

**PUBLIC OPINIONS TOWARD TAIWANESE
GOVERNMENT'S ROLE IN INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES OF
THE CHINA AIRLINES STRIKE AND THE EVA AIR STRIKE:
A COMPARATIVE CONTEST ANALYSIS OF THE FOUR
NEWSPAPERS IN TAIWAN**

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Abstract

The China Airlines and the EVA Air had industrial disputes in recent years. While the public expected that the government’s dealing with these disputes be the same, they found out that the government did have preferential treatment for the China Airlines. Therefore, the case study investigated the public's opinions on the Taiwanese government's intervention in industrial disputes. A total of 472 news articles related to the two airlines’ industrial disputes were extracted from the Liberty Times, the Taipei Times, the China Times and the China Post. Public opinions identified from this study include that the government’s intervention in the China Airlines flight attendants strike was more preferable to the attendants than that in the EVA Air strike case, that it was the government's intervention to speed up the China Airlines strike, and that people blamed the EVA Air flight attendants' strike for their insatiable greed. The results indicate the importance of having a strike notice period. Not only does it allow the government to have an impact in the future response to airline strikes, it also makes the intervention focus more neutral.

Keywords: China Airlines, EVA Air, Public Opinions, Government Intervention

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INTRODUCTION

Background

In recent decades, the aviation market has been booming, but the labor force, rest time, and treatment have not been reasonably improved. In 2018, while the Taoyuan Flight Attendants Union (TFAU) represented flight attendants to negotiate with the management, they had no consensus. Therefore, after obtaining the legal right to strike, the two strikes broke out. However, following the reports of Global Views Monthly, Commonwealth Magazine, Business Weekly, and Business Today, the four magazines called into question the government's approach to the two airlines.

At the end of June 2016, the TFAU put forward seven appeals against the strike action initiated by the cabin crew of China Airlines. Due to work rest and salary issues for flight attendants, labor disputes continued to exist in many negotiations, but no consensus had yet been reached. Subsequently, a three-day strike was announced.¹ After the privatization of China Airlines, the Taiwanese government still had considerable control over China Airlines.² After the strike broke out, Fang-Yu Kuo of the Ministry of Labor consulted between labor and management.³ And Lin Quan, the Premier of the Executive Yuan, said that China

¹ 賴文萱, "空服員為何要罷工? 這 7 大訴求讓華航難招架," June 22, 2016, <https://www.ettoday.net/news/20160622/720907.htm>.

² 余宗翰, "剪不斷理還亂! 華航的半民營狀態," yahoo!新聞, accessed June 26, 2016. <https://tw.news.yahoo.com/%E5%89%AA%E4%B8%8D%E6%96%B7%E7%90%86%E9%82%84%E4%BA%82-%E8%8F%AF%E8%88%AA%E7%9A%84%E5%8D%8A%E6%B0%91%E7%87%9F%E7%8B%80%E6%85%8B-041500698.html>.

³ 梁姍樺, "華航勞資上談判桌 勞動部長郭芳煜親自主持," June 24, 2016, <https://www.storm.mg/article/134039>.

Airlines, as an airline invested by public shares, should become a model of enterprise operation.⁴ Consequently, the new chairman of China Airlines, Nuan Hsuan Ho, had to prove that China Airlines was the top priority after taking office and then Nuan Hsuan Ho accepted all the requirements, but simply tried to end the strike. Besides, President Ing-Wen Tsai also called on the executive team to pay close attention to China Airlines' new management team to take positive action to respond to this strike.⁵

On the other hand, since April 2017, due to the main reasons for personnel, rest time, and treatment, the EVA Air flight attendants also conducted labor consultations on the eight requirements raised by the TFAU. However, there was no consensus on the terms of allowances and free riders, so a 17-day strike was launched, which was the first all-female labor movement in Taiwan.⁶ Since EVA Air is a purely private company, it must bear profits and losses after the strike.⁷ In the seventeen days of the strike, EVA Air canceled 1439 flights, affecting more than 27,8420 people, which also set the largest interruption record in Taiwan's air transportation history, and also made the whole society pay a huge cost for this. During the strike, the Ministry of Labor only called on both parties to understand their social responsibilities and reach an agreement as soon as possible in order to end the strike as soon

⁴ 林上祚, "幕後》華航罷工 林全內閣徹夜危機處理," June 24, 2016, <https://www.storm.mg/article/133903>.

⁵ 葉素萍, "蔡總統對華航人員說 不會讓你們孤單," 中央通訊社 CNA, June 24, 2016, <https://www.cna.com.tw/news/firstnews/201606245008.aspx>.

⁶ 嚴文廷 and 林雨佑, "從零工會到開創台灣首次「粉紅工運」——長榮全女性空服員罷工之路," 報導者 THE REPORTER, June 21, 2019, <https://www.twreporter.org/a/eva-air-flight-attendants-strike>.

⁷ 葉冠好, "長榮空服員罷工落幕！長榮勞資團協 8 點協議曝光," 聯合新聞網, accessed July 06. <https://udn.com/news/story/13013/3913869>.

as possible. In addition, Minister of Transport, Chia Lung Lin, also called on EVA Air to minimize the impact on passengers and airlines and hoped that both management and employees could reach a consensus as soon as possible.⁸ Also, after the ninth day of the strike and after the union members voted for consultation, the Ministry of labor immediately assisted the two sides to conduct labor consultation with the help of Shih Hao Liu, Political Deputy Minister in Ministry of Labor, to resolve the dispute.⁹

In case of the strike between the two airlines, the Taiwanese government's intervention in airlines should remain neutral to resolve the industrial dispute. However, China Airlines is a privatized government airline, with a more positive attitude to deal with, and the strike was resolved within three days.¹⁰ In contrast, the private airline EVA Air adopted a relatively negative attitude towards the strike, only demanding an end to the strike. There is a wide gap in the degree of government intervention. In the government's response to the two strikes, the government's response to privatized government airlines and private airlines is somewhat different, which seems to be neutral with the government's response, however, there are different opinions on the government's response to and handling of the strike of the two airlines from Global Views Monthly, CommonWealth Magazine, Business Weekly and Business Today. The government tended to prefer privatized government companies with

⁸ 廖羿雯, "長榮罷工》交通部提應變計畫幫資方? 王國材: 總不能讓旅客滯留機場," 風傳媒 The Storm Media, accessed June 10. <https://www.storm.mg/article/1373448>.

⁹ 甘嘉雯 and 吳梓鎣, "勞動部次長劉士豪慰問靜坐空服員 再與長榮協商," 中國時報, June 21, 2019, <https://www.chinatimes.com/realtimenews/20190621003044-260405?chdtv>.

¹⁰ 趙守博, "這樣的政府, 是在解決問題, 還是在製造問題?," 財團法人國家政策研究基金會, accessed. <https://www.npf.org.tw/1/16032>.

shares. If private companies did not affect the rights of the public, our government only tried to persuade.

After the two flight attendants' strikes, not only raised awareness of Taiwan's protection of labor rights, but also raised all about women's rights. However, in the process, the Government seems to respond to the two aviation incidents in a neutral manner, but through the four magazines mentioned above, it has found that there are more people who support strikes in these two strikes, on the contrary, the opposition will think that all walks of life have their own difficulties, and that the aviation industry is already high enough to ask for more. So, under such circumstances, through the newspaper's true reports, The researcher apply Taipei Times, China Times, China Post Liberty Times to pointed out the people's opinions and government practices of the opposition.

Research Motivation

Since 2005, the global aviation industry has faced the challenge of strikes, and it is the government's responsibility to put in place clear regulations to help managements and labors reach a consensus. The strike in the aviation industry has also raised awareness of labor rights in Taiwan and elsewhere. As a result, I found that when privatized government companies go on strike, the government will use equity channels to pressure China Airlines executives to respond to the strike, while private companies will not. They must bear all the losses

themselves. Not only that, but there is also a gap between the government's response to the strike by the two airlines and Liberty Times, Taipei Times, China Times, and China Post.

Research Purpose

The purpose of this case study is to explore public opinions reacting to the Taiwanese government's intervention in industrial disputes in Taiwan. The two cases used for comparison were the China Airlines flight attendant strike in 2016 and the EVA Air flight attendant strike in 2019. From 2005 to 2019, the aviation industry took to the streets to protest its rights. In this case, the Taiwanese government prevented the loss of public rights to intervene in the strike, but such intervention was inconsistent. To better understand the government's performance in the aviation industry strike; I use the industrial dispute resolution act as my key term to understand the attitude and practice of the Taiwan government towards government stock and private sector privatization. By clarifying the government's intervention in the strike of two airline employers, I can get the treatment of the Taiwan government in the face of privatized government airlines and private airlines. On the other hand, it uses four magazines to expand on the strike of two airlines and how the public views the government's response to the two strikes.

Research Questions

1. What were the public opinions on the Taiwanese government's actions for the self-negotiation in the two cases?
2. What were the public opinions on the administration's assistance in the two cases??
3. What were the public opinions on the judicial settlement in the two cases?

Contribution

The biggest implication of my contribution is that each industry has its own benchmark to understand the role of government intervention in strikes. Therefore, my findings not only pointed out the controversy in this incident through magazine reports but also pointed out the dispute between the two airlines that the government must intervene in accordance with the Labor Dispute Resolution Act. In addition, the problem should be determined from the perspective of public opinion to solve the extent of government intervention.

Limits

The limitation of my research is that it is difficult to contact the interviewer and the time is limited. It is difficult to visit them to understand their views on the strike. What's more, because they are busy with their work, I believe that the best solution for me is to understand the underlying causes of the incident through magazines and the government's intervention solutions, and to choose Taiwan's four largest newspapers as the basis for the public opinions to find out what differentiates the response from the Government.

