

**Cultural Discrimination? An Interview Study of Taiwanese  
Families with Southeast Asian Female Migrant Workers**

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# **Cultural Discrimination? An Interview Study of Taiwanese Families with Southeast Asian Female Migrant Workers**

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Wenzao Ursuline University of Languages, 2022

## **Abstract**

This article mainly explores the theme of cultural discrimination toward Asian migrant workers in Taiwan. Since 1980, the government in Taiwan has introduced migrant workers who can facilitate the economy. In addition to providing labor for various industries and working in 3D (dirty, dangerous, difficult) industries, there are many female migrant workers who are working as a nursing assistant, caring for the elderly and the lost. However, migrant workers not only contribute labor to Taiwanese society, but also bring about the integration of multiculturalism via intercultural marriage and study. Given that Taiwan needs migrant workers to support labor, Taiwanese hosts' intercultural contacts with them become my focus. Therefore, the research on how Taiwanese hosts accept and treat those foreign caregivers at home.

The research is designed through In-depth interviews with Taiwanese hosts who have hired domestic workers. I analyze the factors of any discriminative deed and attitude about migrant workers in Taiwan. I also want to know how hosts treat migrant workers. Through this research, I hope that people can pay more attention to migrant workers and give them more support and respect.

Keywords: Migrant worker, Discrimination, Cross-cultural communication, Cultural adaptation

## 摘要

本文主要通過對家中有亞裔女工的台灣人的採訪，探討台灣亞裔移工的文化歧視問題。本研究分析將找出台灣人可能歧視外籍移工的因素以及台灣人如何對待移工。

1980 年開始，外籍移工逐漸成為台灣勞動力的重要組成部分。除了為各行各業提供勞動力、從事 3D 行業外，還有很多女性外籍工從事護理助理、照顧老人和走失者的工作。外籍移工不僅為台灣社會貢獻了勞動力，也帶來了多元文化的融合。例如，部分外籍移工在台灣定居，組建家庭。因外籍移工不斷增加，台灣人與他們的接觸將在所難免。因此，有必要研究台灣人對移工的接納度。

關鍵詞：外籍移工，種族歧視，跨文化交際，文化適應

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# INTRODUCTION

## Background

Since the Industrial Revolution in the 18th century, the West has transformed from an agricultural society to an industrial society. During this transformation, the labor force structure of the society has been changed, and more manpower has been forced to transferred to industry from the agriculture after the enclosure movement<sup>1</sup> and entered the industrial industry. This movement formulated capitalism, which led to classification of worker class and population movement from rural to cities. After industrialization, factories were built and technology improved, like the invention of the steamer, transportation, railway, communication, and so on, some labor was replaced by machines, which made that people have fewer work opportunities and they must find other work. However, these inventions from revolution contributed to information dissemination and help people to reach further, even other cities to seek more work opportunities. The surplus of labor not only filled up domestic labor demand, but also supply other developing countries.<sup>2</sup>

Under the influence of globalization, political, economic, and cultural exchanges between countries, technology exchange, free market, capital flow, population and migration become common, it changes the way of human beings. In addition to adapting to changes in the geographical environment, the flow of population was also affected by the domestic economic pattern. In the process of

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<sup>1</sup> In the 12 to 18 centuries in England, government started to collect public land and compulsory expropriation of private land and the emergence bourgeoisie purchase these private lands for the large amount of raising sheep to produce wool. The freedom of market be monopolized and gradually capitalization of the market. Many farmers have no place to live and work due to lose of land, they forced to leave for city to find work for survival. Some of them they turn to maritime trade as a capitalist and some of them become a support level for worker. Under the effect of enclose movement, land be centralized, and capitalist invest on production of fleece, the stock raising be highly increased. In addition, the labor be moved from rural to the city from enclose movement, people who works on agriculture be transformed to labor for industry.

<sup>2</sup> "Industrialization, Labor, And Life," 2022,  
<https://education.nationalgeographic.org/resource/industrialization-labor-and-life>.

participating in globalization, many developing countries have released a large amount of labor force due to the transformation of production and production. These labor forces make up for other countries with insufficient labor population, and developed countries provided good wages to attract the labor released by other countries. Sufficient labor forces accelerated the development of industries in various countries. After technological innovations in various countries, the economic models of various countries have been reorganized. In response to technological reforms, human resources have become diversified, and the domestic labor model has been reorganized. The labor force is not limited to locals, and migrant workers also bring important productivity.<sup>3</sup>

Southeast Asian countries had not developed from an agricultural society to an industrial society until 1990 and could not consume the labor force released from the agricultural industry. However, the released labor force was used for labor export policy. In addition, the influence of global internationalization and improving transportation made these labor released for other countries. The expended manpower moves to other more developed countries in search of more job opportunities and higher wages.

In the 1960s, Taiwan's economic pattern gradually changed from an agricultural economy to a labor-intensive industrial pattern. At that time, the government tried to change the pattern of trade from import substitution to export orientation. Coupled with the government's reform of education policy, the people were taught with the general increase in productivity and the improvement of knowledge literacy, and Taiwan's economy has gradually grown. In the 1970s, due to the successful industrial transformation and the massive growth of the national economy, Taiwan became one

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<sup>3</sup> 鄭安玲、宋鎮照, "勞動移民政策之政經分析：台星兩國之比較研究," (2013), <https://event.gvm.com.tw/2013cvtc/images/PDF/03.pdf>.

of Four Asian Tigers, and there were ample job opportunities to attract migrant workers from Southeast Asia. Although Taiwan's economic growth brought many positive impacts, decreasing birth rate, age of labor increase and aging society cannot be solved.

The introduction of foreign workers in Taiwan was mainly influenced by the changes in international trends at the time and the transformation of Taiwan's internal industries. Since 1980, Taiwan's economy has grown rapidly. With the popularization of higher education and the improvement of people's literacy, the public began to prefer jobs with higher wages, some people are unwilling to work in 3D (dirty, dangerous, difficult) industry. At the same time, Taiwan was facing industrial transformation, so government implemented policies, such as financial liberalization, trade liberalization, and privatization of state-owned enterprises, and relaxed regulations and protections. Due to industrial policy and economic reforms, Taiwanese industries have changed and the demanded for labor. Under the consideration of opportunity cost, some manufactory needed cheap-wages workers, more and more industry applies for migrant workers. Due to the shortage of domestic labor, the government has begun to legally introduce some migrant workers to make up for the labor gap by "*Fourteen major engineering manpower demand response measure*" in 1989<sup>4</sup>, including important national construction, some manufacturing, home care, fishery, etc. In 1991, in response to the national six-year construction plan and the employment needs of the textile industry, basic metal industry, metal products manufacturing, machinery and equipment manufacturing and repairing, electrical and electronic machinery and equipment repairing and construction industries, the government introduced more foreign workers. However, the Employment Services

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<sup>4</sup> "移工在台灣大事紀," 2007, <https://hdl.handle.net/11296/4s9hcf>.

Law, implemented by the Labor Committee of the Executive Yuan in 1992, established the legality of the introduction of migrant workers. Industries have channels to legally apply for foreign workers. Other industries, such as ceramics, stone, cement, and cotton yarn factories, have also begun to seek to hire foreign workers. Besides, faced with the opening of the Chinese market and China's labor cost advantage, many Taiwanese businessmen were attracted to set up factories in China, many industries were relocated, and people went to overseas markets for employment, domestic labor be transformed, so the demand for migrant workers has increased significantly.<sup>5</sup>

According to the statistics of the Ministry of Labor, July 2011, the number of migrant workers had reached 690,000. Migrant workers come from "Indonesia", "Vietnam", "Philippines", "Thailand", "Malaysia" and "Mongolia". Migrant workers are divided into two categories: industrial migrant workers and social welfare migrant workers, who are engaged in care and tertiary industry work respectively. While introducing foreign workers, what Taiwanese society faces is the integration of migrant workers. In this process, conflicts and contradictions caused by different humanities, regions, laws, religions, races, and other issues are the social issues we want to study today.

### **Motivation**

In daily life, migrant workers are around us, contributing to the industry, but the public lacks a complete understanding of migrant workers. Except for migrant workers in the workplace, family care workers or researchers at home, etc., few

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<sup>5</sup>"我國製造業外籍勞工所需跨文化教育訓練內涵之研究," 2008, <https://hdl.handle.net/11296/4s9hcf>; 游翔閔, "我國製造業外籍勞工所需跨文化教育訓練內涵之研究."; 游翔閔, "我國製造業外籍勞工所需跨文化教育訓練內涵之研究."

people can have long-term contact with migrant workers. Through the news or information on the Internet, we have a basic understanding of migrant workers. However, the government has always emphasized the acceptance of foreign cultures, but the fact is that society shows blocking culture for hosts and employers to fully accept them. Also, the differences in learning foreign cultures become a block so migrant workers require long-term adjustment. However, in response to the demands of industrial policy and the labor gap, the government encourages migrant workers to develop permanently in Taiwan. Encouraging migrant workers to build diverse families in Taiwan, it can not only increase the labor force but also increase the fertility rate. So the number of migrant workers will continue to grow. The frequency of contact may be unavoidable, and my life may be full of migrant workers. In addition, with the change of Taiwan's education and culture, many people go to work abroad. There is also the opportunity to become a migrant worker. It is necessary to integrate into the culture of other countries. The issue of cultural tolerance in Taiwan may also be a problem that Taiwanese face when working abroad. For example, the gathering of migrant workers in train station is common, but some people oppose this because they consider the living space and safety issue near the station.

Migrant workers come to Taiwan for many years and their rights seem to be valued. Also, there are many studies research the issue of migrant workers, like “*Global Cinderellas: Migrant Domestic workers and Newly Rich Employers in Taiwan*”<sup>6</sup> and “*Our Stories-Migration and Labour in Taiwan*”<sup>7</sup> but the situation of their adaptation needs to keep trace. So I would like to explore issues of discrimination against asian migrant workers by interview. To explore factors resulting in discrimination, I want to ask host family members. With the hosts’ feedbacks, I want to understand the extent

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<sup>6</sup> 藍佩嘉, *跨國灰姑娘：當東南亞幫傭遇上台灣新富家庭* (行人, 2008).

<sup>7</sup> 顧玉玲, *我們：移動與勞動的生命記事* (印刻 2008).

of the adaptability of migrant workers in Taiwan in response to hosts' acceptance. Most of the studies related to discrimination focused on migrant workers, like "*Photographic Records-- 《Voyage 15840》*"<sup>8</sup> but this study shifts the focus to Taiwanese host family members.

