefore, H3 is partially accepted.

H4. Discrimination, acceptance of social norms, and weakness of rule of law all contribute to the marginalization of migrant workers.

There are several statistical results that support this hypothesis. Firstly, the individual bivariate correlations between outcomes show that there are strong relationships between mentality, social norms, rule of law and marginalization with high R values and statistically significant p values. Secondly, the linear regression model computed for this research supports this hypothesis by the high R squared value of .25, showing that 25% of the variance in marginalization responses can be attributed to the three predictors and the high F value of the model. Therefore, H4 is accepted.

Relationship between Mentality and Social Norms

The correlation between mentality and social norms was the highest in this analysis which can be explained logically as well as with the statistics found above. People's attitudes and beliefs often shape their behaviors and interactions with the outside world thus if a person feels negatively towards a migrant worker, it is logical to assume the accepted social behaviors will also negatively affect the migrant worker (Fazio 1990). For example, if an employer feels that a migrant worker should not get the same rights as a Taiwanese worker, this employer will naturally perpetuate social norms that stray from the contract and oppress the worker.

Rule of Law Variable

In this study, the rule of law variable was the most insignificant variable in predicting other outcomes and had little correlational relationships with both demographic predictors and continuous predictors. Therefore this data concludes that age, occupation, gender, and feelings towards other continuous variables have no significant effect on how people feel towards rule of law. In this study, statements on the survey regarding rule of law measured people's confidence levels in Taiwan's judicial system and their beliefs in the importance of government in maintaining social order. Since these measurements did not prove statistically significant, one possible solution for future studies could be to analyze different parameters of rule of law, such as regulatory enforcement, access to civil justice and effective criminal justice (Botero & Ponce 2010).

Mentality, Social Norms, and Rule of Law on Marginalization

Mentality, social norms, and rule of law all had varying impacts on the marginalization responses. Mentality, social norms, and marginalization proved to be the three most correlated variables, which shows that how a Taiwanese person feels about migrant workers and social norms significantly impact the person's ideas of supporting or rejecting the marginalization of migrant workers. For example, if a person feels positively towards migrant workers and also reject social norms that oppress a migrant worker, this respondent will also feel that migrant workers should not be kept in a legally vulnerable position (they support voting rights for migrant workers or they support migrant worker's choice to live separately from their employment). This data not only provides a basic overview of how people feel

towards migrant workers, but it also explains how mentality can influence people's interactions and feelings in the treatment of migrant workers.

General Trends

The survey conducted in this study provides not only correlational and predictive data that could help researchers, policy makers, and NGO-type organizations in the future with focusing efforts in mitigating migrant worker abuse, the survey also provides a glimpse into how the Taiwanese population feels about labor culture, temporary work forces, and importance of rule of law. Below is a table showing the percentages of responses as a whole to each variable in whether they supported or did not support the hypotheses of the study.

Mentality=27% of the responses show some level of discrimination towards migrant workers.

Social norms=12% of the responses support social norms that perpetuate abuse of migrant workers.

Rule of Law=35% of the responses believe that rule of law is weak in Taiwan.

Marginalization=17% of the responses support keeping migrant workers in vulnerable legal statuses.