Delimits

The delimits of my research is to determine the gap between the government's response and the identification of the four major newspapers in Taiwan, such as liberty times, Taipei Times, China Post, and China Times. What's more, Global Views Monthly, Commonwealth Magazine, Business Weekly, and Business Today thoroughly discover the difference between the government's interventions in the two airlines.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Industrial Disputes

According to industrial Dispute Act, a labor dispute, a disagreement between employers and employee representatives (usually labor unions), pay issues, and working conditions, etc. could lead to industrial strike action.¹¹ When a labor dispute occurs, management and workers try to put pressure on each other. Management may take some closure measures, and on the other hand, workers may choose to strike, lockout, or other intense ways. However, labor disputes refer not only to the differences between labor and capital that are generally considered but also to the differences that affect the group of workers and employers engaged in the industry. Consequently, industrial disputes occur. Therefore, fundamentally speaking, the differences of opinion between the employer and the employee make up the subject of the dispute. In such disputes, competition has a direct and significant interest. To a large extent, there may be a conflict between the government and the public, and the industrial relationship is poor. In order to better understand the negotiations between the union and the management, and how to reflect the causes and contradictions of industrial disputes.

Types of Industrial Disputes

According to The Inventors Book, written by Prachi M, Industrial Disputes is divided industrial disputes into four broad categories: Interest Disputes, Recognition Disputes,

¹¹ Shafin Shabir et al., "Industrial Disputes Act, 1947" (2014).

Grievance Disputes or Rights Disputes and Unfair Labor Practices Disputes.¹² First of all, interest refers to income. Thus, conflicts relating to the economic or non-economic interests of employees, such as increased remuneration, working conditions, job security, and other interests, refer to as disputes of interest. Secondly, trade unions often have disputes with management in negotiations or collective bargaining to seek the interests of their members. Sometimes, in these negotiations, management refutes the union's identity. Consequently, even if there are many trade unions in an organization, they are difficult to be recognized by the management.

At this time, there will be identification disputes. What's more, when the rights of employees conflict with the legal issues of management, there will be appeal disputes or rights disputes. It includes promotions, working hours, vacations, fringe benefits, and security. What's more, disputes about the unethical treatment of workers by managers, such as discriminating against them as members of trade unions, restricting communication, hiring new workers during strikes, and refusing to bargain are called unfair labor practice disputes. No matter in what countries, if industrial disputes occurs, here comes those four objectives. If industrial disputes are affected to the greatest extent, even the smallest cause may lead to conflicts in the organizational environment.

¹² Prachi M, *Industrial Disputes* (The Investors Book, 2019), accessed June 06, <https://theinvestorsbook.com/industrial-disputes.html>.

Causes of Industrial Disputes

In order to analyze these causes in depth, identify the root causes of industrial disputes.

The ultimate goal of labor is to earn a living and achieve economic goals. For companies, the biggest goal is to create profits. Hence, when the demand cannot be met, labor disputes may occur between managers and workers. In this category, it includes employees who would demand higher wages, increased profits, bonuses and allowances, replacement of machines, improved working conditions, duration, and other necessary facilities.¹³ This problem means that due to economic reasons, most labor disputes have already occurred.

Sometimes, the reasons for management are also the problems that cause labor disputes.

When a company lay off workers without any reason, employees are forced to leave without warning, leading to dissatisfaction. Furthermore, the effectiveness of management's leadership initiation in the organization, if not as expected by others, can also lead to a decline in employee trust in management. Assuming that the employer and the employee do not agree on the views, it is highly likely that the employee will find another group, people, usually a trade union. In this case, if the employer and the management do not comply with the agreement and recognize that the union members are the representatives of the workers, there will be labor disputes, even in more drastic practices will strike, in such a case, the union and management will be opposed to the industry and industrial disputes. There is also a bad hiring policy and practice that that can lead to a loss of confidence in employees when

¹³ Ibid.

they are unsatisfactory. After all labor disputes occur, sometimes the Government lacks the appropriate strategy to resolve the labor dispute, but it leads to some of the disadvantages of industrial conflicts, such as solving disputes without serious consideration of growth and development needs, or difficulties in dealing with industrial culture and climate challenges, all of which test the government's ability to resolve them. Some employers use this clearing mechanism on a meager basis, but often have low confidence in the Government's settlement mechanisms.

When the government intervenes in both labor and management but does not affect the results, then they will ask the help of arbitrators to resolve any disputes between them voluntarily. So, in voluntary arbitration, there is a third party involved in the settlement process. Either party could be biased or unacceptable about its decision, which could lead to further conflict. Also, some countries, such as the government of India, have established wage committees to determine the appropriate wages for workers or laborers. So when workers are not satisfied with their pay, there will be a labor dispute. At this time, the organization must do justice for the rights and interests of workers. To solve the problem of workers more effectively, the government has set up a joint management committee (JMC), which is composed of equal representatives of both sides.

However, due to poor results, it will fail. When a trade union organization is weak and multiple, it may lead to more conflicts. In this regard, it would also lead to the conflict if the

ruling party supported a trade union. Needless to say, if today's relationship between the central and state governments is adversely affected, unstable political conditions and daily responsibilities will also lead to labor disputes. In some organizations, collective bargaining is not allowed because workers are not allowed to form trade unions. Hence, there are many reasons for the occurrence of labor disputes. As long as the rights and interests of workers are deprived, conflicts will occur.

Manifestation of Conflict

If the employer and the employee cannot reach an agreement in industrial disputes, a strike will be held. Presuming that the employer and the employee cannot reach a new agreement, a strike may be triggered after the agreement expires. Under such circumstances, both parties resolve disputes through voluntary mediation, joint mediation, and joint arbitration.¹⁴ Most strikes are negotiated with management on behalf of workers' rights. However, most employees take strikes and stoppages to reveal conflicts in union management, so in this study the researchers will focus on both strike methods, as shown in Figures 1 and 2.

¹⁴ John (Chuan-Cheng) Wu, "Issues of Taiwanese Industrial Disputes: The Solution of the Kee-Long Transportation Dispute Case" (paper presented at the Asia-Pacific Mediation Forum Conference, Adelaide, Australia, 1 December, 2001).

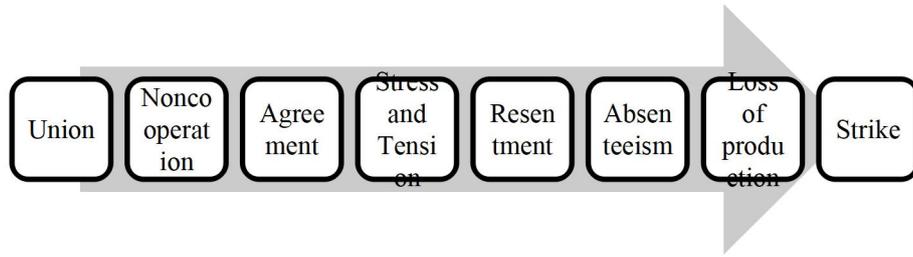


Figure 1. When the union comes in to coordinate, the process of initiating a strike if it is not effective.

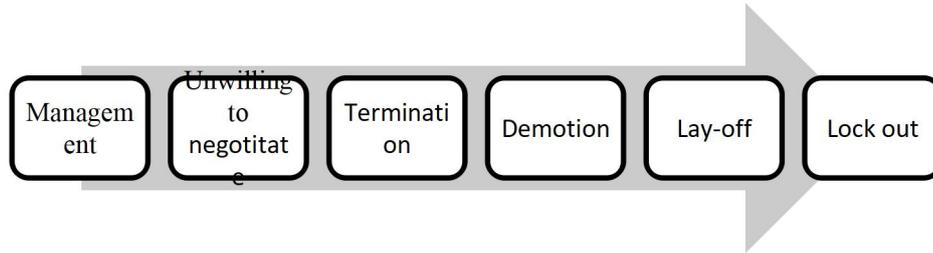


Figure 2. When management is unwilling to talk, it will decide to lock out.

In most cases, a strike refers to a group of employees who temporarily suspend their work in order to express their dissatisfaction. From Figure 1 and Figure 2, it can be clearly seen that both labor and capital will go through countless mediation after the strike or shutdown. Failure to do so results in strikes or downtime.

Government's Role in Industrial Disputes

Primary Objective of Government Policies

Most of the government has practiced a policy of nonintervention in the industrial arena.

"It is committed to a consultative approach rather than leaping into the center of a dispute."¹⁵

The government has been pursuing a policy of non-interference in the industrial sector.¹⁶ It's

¹⁵ Hon. Stan Rodger, "The Government's Role in Industrial Relations," *New Zealand journal of industrial relations* 10 (1985).

¹⁶ Stuart Jamieson, "Industrial Relations and Government Policy," *Canadian Journal of Economics and*

just a consultative approach, not at the center of a dispute. The Minister of labor shall not be involved in a dispute unless it is likely to harm the interests of the state. On the contrary, ministers should enact legislation that requires respect and trust from participants to ensure the resolution of industrial conflicts through effective consultation, mediation, reconciliation, and arbitration.¹⁷ Moreover, after more than 80 years of development, the aviation industry has become the most representative high-tech industry in the world. Its high requirements for precision and reliability, as well as the depth and breadth of relevance and complexity, are beyond the reach of other single industries. Thus, the advanced industrial countries in Europe and the United States are proud to own the aviation industry and put their technology on the list of high protection. In recent years, many developing countries also regard the aviation industry as one of their "target industries in the industrial development countries," and as the goal of their governments and the private sector to fully develop. So, our government has been identified as one of the top ten emerging industries.

The overall benefits are as follows: first, comprehensively improve the industrial technology level and drive the national industrial upgrading. Second, cultivate high-tech workers and create high value-added products. Third, the internationalization of the aerospace industry can enhance the national industrial image. As a result, I take the aviation industry as the research object to find out the governments' policies in industrial disputes.

Political Science Vol. 17, no. 1 (February 1951), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/137874>.

¹⁷ 嚴柏顯, "論我國勞資爭議處理法制中 強制仲裁、強制調解制度 a Study on Compulsory Arbitration and Mandatory Mediation in the Act for Settlement of Labor-Management Disputes" (國立政治大學, 2016).

Scope of Government Intervention

Strike notice periods are long in many countries, such as Canada, the United Kingdom, and France. In the case of last year's Air France strike, the Air France pilots' union (SNPL) went on strike for two weeks over wages and the government's anti-retirement reforms.