### **Research Purpose**

The number of migrant workers has grown and they contributed significantly. The situation of migrant workers in Taiwan raise NGO and government's attention, and the issue of migrant workers is popular. Although government promote the acceptance toward different culture, there are some people cannot do it. In this research, I explore the reasons for racial discrimination against Asian migrant workers in Taiwan and its influence.

### **Research question**

To what extent, the host family for domestic service might discriminate against migrant workers?

### **Contribution**

The findings of this study remind people to think about the issue of discrimination and the importance of cross-cultural communication. Through the results, the public can explore their own attitudes towards different ethnic groups, and try to avoid constructing their views of others with essentialism. Whether it is micro-discrimination in daily life or negative stereotypes, it is the persecution of migrant workers.

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<sup>8</sup> 吳靜如, *凝視驛鄉 VOYAGE 15840 : 移工攝影集* (印刻, 2008).

### **Limit**

The limitation of my research is that the number of respondents is limited, and some families may be reluctant to disclose their relationship with migrant workers, believing that this part belongs to personal privacy. In addition, there are people from the central and southern parts of the respondents, and the respondents' free time planning cannot be interviewed face-to-face.

### **Delimit**

Most of interviewees are middle-aged, and it is difficult to collect young people's opinions. In addition, the interviewees themselves may have preconceived opinions about the topic, and the stereotyped answers may not be objective enough.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

The content is divided into four parts. First part is about immigration theory, citing the theories of five scholars to explain population migration; second part is the policy and reasons for introducing migrant workers, explaining the process of introducing migrant workers in Taiwan and the temporal and spatial background at that time; Third part discuss the problems migrant workers face in Taiwan, and fourth part is about cross-cultural communication, talking about cross-cultural problems and cross-cultural communication and extending two concept to bring out the influence of migrant workers and Taiwanese.

### **Theory of international migration**

The following five theories explain the reasons for migration: A theory of migration and life course of migrant workers explain the origins for migration. World economic theory shows the impact of the degree of national development of emigration and immigration countries on migration. The new immigration economics emphasizes that itinerant migration is a rational choice made by individuals for family development and diversification of risks. Segmented labor market theory describes how the labor market is influenced by industrial development to differentiate the working class.

The difference between the theories lies in the point of view of the migration phenomenon. Each of the five theories talks about the formation of migrant workers through individual, social, and national perspectives. Explain that the reason for migration is not only a consideration of personal factors, but also a final choice made under the influence of national economy and policies based on opportunity cost.

EVERETT S. LEE. (1966): *A theory of migration*

Push and Pull Factors are created by a demographer, Everett S. Lee (1966) in “*A theory of migration*”<sup>9</sup>. That explains that population migration originates from the pushing force of the area of origin and the pulling force of the area of destination. Push factors refer to the negative impact of people moving out of the place, including economic and geographical factors, such as security issues, racial discrimination, population density, environmental hazards, natural disasters, job opportunities, poor living functions, scarcity of resources, cultural identity may form thrust. The pull factor refers to the advantages of attracting people to the place of immigration, including higher economic income, job opportunities, convenience, good living environment, humanistic quality, freedom of speech, and a sense of local participation. Although pushing and pulling forces are considered factors in the migration process, they cannot fully explain the reasons for the migration behavior. Obstacles and personal factors in the migration process should also be considered, such as the distance between the two places, legal restrictions, personal economic ability, health status, family members, local culture will likely hinder migration. However, push and pull make people leave but the personal factors are important for final decision.<sup>10</sup>

*Aude Bernard, Martin Bell and Elin Charles-Edwards (2014): Life-Course Transitions and the Age Profile of Internal Migration*<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Everett S. Lee, "A Theory of Migration," *Demography* 3, no. 1 (1966), <https://doi.org/10.2307/2060063>, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2060063>.

<sup>10</sup> 「遷移到虛擬新世界」—以人口遷移理論探討 MMORPG 玩家的轉換," 2011, <https://mgtr.cm.nsysu.edu.tw/Upload/Journal/97/28086/634424486031140000.pdf>.

<sup>11</sup> Aude Bernard, Martin Bell, and Elin Charles-Edwards, "Life-Course Transitions and the Age Profile of Internal Migration," *Population and Development Review* 40, no. 2 (2014), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24027921>.

A research by three demographers, Aude Bernard, Martin Bell and Elin Charles-Edwards, mentioned that population migration is related to changes in life course. In addition to push and pull factors be mentioned in previous theory, life stage is an important factors that make people migrate. For example, when people experience three important stages in life, (1) "education", (2) "marriage", and (3) "retirement" in which they may experience different forms of migration. Taking the educational environment as a consideration, parents associate education with children's growth process that may lead to migration. Parents choose to move to the city due to the consideration of the educational school district or learning efficiency. When people going through different stages of study, they may make changes to adapt to the environment. In marriage, considering the living environment and space, it may be necessary to take a new house. Besides, because of geographical factors and economic environment, they may move away from the original place of residence. When people reaching the retirement stage, they may relocate again because the family structure, lifestyle and habits change.<sup>12</sup>

*Immanuel Wallerstein (1970): World System Theory*

The concept of core countries-semi-peripheral countries-peripheral countries is mentioned by Immanuel Wallerstein in World system theory. This explained the unfair development between developed country developing country and undeveloped country. World system theory claim that international migration was made by well development of capitalism. Capitalism contributed to flow of capital, the biggest degree of free market, formation of class, wage labor and people trade with less intervene from government. Majority capital is controlled by richer; poor is

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<sup>12</sup> "人為什麼要遷移?," 2018, <https://twstreetcorner.org/2018/09/11/kaoyuhui/>.

dominated by minority of capital. The unbalanced relationship between core and peripheral countries and free market system forced low-salary labor exported from peripheral countries. The low economic growth of the Peripheral countries forces the citizens to move to the high-developed countries, they cannot gain economic development by theory of economic development based on modernization: using the mechanism from free market and trade with comparative advantages to obtain sustainable economic growth. On the contrary, it advocates capitalism. The resulting free market economy will only cause the economic gap between countries to widen. The core country trades with the half-frontier countries and the frontier countries in exchange for the opportunity cost and obtains the maximum residual value from the transaction between the two countries. With the feedback of technical finished products, half the border countries and the border countries have never been able to make progress.

In 1980, Southeast Asian immigrant countries were in the status of border countries, hindered by unequal international relations, poor domestic economic development, shortage of job opportunities and trade exchanges that could not obtain technical growth, forcing domestic labor to transfer to half of the border to core countries as an exchange condition in trade, labor was used to earn economy, technology, and knowledge. At that time, Taiwan was a semi-peripheral country, and foreign laborers looked for other low-level foreign workers in Taiwan from countries that were more peripheral than Taiwan in the world system (such as Southeast Asia).

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<sup>13</sup> "勞動移民政策之政經分析：台星兩國之比較研究," 2012, <https://event.gvm.com.tw/2013cvtc/images/PDF/03.pdf>.

<sup>14</sup> "結合世界體系理論與網絡分析，剖析台灣在世界體系中的位置," 2018, <https://www.thenewslens.com/article/92634>.

*Douglas S. Massey (1998): New economic of migration*

The new immigration economics emphasizes that the purpose of immigration is risk diversification. The reason for migration not only including that individuals can obtain higher interests in other countries, but also the economy of the entire family or family. For example, all family members work locally, the local economy is affected by uncontrollable factors. For example, agriculture is affected by natural disasters, it is difficult to avoid losses, or local industries are threatened by foreign industries, and business difficulties have led to heavy losses in the real estate industry. On the contrary, when family members work in various places, they can improve family income and it is one way of risk sharing. If an individual loses his job, other members in other countries will continue to provide the economy, and the source of income of the entire family will not be unsustainable because the individual loses economic income. Some family make sacrifices for future development and focus resources on the next generation, hoping that the next generation have good academic development and whole family benefit from the development. Therefore, the decision to immigrate does not depend on the individual but considers the overall development of the family result.<sup>15</sup>

*Michael J. Piore (1979): Segmented Labor Market Theory*

“Labor market Segmented theory” by economist, Michael Joseph Piore, takes the structural demand for foreign labor in the modern industrial society as the main reason to explain the immigration phenomenon. The industrial society brings structural changes to the labor market. The labor market classifies labor based on salary. According to the nature of work and salary payments, it can be divided into

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<sup>15</sup> Douglas Massey et al., *Worlds in Motion: Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium*, vol. 77 (2001).

core personnel and low-paid laborers. Core personnel usually enjoy better salaries and good benefits, while those with lower salaries are engaged in labor work, usually short-term, with less benefits and less protection, such as temporary workers, 3D industries.

The work content of low-level workers is usually seasonal or temporary, and they do not have long-term contractual relationships, resulting in lower security for them. The characteristics of low-level workers have changed the choice of jobs for the population, and the choice of work has changed from a single salary level in the past. Considering that modern society and the prominence of social and economic status led to a shortage of low-level labor markets, the structural changes in the domestic labor market made employers' demand for migrant workers. In addition, when employers raise wages to recruit grass-roots workers, it is inevitable to raise the wages of middle- and upper-class workers to meet the requirements of social status for work status. Compared with the state where the overall wages must be raised, Therefore, for employers considering the cost between wage supply and labor, hiring low-wage labor has an opportunity cost advantage. For migrant workers, the purpose of choosing to go to other countries is to earn higher wages than their home countries. Social status is not an obstacle for them. There is no class consideration in foreign countries. Low-level labor demand transformed by market mechanisms.<sup>16 17</sup>

## **Origin and policy of Migrant worker in Taiwan**

### *Introduction of migrant workers*

Since the 1980s, Taiwan's economy has grown rapidly, various industries have

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<sup>16</sup> "政治學與移民理論," 2006, <https://www.ea.sinica.edu.tw/file/File/45522.pdf>.