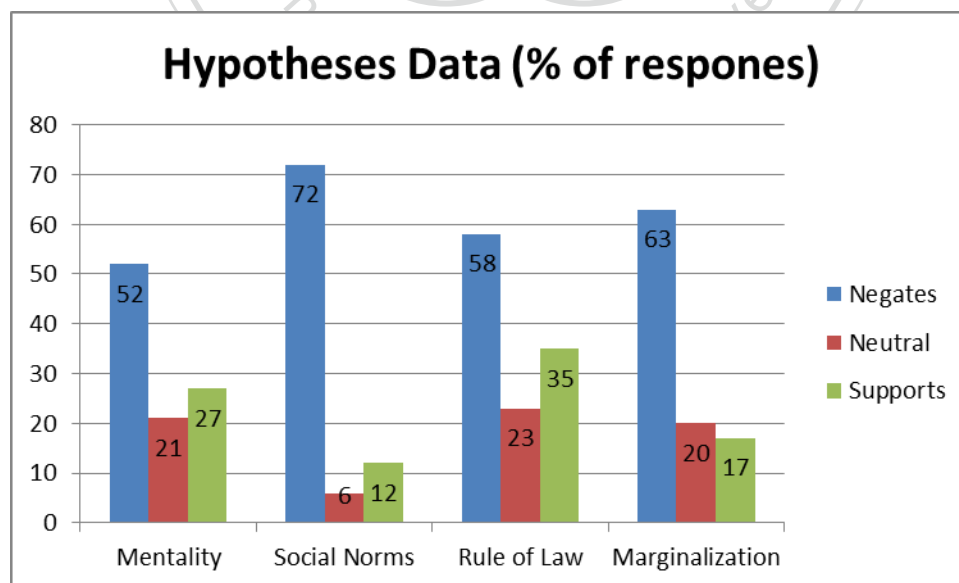
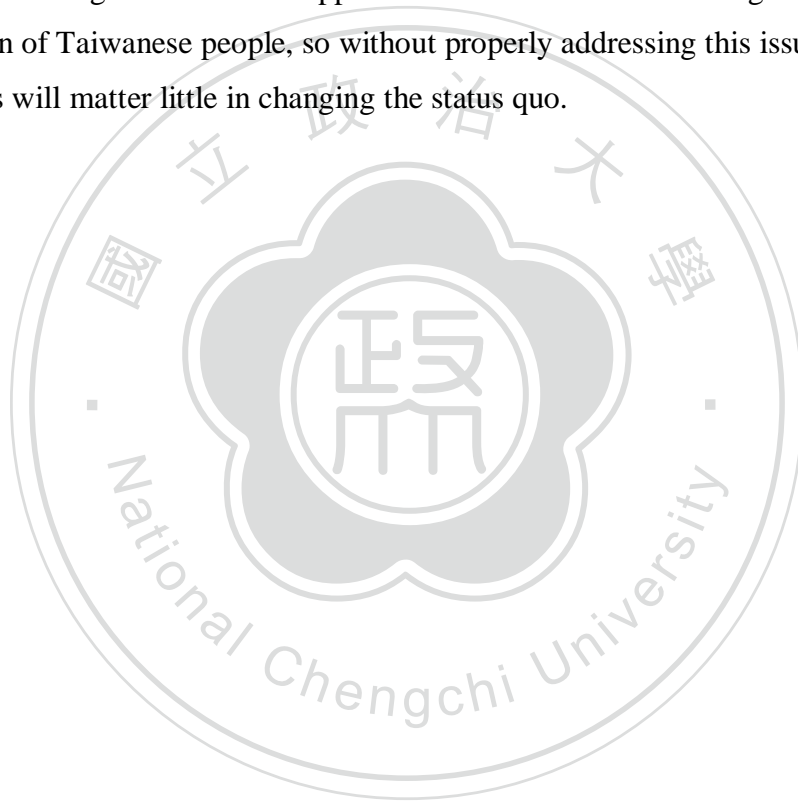


Figure 4.6 Overall Hypothesis Data

It is difficult to identify a percentage threshold in which can be considered significant. However, it is crucial to note that even if 10% of a population feels highly discriminatory towards migrant workers, that small group can have a large impact on the treatment of these workers, especially if that group has any influence over governmental policies. Therefore, this data is plainly revealing that there is still what the researcher considers a significant amount of Taiwanese people that negatively view migrant workers, which logically affects their interactions with the workers and could be one explanatory factor as to why treatment of migrant workers has remained fundamentally unchanged in the past 20 years. This data has shown that there are negative feelings towards and supported abusive norms around migrant workers from a margin of Taiwanese people, so without properly addressing this issue, top-down changes will matter little in changing the status quo.