Under French law, staff directly involved in the operation of flights, such as pilots and ground handling, must indicate whether they will take part in the strike at least 48 hours prior to the scheduled strike date, so that the airline can arrange manpower to ensure, whenever possible, that the flight operates and that there is time to notify passengers who may be affected. In the mediation process between Air France and the SNPL, the French government did not give any much help, only to call on all parties concerned to "restore trust"¹⁸ so that Air France can continue to develop. At the same time, the French government pledged to work with unions to introduce a single "fairer" points-based pension scheme for all, as the anti-retirement reform policy was put forward, which caused a public backlash. Judging from the Air France strike, most governments will let the two sides negotiate first when labor disputes break out. Only when it affects the majority of the people will it intervene.

The Role of the State in Aviation Strikes

Alexandre de Juniac, President of the International Air Transport Association (IATA), a

¹⁸ Sid Weng, "法航機師結束 14 天罷工 造成法航損失逾 77 億," The News Lens, accessed September 29. <https://www.thenewslens.com/article/7813>.

global aviation organization, said that the global aviation industry is facing the challenge of the strike.¹⁹ To properly deal with this issue, the government must make clear laws and regulations and assist the labor and capital to reach consensus and said that the key to deal with the strike properly is to regulate labor disputes. However, this process often comes from the consultation between the trade unions and the government. Alexandre de Juniac also pointed out that strikes in the aviation industry are common disputes, which have precedent in the world.²⁰

When economic development is active and the profits of operators increase, workers will naturally demand to share more dividends, thus increasing the human cost of management. However, this cycle may be damaged in the economic downturn, not only labor relations are in tension, but also trade unions may take more fierce means to fight for uneven income distribution. In the face of labor pressure, IATA's nearly 300 airline members around the world must comply with the local government's regulations, including whether to enforce the strike notice period and discuss what a reasonable notice period is. According to the information obtained by the Civil Aviation Bureau of the Ministry of communications, the notice period for the strike of the personnel of foreign airlines is at least 7-10 days, and the labor union will also put forward a clear number of strikes and the flights affected so that the management can respond. "The striking issue is also a political issue, which needs to be dealt

¹⁹ 李欣穎, "IATA 理事長：航空業罷工有賴政府介入," *經濟日報*, May 31, 2019, <https://money.udn.com/money/story/5599/3846146>.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

with delicately."²¹ The strike is still an issue that needs the active involvement of the government. In many countries, there are strike periods for strikes. I listed some countries' government's policies in dealing with industrial disputes.

First of all, for Japan, there is a ten-day strike notice period and notice to the competent authorities, but only for the transport industry, power, postal, communications, water, gas, medical, public health and other industries related to people's livelihood, to avoid serious impact on people's lives. Also, many European countries have other necessary service requirements for the aviation industry, with strike periods ranging from 48 hours to 14 days. For example, 50% of the transfer routes in France should be maintained, at least 46 transfer flights should be booked in Hungary every hour, and 50% of the normal number of landing gears should be maintained. In Italy, cross-ocean and intercontinental flight segments are prohibited from the strike, while Spain requires the normal transfer. The United States has 30 day calm down period after mediation and can strike at any time upon expiration. The government should avoid temporary traffic collapse; therefore they set up strike notices.

²¹ *ibid.*

Industrial Disputes in Taiwan

The Mechanism of Industrial Dispute

In Taiwan, the law gives unions certain powers but limits their ability to strike and other options. Properly controlled disputes will affect labor relations. In general, trade unions are loosely organized and involuntary, and the upper-level trade unions in the occupied territories do not support the actions taken by their union. We should not only consider historical reasons but also consider cultural reasons. Trade unions are always influenced by the government and the ruling party.²² The Taiwan government has implemented the Labor Unions Law (LUL) to control trade unions intentionally. LUL clearly states that the government shall provide regular allowances to the union. Regional and national trade union federations receive subsidies from the government every year, accounting for more than 70% of the average level of total expenditure.

The Common Causes of Industrial Disputes in Taiwan

In the general labor dispute management system, it is usually restricted by narrow labor disputes. In the Labor Dispute Settlement Law, dispute procedures can be divided into mediation and arbitration. If the labor dispute of the right matters, it shall be handled according to the mediation procedure; on the other hand, when the labor dispute of the adjustment matters, it shall be handled according to the mediation and arbitration procedure.

²² C. Leggett, *A Review of East Asian Employment Relations in the Last Decade of the 20th Century* (1999).

However, the government plays a leading role in the system design of dealing with labor disputes, whether it is mediation or arbitration. The Government is on the front line so that the first thing that comes to mind when the dispute between employers and employees is that the Government chooses to turn directly to the labor administration so that the Government intervenes in labor relations in another positive way. However, when the executive authorities are unable to resolve labor-to-labor disputes, the competent labor administration authorities are often the subject of labor protests.

In Taiwan, we have divided the causes of labor disputes into eleven categories: contract disputes, wage disputes, labor disputes, retirement disputes, welfare disputes, labor disputes, insurance disputes, management disputes, occupational disaster disputes, safety and health disputes, and trade union disputes. According to the statistical classification of the Labor Committee of the Administrative Council, please refer to Appendix 1 for the causes of various labor disputes.

The Solution of the Issues

With the progress of the times, the understanding of the rights of both employers and employees has been continuously improving, and the types of labor disputes have become increasingly diversified. In order to effectively regulate collective labor relations and eliminate labor disputes, the three draft labor laws reviewed by the Legislative Yuan only

adopted the collective contract law. Private labor disputes are the most appropriate, but they are not necessarily resolved by the parties to the dispute. If it cannot be resolved by itself, it will eventually resort to fierce disputes, which will seriously affect the maintenance of social order. In order to resolve these disputes, the state has not only established a civil litigation system but also provided many dispute handling mechanisms. It can be said that there are many, but the Labor Dispute Resolution Law does not necessarily have provisions.

Shih Hao Liu, an associate professor in the Department of Finance and Law at Ming Chuan University, sorted out the types of labor dispute management mechanisms, and the three legal bases for Taiwan's labor dispute resolution process.²³ Moreover, our government followed the three solutions in the industrial disputes.

The first process—self-negotiation:

1. Employers and employees should negotiate on their own.
2. Trade unions mediate labor disputes based on the Trade Union laws.
3. The Labor Standard Act indicated that a labor committee may be convened if necessary.
4. According to the arbitration law, the arbitrator's judgment has the same effect as the court's judgment.

The second process of the administration's assists in consultation

²³ 劉士豪, "我國勞資爭議協調與調解程序初探," *台灣勞工* 12 (2008).

1. The central or local labor administrative department intervenes in the negotiation to deal with the implementation of labor disputes and the matters for the attention of the labor administrative department
2. According to the Settlement of Labor Disputes law act, the mediation effect of the township mediation committee.
3. Coordinated by the labor administration or through intermediaries
4. Mediation of the Settlement of Labor Disputes law act:
 - I. Rights Matters-Mandatory
 - a. The competent authority is the power of the mediation committee
 - II. The petition of the parties shall be handled by the mediation committee
5. . Arbitration of the Settlement of Labor Disputes law act
 - I. Only adjustments
 - a. Amendments may also be included in the arbitration of rights matters

The third types of judicial treatment

1. Under section 7 of the Settlement of Labor Disputes law act and Code of Civil Procedure, the usual proceedings: Labor Courts.
2. Summary of Proceeding Cases
3. Small Claims Cases

The first is the state intervention to deal with the least labor dispute processing system, while the second and third types of treatment are in relation to the state intervention more treatment system, the middle is diverse, the administrative organs to provide assistance to the dispute processing system, some of the intervention is strong.

Taiwanese Government's Actions in These Three Solutions into the Two Cases

The purpose of the strike is to get employees to provide better benefits and conditions. What's more, through the strike action, the government and the society should pay more attention to the labor rights of the aviation industry.

The Three Solutions of Dealing with China Airlines Strike in 2016

According to Commonwealth Magazine, under the policy of cost reduction, public enterprises used a large number of contracted personnel, and the situation of long working hours was increasing. The appeal of "we are human, we should rest" had roused the broad resonance of the people and other industries.²⁴ However, after the seven demands were put forward by the TFAU, no consensus was reached in many negotiations with the management, so the strike was launched. This event was the first time in the history of Taiwan aviation that hundreds of Chinese Airlines attendants went to the streets. After 21 hours, 67 flights were

²⁴ 劉光瑩, "勞工意識抬頭 別怕經濟向下," 天下雜誌, July 05, 2016.

canceled, which affected more than 20000 passengers. In order to influence more passengers, Lin Quan replaced the chairman of China Airlines. After the new holder, Nuan-Hsuan Ho took office, he accepted the all seven demands. However, according to the Business today report, 51.9% of the people in Taiwan's think tank poll are not satisfied with the handling measures of the Ministry of Transportations, and public opinion had changed the attitudes from sympathy to doubt.²⁵

After TFAU voted in favor of the strike, Wen-Tsan Cheng, mayor of Taoyuan, said that he supported the legality of the strike vote and indicated that the case would not be submitted to arbitration. After that, the air service staff will announce the strike the next day without warning. And then, our president Tsai ing Wen's talk on not let attendants feel lonely on the morning of June 24, 2016, is regarded as a set tone of the official attitude. In addition, the Premiere of Executive Yuan, Lin Quan instruct the administrative department how to deal with the strike on behalf of the president. Furthermore, he promised that the Executive Yuan would take care of the labors. As a result, Nuan-Hsuan Ho, who took office.

Both the management and labors of China Airlines had expressed their hope for arbitration. The march of the air service staff union on May 31 has constituted an important element of labor arbitration. However, the Taoyuan municipal government was unwilling.

The Ministry of communications and the premier Lin Quan had asked the Taoyuan municipal

²⁵ 郭淑媛 and 鄧寧, "華航罷工落幕? 三個不該縱放的失誤," *今周刊*, July 07, 2016.

government to go through the labor arbitration procedure. According to Item 1 of Article 54 of the Labor Law act, a trade union shall not declare a strike unless its members vote directly and by the secret ballot and with the consent of more than half of all the members. That was to say, a strike can be declared only after all members of the trade union vote "directly" by secret ballot and with the consent of a majority of all members. In terms of the rights and interests that China Airlines was striving for this time, the main dispute was that they refuse to sign the responsibility contract according to the requirements of China Airlines because of the Labor Law Act, the working hours of workers are 174 hours per month. However, China Airlines had raised the upper limit of working hours to 220 hours per month. What's more, the impact of overworked flight attendants on flight safety was beyond description.