<sup>17</sup> 曹民根, "移工的社會文化適應研究：以在台灣桃園縣和韓國京畿道從事於製造業之泰籍勞工為例" (2013), <https://nccur.lib.nccu.edu.tw/bitstream/140.119/62028/1/021101.pdf>.

been rapidly promoted, and even science parks have been established. With the popularization of higher education, the labor gap of grass-roots industries has expanded, including manufacturing, construction, nursing assistant. In 1991, the government introduced migrant workers in response to the "*Fourteen major engineering manpower demand response measure*", which was regarded as a supplementary labor force. In 1991, the "Interim Measures in Response to the Current Manpower Shortage" allowed 15 occupational projects in six major industries to apply for the introduction of foreigners. Labor, officially open up private industries to introduce foreign labor. Since then, the "Employment Services Law" was passed in May 1992, and private enterprises have legal channels to hire migrant workers. Subsequently, various decrees began to amend the regulations applicable to migrant workers. In August of the same year, the government opened up the supervision of domestic guardians, domestic helpers, and medical and nursing institutions. In 1993, 73 industries were added to apply for migrant workers, as well as six industries, including ceramics, dyeing and finishing, stone, steel punching and shearing, cement and yarn and cotton in the secondary industry. Industry projects apply for foreign workers; in 1994, it accepted 3D industries, science industrial parks and other institutions in the special zone to apply for foreign workers, and allowed major investment manufacturing and construction industries to hire foreign workers. The regulations on labor have been gradually relaxed, mainly to make up for the imbalance between supply and demand of labor.<sup>18</sup>

### *Domestic problems of labor decrease- Low-birth*

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<sup>18</sup> "外籍勞工來台工作適應性影響因素之研究-以越南勞工為例," 2016, <http://ir.lib.cyut.edu.tw:8080/bitstream/310901800/32757/1/104CYUT0121027-002.pdf>.

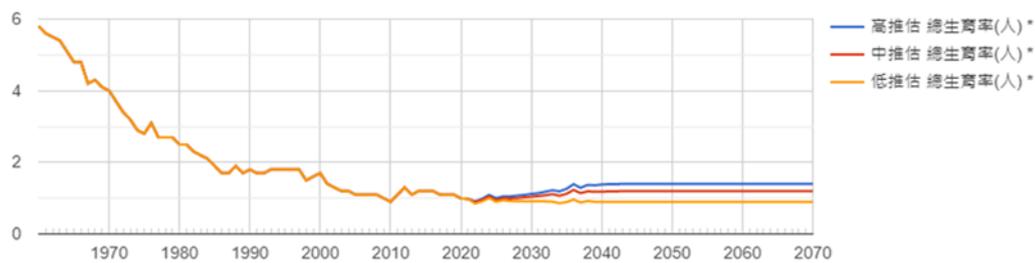


Figure 1 total birth rate of Taiwan<sup>19</sup>

According to the data of the National Development Commission, the fertility rate has been declining year by year, and the source of labor has been greatly reduced (Figure 1). Although Taiwan's industrial transformation has successfully brought about good economic development, the national income has increased, the cost of living has increased, and the willingness of people to produce has decreased.

Coupled with the change in people's ideology, the concept of marriage is different from traditional concepts, such as the increase of the marriageable age, resulting in delayed childbearing and the emergence of non-marriageism. Couples who want to have children may face the double test of education and support, considering of these problems, they reluctance to have children. In addition, coupled with the promotion of equality between men and women, the increase in female employment rate. New ideology of family influence people's life. In dual-income families, the focus of both husband and wife's life is on work, family activities may be reduced and the time of taking care of children may be reduced. Time may be less than sufficient and may create concerns about fertility.

The phenomenon of low birthrate has a great impact on the long-term development of the country. For example, the continuous increase in the dependency ratio may greatly increase the economic burden of the people, and the next generation

<sup>19</sup> 國家發展委員會, "總生育率," (2022), <https://pop-proj.ndc.gov.tw/dataSearch2.aspx?r=2&uid=21104&pid=59>.

may even be unable to bear the burden. It is a major threat to the country's economic development. The phenomenon of low birthrate and aging society led declining labor force in the society, the introduction of migrant workers is necessary and may become immigrants in the future. In addition to labor supply, they may further become technicians. Migrant workers themselves bring high productivity and consumption power.

### *The transformation of Taiwan's economic system*

The lack of cheap labor in Taiwan due to the difference in demand between domestic companies and the domestic people. Considering the cost of maintaining the industry, companies cannot provide more than the basic salary to hire basic labor, but the salary provided by the company is not enough to the requirements from the domestic people. The work performed by laborers is low-paid and has a large amount of labor. If you pay more labor in the work, you cannot get a relative expected value, which involves personal psychology and psychological satisfaction, such as ability recognition, belief, sense of achievement, and personal realization. When people cannot gain psychological achievements or reasonable salary, heavy labor-dependent work is gradually eliminated by the public.

Therefore, companies can only target low-wage workers who are willing to endure such working conditions. Southeast Asian society is economically backward, apart from the surplus of labor and the lack of job opportunities, workers are willing to come to Taiwan to work in low-cost jobs in consideration of economic benefits. Although the salary does not meet the demand for nationals, for Southeast Asian migrant workers, due to the economic differences between countries, even if the low-wage income earned in the country Taiwan, wage is higher than working in the home

country. In addition, domestic social welfare and regulatory restrictions cannot be fully applied to migrant workers. Enterprises can exchange maximum labor and economic interest from foreign workers without considering the individual social needs of migrant workers. Both migrant workers and employee can take what they need, and migrant workers from Southeast Asia become so-called cheap foreign migrant workers to fill the grass-roots labor force of enterprises.<sup>20</sup>

### **The issues of migrant workers in Taiwan**

#### *Culture shock*

With regard to migrant workers come from Southeast Asian countries, varieties of the education, diet, religious beliefs, languages, and various cultural differences between Taiwan and Southeast Asian may cause host family members, employees and others to experiences a sense of cultural shock when foreign migrant workers come to Taiwan. Cultural shock is that a person feels and think about the cultural difference of other countries. At times, from the fear of unknown culture, there may be some psychological changes and emotional changes, such as anxiety and loss, which can be improved after people experience the four stages of cultural shock.

Below are four stages of culture shock<sup>21</sup>:

The honeymoon stage: When people go to different places, the varieties between the new culture and the old culture might make people feel curious, so they keep enthusiasm and want to participate in it. During this period, the process of understanding the new culture is interesting, they would not feeling the fear of the unknown because they precipitated in the joy of a new culture, but the time is short.

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<sup>20</sup>"植基於勞動人權與勞動競爭力之台灣外勞政策," 2007, <https://hdl.handle.net/11296/az9kw8>.

<sup>21</sup> S. Lysgaard, "Adjustment in a foreign society: Norwegian Fulbright grantees visiting the United States," *International Social Science Bulletin* 7 (1955).

The frustration stage: After people get to know the new culture, they discover the gap between the new culture and the old culture. Cultural differences start to confuse people about the new culture and have negative emotions like loneliness.

The adjustment stage: People begin to adapt to the new culture and become familiar with the new culture, the negative emotion gradually eliminate.

The acceptance stage: People overcome cultural differences and have a sense of identity with the new culture. Even if they cannot fully agree, they are not excluded. The interpersonal relationship has been improved to a certain extent.<sup>22</sup>

#### *Cross-cultural adaptation - Berry's Model of Acculturation (2005)*

Although migrant workers come to Taiwan mainly for work and economic growth as their primary consideration, long-term residence is bound to face the impact of their own culture and Taiwanese culture. Cross-cultural adaptation has become one of the issues for migrant workers to face.

According to Berry's Model of Acculturation (2005), the four acculturation strategies are divided into two categories according to the degree of people's cultural recognition with themselves. People who have high self-cultural identity could make changes to cope with different living environments. On the contrary, those who have low self-cultural identity might not be affected by the culture of other countries. Four strategies are summarized from Berry's Model of Acculturation (2005):

Assimilation: People abandon their own culture in favor of a different culture, sometimes due to assimilation forced by local political and cultural norms.

Separation: People attach great importance to their own culture and refuse to communicate

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<sup>22</sup> "The U-Curve Adjustment Hypothesis Revisited: A Review and Theoretical Framework," 1991, [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/5222549\\_The\\_U-Curve\\_Adjustment\\_Hypothesis\\_Revisited\\_A\\_Review\\_and\\_Theoretical\\_Framework](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/5222549_The_U-Curve_Adjustment_Hypothesis_Revisited_A_Review_and_Theoretical_Framework).

with other cultures.

Integration: People attach importance to the original culture, but also want to participate in different cultures, and achieve integration of different cultures.

Marginalization: People reject their own culture and are unwilling to participate in other cultures and separate from society.<sup>23</sup>

### *Stereotype, Prejudice and Discrimination*

*The Oxford English Dictionary* defines a stereotype as a “widely held but fixed and oversimplified image or idea of a particular type of person or thing”. The masses have a set framework for a particular group, such as color people or immigration, and inherent concepts explain the behavior of others. A stereotype is a set of values that has not been verified by scientific research. In fact, it is the easiest way for oneself to understand new things, and is based on people's biased assumptions and imaginations. Stereotypes therefore can be a common way of understanding of other cultures, but cannot be reduced to show the whole aspects for them. We can use stereotypes to know about new culture, but it also influences objective, like "Chinese will be kung fu" "Japanese love to eat sashimi". Most stereotypes tend to prejudice, when people take stereotype as whole concept, it is very possible to misunderstand.<sup>24</sup>

In Taiwan, the stereotypes established by the media confuse the understanding of migrant workers, which keeps them in a frame. Migrant workers are also stereotyped to a certain extent by their home country and social class. Migrant workers from Southeast Asia are mostly blue-collar workers, and occupational stratification in Taiwan has created a prejudice against labor-based industries.

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<sup>23</sup> "Acculturation: When Individuals and Groups of Different Cultural Backgrounds Meet," 2010, [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/240286013\\_Acculturation\\_When\\_Individuals\\_and\\_Groups\\_of\\_Different\\_Cultural\\_Backgrounds\\_Meet](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/240286013_Acculturation_When_Individuals_and_Groups_of_Different_Cultural_Backgrounds_Meet).

<sup>24</sup> "Stereotypes," 2015, [https://scholar.harvard.edu/files/shleifer/files/stereotypes\\_june\\_6.pdf](https://scholar.harvard.edu/files/shleifer/files/stereotypes_june_6.pdf).

In addition, according to the world system theory, Southeast Asia belongs to the peripheral countries, while Taiwan belongs to the Semi-peripheral countries, and the core countries are the imitation objects of each country. Under the influence of advocating the growth of the core country, the superior others from the core country make semi-peripheral countries prone to discriminate against the peripheral countries.