5. Conclusion and Recommendations

Conclusions

This research explored the possible reasons behind the continued plight of migrant labor exploitation in Taiwan by examining four key areas: social norms that perpetuate labor abuse, weakness of rule of law that provides a tolerable environment for exploitation, “us vs. them” mentality felt by different factions of Taiwanese society, and the marginalization by both government and society of the migrant workers. One of the main goals of this study was to better understand how Taiwanese people feel towards migrant workers in order to show that the NGOs need to focus their efforts on changing public perceptions and also to engage the public to care more about the equality of labor. The argument was built upon firstly that the government has provided a solid foundation for labor protection in the form of policies and legislation in part to the NGO’s persistent advocacy, but that this is not enough because the people of Taiwan are not invested in the enforcement of these laws. The NGOs have been successful in provision of aid and public policy engagement, but it is now time to look to society in order to forge a better bargaining power that can stop the abuse. Below details the findings of this research in regards to the arguments presented.

Social Norms and Rule of Law

Accepted social norms develop and change within the confines of the implementation and internalization of rule of law within in a society, and although the relationship between these two variables was not found in this study to be too significant, both are still important factors in mitigating migrant worker exploitation. Since social norms that are often illegal such as confiscation of passports are generally accepted and promulgated, it shows there is a lack of policy and law enforcement surrounding this specific issue. As the authors cited in the literature review argued, the current concepts and application of rule of law in Taiwan are transplanted from Japanese, Chinese, and American influences, thus yielding a lower level of internalization within society. As the internalization of rule of law is low, than social norms naturally take its place in maintaining social order. And in this case, social norms are more unfavorable to the equal treatment of migrant workers.

“Us vs Them” Mentality and Social Norms

Perceptions and attitudes are the starting points of social interaction as thoughts are major motivators for certain actions. As discussed in the literature review, schisms are encouraged between Taiwanese society and migrant workers by both cultural and governmental influences and this separation influences their interactions. People that are unwelcoming of migrant workers or those that feel a level of discrimination then translate these feelings into the social norms that are carried out and accepted in Taiwan. This phenomenon implies that there are insufficient constrictions within both society and government to dissuade this type of behavior.

In the research conducted for this study, the largest correlation was found between mentality and social norms, which shows the level of influence mentality has on action. Therefore, if mentality can be changed to work against the social norms in place, migrant workers may have a better chance at receiving fair treatment. In order to change norms, the norms must first become unacceptable, and one possible way to accomplish this is to expose the wide use of these norms and shame those doing them into stopping.

Social norms, mentality, rule of law on marginalization

Mentalities, norms, lack of policy implementation and strong rule of law can all contribute to marginalizing a group of people. In this study it was found that social norms and mentalities did in fact have significant relationships with marginalization of migrant workers, which is evidence that the existence of labor equality is impossible without the support of society. Filed migrant worker abuse cases are on the rise because of the major disconnect between society and the workers; culture, language, and government separations all contribute to creating gaps between Taiwanese society and migrant workers. Although the government is justified in keeping some separation in order to protect its people, it is important to note that too much ostracization of migrant workers only leads to more apathy and abuse.

Limitations

This research of Taiwanese society and migrant workers is only but a piece of the puzzle surrounding the issue of migrant worker labor in Taiwan. Delving into the

mentalities of Taiwanese people regarding migrant labor is an incredibly complicated process as many different factors not only influence mentality, but also interactions between society and the migrant workers. Limitations of this study include demographic constrictions, variable limitations, and one level analysis restrictions.