According to the judgment of the Taipei high administrative court, first of all, when air service employees launch a strike, China Airlines used internal announcements and mass media to vigorously obstruct and deter employees from participating in the strike. The Court acknowledged that the flight attendants who participated in the strike were under great psychological pressure and at the same time risked being punished by China Airlines.

Therefore, after that, the air service staff agreed with China Airlines to prohibit the free-riding of employees who had not participated in the strike, which was the right that the air service staff paid great effort and cost to fight for. Then, the focus turned to the enterprise trade union, pointing out that at the beginning of the strike, the enterprise trade union issued a public

statement to clear up the relationship, and joined hands with China Airlines to jointly condemn the striking flight attendants. After negotiating with China Airlines, the air service personnel require China Airlines to apply the same allowance conditions to the corporate union; otherwise, the danger of strikes will not be ruled out. For example, the trade union of the enterprise had not paid any effort from the beginning to the end, and they have to enjoy the fruits of the hard strike of the employees.

After the strike, the Taipei high administrative court held that China Airlines later reached an agreement with the trade union of the enterprise, so that the enterprise trade union could enjoy the same treatment as the enterprise trade union in increasing the outbound allowance. As a result, the members of the Air Service Staff Association felt disappointed and wronged. They expressed their dissatisfaction with the staff connection of air service one after another. Voices of leaving the employee association began to appear, and the recruitment of new members was also hindered. Consequently, there was no problem in the court of the Ministry of Labor, and China Airlines was eventually defeated.

Under the favorable social atmosphere, the actions of the workers, stand up and defend their rights had caused a surge in enterprises.

The Three Solutions of Dealing with EVA Air Strike in 2019

According to CommonWealth Magazine, EVA Air stresses that it was a private company that must bear its profits and losses and that legal response measures must be taken to maintain the normal operation of the company. EVA Air flight attendants took to the streets to hold Taiwan workers for democracy, EVA Air flight attendants for dignity march, Taiwan workers' refueling" and other slogans, the trade unions said EVA Air long-term "zero trade unions", the typhoon hit hard flying, flight attendants insulted incidents and other reasons forced flight attendants to take to the streets to protest, demand a reasonable working environment, against the authority management. EVA Air had responded to the continuous improvement of working conditions and optimized some more laborious flight scheduling methods, but also mentioned that those flight attendants jumped at least 66K per month. As for the restart of the collective bargaining agreement between EVA Air and the trade unions, the trade unions stressed that daily expenses and the ban on hitchhiking were the same issues, and EVA Air; believed that the ban on free rides would make the same flight crew had a complaint of equal pay for equal work. When the two sides deadlocked over the terms of the free-ride ban, the union declared a full-scale strike without consensus. General Manager, Sun Jia-ming led the company's senior management to bow and apologize. Mr. Sun said many people were under peer pressure to go on strike in the hope that they would return to work rationally. Flight attendants who took part in the strike shouted a hard-working, legal strike,

while EVA Air sent people to fight the strike, anti-bullying passengers, to the airport. At the sit-in site, union members have begun to hand over employee certificates, passports, and Taiwan cell card pressure EVA Air, the strike site has been shouting the dignity of flight attendants. Because of EVA Air's tough stance, the strike had the potential to turn into a war of attention, but history showed that such a blow. Too long a pull of time was not good for Labor. Originally, the trade union thought that June 28 signed the group agreement, unexpectedly EVA Air insisted on punishing 25 flight attendants, and adhered to a series of trade unions as post-autumn accounting requirements, resulting in the rise of the main battle forces within the trade union, had to continue to fight with EVA Air; Seeing that the strike was about to turn into a drag shed, the original neutral Ministry of Transport suddenly changed the wind. The Minister of Transportation, Mr. Lin Jialong, said that if EVA Air could not handle the industrial dispute well, it would conduct a review of EVA Air's rights and routes in the future. Just after the transport minister made a biased statement to the labor side, that night EVA Air and the union's lawyers met to negotiate, the next day signed a group agreement, the original averse situation for the trade union, suddenly quickly cut a messy reversal, the speed of change makes people look at flowers in the fog. Party officials said that in the early days of the strike, public opinion turned to EVA Air, criticizing the greed of flight attendants, so that the high-level of the House of Representatives dare not take an easy stand. But the strike drags on, the trade unions strengthened the public opinion war, more departing

EVA Air flight attendants, on the Internet to reveal how EVA Air high-pressure management, not only let EVA Air tried to respond to the allegations but also let the voice of the labor side gradually rise. On the other hand, senior government officials believe that if the brakes are not stopped, the situation will become more complex. Despite criticism from many people that the Ministry of Transportation should not threaten EVA Air with the right of navigation, Lin Jial-Long, who has rolled into fine form in the political arena, cannot have been given the authority of the Government to blurt out the right of navigation.

The Ministry of Labor announced the review results of the labor arbitration case of EVA airlines and Taoyuan air service workers' Professional Union during the strike of flight attendants. The ruling committee held that EVA violated Article 35 of the Trade Union Law, which constituted an improper labor practice and therefore decided to impose penalties on EVA. EVA Airlines deeply regrets the result.²⁶ It believed that the ruling severely damaged corporate governance and affected the independent management of private enterprises. It paid a fine in accordance with the regulations, but it did not rule out administrative litigation to protect the rights and interests of the company.

The fight for power was consciousness awakening. When people realized that my rights should not be lost, it was time to make progress. Then, EVA Air flight attendants strike more attention to women's rights.

²⁶ 賴文萱, "勞部認定空服員罷工勞裁案「違法」 長榮：不排除提行政訴訟," *ETtoday 新聞雲* 2019, <https://www.ettoday.net/news/20191016/1558554.htm>.

Taiwanese Government's Role in Industrial Disputes

The Principle of Government's Role in Industrial Disputes

For the sake of social harmony and justice, workers and managers coordinate with each other.²⁷ If there is any adjustment in the labor dispute, the power gap between the workers and the management is small. However, China's coordination and mediation system mostly involve rights, most of which are accumulating salary, severance pay, pension, illegal dismissal, etc., and this system often solves disputes at the expense of the legitimate rights and interests of labor. Because the court's decision emphasizes legitimacy, we can achieve justice. Unfortunately, China's current labor dispute litigation system cannot solve labor disputes timely and properly. However, coordination and mediation cannot maintain justice to achieve social harmony. In order to solve the unfair judicial situation in Taiwan's labor life, we must face up to a basic problem: the necessity and legitimacy of the labor litigation procedure, and the court as a system to protect the individual labor. The coordination and mediation of labor disputes are widely used, but this incident is only a manifestation of "real needs are falsely satisfied."

²⁷ 劉士豪.

The Method of Dealing with Industrial Disputes

According to the minister of Labor, Liu Shih-Hao mentioned the three legal bases for Taiwan's labor dispute resolution process; our government followed the regulations to deal with.

The aviation industry, which involves the development of industry and commerce, political situation, international trade, and tourism activities of a country, has attracted much attention in recent years, and the airlines representing the country are the first impression of a country to passengers. As the first and second-largest airlines in Taiwan and the earliest official establishment of China Airlines, now the privatized government airlines and EVA Air are the first private international airlines, witnessing the vigorous development of regional airlines from the deregulation of aviation policies to the present. Now in Taiwan's aviation market, the two airlines are sufficiently representative, so I choose China Airlines and EVA Air. More than that, the occupation of the aviation industry is what most people aspire to. Hence, when a strike occurs, it will have a common impact, which is more worthy of discussion.

Industrial Disputes between China Airlines Strikes and EVA Air Strikes

The Background of Two Airlines

b. The Founding Background of China Airlines

China Airlines was established on September 7, 1959, was jointly funded by the government of the Republic of China and the Kuomintang to become a state-owned airline. Currently, China Airlines is working to transform private airlines into privatized government airlines (now privatized government airlines).

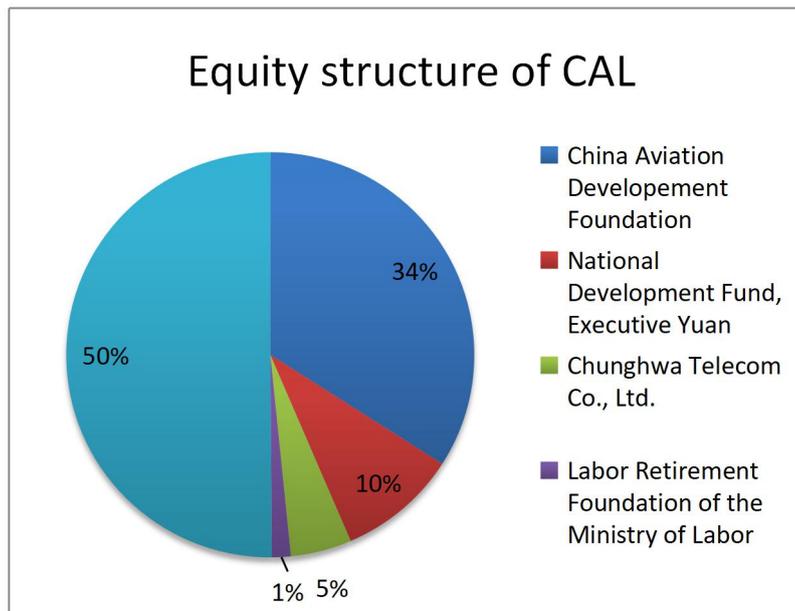


Figure 3. Equity structure of China Airlines

The government units of the top four shareholders of China Airlines hold 49.94% shares, but none of them are single shareholders, so it is impossible for the government to determine the administrative direction of the company as fully as the state-owned enterprises; however, in terms of event handling, the government intervention is stronger than EVA Air.

c. The Founding Background of EVA Air

In September 1988, on the 20th anniversary of the founding of EVA Air shipping, Chairman Zhang Rongfa announced the establishment of Taiwan's first private international airline. After the June 2016 strike by China Airlines' flight attendants, EVA Air's flight attendants wanted to break through the long-standing zero union. Due to the success of the China Airlines service personnel strike, coupled with the management rights of EVA Air at that time, no time to consider the budding trade union organizations, so that EVA Air aircrews within 3 months there are 2400 people into the union, the number has exceeded the "group compact law" of a single job more than one-half into the membership, employers without valid reasons, may not refuse to negotiate, EVA Air aircrew successfully joined the Taoyuan aircrew professional trade union, and in July 2016.