Therefore, the personality traits of Southeast Asian migrant workers from peripheral countries are linked to the weak of economic and international orientation of their home countries, be created negative stereotypes and tendencies to commit crimes. These negative images aggravate their vulnerability and This creates a rift with Taiwanese society. In addition, in order to make money and spread misinformation, human resources agents create a set of personality traits for migrant workers that meet the needs of employers, deepening the distortion and wrong extension of the public's stereotypes about migrant workers. The public starts assuming the behavior of migrant workers based on false stereotypes, and if they don't fit the stereotype, they do not cooperate.<sup>25</sup>

### *Othering*

“Othering” is a term that not only encompasses the many expressions of prejudice on the basis of group identities, but we argue that it provides a clarifying frame that reveals a set of common processes and conditions that propagate group-based inequality and marginality.<sup>26</sup>

Othering is that people are self-centered and classify other one by difference, their thinking usually accompanied by prejudices and cognitive bias. People who are

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<sup>25</sup> "張正、陳翰堂、陳秀蓮：偏見與歧視真的能被扭轉嗎？移工權益倡議經驗分享," 2022, <https://www.civilmedia.tw/archives/110021>.

<sup>26</sup> "The Problem of Othering: Towards Inclusiveness and Belonging.," 2016, <http://www.otheringandbelonging.org/the-problem-of-othering/>.

not correspond to non-mainstream social or group regulation be excluded and defined as other.

The mainstream social regulation for people is the values from their background, like education, religion, media and so on. Individuals have different life experiences that shape the unique and values. But this set of values does not necessarily apply to everyone and may lead to misunderstandings of others. Thus, others are created and classified unconsciously, and people who are excluded from the social structure become objects of otherization.

However, the phenomenon of othering make others' characteristics be described negatively and they are not accepted by society. The phenomenon made distribution of resource is inequal in the society to monir group, their right also be ignored.

### *Stratified Otherization*

The concept of stratified otherization be mentioned by sociologist, Peja Lam, emphasizes that social system is affected by racism, allocates social resources through racial distinctions. Society imposes established impressions on some groups, establishing a set of unreasonable values but rationalized by hegemony. To continue to dominate the social status, elite groups establish a class other, trying to construct a set of values to the society to consolidate their resource allocation and form a class consciousness. This structure is not conducive to certain groups, making them marginalized and difficult to integrate into society.

In Taiwan, migrant workers are faced with this dilemma. In addition to the symbol of discriminatory treatment in the system, the media have long emphasized personality traits in reports, coupled with the stereotype be provided by human agents to migrant workers. Migrant workers are forced to become racial other, so it is

difficult to classify as a part of Taiwan. Migrant workers be labelled with wrong stereotype and considered as the other among the foreigners. Taiwan introduced migrant workers based on the needs of the labor market, but people unwilling to give them the opportunity to integrate into society. It is contradictory that labor demand from abroad but there is cultural exclusion from people. The difference in the acceptance of migrant workers of different nationalities hinders the connection between migrant workers and society and stifles their right to be treated equally.<sup>27</sup>

### **Cross cultural communication**

Cross-cultural communication is a necessary approach that helps people learn how to deal with the conflicts from different culture when they have a conversation with others and avoid differences become obstacles in the conversation. With the development of globalization, population movement is becoming more and more frequent. People from all over the world interact with each other in their own unique cultures, cross-cultural communication becomes important when people interact with others from different culture.

Cross cultural communication requires not only language ability, but also depends an adjustment ability for different cultures. In the conversation, people respect the culture of others, but do not lose their own culture. With quickly reaction to the content based on the knowledge and social skills, which make communication in a win-win manner. Through cross-cultural communication, people can communicate effectively with various people around the world. Aspect for contributed to people's

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<sup>27</sup> "階層化的他者：家務移工的招募、訓練與種族化," 2005, [https://www.tjs.org.tw/up\\_photo/moon-system/images/%E9%9A%8E%E5%B1%A4%E5%8C%96%E7%9A%84%E4%BB%96%E8%80%85-%E5%AE%B6%E5%8B%99%E7%A7%BB%E5%B7%A5%E7%9A%84%E6%8B%9B%E5%8B%9F%E3%80%81%E8%A8%93%E7%B7%B4%E8%88%87%E7%A8%AE%E6%97%8F%E5%8C%96.pdf](https://www.tjs.org.tw/up_photo/moon-system/images/%E9%9A%8E%E5%B1%A4%E5%8C%96%E7%9A%84%E4%BB%96%E8%80%85-%E5%AE%B6%E5%8B%99%E7%A7%BB%E5%B7%A5%E7%9A%84%E6%8B%9B%E5%8B%9F%E3%80%81%E8%A8%93%E7%B7%B4%E8%88%87%E7%A8%AE%E6%97%8F%E5%8C%96.pdf).

relationship, people gain information from dialog and cultivate critical thinking to issues.<sup>28</sup>

In brief conversations, people may just exchange their information, but if people continue to deepen the conversation, it is necessary to understand the culture of others. Because people cannot have the same feeling, expect them to have the same experience. If people can try to get to know other cultures and gain a certain level of cultural identity in communicating with each other, then people in the group will have good loyalty and they can integrate into it. However, personal factors such as people's personality, education, age, gender, etc. can also affect their familiarity with other cultures.

### *Culture & Communication*

Edward Twitchell Hall, Jr. (1959), an American anthropologist, mentioned that "Culture is communication, and communication is culture."<sup>29</sup>

It is shown that culture affects the way of communication, and culture is one of the conditions that must be considered in communication. Culture is the accumulation of human history and civilization. With the flow of time, an internalized concept is formed. The existence of culture enables people to keep themselves. When a country's culture disappears, it may be followed by the collapse of the value system. People's behavioral patterns are influenced by culture, including language, thinking patterns, artistic styles, literature, social norms, worldviews, and more.

Humans are animals that need emotional connection, affirming themselves

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<sup>28</sup> "華語跨文化溝通教學設計—以電影《推手》為例," 2022, <http://210.240.188.238/bitstream/987654321/17705/2/BTC106102.pdf>.

<sup>29</sup> T. Schiller, *E.T. Hall's Statement 'communication is Culture and Culture is Communication': A Discussion and Analysis with Specific Examples* (GRIN Verlag, 2013). <https://books.google.com.tw/books?id=n8ZUngEACAAJ>.

through the identification of others, trying to find people with the same cultural background and preferences as their own. When encountering people from different cultural backgrounds, people may avoid or reject them. Communication includes written narrative and body language, and cultural differences cause people to have different opinions on sentences. People with a common culture are more likely to have empathy and a sense of belonging in communication and form a collective consciousness.

### *Identity*

Identity is an understanding of self-awareness, influenced by growth processes, and changed over time. Identity may affect future career development planning and the realization of self-satisfaction. Identity affects individual behavior and thinking patterns. Identity changes over time, and each life stage reshapes a person's identity. From birth, people's identity is constructed from the education of the family of origin, including the family's behavior patterns, values, and beliefs. Until people start to get in touch with the environment outside the home, like school, work place, friends, social norms, the process of learning new knowledge allows people begin to explore the definition of self from the learning process. For example, in school, students and teachers bring information that is different from the family of origin. Through critical thinking on issues, the definition of identity begins to change. With age and accumulation of knowledge and social experience, people develop a set of beliefs of their own.

Professor Shannon Ahrndt in her online creative commons textbook, *Intercultural Communication*, shares: Our identities make up an important part of our self-concept and can be broken down into three main categories: personal, social, and

cultural identities.

**Personal Identity:** Through life experience, the inner level of the individual builds up the self-awareness. Through personal identity, people express to others who I am and expect others to think of themselves. Let others also have a basic understanding of themselves through identity, such as ethnicity, religion, occupation, etc. Personal identity affects future career development planning and the realization of self-satisfaction.

**Social Identity:** A role derived from internalized concepts acquired from group life or exposure to the public. Each person can show a variety of identities in different environments at that time. Social identity is usually a part of being integrated into a group, because traits that are more consistent with others are easier to empathize with and form a group.

**Cultural identity:** The behavioral patterns and values developed by combining social expectations with one's own culture, which may change after experiencing different events.

Cultural identity affects social patterns and dominates mainstream thinking. The identity of one's own culture may lead to rejection of other cultures, creating a different coping model from the past.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> "Intercultural Communication ", 2020,  
<https://irl.umsl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1023&context=oer>.

## **METHODOLOGY**

### **Research Design**

To explore how and why host family members practice discrimination toward migrant workers, I used in-depth interview to reveal and find out employers' view on migrant workers. I put concrete questions, including survey from daily life, food, culture, and human right. Questions I want to raise would partly reflect Taiwanese's attitude toward migrant workers at home, which shows migrant workers' living and working situations in Taiwan.

In addition, I collect public's views toward migrant workers and events related to migrant workers from media reports. Because the media is one of the media for the public to receive information and has a social responsibility to provide the public with diversified reports, the media has a certain degree of credibility.

Besides, media have more resource to do survey, the survey come from media is extensive. The media show events of migrant workers, and collect public's attitude toward it. Although the report have description toward migrant workers in a event, people show their opinions with different position. The reports are helpful for test migrant workers' image and acceptance for public.

### **Source of data**

To explore how people have close contact with migrant workers, I choose interviewee samples out of those host families who recruit migrant workers. They live at same place and migrant workers take care for their family, so both employers and employees have cross-cultural communication on the basis of their daily contact. In this situation, we can gain opinions of Taiwanese (host or employer) toward

migrant workers.

I get access to the research object through my family who have some contacts with migrant workers. In addition, I ask for my friends whether their family ever hired migrant workers, or they know if anyone one can help me for the interview. Finally, I have found five interviewees from my friends and family.

### **Data collection**

Interviewees include three hosts and two families, who are from locations in the central part and southern part of Taiwan. The age of them ranges from 20 to 60 years old, and the gender include both men and women. Due to the limit of time and space, I use both forms of face to face and online interview. Each of them is operated for at least 30 minutes.

Interview question include four parts:

- (1) host and migrant workers' information
- (2) daily get along with migrant workers in daily life (call, food, clothes, communication, trust)
- (3) human right (job and welfare)
- (4) people's opinion of racial discrimination toward migrant workers.

I ask people by choose question and open-ended questions. If they don't have ideas, I will mention some situation to remind them and I ask reasons about why they choose yes or no.