Firstly, the relatively small sample size can only serve to provide a glimpse into the population as a whole, as there are not enough respondents present for each demographic background to provide a complete picture. This study used purposeful sampling, focusing mostly on engaging key age groups and different types of occupations in order to gauge differences in perceptions towards the issue studied. Purposeful sampling of strangers from different establishments and cities was also used to combat the “group think” phenomenon, in which one group of people tend to answer in the same fashion. Within the sample tested, there was also a large portion that had neutral biases which also limited the amount of analysis that could be conducted on the responses. Although there were several limitations to the sample surveyed, the data still provided significant enough conclusions that should warrant future study on the subject.

Secondly, this research only focused on one influential actor: Taiwanese society and thus was limited to variables focused around this actor. The migrant labor exploitation phenomenon in Taiwan is a complex, multi-layered system with broker agencies, governmental polices and officials, quota systems, and migrant workers themselves all playing important roles. Therefore, this study only provides a focus on one angle of that problem as a whole: how Taiwanese society is a part of the system and their influence on the problem. This research, simply for cohesiveness, could not measure the impact of government, broker agencies, and others on the issue because of the sheer complexity of migrant labor in Taiwan. This study did however provide one piece to the puzzle: showing how Taiwanese people feel generally about migrant workers and how that influences their interactions with the workers. Thus future research could build upon these findings by focusing on different influential factors such as law enforcement or broker involvement.

Thirdly, it is crucial to note from Figure 4.8 Overall Hypotheses Data, that a certain amount of leftist bias occurred in gathering data. In other words, most of the sample disagreed with the statements on the survey, which implies that this data is in

some way biased. Although it was proved that perceptions, social norms, and rule of law do significantly influence the marginalization of migrant workers, the leftist trend was still evident in the resulted responses. This could be attributed to the type of sample that was collected, as half of the sample was of younger age and found to be less judging of migrant workers than the older respondents.

Lastly, the survey conducted only measured how people feel about migrant workers, marginalization, rule of law and social norms; the study did not go further into finding out why the respondents answered a certain way. This one level analysis only shows what is on the surface, and did not measure the reasons behind the perceptions. There are plenty of hypotheses that could estimate the motivations behind the mentalities, but these hypotheses were not measured in this study. It was important to establish the first layer of the foundation in studying Taiwanese people which was finding out IF there were negative mentalities around migrant workers and HOW that influenced Taiwanese society's interactions. Future studies could take it a step further and delve into WHY a portion of society feels this way, and this could provide insight into how to change those perceptions.

Recommendations

With a plethora of actors all involved in migrant labor importation within Taiwan, this research mainly covered government, NGO, and societal involvement and thus below are detail recommendations for those involved and researchers for future studies.

The domestic government is ultimately responsible for enacting official change in the treatment of the migrant workers: and an effective way to stop the abuse would be to support the migrant workers and take them out of a position of marginalization. Permitting job mobility, cracking down on illegal brokerage fees, permitting independent housing of employers, and providing legal protection against labor exploitation are just some of the key actions that need to be taken in order to decrease migrant worker's vulnerability to abuse. Taiwan prides itself on being a shining beacon of democracy within an otherwise authoritative Asian region, yet equal rights are only provided for the selected few in this case. Below minimum wage salaries, unregulated working conditions and hours, and privacy invasions need to be

addressed before the international community and Taiwan itself can be considered as an advanced democracy. Therefore, for both reputation and morality can incentivize Taiwan's government to show more political will in protecting and providing for its ever-growing migrant labor population.

More specifically, the Taiwanese government could focus on increasing trust in its policy implementation and judicial system while at the same time enforcing the legislation. From this study, it was found that most young people in the sample did not have a high level of trust in the judicial system or law enforcement in Taiwan, so one possible avenue would be to start rigorously enforcing the laws. For example, judicial courts in Hualien January 2016 indicted a public official for sexual assaulting his neighbor's caretaker, and sentenced him to seven years in jail (Focus 2016). If the government could ensure more cases were receiving proper attention and more cases actually making it to court, this could set a good precedent that may increase trust in the law enforcement.