From the equity structures of the two companies, it can be seen that most of the shares of China Airlines are owned by the government, while EVA Air has to bear its own profits and losses.

The Striking Process of Two Airlines

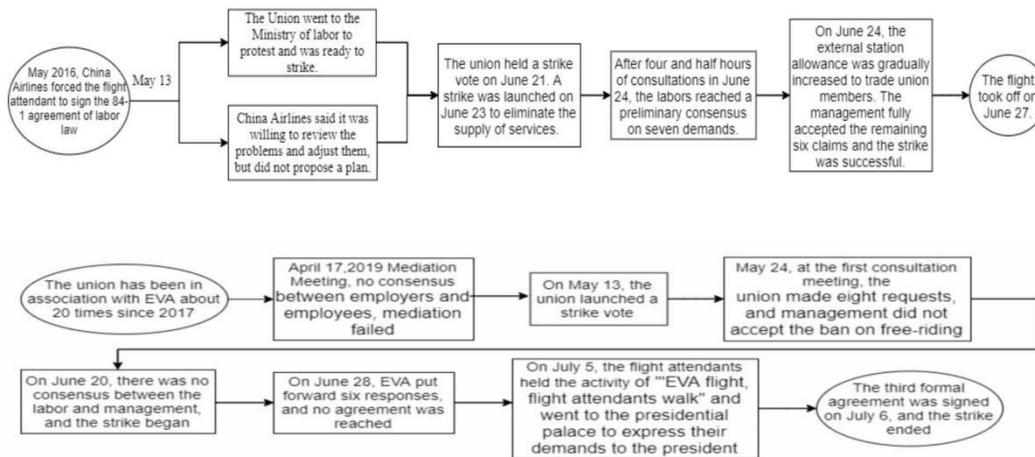


Figure 4. The comparison of flow chart of the two airline strikes

(Data sources organized by the researcher)

Appeal and Response from Two Airlines

a. Union appeals vs. China Airlines responds

In the government's support and pressure, when handling the flight attendants' strike, China Airlines will act in the mood of trying to solve the strike as soon as possible. In 2016, after the TFAU launched a strike instead of China Airlines, it put forward seven demands (see Appendix A for the seven appeals). However, the government and the company almost accepted the appeals. On the day of the strike on June 24 and the next day on June 25, China Airlines estimated a total loss of NT \$280 million. The strike happened a month after Tsai Ing-wen was asked to be president. China Airlines is also a private government company, so

the government can control it. Hence, the target of the flight attendant's struggle should also include the government.

b. Union appeals vs. EVA responds

Also, for flight attendants' strike incident, Changrong Airlines strike is by EVA Air Chairman Pao-Shui Lin,, and the labor side to negotiate, so that it is understood that the private airline is the board of directors holding the company's decision-making power, need to bear all the profits and losses. EVA Air took 17 days, and the number of agreements and negotiations on management and labor was much higher than the 2016 China Airlines flight attendant strike. Despite the public opinion and the government's call for insufficient influence over Evergreen, Changrong's eight demands (see Appendix B) will propose alternatives or content adjustments, and labor will have to go through a to-and-from tussle.

After Negotiation between the Two Airlines

a. Conclusions after negotiations on the benefits between China Airlines management and labors

1. Do not settle a score.
2. The number of subsidies has been increased from \$2 per hour to \$5 per hour.
3. The stewardess who signed the Engagement Letter No. 84-1 of the Labor Standards

Act should guarantee the number of vacation days agreed each month.

4. The place of registration and departure should be restored to its original state, and the calculation basis for the time of recovery and departure should be determined.
 5. Members' representatives, directors, and supervisors will be granted business leave if conditions permit
 6. The agreement on working hours will be approved by the local labor authority, and the rights and interests of the Labor Standards Law will be protected.
 7. Since the union cannot accept the two-way evaluation of performance evaluation, the union is required to propose specific and feasible methods.
- b. Conclusions after negotiations on the benefits of EVA management and labors
1. Do not settle a score.
 2. The Human Resources Arbitration Commission began the election.
 3. 25 days of business leave for the union supervisor.
 4. A fixed labor consultation meeting was held every month.
 5. The daily expenses were increased by the flight safety service bonus instead.
 6. The original 7 appeals for the opening of overnight fatigue routes, only 3 flights (BR198, BR108 Tokyo, BR716 Beijing route)

c. Comparison of handling methods between two airlines

Table 1. Handling Methods between Two Airlines

| | China Airlines | EVA Air |
|---|--|---|
| Strike days | 3 days | 17 days |
| Negotiator | Minister of Labor: Fang-Yu Kuo | Chairperson: Pao-Shui Lin |
| Appeal acceptance | The union had put forward seven demands for full acceptance. | The union made eight demands, and finally the six responses put forward by EVA reached an agreement. |
| Impact of public opinion pressure on events | As a privatized government aviation industry, the government had a higher dominance and involves many political factors. | For private enterprises, the government can't intervene too much, only by persuasion. |
| Negotiating Results | Only the register and working hours were resolved, and the remaining requirements were not fully implemented or in violation of the negotiation agreement. | Although six agreements had been reached, they had also been banned from going on strike for three years. |
| Treatments | Incline to political interests | Incline to the interests of the company |

Government's Role into Industrial Disputes in the Two Cases

The Handling Practices of Taiwanese Government in the Two Cases

Private labor disputes, allowing the parties to a dispute to resolve autonomously, cannot expect to be resolved, and if they cannot be resolved autonomously and their disputes are allowed to be resolved, they will eventually resort to violent disputes, which will seriously affect the maintenance of social order. In order to resolve these disputes, the state not only established a civil litigation system but also provided many dispute resolution mechanisms. Most of the labor administrative authorities seek the assistance of the competent labor administrative authorities in dealing with labor disputes in the event of a labor dispute in which some parties have a right, which is resolved directly by the courts.

The above-mentioned point is a spectrum, in which the state intervenes to deal with the least labor dispute processing system, and judicious processing is vis-a-vis the state intervention more processing system, as well as the administrative organs to assist the dispute processing system, some of the involvement is very strong. According to the labor dispute settlement law, there are two handling mechanisms: one is mediation system, the other is arbitration system.

During 2016, China Airlines flight attendant strikes, the government used three ways to resolve disputes on its own, executive branch intervention and judicial arbitration to minimize the impact of incidents on the government. On the contrary, after the EVA Air strike,

it was tightly followed by the government's intervention, such as Ministry of Labor and ministry transportation and self-negotiation between the management and labors.

The Government's Influence on the Strike of Two Airlines

a. The government's influence on the strike of two airlines

In the negotiation, Fang-Yu Kuo, the labor minister of China Airlines, went to negotiate on behalf of China Airlines. In contrast, Pao-Shui Lin, the chairman of EVA Air airlines, was also involved in the strike of flight attendants. From this incident, it is obvious that the intervention of government agencies in the China Airlines strike is significantly greater than the EVA Air strike. The reason is that the government is the largest shareholder of China Airlines as a privalized government enterprise and holds the administrative leading power, so the government has strong involvement; conversely, the private airline is the decision-making leading power of the company held by the board of directors, and the government has weak involvement in the negotiation.

b. The time difference in time to quell the strike

From the outbreak of the strike to the end of a negotiation, it only takes 3 days for China Airlines to reach an agreement, while from the beginning to the end of the negotiation; it only takes 1 day to reach an agreement. On the contrary, it takes 17 days for EVA Air to reach an agreement, with frequent communication between the management and the labor. The number of agreements and negotiations is far higher

than that of CI China Airlines. From then on, the event confirmed that the public opinion and the government's appeal had an insufficient influence on EVA Air. When China Airlines made eight major appeals, it would put forward alternative plans or make content adjustments. It would take a long time to fight with the labor side, which also led to a much longer strike time than China Airlines.

Four Magazines Different Approaches to the Government's Handling of the Two Airlines

During the Chinese aviation service strike in 2016, the government adopted three solutions, namely, dispute resolution, administrative intervention and judicial arbitration, to minimize the impact of the incident on the government. On the contrary, after a strike of EVA flight attendant, it was severely handled by EVA itself. In the government's solidity and pressure, when dealing with the strike of flight attendants, China Airlines will do things in the mood of trying to solve the strike as soon as possible, resulting in more and more problems later. On the other hand, without the government's Olympic aid and pressure, both the labor and capital of EVA air in the national battalion must turn around and face the reality of the enterprise's operating physique. In 2016, after the TFAU launched a strike to replace the Chinese air steward, it put forward seven appeals, and the government and the company almost accepted all conditions. However, in 2019, the TFAU, before the EVA Air service

workers' strike, raised eight demands too high and was unsatisfied with the corresponding plans put forward by the management every time. Hence, it hoped to let the management comply with the strike measures. After the strike, most of the government hopes to solve the problem by way of exhortation. Obviously, the two events have different starting points.

Different Views of Four Newspapers on the Strikes between the Two Airlines

According to the Taipei Times, strikes are just a means, and the ultimate goal is to get management and employees to negotiate. In 2005, China's air service workers took to the streets for the first time to protest against the long working hours, but the public opinion of the protest did not focus. 11 years later, China's air service workers' strike in 2016 received high attention and extended the further social review of exploitation, sweat, and overwork. When the government fully accepted the strike request, the strike became the most successful case. This response also caused more industry workers to follow suit, thus creating a greater vicious circle. In 2019, in order to follow the practice of China Airlines, EVA Air was denied by the officials when it made a claim, thus damaging its rights and interests. Under such circumstances, the government did not intervene in particular, which made EVA even worse in dealing with the strike. In today's consumer society, all people are consumers, a small number of them are "management + consumers", and the vast majority of them are "labor + consumers". It is inappropriate to confuse the interests of two people.