In the first part used for demographic survey for host and migrant workers, I review how diffent background make people have various opinion to issues. The main goal of this survey is to test phenomenon of discrimination, definition of discrimination according to the Oxford Advanced English-Chinese Dictionary (7th Edition), discrimination refers to "the practice of treating somebody or a particular

group in society less fairly than others". So the second and third part mainly test if there are fair treatment. In the third part, some question also shows hosts' respect to migrants, because respect is a important part of treat fairly.

The final part shows how I compare the opinion of discrimination between public and personal. By many aspects from daily life, it also be used to realize people's cultural acceptance to migrant workers. It also influence by personal background, like he or she have the experience before. I will combine personal background and reports to analyze the reason of discrimination in the next chapter.

## DATA ANALYSIS

In this chapter, there are two parts in data analysis. In the first part, I analyze the factors that make hosts discriminate according to the content of interview, literature, social media. In the second part, I explore Taiwanese' perspectives toward migrant workers from the interview question and news about migrant workers.

The following picture is the basic information of interviewees:

	Relationship	gender	Education level	wage	resident	religion
1	Employer	male	collage	Annual salary of more than 1 million	Taichung	Buddhism
2	family	female	collage	Monthly salary 10000-15000	Chiayi	No
3	Employer	male	collage	Annual salary of 1.2 million	Tainan	Buddhism
4	Family	female	Junior high school	Monthly salary 35000	Tainan	Buddhism
5	Employer	female	collage	Monthly salary 40000	Kaohsiung	Taoism
6	Family	Female	collage	30000	Kaohsiung	Christianity

In this part, I shared the opinions from interviewees and report from news to migrant workers, which are analyzed in following aspects: cross-cultural communication, stereotype and the migrant workers' behavior bias.

## **Cross-cultural communication**

Communication is when two parties face differences of opinion or discuss through coordination to reach the ultimate goal in a mutually acceptable way. In the process of communication, both parties express their opinions and keep an open attitude to calmly think about their different faces, understand other people's opinions and reflect on their own ideas in a way of empathy. When communicating with others, individuals gain new perceptions of new people and things. New knowledge may personally lead to a firmer stance or a change of stance to accommodate others. Through communication, the flow of information is more efficient and may lead to progress.

However, cross-cultural communication pays more attention to cultural aspects as mentioned in Chapter 2, "Cross-cultural communication helps people learn how to deal with the conflicts from different culture when they have a conversation with others and avoid differences become obstacles in the conversation." Culture build people's belief, it deeply influence human being. The language may become a obstacle of in communication, but the different understanding of sentence from culture lead misunderstang.

In the content of interview, interviewee1 sincerely mentioned that:

*"I think poor communication lead to misunderstandings, and some people may be unwilling to communicate and coordinate work content due to language barriers. But my family do not have the problem of poor communication. This may not a problem for all migrant workers, but this problem may damage their rights and affect their adaptation to the environment."*

The interviewee 4 alos said that:

*“Communication could become barriers. For example, there was someone near my house who didn't speak Mandarin but didn't learn it, so they all came to our family's Cindy to help him translate. Language barrier was one of the problems.”*

In the content of interview, he think that failure of communication may influence the quality of life and worker’s right. If there is not one willing to communicate, the problems cannot be solved or even worse. The failure of communication makes no one help workers to adapt the enviroment in Taiwan and workers cannot express their neede. In order to solve the problem of communication, interviewee1 hire a translator to be help them when they cannot solve the problem by limit language ability.

To ensure the problem of communication become an problem, I find many relevant reports via mass media. There is a report converage that is more reliable because it is statistics of public institutions and it have video for the process of interview. In the video, it mentioned the problem of communication:



**Figure 2** Yahoo! News on June 7, 2022, “In Ministry of Labor Statistics: Language barriers are the biggest problem for employers”<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> "勞動部統計 語言不通成雇主移工最大問題," 2022,

In this article, statistics from Ministry of Labour in 2021, shows that Poor communication creates problems between migrant workers and employers as one of the problems for families that employ foreign workers. In this survey, they visit migrant worker school. They interview students and teachers and both of them share some examples of how communication influence workers' life and work. For example, host cannot express the content of work clearly and the patients cannot express their needs to migrant workers. These problems block workers integrate society and their efficiency in the work.

Interviewee1 also mentioned a problem that culture influence their behavior and expression. Interviewee mentioned that:

*“Nini(migrant worker’s name), she really respects us, but it seems that he has a class consciousness in his heart, and she is used to it and can't change it. It seems that she feels very humble. If I sit there watching TV, she will walk over carefully, and I will tell him not to.”*

This concept of high and low makes them naturally have a sense of power relationship between superior and inferior. The interviewee do not request them to act cautiously, but she has been familiar with this. One we can see the influence from the culture. Besides, this characters was also mentioned by interviewee 5 who seemed satisfied with this characteristics,

“Indonesians are more docile, because Indonesians have a more sense of employment relationship. For example, when they Walk in

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<https://tw.news.yahoo.com/news/%E5%8B%9E%E5%8B%95%E9%83%A8%E7%B5%B1%E8%A8%88-%E8%AA%9E%E8%A8%80%E4%B8%8D%E9%80%9A%E6%88%90%E9%9B%87%E4%B8%BB%E7%A7%B%E5%B7%A5%E6%9C%80%E5%A4%A7%E5%95%8F%E9%A1%8C-021354877.html>.

front of you, they will bend down.”

I search the articles about public’s views toward migrant workers from different country. A report also shows that:



**Figure 3** SET News on November 15, 2020, “Migrant workers in Indonesia surge in confirmed cases, employers prefer to hire Indonesian migrant workers”<sup>32</sup>

In this article, it shows the feature of migrant workers come out of different countries. The migrant workers from Indonesia is most popular. Because the characteristic of female migrant workers from Indonesia are moderate and humble, the female workers from Vietnam are more assertive. The degree of cooperation is lower than that of Indonesia. In the report coverage, it also mentioned that Vietnamese migrant workers have good minds and love to make money. If there are workers with higher salaries, they may tend to drop their original jobs and move to higher-paying jobs. While Philippine migrants are more savvy and difficult to control, here were many escapees, and many Filipino migrant workers disappeared after reporting.

<sup>32</sup> "印尼移工確診爆增 雇主曝愛這款," 2020, <https://tw.news.yahoo.com/%E7%8D%A8-%E5%8D%B0%E5%B0%BC%E7%A7%BB%E5%B7%A5%E7%A2%BA%E8%A8%BA%E7%88%86%E5%A2%9E-%E9%9B%87%E4%B8%BB%E6%9B%9D%E6%84%9B%E9%80%99%E6%AC%BE-113050940.html>.

In summary, the problem of communication is mentioned by media and public. Migrant workers come from different countries. The diversity of different cultures shapes different ways of behavior and people show different views toward workers. However, people share common sense to the issue of communication and they think it is an important problem that needs to be solved. The misunderstanding caused by communication led to a block between the public and workers.

### Stereotype

*The Oxford English Dictionary* defines a stereotype as a “widely held but fixed and oversimplified image or idea of a particular type of person or thing”. People understand other specific groups with a simple memory without test. Stereotypes include positive and negative aspects. People should avoid misunderstanding of a person or group based on stereotypes because sometimes a stereotype is not objective or misunderstood, even become labeling. Many media show bad images of workers, but they usually downplay the positive side of workers’ behavior. That shapes the public’s views toward migrant workers as mostly negative so their rights are not valued. The media shows a negative image of migrant workers in an accident:



Figure 4 EBC on September 1, 2017, “The escaped migrant worker "attacked the police and seized the

car" was shot 9 times and died. Netizens praised: support!"<sup>33</sup>

On August 31, a suspected theft case occurred in Hsinchu. During the pursuit, a Vietnamese migrant worker was shot and killed by the police 9 times. As the title people can see that the different word be used to describe police and migrant workers are totally different. The adjective to migrant workers is hit and run, which led readers to a conceived image that the group are generally bad. The media attract the attention of the general public but blurred the focus of the group. The content of report based on a simplified description from police and people with simple hypotheses without verification from media. That strengthened the negative image of migrant workers. In this report, their life is not valued and they be labeled by run away.

In the book *Whistling Vivaldi: How Stereotype Affect Us and What We Can Do* from a psychologist, Claude Steele, mentioned that stereotype threat.<sup>34</sup> The concept of stereotype threat is that the stereotypes affect people's thought and they have worse performance when the stereotypes be mentioned before they act. Stereotypes can be deepened and difficult to change over time. Excessive stereotypes that dominate mainstream thinking can cause groups to behave poorly and exacerbate their vulnerability. The interviewees also mentioned the influence of stereotypes and make gap with society

In the interview, interviewees also talk about some stereotypes toward migrant workers in the society, which may lead discrimination. Interviewee 2 emotionally mentioned that:

*"It's noisy, like the foreign migrant workers on the train are very noisy, and the smell is relatively heavy. I have a poor impression of their group. I feel that a whole group is more likely to be disordered"*

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<sup>33</sup> "逃逸移工「襲警又奪車」遭開9槍不治亡 網狂讚：支持！," 2017, <https://news.ebc.net.tw/news/article/76734>

<sup>34</sup> Whistling Vivaldi, *How Stereotypes Affect Us and What We Can Do* (W. W. Norton & Company; Reprint edition (April 4, 2011), 2011).

*and clustered together, and it is more likely to get out of control.”*

For the interviewee 2, he suggest that the group image that may make people do not like them. However, other interviewee mentions how people connect their personality with the home country background.

*“Because they come from relatively backward Southeast Asian countries, in the impression of Taiwanese, they are relatively low-level. Also, their salary level is relatively low, and they are mistaken for a low standard of living, so they will be on the weaker side.”*

Interview 4 shared her personal perspectives toward migrant workers before she hired. She said that I used to think that they came from relatively backward places, so their hygiene concepts were poor and poor. But she changed it after she get along with migrant workers. She think everyone has different habit, so people cannot generalize the group as a whole. She subverts his perception after actual contact with migrant workers, Anita (migrant worker’s name) loves clean, self-discipline, considerate and careful.

The image of migrant workers in Taiwanese is difficult not to be connected with their home country. People unconsciously associate their characteristics with the economic development capacity of their home country, and cannot treat them with an equal view.