As results have shown from this study, society is an important piece of the puzzle in regards to improving the overall conditions of migrant workers in Taiwan, so the NGOs should focus their efforts in engaging the society and motivating them to care. Marginalization of migrant workers and social norms had the second largest correlation in the data analyzed, and so NGOs need to appeal to the people that are perpetuating these norms in order to stop the abuse of migrant workers. In this sample, it seems that the age groups older than 35 years of age are in favor of these norms. That being said, those involved in advocating for basic human rights should not stop their appeals to the government, but instead look to build upon those appeals with galvanizing societal support. Due to international and domestic pressure of these NGOs, more and more governmental policies have been passed to protect the migrant workers, but without the support of the population, implementation will be fragmented and insignificant. There are several avenues in which NGOs can take to better motivate the public: education proliferation, market campaigns, and cross cultural activities.

NGOs and other organizations need to branch out and reach all levels of society in Taiwan, and one of the best ways to accomplish this is education and more active social campaigns. Visiting more high schools, universities, cram schools or any

other institution to lecture about labor rights and migrant workers' situations can help change attitudes at impressionable ages. More social campaigns such as posters, sponsored ads, and cross cultural activities will not only garner much needed domestic media coverage, but these activities can help bridge the knowledge and communication gap between two populations that are regularly separated. NGOS must find ways to make Taiwanese public invested in their cause and make the mission of improving migrant workers' rights their passion as well.

As mentioned previously, this study has only analyzed one specific aspect of the migrant labor phenomenon in Taiwan, and so future researchers have many avenues to build upon to find a more comprehensive picture of issues involved. More research needs to be conducted on governmental involvement and law enforcement for labor exploitation cases, as many NGOs arbitrating these cases complain of partial legality practiced. Additionally, it would be noteworthy to also examine the influence of external powers such as sending country's governments or advanced democracies that attach human rights to their national priorities on Taiwan's treatment of human rights and labor exploitation.

Future researchers should also endeavor to conduct more qualitative data collection and analysis, especially from employers of migrant workers, governmental officials, and lawyers for this perspective will help represent a more complete picture of attitudes involved. If discriminatory attitudes are felt and perpetuated at higher levels then a different type of engagement is needed by NGOs and those involved.

At the very least, this study has provided evidence that there are feelings of separation and distrust between these two populations as well as the strong connections between these feelings and actions, which has important implications for all involved in migrant labor of Taiwan. There is very little research on perceptions and relationships between Taiwanese society and migrant workers, so it is the hope that this study will be a starting point that will help governments, NGOs, and all involved better tackle the mistreatment and conflict between these two groups of people. These results are useful because they provide one glimpse into how mentalities, interactions, and application of social norms effect migrant labor exploitation and marginalization, and understanding all facets of a problem is the first step to finding a solution.

Migrant labor is an important foundational piece to Taiwan's economic structure, and as migrant laborers are only on the rise, creating and maintaining a stable system is crucial to its survival. Taiwan is a complex, rapidly advancing democracy that cannot afford to fall behind on the enforcement of basic human and labor rights, which is why stopping the widespread abuse of these temporary guest workers needs to be both a governmental and more importantly societal mission. Therefore it falls upon the government and NGOs to better understand and engage Taiwanese society in order to bridge the tangible and intangible gaps to create a more harmonious and justifiably equal working environment that fits the laws already in place.