The final result is social differentiation (the labor side is inexplicably supportive of the capital side only because it shares the identity of "consumer" in a single event), weakening of labor rights (the strike cannot get full support, so it cannot set up labor rights awareness), which is fully in line with the best interests of the "management + consumer", and it can be imagined that the final winner will not be in the labor position fee payer.

The Debate among the Public

The Influences of Those Two Strikes in Taiwan Society

The strike of China airline's service workers ended temporarily, but people's perception turned from sympathy to doubt, and they were unsatisfied with the handling method of the Ministry of transport. According to Cheng-Liang Kuo, an associate professor in the Department of international business management who holds a master's degree in Culture University, the government was too quick to give in to the demands of the strike by the China Airlines service staff, especially the newly appointed chairman Nuan Hsuan Ho, who agreed in the first time that half of the money he spent was from taxpayers.²⁸ Under such circumstances, even the labor of private enterprises can't look down. When the pressure resistance is low, the reform will be more difficult. Moreover, in this strike, Ing-Wen Tsai's government's ability to deal with the crisis not only triggered the domino effect of the subsidiary of China Airlines but also led the privatized government aviation trade unions that are closely related to the people's livelihood to follow suit. They took strikes to threaten the investors and people from a certain point of view. The government feared that it would pay a high price, and it was the taxpayers who fell in the way.

However, the strike is the first in Taiwan's aviation history and the biggest problem lies in the rationalization of working hours and the management's understanding of labor rights

²⁸ 郭淑媛 and 鄧寧, "華航罷工落幕? 三個不該縱放的失誤," 今周刊 1020 (July 07 2016), <https://www.businesstoday.com.tw/article/category/80392/post/201607070039/%E8%8F%AF%E8%88%AA%E7%BD%B7%E5%B7%A5%E8%90%BD%E5%B9%95%EF%BC%9F%E4%B8%89%E5%80%8B%E4%B8%8D%E8%A9%B2%E7%B8%B1%E6%94%BE%E7%9A%84%E5%A4%B1%E8%AA%A4>.

and regulations. Many employees in many industries have long complained and reflected that the working hours are too long and the arrangement of working hours is unreasonable. The labor administrative authorities and the management should pay more attention to it and improve it in time to avoid similar labor disputes.

On the other hand, after the 2016 China Airlines flight attendants' strike, the motivated EVA Air flight attendants and related colleagues launched the first strike of the EVA group in 2019. Different from China airlines' aircrews, EVA Airlines is one of the major international airlines these days. The rare aircrew members are all women. At the same time, they wrote down the first all-female pink labor movement record in the history of the Taiwan labor movement. Besides the awareness of labor rights in the struggle of labor conditions, it also hides the neglected significance of gender equality in the workplace. This event is an unfair issue under the autocratic system. In order to fight for their rights and interests, the first trade union of the EVA Air was established.

Research Approach to Industrial Disputes

In Taiwan, access to China Airlines and EVA Air is a dream of many people, and when Air China launched a strike in 2016, it also roused people's labor awareness. What's more, the EVA air strike in 2019 led to the all-female flight attendants' strike, which also greatly improved women's rights and interests, rather than being deprived. This has also had a huge

impact on Taiwanese society. For these reasons, I chose these two different time but similar aircrew strikes as my study population, so I chose a comparative content study

A Comparative Content Study between China Airlines Strike and EVA Air Strike

The methodology of my case study is to explore public opinions through Tapei Times, Liberty Times, China Times, and China Post. What's more, I will see a variety of opinions on different pieces of news on those two airlines staging a protest between China Airlines and EVA Air to understand the whole process. By implementing the above methods, I can analyze this information to compare the government's intervention in the strikes of the two companies. In the case of labor disputes in the privatized government or private sector, favoring the other side increases the severity of the problem. Hence, the government needs to take a neutral role and strictly control laws and regulations. In this study, I also learned how the government interacts with labor and management in labor disputes to achieve a balance between business and society and make our country better.

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

In this study, I used a comparative content study as my research design. According to the research approach to the content analysis, the researcher makes up a content analysis checklist. The purpose of the checklist is to obtain the following four newspapers: Liberty Times, Taipei Times, China Times, and China Post to collect some public responses. And during the procedures, I use four magazines: Global Views Monthly, Commonwealth Magazine, Business Weekly, and Business Today as my key terms into the incidents to see the real aspects of the government's role in China Airlines strikes and EVA Air strikes handling practices. Not only that, but I also use these four newspapers to express public opinions.

Therefore, the researcher separated the collected data into two groups—China Airlines and EVA Air to deeply observe Taiwanese government deal with those two airlines strikes.

According to the research purpose of this study, there are three research questions as follow:

1. What were the public opinions on the Taiwanese government's actions for the self-negotiation in the two cases?
2. What were the public opinions on the administration's assistance in the two cases?
3. What were the public opinions on the judicial settlement in the two cases?

The following section will focus on how to utilize the content analysis method and to implement the data collection and data analysis.

Sources of Data

The public opinions toward 2016 China Airlines flight attendants strike and 2019 EVA Air strike were extracted from the four newspapers outlets- Liberty Times, Taipei Times, China Times, and China Post. The newspapers article about China Airlines between 17 June 2016 to 13 August 2016 and EVA Air from 14 May 2019 to 19 May 2020 refer to those four newspapers online databases.

Instrumentation and Data Collection

The following figure 6 illustrates the process of data collection in this research paper. In the data collection process, this research used content analysis methodology and applied dtSearch software to code the collected the news and magazines articles. The qualitative content analysis methodology has allowed the author to interpret and made conferences by collected news articles.

Through the first process, a total of 61 articles were collected from four magazines to understand how the Taiwan government handled the two airlines strikes, namely Business Today, Global Views Monthly, CommonWealth Magazine, and Business Weekly. The researcher used Lin Quan, the Executive Yuan, the Ministry of Labor, and Shih Hao Liu as keywords to establish a true benchmark for China Airlines' 2016 flight attendants strike. On the other hand, in terms of the EVA Air 2019 flight attendants strike, take Lin Bou-Shiu and

TFAU as the key points expect the same four keywords as China Airlines'. In order to have a better understanding to the public opinions about 2019 EVA Air flight attendants, the researcher also extracted 272 newspapers from four newspapers, including liberty times, Taipei Times, China Times, and China Post, and input keywords into China Airlines and EVA airlines.

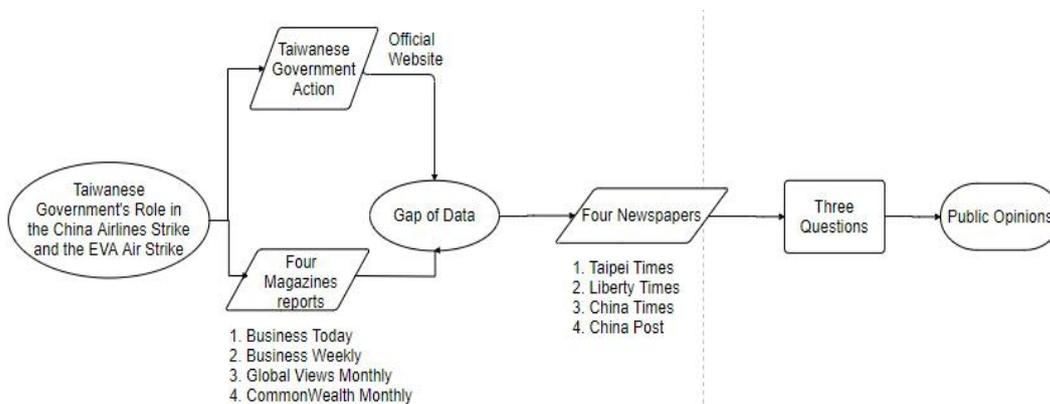


Figure 5. The process of data collection

Tools for Data Analysis

The data analysis process had been carried out by qualitative data analysis. The author utilized dtSearch software to classify the collected magazines and newspapers articles into themes.

In many databases, using dtsearch helps to filter out the most relevant information about the theme. The collected articles should be divided into five steps: (1) index the relevant folder into the database; (2) input keywords; (3) data retrieval; (4) data filtering results; (5)

summarizing results

Through those processes, this study can search the collected magazine and newspaper articles, and then summarize the corresponding data. After that, the researcher used the filter results to find the most relevant articles.

DATA ANALYSIS

The data used for this study came out from four newspapers-Liberty Times, Taipei Times, China Times and China post. The author used seven keywords, “General public, Scholar, Executive Yuan, Ministry of Labor, and Labor Standards Act” to extract news articles with the period of June to July in 2016 and 2019.

After gathering a total of 272 articles, the author filtered out 129 newspapers articles of China Airlines flight attendants strikes, and collected 143 articles about EVA Air flight attendants strikes. The Table 1 illustrated the numbers of collected newspapers articles from two sources.

Table 2. Data Collection from the Four Newspapers Articles

| | | China Airlines | EVA Air |
|-----------|---------------|----------------|---------|
| Newspaper | Liberty Times | 100 | 94 |
| | Taipei Times | 3 | 12 |
| | China Times | 94 | 86 |
| | China post | 10 | 21 |

Sources: edited by the researcher

Table 1 showed that the Liberty Times and China Times had more curious about the issues of China Airlines and Eva airlines flight attendants strikes. Moreover, the Liberty Times and China Times also reported on the different facets of the incidents than other two newspapers, including experts opinions, strike influence and what our government did.

The researcher separated the collected data into two groups-China Airlines and EVA Air to deeply observe Taiwanese government deal with those two airlines strikes. According to

the research purpose of this study, the researcher established three research questions to see the situations. The three research questions as follow:

1. What were the public opinions on the Taiwanese government's actions for the self-negotiation in the two cases?
2. What were the public opinions on the administration's assistance in the two cases??
3. What were the public opinions on the judicial settlement in the two cases?

Table 3. The Result of Coding

| Sources | Codes | Sub-codes | C | E |
|-----------|---------------------------|---------------------|----|----|
| Newspaper | Self-negotiation | General public | 43 | 28 |
| | | Scholar | 58 | 96 |
| | Administration Assistance | Executive Yuan | 57 | 50 |
| | | Ministry of Labor | 68 | 88 |
| | Judicial Settlement | Labor Standards Act | 84 | 96 |

Sources: edited by the researcher

The Opinions on Self-negotiation Process

There were two Sub-codes under the process of Taiwanese government dealing with the aviation strikes. They were: General public and Scholar.