The interviewee 5 reveal the stereotypes for Vietnamare, she emotionally said that:

*“In terms of race, people should discriminate against Vietnam. They feel that their environment is dirty, and their habits are very bad. They don't squat to eat, or they kill cats and dogs, so their environment is very dirty.”*

No matter the thing of they kill cats and dogs is true, She cannot avoid connecting the cultural background with their behavior.

From the interviewees' opinions, they tell me some stereotype toward migrant workers are common for public. The common stereotypes toward migrant workers are that they come from backward country, so their behavior out of order, they are low social class, poor, low standard of living, dedect personality, bad habit, poor hygiene, low education.

Expect for the views of migrant workers from interveiwees, I search the public from report, most report shows the discrimination toward migrant workers and try to correct it, hope that flip the negative image. The one of report shows common stereotypes and share migrant worke's' story to give public correct concept toward migrant workers:



Figure 5 Global Views Monthly on May 29, 2019, "Don't call me maria. Call my name."<sup>35</sup>

Common stereotypes of migrant workers in Southeast Asia are relative poverty, backwardness, messiness, and low education levels, which are mentioned in interview. Unlike the interviewers, the report mentions other arguments that some people are repelled by migrant workers congregating in public spaces and feel that the

<sup>35</sup> 彭杏珠, "不要叫我瑪麗亞 請叫我的名字," (2019), <https://www.gvm.com.tw/article/62967>.

environment has become noisy and dirty.

In this report, Chen Xiulian, a researcher at the Taiwan International Workers Association, said that:

*“Taiwan lacks leisure space for migrant workers, so they have to gather in parks, train stations, or exotic small business circles. It is rare for a group of fellow villagers to get together, so they speak a little louder involuntarily. However, this also makes most people think that they are noisy and chaotic, and do not want to enter the gathering place of migrant workers.”*

The above situation shows that Taiwan lacks a friendly environment for migrant workers, so they can only reunite in public spaces, which also causes Taiwanese to think that they are dirty. The plight of migrant workers is caused by the lack of understanding and value differences in society. With cognitive differences, and misunderstandings are caused and deepened indefinitely, public's opinions toward migrant workers from stereotypes to prejudices.

The stereotype toward migrant workers are bad from interviewees' view and news representation. The reality of stereotype are not be confirm but interviewee shared some life experiences for these stereotype. From the experience of six interviewees, five of them are clean, but only one migrant workers are bad hygiene. Interviewee 2 said that:

*“The environment is not clean. I try to avoid sharing facilities with him, such as bathrooms or pots. I used public pot before, but I found that the pots used by her was dirty, so I had to wash them again and I do not use the same pot with him. Besides, if he has used the toilet, the toilet lid will be wet and dirty. Although I can't be sure that the mess was caused by her, every time I see the toilet lid is unclean after she used. The most important thing is that his hygiene management is bad. For example, she washes his hair every two or three days, there will be a smell of sweat.”*

The experience be shared from interviewees both bad and good. Before people get along with migrant workers, they have stereotypes. But people should not generalize it, they should according to actual experience to the personalities of migrant workers. Although single case cannot present all case, people should not depend on media and cognitive bias to understand new group.

The stereotype of migrant workers can be form by the influenced by the concept of stratified otherization in chapter2.

The difference of migrant workers in Taiwan. Racism in Taiwan affects people's different views of foreigners. In addition to the differences in biological characteristics between whites and blacks, their abilities are also regarded as stratified. The regulations be used are different for workers come from different countries. Workers are divided into white-collar migrant workers and blue-collar migrant workers. Among them, white-collar migrant workers come from highly developed countries such as Europe and the United States, foreigners in Japan. They are doing cultural and creative jobs such as supplementary education or management. Blue-collar workers are mostly from Southeast Asian countries in relation to manufacturing, nursing and other production chains or service industries. The nature of the work shows the characteristics of different social classes to distinguish them. Coupled with the public's stereotypes about occupations, blue-collar migrant workers are classified as lower class, such as the lower salary and the hard life, and the white-collar migrant worker has its racial superiority and has superior ability.

The racism and worldview affects people views to other countries' citizens. The economic advantages of European and American countries have made them have a higher status in the world. That directly creates a superior way of seeing. Migrant workers from Southeast Asia are geographically differences in position and level of

national development develop different personality traits, which are regarded as *others* by the nationals in comparison, and people unconsciously associate some negative impressions with them.

Besides, the introduction of migrant workers must be handled through human agencies. As a channel between migrant workers and employers, human agencies play an important role in employers' understanding of migrant workers. The correctness of the intermediary's introduction to migrant workers affects their development in the workplace. Information from migrant worker is one of the sources for the public to learn about migrant workers. However, in order to meet the needs of employers, most agencies simplify the personality traits of migrant workers, focus on comparative opportunity advantages in work, emphasize the output and cooperation of the labor force, ignore the original traits of migrant workers, and highlight the established impression, aggravating the difficulties of migrant workers in Taiwanese society.<sup>36</sup>

In conclusion, the stereotypes are conclude and generalized, it be influenced by many aspects. People have less chance to get along with migrant workers, their understanding for workers come from media, news, or the life experience. The various of culture from workers may made people cannot understand and be aware of them, but it should not become the reason for workers be treat unfairly.

### **Problems of migrant workers**

In addition to the peoblem between society and migrant workers, the interviewees talk about some bad behaviors that make public to discriminate against migrant workers. The derived from their experiences or the cases be shared in the community. In this section, I summerize some main points from the transcription of

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<sup>36</sup> "蕃仔、外勞與阿兜仔：種族主義的社會學," 2013, <https://twstreetcorner.org/2013/08/26/lanpeichia/>.

interviews and find news report to verify the empirical data. Main problems shared from interviewees are common issues of running away, poor self-management, and bad behaviors.

### **Run away**

From two interviewees, they share experiences in common that migrant workers would run away with personal reason. Interview1 shared that as what follows.

*“ Before I hiring this migrant worker, I had hired two,... the first Vietnamese ran away for no reason and second from Indonesia worked for a long time,... she is like a friend to our family.”*

Interview 2 shared the case of running away based on income argument:

*“My family had hired two migrant workers before. One of them went out too often and share informations with friends. He might have heard of better job opportunities elsewhere and ran away. Other one said that she wanted to do other jobs so she do not do this job, my mom told her that based on the "Employment Services Act", if you do not do this job, you cannot do other jobs and you have to be sent back, and he do not want to do it and ran away in the final.”*

From the extracts of two cases above, migrant workers sometimes gain information from their friends in Taiwan and ranning away becomes a way for better job. However, the regulation of "*Employment Services Act*" limit that workers cannot literately change the contract. They have to be hired before the contract expired, but still few migrant workers run away as they want to earn more money. According to "*Employment Services Act*", if migrant workers loses contact with the employer, the employer must wait for 3 months before reapplying for another worker.



Figure 6 opinion.cw on August 23, 2019, "Why did they run away? By my side, a story of "runaway and migrant workers" <sup>37</sup>

Finding new caregivers or coordinating family rotations to care for patients becomes a struggle for employers. However, I found some report representation shows other reasons about why migrant workers choose to run away.

In this report, it used a case to conclude the reason of running away. The agent's fee is too expensive for the workers to make sufficient economic income in short periods. Migrant workers are usually in debt, plus the cost of their own daily life, and the income is not enough for them to repay the debts. In addition to the influence of agency fees, employers' attitude towards migrant workers and excessive work make migrant workers intolerable. When heavy workloads and salary are not proportional, migrant workers choose to escape.

However, the article highlights the impact of institutions and social attitudes on them. At first, the introduction of migrant workers was a substitute for supplementary labor. Later, the long-term care industry began to lack labor, and migrant workers began to work at the long-term care industry. An doubt is the legal salary of migrant workers was lower than the basic salary stipulated by the Labor Standards Law. After

<sup>37</sup> "他們為什麼逃跑？在我身邊，一個「落跑移工」的故事," 2019, <https://opinion.cw.com.tw/blog/profile/52/article/8412>.

the migrant workers, the public began to protest against the migrant workers taking their jobs.

The paradox is that the types of jobs that migrant workers work at are still lacking. Unconsciously, migrant workers are guided by the social system to become "cheap and easy-to-use" workers. After the workers escape, they become escaped migrant workers and become a problem population in the mouth of the general public. Issue of migrant workers come from the comprehensive predicament and institutional contradiction faced by modern society. The reason behind the escape expect for problems from the migrant workers, unilateral issues, institutions and social ethos as well.

### **Poor self-management**

Self-management is an ability to manage our behaviors, thoughts, and emotions in a conscious and productive way. Effective self-management is helpful for avoiding making mistakes, and it is more possible for people who are high self-management to achieve the goal. People have self-management usually have high emotional intelligence and responsibility. However, people who have poor self-management are more likely to make mistake and lost controll.<sup>38</sup> The poor self-management was mentioned by interviewee 5, she revealed the experience in the life. When she described the experience, she emotionally talked about that:

*"We rented a house next door for migrant workers. We lived together with people from the Philippines and Thailand. They are very smelly, barbecued every day, and it was very noisy during holidays. They are really\*5 dirty. It is very annoying to rent a house for migrant workers because of poor hygiene habits."*

Interview2 also share her experience when she saw migrant workers on the train

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<sup>38</sup> "Why self-management is key to success and how to improve yours," 2021, <https://www.betterup.com/blog/what-is-self-management-and-how-can-you-improve-it>.

and attraction, she said that:

*“The migrant workers on the train are very noisy and have strong odor. I met a migrant worker who didn't buy seat ticket when I take the train. In that time, I bought seat ticket and he sat on the handle of my seat, I feel undelightful. When I went to Cijin, an attraction in Kaohsiung, I saw migrant workers are drunk and call the police. For me, I have a poor impression of a group of migrant workers, I think that maybe a whole group of things that are more likely to be disorderly gather together, and it is easier to get out of control, but my family has poor hygiene habits but she would not no order.”*

The problem of noisy and environmental clutter are the main complaints from interviewees. Besides, there are relevant report:



**Figure 7** Liberty Times on January 16, 2022, “Changhua Station Square migrant workers scuffle, people's anger: trouble again”<sup>39</sup>

In the Changhua Station, there were migrant workers fighting for unclear reasons, so local people are troubled by this event. The mayor of Changhua, Lin Shixian, said that:

*“He had been persuaded and drive many times, and asked migrant workers not to cause mess and security problems, but it should be because there are too few places for migrant workers to relax, they have nowhere to go, so they have to stay here reunion.”*

<sup>39</sup> 湯世名, "彰化車站廣場移工大混戰 民怒：又鬧事了," (2022), <https://news.ltn.com.tw/news/society/breakingnews/3803080>.