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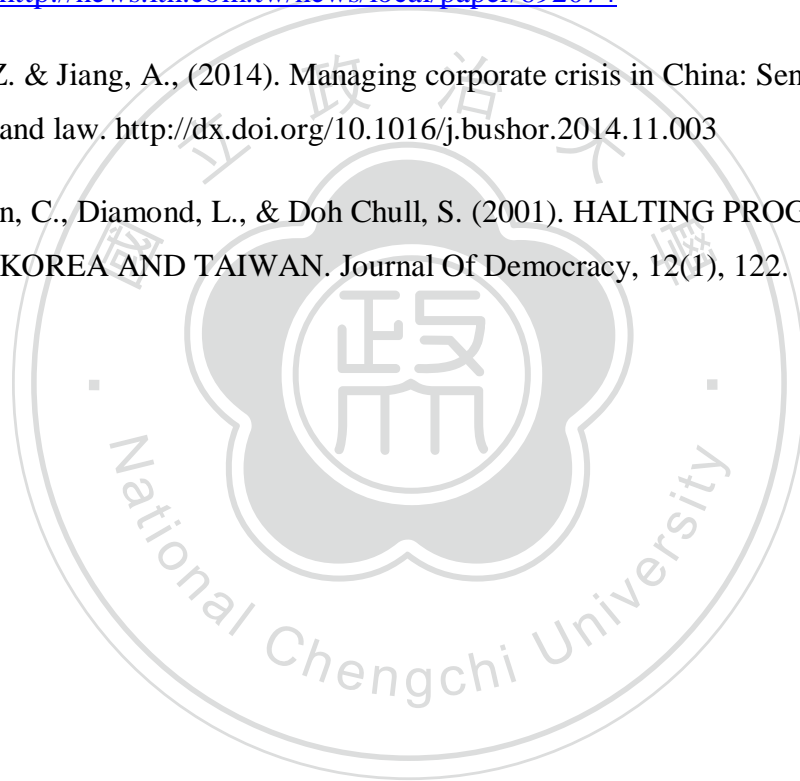
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Appendix 1 Translated Survey

1. (age)	16-30	31-45	46-60	60+
2. (occupation)	(student)	(self-employed)	(unemployed)	(currently employed)
3.(gender)	M	F		
Strongly Agree=5, Agree=4, Neutral=3, Disagree=2, Strongly Disagree=1				
4. Every worker should have the right to quit their job.				
5. I think a caretaker should have to live with their employer if the employer requires it.				
6. An employer should have the right to deduct pay from a migrant worker's salary.				
7. Americans working in Taiwan should get paid overtime.				
8. If a migrant worker and Taiwanese worker do the same job, the Taiwanese worker should get paid a higher salary.				
9. Migrant workers in Taiwan should not receive the same labor rights as Taiwanese workers.				
10. It is reasonable for an employer to hold onto a migrant worker's passport because this is the employer's responsibility.				
11. Migrant workers who run away from their jobs should be punished by the government.				
12. The government should not allow Americans who work in Taiwan to become citizens.				
13. If a migrant caretaker doesn't like their job in Taiwan they should have the right to quit and find another job.				
14.. If my boss wanted me to work overtime but wouldn't pay me, I would not be willing to do it.				
15. I don't have a deep understanding of migrant workers.				
16. There should not be more foreigners living in Taiwan in the future.				
17. Migrant workers in the factories or migrant caretakers are not well educated.				
18. The Taiwanese government should allow migrant workers to become citizens.				
19. Americans who quit their jobs in Taiwan should be punished by the government.				
20. The government should not interfere with a dispute between an employer and employee.				
21. Migrant workers understand the labor culture in Taiwan.				
22. An employer doesn't have to follow their labor contract and should be able to change an employee's responsibilities and benefits.				
23. Migrant workers should get paid overtime in Taiwan.				
24. Americans working in Taiwan take away jobs from the Taiwanese.				
25. I think the government is more important in maintaining social order than the community.				

26. I support the new app launched by the government that allows anyone to check a foreigners' ID to see their immigration status.
27. An employer has the right to decide when an employee gets to rest.
28. An employer should have the right to punish their migrant worker, and they don't necessarily need to follow the law/contract for the punishment.
29. Migrant workers take away jobs from the Taiwanese.
30. Only the employer, not the employee, has the right to determine if the work is dangerous.
31. If a Taiwanese family hires a migrant worker, that family is responsible for that worker, not the government.