On General public. A total of 45 articles reported that China Airlines canceled several flights due to the strike, affecting more than 20,000 passengers. China Airlines dispatches its staffs. However, this behavior had caused a shortage of manpower, so passengers moved to scold and China Airlines ground staff. Hence, public opinions had accelerated the government's involvement. In the beginning, the passengers supported the strike, but the flight attendants' strike at the expense of passengers' rights and interests was counterproductive. Correspondingly, after the 2019 EVA Air flight attendants' strike, EVA Air was forced to temporarily cancel 79 flights, which could only sustain about 50% of its capacity, affecting the travel of 15,000 passengers, and the number of passengers affected gradually increased as more flight attendants join the strike. As the flight was affected, EVA Air ground staff were more severely reprimanded by passengers. Even did not understand that the airline flight attendants thought the strike would had to be driven by the greed of the flight attendants. Although the two airlines have been criticized by the public, it is in the newspapers that public support for the strike is far greater than that of Eva Air.

In addition to the China Times, according to innocent travelers and the tourism industry, this has had a huge negative impact on Taiwanese society. Innocent travelers and the tourism

industry have been severely affected by the national image and the aviation industry.

However, some of artists and bands staged a protest for flight attendants strikes to ask for their labor rights.

On Scholar. A total of 58 pieces of articles showed that after these two aviation strikes would bring more labor problems.

After the strike by China Airlines flight attendants, they succeeded in gaining their rights and interests, and some scholars have reminded the Taiwan authorities that there are three major tests to be dealt with if Taiwan is to truly achieve a win-win situation for workers, management, and the government. Whether the diffusion effect will hurt Taiwan's economy, the strike rules should be made clear, and Article 84 1 of the Labor Standard Act should be overhauled as quickly as enough.

According to a report in the United Daily News report, in terms of diffusion effects, to observe whether privatized government companies and privatized companies will be affected by the strike, the government must strike a good balance between labor and capital. A clear strike standard can avoid frequent strikes and burden public life. Also, according to Liberty Times, Professor Hsin Ping-Lung of the Graduate Institute of national development believed that the China Airlines flight attendants could win the victory of strike was mainly due to the strong intervention of the government, including the call of President Tsai Ing-Wen and the replacement of the chairman and general manager of China Airlines.

On the other hand, with the 2016 Strike of China Airlines flight attendants, the aviation industry to launch three strikes, the transport sector worried about being the strike frequent passengers, transportation department Political Deputy Minister Wang Kuo-Tsa said, from this EVA Air flight attendants' strike can be seen that the people of Taiwan use rational attitude to see the incident. Contrasted with the 2016 China Airlines strike, when everyone turned to the labor side, China Airlines was scolded by the Taiwanese society. Public opinions' attitude changed supported to sympathy. In this EVA Air flight attendants' strike, people are more reasonable to see the demands of both employers and employees. If there is no reasonable reason, people will not accept it.

After the first China Airlines flight attendants' strike, Nuan-Hsuan Ho, chairman of China Airlines, who represented the government, did not adopt the proposal of submitting to arbitration by the management team and accepted the demands of the flight attendants. Although the problem has been temporarily resolved, it is a sweet taste for the workers. As long as the rights and interests of passengers are protected, the management will not be pressured by a strong public reaction.

The 2016 strike by China Airlines flight attendants had stirred up an atmosphere of seeking new changes of Taiwan's labor rights, reflecting the issue of overwork and working conditions that truly reflects the desire of workers. At the same time, the TFAU represented China Airlines aircrews to tell the capitalists that Taiwan must stop the long working hours. It

is precise because of such successful cases that Eva Air flight attendants had planned to the motivation to strike. Besides, the strike of China Airlines has written a page in the history of Taiwan's labor movement, and also led to the establishment of trade unions in the transportation industry. For example, Taiwan Railway, Taipei Rapid Transit Corporation, and truck drivers, inspired by the strike of China Airlines, had set up their trade unions to fight for labor rights and interests from the employers. On the contrary, the interests of both sides of EVA Air had been harmed, and it is difficult for the strike action to resonate with society. Some scholars believed that the strike is due to internal staff challenging EVA Aviation's long-standing corporate culture. On the other hand, the all-female flight attendants' strike had also raised awareness of women's rights. In the Liberty Times, it was pointed out that the employees of EVA Air were being squeezed by the management, which was actually a microcosm of the Taiwan labor force.

In short, Liberty Times reported that the attitude of public opinions in the two airlines has changed from support to neutrality, but it had a significant role in Taiwan's labor rights.

The Opinions on Administration's Assistance Process

On Executive Yuan. A total of 57 newspapers articles showed that after the two Airlines launched a strike, the government's point of view was to promote a labor settlement because staging a strike was their right. Moreover, when Lin Quan appealed to the Legislative Yuan,

he said that other ministries and commissions should do the work instead of the president.

Since then, president Tsai Ing-Wen had been paying attention to this issue. Under the emergency, the Premier Lin Qian, given the current management team of China Airlines did not effectively deal with labor disputes led to flight attendants' strike, resulting in the company cannot operate normally and passenger rights, announced the removal of the current general manager of China Airlines Chang, Yu-Heng, in order to resolve labor disputes as quickly as possible. After Lin Qian held a strike press conference at the TFAU, Lin Qian instructed that the labor rights and interests of flight attendants should be properly taken care of, hoping that the labor dispute could be resolved as soon as possible. Second, as an airline that invests in public offerings, China Airlines should ensure that it implemented the principles of equal management and mutual respect for groups. On the other hand, based on the China Times, the Executive Council pointed out that EVA Air should be responsible for whole compensation. Wu, Cheng-Hsueh said that because of the increasing frequency of airline strikes recently and the fact that they had even evolved into three or five hours, the Executive would ask the Civil Aviation Authority to put forward a plan for airline strike response as quickly as possible and to make the information transparent. According to the request of the employees of talking, EVA Air said that the company will respect the words and deeds of the flight attendants following the law during the strike, and abide by the trade union law, the labor dispute settlement law, and relevant laws and regulations. However, to

protect the rights and interests of the company and its shareholders, the violation of laws and regulations or the company's management rules was still be dealt with under the relevant provisions. In the process, the Executive Yuan had always regarded EVA airlines as a private airline, which should be responsible for all the responsibilities on its own. As the strike lasted for several days, nearly 30 million passengers were affected and the national economy and social atmosphere were affected. Some legislators cannot look down, proposed three versions to amend the relevant regulations, so that the aviation industry before the strike must have a notice period norms to protect the people's rights.

On Ministry of Labor. A total of 68 pieces articles described that in the process of labor and capital discussion, from group consultation meetings, mediation meetings, pre-meeting meetings, even live broadcasting and location, the trade union has repeatedly tried to make reciprocal consultations with the management. However, even after the Minister of Labor presided over the coordination and even used announcements that threatened the labor force, the management and labors of EVA Air were still in a dilemma. With the cooperation of government departments, China Airlines resolved the labor dispute within three days.

The Opinions on Judicial Settlement Process

On Labor Standards Act. The results showed that when applying for a strike, the guild first inquired whether there was any labor dispute, and if necessary, it initiated a strike.

Members of the trade union held that China Airlines unilaterally changed the rights of its employees in violation of the trade union law, and submitted a ruling application to the ruling Committee on improper labor practices of the Ministry of labor. The Committee believes that China Airlines constitutes an inappropriate Labor Law. Members of the trade union held that China Airlines unilaterally changed the rights of its employees in violation of the trade union law, and submitted a ruling application to the ruling Committee on improper labor practices of the Ministry of labor. However, management lost the case. Therefore, they continued to appeal. Public opinions indicated that the time was obviously up to management, and it is much better for management to go through the legal procedures. On the other side, EVA Air stressed that the Ministry of labor made a ruling on October 16, last year against the dispute over the trade union's preferential air tickets of EVA air, and called on both parties to continue to negotiate. Then, EVA Air followed the ruling and, for the sake of the labor and capital harmony, successfully mediated with the trade Union in the first labor case law lawsuit, this year with the help of judges and mediators Both sides have agreed to take as the base date for giving preferential air tickets to employees. EVA said it will report the content of the mediation to the Ministry of Labor to maintain mutual trust and consensus between labor and

management As for the result of the ruling, the FSC called on EVA Air to comply with the relief order of the ruling in the job of respecting national laws and regulations, taking care of all employees, and repairing labor relations. At the same time, it should stop appeals and restore the rights of strikers as soon as possible. The management of EVA Air was not satisfied with the result of the judgment, and public opinion believed that the result of the trial affected the independent management rights of private enterprises and even caused the result.

Summary of Data Analysis

The results showed that the strike of the two airlines had a great impact on Taiwanese society, both in other industries and the general public. From the data analysis, the researcher found that the positive views of government intervention in privatized government and private enterprises were quite different. In the process of self-negotiation, apart from the gap in the number of days the government handled, the public opinions supported the China Airlines strike and believed that the strike of EVA Air flight attendants was only because of their greed. Then, in the process of administration's assistance, the Executive Yuan's intervention sped up China Airlines flight attendants to end of the strike, but Executive Yuan only looked at the EVA Air strike. In the third judicial settlement process, even if China Airlines lost the case, the public opinion believed that as long as the management continued

to appeal, it was still beneficial to the management. Yet, even if EVA Air's management was dissatisfied with the trial result, the situation will get worse. Also, the situation caused a stalemate between employers and employees.

CONCLUSION

Discussion

After the content analysis, the author would further discuss with the finding from each of three process of dealing the aviation strikes- self-negotiation, administration assistance, and judicial settlement.

Discussion 1: Government Intervention

The finding revealed that as the EVA Air is a private enterprise, the government cannot be forced to intervene in. Since 2016, Taiwan has experienced three years of strikes by China Airlines flight attendants, pilots, and now EVA flight attendants. With the vigorous intervention of the Ministry of Transportation, China Airlines' two strikes ended successfully.²⁹ Since the largest shareholder of China Airlines is public shares, the government amounts to the "boss" of China Airlines. During the two strikes of China Airlines, the Ministry of Transportation was holding down the negotiation between China Airlines and the trade union.³⁰ However, EVA is a purely private enterprise. In the past, EVA has always been ahead of the government in its overseas expansion and expansion. EVA had repeatedly stressed that it needed to be responsible for its own profits and losses and refused to increase a large number of personnel costs. The government has been unable to force EVA's

²⁹ 鹿谷, "長榮空服員罷工成敗, 輿論是關鍵," (2019), <http://newcongress.tw/?p=16746>.