The Chanhua station is the place where migrant workers usually gather, but they also make environmental problems, the gang fight has once again attracted public attention.

In addition to the news of environmental problems, migrant workers get drunk and there have been news of migrant workers getting drunk and making trouble.



**Figure 8** TVBS on April 19, 2019, “Tourists and migrant workers drink too much, making noise and choking, supermarket businesswomen”<sup>40</sup>

In this report, two migrant workers and one tourists are drunk, and they have some out-of-order behaviors. After the police arrive, they have conflicts with police. Migrant workers said that these wrong behaviors occurred because they were too homesick to drink to relieve their worries.

The fact of migrant workers’ tendency to cause troubles had been prove by news and information interviewees. From two report and opinions from interviewees aboved, the comment toward migrant workers are bad for their behavior. But the thing is worthy discuss is that motivatoin of their behavior may led by limit of society.

So I search the news to find out the reason about migrant workers’ behavior.

<sup>40</sup> 徐克誠, "遊客、移工喝太茫 喧嘩又嗆聲超商女客人," (2019), <https://news.tvbs.com.tw/local/1118319>.



Figure 9 opinion.cw on May 29, 2020, “Why sit on the ground? Public space thinking of migrant workers”<sup>41</sup>

This article takes Taipei Train Station as the meeting point, and explores the reasons for the gathering of migrant workers and how the disorder in the eyes of the public is formed. The nature of the work of migrant workers makes it impossible for most of them to express their will as freely as most Taiwanese, and have no chance to relax until the holidays.

However, dormitories or employers' homes may not provide them with a space to hang out and relax with friends. Some people choose to go to public spaces, such as train stations, parks, etc. They are looking for their own place that can accommodate them without limitation and being treated differently by Taiwanese. With limited salaries and language issues, high-spending locations for them, such as cafes and department stores, were eliminated from the options.

In addition, some migrant workers do not speak Chinese very well, causing them to feel intimidated to communicate with Taiwanese. In the holiday time that is precious to them, they want to tear off their external labels, live with their own unique cultural characteristics, hang out with their fellow villagers, speak their native

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<sup>41</sup> "【投書】為何席地而坐？外籍移工的公共空間思考," 2020, <https://opinion.cw.com.tw/amp/article/9500>.

language, dress up, and relax and vent their stress. In a relaxed situation, it is inevitable that people's emotions will be high, and some people will lose control and become the problem population that creates mess in the eyes of the public.

In this article, author introduce the perspective from Mary Douglas (2003) , A British anthropologist , “*Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*”<sup>42</sup>, from the perspective of cultural differences and the construction of social frameworks, people's definition of dirty is not only limited to literal dirty, but also includes the extent to which people would conform to social norms and disorder.

The rules of cleanliness in Taiwanese society may be different from those in Southeast Asian society. For example, Chinese culture shows that eating with hands is dirty, but in Indian culture, it is normal to eat with hands. According to the historical development of various countries, the values are different. Even in Taiwan, the food culture varies from county to city. Views on the hygiene habits of migrant workers may be shaped by culture and geographical space. From the perspective of migrant workers, usual environment is the daily life they have become accustomed to, but it is more difficult for Taiwanese to accept.<sup>43</sup>

### **Bad behavior**

The interviewees shared some bad behavior of migrant workers, like theft and illegal trading. When I ask question about views toward migrant workers, interviewee 3 said that, “*There are lot of discussion in our community is that migrant workers stealing.*”

There are some report of migrant workers steal, one of article shows that:

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<sup>42</sup> M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (Routledge, 2003). <https://books.google.com.tw/books?id=QGRUTH8hnQ4C>.

<sup>43</sup> 黃龍翔, “【投書】為何席地而坐？外籍移工的公共空間思考。”



Figure 10 TVBS on November 20, 2021, “Nursing "chronic theft" steals 1,000 at a time, the employer hides the camera and find the thief”<sup>44</sup>

Migrant workers habitually steal, and after being discovered by their family members. They are transferred according to the theft, but the descendants of the guarantor are lost, and even the intermediary cannot be found, and they become escaped migrant workers. In addition to lost money, employer are troubled with finding nurses to take care of patient. The migrant workers run away, so she may become a illegal worker, and other problems will arise. Extend from the above issues, Interviewee 6 said that she heard that some migrant workers work as illegal trade, so she cannot have totoally positive views toward migrant worlrs.

A report is that escaped migrant workers engage in illegal trafficking:



Figure 11 China Daily News on October 17, 2022, “12 illegal migrant workers seized in Keelung”<sup>45</sup>

<sup>44</sup> "看護「慢性行竊」1次偷1千 雇主藏鏡頭揪賊," 2021, <https://reurl.cc/GXbg1d>.

<sup>45</sup> "基隆查獲12名非法移工," 2022, <https://www.cdns.com.tw/articles/678259>.

In this report, Keelung City Brigade seized a undocumented Vietnamese migrant workers working as prostitute at a hotel. During a visit to a nursing home for the elderly, they found that three undocumented Vietnamese and an Indonesian worker were engaged in illegal nursing work in the nursing home in Keelung City. Although it cannot be concluded that all migrant workers will escape and engage in illegal trade, migrant workers' cases of committing crimes is an established fact. Besides, what will they do after running away is a problem. That is because their identity may led them to be oppressed and no one can help them. The problem of human rights persecution has been shown up for a long time.

According to a project report by the Ministry of the Interior, most of the reasons for the loss of contact for migrant workers include the high agency fees they have to pay before coming to Taiwan, as well as the unsatisfactory basic labor conditions such as salary, labor-employment relations, workload and working environment are not as expected. Also, when migrant workers work as, can freely switch employers and pay higher wages for illegal work. Work environment and life pressure may cause their psychological pressure, coupled with legal restrictions, it is very likely to cause migrant workers to escape. After entering the illegal market, they become black workers, accelerating the formation of the illegal market.<sup>46</sup>

### **Taiwanese' Acceptance toward migrant workers**

In this part, I combine equal treatment, human right, and relationship between host and workers from the interview question to conclude whether there are discrimination. In my question of interview, I ask people's view about the image of migrant workers, how they get along with, the basic question about workers' right. It

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<sup>46</sup> "全台超過 6 萬多名失聯移工恐構成非法市場，勞動部擬嚴懲非法仲介：最高罰 150 萬元," 2022, <https://www.thenewslens.com/article/168559>.

is interesting that most people have stereotypes toward migrant workers, but they have good relationship with migrant workers at home.

### *Equal treatment*

A question in interview is that, “Do you respect the differences of other cultures in your diet?”

All interviews express that they respect migrant workers’ different culture. Five of migrant workers come from Indonesia, they are Muslim, they cannot eat pork. However, employer respect their culture, migrant workers have right to prepare food by themselves, Migrant workers also share the food come from home country, they exchange different food culture.

But interviewee3 said that:

*“Our family's food culture is very different and it is troublesome, because Anita(migrant worker's name) doesn't eat pork, and the family used to farm, and the elders don't eat beef, so I have more concerns. The meal for Anita(migrant worker's name) was pork-free and my parents' meal was beef-free. Before Anita come, we cook with pork but now we have to prepare for two ways.”*

Interviewee3 respect for worker’s culture, however, the pork is prefer for their family, so it is trouble for prepare food. When people meet different culture, they need to adjust but it is possible to make conflict with original culture. Another way for adjustment for exotic from other interviewees are not to eat pork and replacement by chicken, beef and seafood.

In addition to food differences, the question also included the migrant workers freedom of dress. Most interviewees tell me that they will not request how workers’ dress, even they can use body balm. The only regulation for dress is convenient for work, sometimes, they buy clothes for workers.

From the observation of interviewees, host try their best to treat migrant workers in a fair manner, hoping to make each other feel friendly. The two sides can establish a long-term cooperative relationship, which will not only help improve work efficiency, but also improve migrant workers' adaptation to the environment.

### *Human right*

In this part, question about migrant workers' salary, workload working environment and freedom are focused. I ask question about if workers have rights of religion, social activity, day off, wage and workload.

First is religion, only three migrant workers have actual behavior like prayer and ramadan and the interviewees would not stop that. Interviewee 5 told the advantages of religion, she said that:

*"I think it is very good for them to have religious beliefs. When she has a belief, she is less likely to do bad things. Religious beliefs can create moral constraints and lead to a more regular life."*

The power of religion toward health be mentioned in ***Handbook of Religion and Health***: Individuals also often choose a frugal, regular, and ethical way of life because of their religious beliefs, resulting in improved physical and mental health.<sup>47</sup> Religious beliefs create beliefs in people, and when faced with difficult situations, beliefs become a push, allowing them to believe that they can pass the test. Religious definitions of good and evil instruct people to act within moral norms, which are binding on behavior. For example, Buddhism teaches people to have good intentions, and the moral teachings in the Christian Bible. Under the propaganda of positive concepts, believers abide by norms, have a more positive attitude towards life and are

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<sup>47</sup> H.G. Koenig et al., *Handbook of Religion and Health* (Oxford University Press, 2001).  
<https://books.google.com.tw/books?id=h8F3OmbImH4C>.

less prone to sin. Positive thinking and normal lifestyle contribute to physical and mental health.

Second is the question about social activity, the need of social activity because adequate relax is contribute to pressure release. Most social activities is contact with family, go out with friends or host. An example from interviewees show how they take care of migrant workers, interviewee 5 said that:

*“She usually go out with us because she have no place to go and she do not familiar with attraction. So we will hire LTC 2.0 specially to take care of my dad when we take her on trips, if there is any special exhibition or event, we will take her to visit.”*

The social activity has vital impact on health, people who have social acitivity keep emotional connection with other people, they are less depressed. From the interviewees answer, migrant workers are pleasant because they be treat friedly and their freedom are not limited. Migrant workers at home are willing to share experience with them and they would not feel embarrassed.

When I ask questions about salary, working load and day off, the wage of six migrant workers are at least 20000NTD and the workload are rational. But the day off are various, three workers do not have holidays, three workers have stable holiday. The most reasons for migrant workers have no holidays is that they want to save money and they do not know where to go, they vulunterly decide no holiday. I ask that “If woekers do not have day off, will you give extra salary or other compensations? ” Two interviewee express that if migrant workers have no day off, they will pay additional wage, one interviewee said the reason for she do not give extra salary:

*“Because we have already paid more than others three years ago, others gave 17,000, and we all gave 20,000, which is much higher than others, besides, we usually take care of her in daily life and we*

*take her out usually, so I don't think there is any disadvantage in salary treatment."*

From the interview content, migrant workers and employers have communicated with their employers about salary, workload, and holiday plans. Employers also consider that migrant workers' own economic ability is usually higher than the legal salary. Employers do not control migrant workers' going out and give migrant workers a large degree of freedom. Combining the answers in the equal treatment and human rights section, it can be seen that the six groups of families value the rights of migrant workers.

### *Relationship*

I ask interviewees about the frequency of chat with migrant workers, most of them will pay attention to the situation of migrant workers and care about their situation. Migrant workers will also take the initiative to chat, sharing events in their hometown or their daily life. They think the communication is helpful for solve problem and hope that strengthen migrant workers' belonging in the family.

When I ask question about the identity, four of interviewees take migrant workers as family, one think they are friend, one have no idea.

Interviewee1 said that:

*"Because we have been together for a long time, our relationship tends to be friends, We usually communicate with her about anything, no matter the work or daily life. We also encourage her to speak out, and we will try our best to help if we can."*

Another experience shared by interviewee3:

*"Anita (migrant worker's name) is like my daughter, he is very attentive, the neighbors are nice to her and we think it is very hard for Anita to work in Taiwan alone, so we try to be nice to her. She adjusts well in our house, she initiatively requests renewing the contract, both of us have already negotiated."*

Interviewees shared their daily life delightfully, the content shows that there is no gap between migrant workers and interviewees. But one of interviewee reveals that she is trouble with worker's hygiene, lazy, and the limitation of language make she cannot build friendship with migrant worker. Most interviewees identity toward migrant workers are not influence by employment relationship, they treat them like family, which reflect on work efficiency.

Expect for question of identity, I ask that the dispute in their daily life. Two interviewee told that other family have dispute with migrant worker. One of them told that, "They dispute because of different ideas about how to take care of patient."

Another interviewee told that:

*"The old man's memory is not good, and sometimes things are not seen and thought to be stolen by migrant workers. When my grandmother lost her money, she was suspicious of migrant workers. But the fact is that my grandma remembers it wrong, sometimes he saves the money or gives it to someone else, she forgets and blames the migrant worker and questions him. But my family would tell my grandma that it was not done by migrant worker, and would explain to migrant workers that grandma misunderstand."*

Most families have good relations with migrant workers, and disputes are rare. Regardless of the frequency of disputes, it may cause psychological stress to migrant workers and affect their work efficiency.

Combining the three parts of fair treatment, human rights, and relationships to explore the acceptance and discrimination of migrant workers in six groups of families, the interviews show that most of the families have established good relationships with migrant workers and there is no discrimination.

The first part of equal treatment shows that their foreign cultures are not excluded and that most of the respondents are willing to listen to their needs and

respect them for maintaining their own cultural characteristics, which helps to reduce the culture shock they may face when they come to another place. In terms of language, although foreign migrant workers are not very fluent in Chinese, they will ask for translation assistance when the meaning is unclear, so that the problem of migrant workers will not be ignored. In terms of human rights, the Six Families attach great importance to them. In addition to the reasonable workload, the salary payment has reached the legal limit, and the leave is also handled in accordance with the laws and regulations. If the migrant worker is unwilling to take a vacation, the salary will be paid according to the number of overtime days, and the family members will also observe. The living conditions of migrant workers are given care. In terms of relationship building, most of the interviewees have established deep friendships with migrant workers, and they will hang out together, chat, share life events, and tell their worries. Respect between employers and employees not only creates a friendly environment for migrant workers, but it also reduces annoyance for employers.

However, from the perspective of the public and the media, the acceptance of migrant workers is not high. The main problem is the influence of stereotypes and the behavioral deviation of some migrant workers. The most fundamental problem originates from the entire social system. The values built on migrant workers, the system itself has classified migrant workers, labelled them, and established the image of others, making it difficult for migrant workers to integrate into Taiwanese society. Although the government and media reports advocate that migrant workers are also part of Taiwan, some people are beginning to reverse their negative impression of migrant workers.

## CONCLUSION

This study mainly discusses Taiwanese discrimination against Asian migrant workers, using literature and media analysis to examine Taiwanese society's views on migrant workers and discrimination.

The study used in-depth interviews, usually about 30 minutes, with respondents from Taiwanese households employing migrant workers from Southeast Asia. The reason for choosing these respondents is that the research subjects need to spend a certain amount of time living with migrant workers everyday. Most of the respondents have experiences in hiring migrant workers, so they have a understanding of the habits of migrant workers, and know how difficult or easy to get along with migrant workers. The past experiences help them think about the conflicts that may arise between the public and migrant workers from various perspectives, not only from the perspective of Taiwanese, but also from the perspective of migrant workers to understand the difficulties of cultural adaptation. The results of the study are summarized below.

In the interview, the interviewees also mentioned the reasons why migrant workers are discriminated, including social system, cross-cultural communication with migrant workers, stereotypes and prejudice.

The first point is "intercultural communication", which eliminates language differences and communicates with people from different cultures. Respondents mentioned that language is one of the barriers between them and migrant workers. Except for migrant workers who have been in Taiwan for a long time, most of the migrant workers cannot speak Chinese because they have fewer opportunities to interact with the society, so they are lack of opportunity to learn Chinese. There are

also cultural differences that may affect their way of expression. Most of the respondents' families have migrant workers from Indonesia. According to the interviewer's narrative and media information, Indonesians are relatively docile and have a sense of employment relationship, which may make Migrant workers dare not express their opinions.

The second point is "stereotypes". Respondents mentioned common stereotypes as "noisy", "disorderly", "low level" and "poor hygiene". These stereotypes have also been mentioned in the media, and these stereotypes be turned into prejudices that connect directly to migrant identities. Only one respondent had actual experience with these narratives, and the truth of these stereotypes is relatively low. These stereotypes can be influenced by racism, and most stereotypes tend to be biased and can lead to "othering".

From another perspective, the interviewees mentioned that some of the behaviors of migrant workers themselves also lead to the occurrence of discrimination, such as "running away", "poor self-management" and "bad behavior".

The first point is "running away", three of the interviewees mentioned that the migrant workers they had previously hired had this phenomenon because the migrant workers ran away to get better job opportunities through social activities. However, the media showed that other reasons for escaping were "workload", "wage" and "working environment". The reasons for the escape of migrant workers were not only unilateral reasons, but both employers and employees had problems.

The second point is "poor self-management". The interviewees mentioned that the common problems are "dirty environment" and "drinking trouble". Although it is a fact that the environmental management of migrant workers is not good, when some reports examine this issue from the perspective of migrant workers, the behavior of

migrant workers may be caused by insufficient public space, high work pressure, and cultural differences.

The third point, "bad behavior", including "stealing" and "illegal trading", is mentioned in most media reports and there are many cases. The behavior of the stolen migrant workers will bring financial losses to the employer, and may also lead to security problems. In many reports, some migrant workers will run away after breaking the law and may become black workers. In addition to the protection of the rights of migrant workers themselves, the formation of illegal markets may also be accelerated.

Through conversations with interviewers, they felt that they were more like family or friends with migrant workers. They respect the culture of migrant workers and migrant workers are also willing to share their ideas with them, such as migrant workers will prepare traditional Indonesian food to communicate with others or share things about their hometown. Although the language communication is still not smooth, employers try to communicate with migrant workers through translation or basic English to encourage migrant workers to express their needs. In addition to the adaptability of migrant workers to the environment, it helps work efficiency. In terms of human rights, six groups of families take it very seriously. In addition to a reasonable workload, wage payments have reached legal limits and the welfare system is well established.

Through interviews with six groups of families, understand their tolerance and attention to migrant workers. While this does not reflect overall society's attitudes towards migrant workers, the current survey results are positive. What is difficult to improve is that the public's stereotypes and prejudices against migrant workers are difficult to eliminate, and the behavior of migrant workers themselves may cause

trouble to the public. The issue of migrant workers should not only be reviewed from the perspective of migrant workers, but also from the social system of Taiwan.

# APPENDIXES

## Questionnaire

### Part 1: Basic Information Survey

(Respondents)

Identity: employer/family

Gender:

Age:

Profession:

Education :

Salary:

Residence:

Religion:

(Migrant workers)

Gender:

Age:

Education:

Salary:

Working years:

Job: Nursing/Helper

Residence:

Religion:

### Part II: Discussing Discrimination in Daily Life

1. What do you usually call her?
2. Before hiring migrant workers, what are your thoughts on the image of migrant workers?

Food:

1. Do you usually eat together?
2. Do you mind sharing tableware?
3. Do you respect the differences of other cultures in your diet?
4. Do you take her with you when your family goes out to dinner?

Apparence:

1. What do you think of his foreign costumes?
2. Will you dictate what he wears at work?

Life:

1. Do you feel uncomfortable when you are in the same space?
2. Apart from working hours, would you take the initiative to chat with him?
3. Do you take into account her emotions?
4. If he is sick, will you assist in seeking medical attention?
5. Do you think there is any difference between you two?
6. Is the living space you gave him enough for him to live?
7. If there is a negative incident at home, will it be suspected that it is the work of foreign migrant workers?
8. In the process of getting along with migrant workers, do you have any good memories about migrant workers?
9. In the process of getting along with migrant workers, do you have any bad memories about migrant workers?
10. Do you usually take her with you when you travel or go out?

Human rights:

1. Does he have his own religious beliefs?
2. Does he have any entertainment?

3. Does he have social activities?
4. Does he have vacation time? Can he go out?
5. What is his usual work content?
6. Do you have other jobs?
7. What are the job requirements for her?
8. Do you have insurance?

**Part III: Discrimination toward migrant workers**

1. What do you think is the cause of widespread discrimination in society?
2. After you get along with the migrant worker, do you think the image of the migrant worker has changed from the image you described before?
3. In your opinion, what behaviors of migrant workers may cause public discrimination?
4. After getting along with migrant workers, do you think your answer to the previous question caused the public to discriminate against them?

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