³⁰ 徐沛然, "關鍵罷工 一日致勝," 苦勞網, accessed. <https://www.coolloud.org.tw/node/85772>.

management to bow down as it did in the past, making it more difficult for Eva Air services to strike.

Furthermore, China Airlines has previously filed a compulsory arbitration with the Taoyuan municipal government. According to relevant regulations, there shall be no strike during the compulsory arbitration. However, the mayor of Taoyuan, Zheng Wencan, said that the case would not be submitted to arbitration because there was no precedent for compulsory arbitration in Taiwan, and labor and capital negotiations were still needed after the arbitration. Hoped that both sides would sit down and negotiate each other, and called on China Airlines to listen to the demands of workers and protect their rights. Although China Airlines is nominally private, its official shares are still more than half, so the government still holds the power of operation. For example, Nuan-Hsuan Ho, the chairman of China Airlines, who just took office, was appointed by the Executive Yuan. Since the government holds more than half of the government shares, it is naturally responsible for the policy of China Airlines. Thus, whether through the Legislative Yuan or the Executive Yuan, there was for political intervention.

Discussion 2: Set a Strike Period

Since the 2016 strike by Chinese Airline flight attendants, the Ministry of Labor has invited industry officials to talk about the aviation industry's strike notice period, but there

had been no consensus between employers and employees. Taiwan's laws had quite lot regulations for strikes, with fewer strikes, leading to apathy toward strikes and right-to-work-related events that do not begin to rebound until they affect themselves.

According to Article 53 of China's Labor Dispute Resolution Law, a strike by a trade union in Taiwan required the first mention of labor dispute mediation.³¹ "If it was not established by mediation, it shall not be an act of dispute." Hence, the right to a legal strike cannot be obtained until mediation had broken down and a majority of all members of the trade union voted. From the existing system, the new strike notice period may only over-restrict the exercise of labor rights, which is harm³² because in recent years, airstrikes have affected many people, people began to pay attention to the problem of the notice period, reduce the damage to their rights and interests, but ignored the rights and interests of workers.

Discussion 3: Public Opinions on the Two Aviation Strikes

In 2016, when China Airlines flight attendants went on strike, public opinions were faced with the dilemma of "pathetic" vs. "depressed".³³ At that time, the public opinion was almost one-sided, sympathetic and supported the flight attendants to fight for their rights. But three years later, when EVA flight attendants went on strike, the Internet was full of abuse and

³¹ 勞資爭議處理法 (全國法規資料庫, 106).

³² 陳妍蓓 and 林羿蓉, "【公民論壇】罷工預告期引異議 盼政府落實勞資對談," accessed. <http://shuj.shu.edu.tw/blog/2019/11/25/%E7%BD%B7%E5%B7%A5%E9%A0%90%E5%91%8A%E6%9C%9F%E5%BC%95%E7%95%B0%E8%AD%B0-%E7%9B%BC%E6%94%BF%E5%BA%9C%E8%90%BD%E5%AF%A6%E5%8B%9E%E8%B3%87%E5%B0%8D%E8%AB%87/>.

³³ 蔣辛文, "長榮罷工落幕總檢討》台灣社會更接受罷工、還是更加排斥?," 商業週刊, July 06, 2019.

hostility toward the flight attendants. The words "greedy", "all fired" and "unhappy don't do" had almost become people' interpretation of the strike.³⁴

³⁴ Ibid.

Conclusion and Suggestion

By comparing the data, the researcher found that the public had different attitudes toward the two strikes, particularly the self-negotiation between employers and employees. According to business Today's report, for 2016 China Airlines strike, that was the first biggest flight attendant strike, so public opinions supported it.³⁵ As a result, for the second Eva Air strike in 2019, public opinions accused EVA flight attendants of greed. And then, the attitude turned aloof. In short, public opinion ignores the intentions of the stewardess.

However, even if the public's perspectives are different, the two flight attendant strikes had raised concerns about the atmosphere of Taiwan's labor rights. So, a lot of labor unions in transportation industries founded, such as Taiwan Railways, Taipei MRT and truck drivers.³⁶ What's more, after the EVA Air flight attendants went on strike, women's labor rights also led Taiwan to re-examine the rights of female workers.³⁷

However, for a private company such as EVA Air, many scholars pointed out that the 2019 EVA Air strike is in fact challenging EVA Air's long-term corporate culture.³⁸ On the other hand, according to Professor Ping-Lung Hsin, he proposed that if the strike affects people's daily life, it is necessary for our government to set up a strike notice period.³⁹ In this

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ 吳玟嶸, "運輸業工會風起雲湧, 抗爭攻防進行中," 法律白話文運動, accessed June 24, 2018. <https://plainlaw.me/2018/06/24/fly02/>.

³⁷ 鄭仲嵐, "長榮航空罷工: 女性衝擊台灣勞動權益禁區," *BBC NEWS*, July 17, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/trad/world-48976962>.

³⁸ 郭志榮, "搞工會到罷工投票 長榮空服員挑戰「公司說了算」企業文化," *公視新聞議題中心*, May 13, 2019, <https://pnn.pts.org.tw/type/detail/2182>.

³⁹ 廖德修, "罷工預告期入法 勞團堅決反對," *中國時報*, June 23, 2019, <https://www.chinatimes.com/newspapers/20190623000383-260114?chdtv>.

way, that would be a better way for labors and transportation.⁴⁰

To sum up, the public support for the strike was the key to its success. Besides, each of us should pay attention to the strike issue. Only in this way can we enjoy fair and quality working conditions.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*

Appendix A. Union Appeals vs. China Airlines Responses

| Item | TFAU | China Airlines |
|-----------------|--|--|
| Appeal 1 | All other working conditions excepted for cross-sea routes shall be returned to the Labor Standards Act. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Whether cross-ocean routes or regional routes were of a shift, the cases of holiday and women working at night shifts. The agreement on working hours were be approved by the local labor authority. |
| Appeal 2 | The allowance should be increased from US\$2 per hour to US\$5 per hour. Non-members of the association were not entitled. | Flight attendants who had signed Agreement No. 84-1 of the Labor Standard Act would receive an allowance of \$3 per hour. |
| Appeal 3 | Without the consent of the TFAU, the registration place, and the calculation method of working hours shall not be changed. | China Airlines, corporate headquarters had been moved to Taoyuan, all staff and flight crews to report to start calculating working hours. |
| Appeal 4 | National holidays were given double wages according to law. | The national holiday had been moved to other days. Double pay would be given for the shift of the rest day. |
| Appeal 5 | Guaranteed annual leave of 123 days, 8 days off per month, 30 days off during the season. | The 84-1 agreement of the Labor Standard Law shall be given 116 days of annual leave (excluding the number of days off at the outer station), 8 days' rest shall be guaranteed per month, and the annual settlement of the lesser shall be paid back at full salary. |
| Appeal 6 | Two way mutual evaluation of performance appraisal | After careful evaluation, China Airlines' three-level performance evaluation was |

| | |
|--|---|
| | <p>the most appropriate and fair mechanism. However, the trade union of China Airlines and China Airlines agreed to discuss some of the projects.</p> |
| <p>Appeal 7 Business leave for representatives, directors and supervisors of TFAU</p> | <p>Two aspects for management responses:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The TFAU not only handled business related to China Airlines but also went all out without giving leave. 2. China Airlines agreed to conditionally grant conference leave. |

(The sources are from TFAU's statement⁴¹)

⁴¹ See the TFAU's statement in Facebook(桃園市空服員職業工會, "5月27日與華航公司調解破裂 聲明稿," accessed May 27. <https://www.facebook.com/TFAUTFAU/posts/1782629058638252>.)

Appendix B. Union Appeals vs. EVA Air Responses

| Item | TFAU | EVA Air |
|-----------------|--|---|
| Appeal 1 | The per diem should be increased to NT\$150 per hour, and non-members cannot compare with the applicable fee. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The current per diem was enough, but EVA Air was willing to improve the working conditions and offer the flight safety service bonus to increase the income. 2. Do not agree to free-riding problem. |
| Appeal 2 | The routes of Tokyo, Beijing, Phnom Penh, Ho Chi Minh, Harbin, Shenyang and Hohhot had been changed to night shifts. | Each route had put forward some plans such as overnight, voluntary special flight and alternate duty. |
| Appeal 3 | The union participated in the members' evaluation committee and had the right to vote. | One of the members in the group had been invited to attend. |
| Appeal 4 | Trade unions are involved in the promotion of independent directors or the addition of labor directors. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Labor directors were required to have legal problems and cannot be set up unilaterally by the company. 2. Meeted with the chairman on a monthly basis to review the current flight attendants' schedule on a semi-annual basis. |
| Appeal 5 | Attendance on national holidays should receive the double pay. | Flight attendants belong to the responsibility system based on 84-1 of Labor Standard Act. Therefore, there is no double payment problem on weekends and holidays. |
| Appeal 6 | Up to 2 foreign personnel can be dispatched per flight | In order to consider the quality of service, the number of foreign passengers on each flight should be adjusted in accordance with the principle of equality. |

| | | |
|-----------------|---|---|
| Appeal 7 | The board of directors, supervisors and member representatives of the trade union shall be given official leave. | The supervisor of the professional stewardess union (within 8 seats) can apply for 25 days of leave each year. |
| Appeal 8 | Changes to the existing working conditions and working rules of flight attendants should be negotiated with the trade union in advance. | Without involving the management rights and responsibilities of the company, the issues related to the work of flight attendants can be communicated through the communication platform established with the company. |

(The eight appeals are from Coolloud's report⁴²)

⁴² The eight appeals all see 張智琦, "長榮罷工八大訴求哪來的? 資深空姐逐項說給你聽," 苦勞網, accessed June 25. <https://www.coolloud.org.tw/node/93116>.

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