

# **Image Transition of “Military Officers, Civil Servants And Teachers”: A Study Of Public Opinion on Pension System**

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Of Public Opinion on Pension System Reform**

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Wenzao Ursuline University of Languages, 2022

**Abstract**

In Taiwan, pension system reform has been a controversial issue. I want to focus on public opinion on the reform, which has been manifested when the Tsai Ing-wen government started to rule the country.

As a particular group of military officers, civil servants and teachers were not satisfied with the reform, there were marches to protest against the government's new pension policy. The pension reform has also changed the public's image of military officers, civil servants and teachers from a positive image of “stable job” and “law-abiding” to a negative image of “rice bugs” and “dragging down the state's finances.” Therefore, this research hopes to explore how such a change in the image of the group through narrative analysis and in-depth interviews. It is hoped that the public's misunderstanding of the group can be reduced, so as to create a friendly social environment.

Keywords: Image, Military officers, civil servants and teachers, Pension reform

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION .....	1
Background .....	1
Motivation.....	4
Research Purpose .....	5
Research Questions .....	5
Contribution .....	5
Limits .....	6
Delimits.....	6
LITERATURE REVIEW .....	7
The development of the pension .....	7
The origin of the pension .....	7
Pension trends in the world.....	9
Taiwan's pension reform controversy .....	11
Ninth Three March.....	12
Legitimate Expectation .....	13
Mediation of military officers, civil servants and teachers.....	15
Stigma .....	16
Labeling theory .....	16
Stereotype .....	17
Moral panic .....	18
METHODOLOGY .....	20
Research design .....	20
Source of data .....	20
Instrument and Data Collection .....	20

DATA ANALYSIS .....	22
New Policy.....	23
Stigma .....	23
Legitimate expectation.....	25
Rule and divide: intergenerational culture war .....	28
Class Conflict.....	31
Media .....	34
Mediation .....	34
CONCLUSION.....	39
APPENDIX.....	42
Transcript .....	42
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	57

## **LIST OF TABLES**

Table 1. Background of the Five Interviewees .....	22
----------------------------------------------------	----

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Population over 65 years old and sex ratio in Taiwan from 2015 to January 2021.....	9
Figure 2. <i>SET News</i> ' news on July 7, 2016, titled "MCTs pensions have a hidden debt of 8.1 trillion? Pension reform committee approves "stigmatization" .....	24
Figure 3. <i>China Times</i> ' news on May 30, 2019, titled "Talking about pension reform and choking the ruling party's untrustworthiness, Han Kuo-yu advocates: what has been promised in the past must be restored" .....	27
Figure 4. <i>China Times</i> ' news on June 19, 2019, with the headline "The fictional justice, substantive injustice of generational justice!" .....	30
Figure 5. <i>SET News</i> ' news on September 20, 2016, with the headline "Only class exploitation is allowed, class struggle is not allowed. The illogical rhetoric against pension reform" .....	32
Figure 6. <i>SET News</i> ' news on May 27, 2019, with the headline "Support Association buys advertisements "DPP scolded the MCTs as a rice bug." The government asked Guo Tai-ming to apologize" .....	36

# INTRODUCTION

## Background

In this research, I want to focus on a particular group in Taiwan-military officers, civil servants and teachers (MCTs, hereafter), which used to be seen as privileged, but its image has been more complex now. The object of the research concerns how the public thinks about the effects of the pension reform, which might have changed people's image of the MCT.

The pension system is a common social insurance system implemented in most countries around the world. For example, Germany was the first social-democratic country in the world to implement a pension system. In the 1970s, however, more wealthy countries regarded pension reform as the most pressing issue in the development of the social insurance system due to the stagflation of the 1970s and the severe international recession in the 1980s, including inflated economic deficits and payments crisis. Pensions have become one of the largest expenditures in most countries as a way to address these internal and external economic imbalances.<sup>1</sup>

The current approach to pensions around the world is mainly “pay-as-you-go” pension plans that suggest people can choose how much to deduct from their paycheck on a regular basis or as a lump sum from their retirement fund. The fund they provide will be used for retirement plans. They can redeem the money when they reach retirement age. Countries around the world are also affected by the following points on the issue of annuities, including retirement age, replacement rate, indexation formula and contribution rate. Therefore, countries will carry out pension reform from the above points. Pension reforms in various countries include adjusting the

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<sup>1</sup> Aaron G. Grech, "What Makes Pension Reforms Sustainable?," *Sustainability* 10, no. 8:2891 (2018), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.3390/su10082891>.

retirement age according to the increase in life expectancy, and gradually balancing the retirement age of men and women to avoid discrimination against women in the workplace. Further reforms of the labor market, including taxation and welfare systems, will increase employment of the elderly, workers and women and rely more on general taxes to fund basic pensions to support lower labor taxes and job creation.<sup>2</sup>

The earliest pension system in Taiwan was the "Public Service Retirement Law" promulgated by the Nationalist government in Nanjing in 1943.<sup>3</sup> Given the low salary and inflation of the MCTs in the 1940s, this system was established to protect their retirement life. Since 1943, the welfare content of the MCTs included retirement pensions, preferential deposits to increase retirement pensions, or small loans to start businesses. Food, clothing, housing, transportation, education and entertainment were also included in the welfare content. The government took care of their children and dependents.<sup>4</sup>

Since the 1950s, Taiwan had been known as the "MCTs" welfare state", but now people in Taiwan no longer held this title after the reform policy was put into practice. Chen Qi-zong, a master student of the Sociology Department of National Sun Yat-sen University, described such a background when the Kuomintang<sup>5</sup> (KMT, hereafter) came to power in Taiwan in the 1950s. The feature of welfare policy during this period was "Clientelism" which aimed at stabilizing social order and promoting

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<sup>2</sup> Thomas Laursen Leszek Kasek, Emilia Skrok, *Sustainability of Pension Systems in the New EU Member States and Croatia: Coping with Aging Challenges and Fiscal Pressures* (Washington, D.C.: World Bank Publications, 2008).

<sup>3</sup> 林萬億, "我國的年金制度改革: 危機與轉機," *臺大公共政策論壇*. (2012).

<sup>4</sup> 陳惠姍, "烏托邦的建構與反挫: 民進黨執政下的福利國圖象解析" (碩士 東海大學社會學系, 2007).

<sup>5</sup> Kuomintang: One of the main political parties of Taiwan, also the largest opposition party in Taiwan and the second largest party in the Legislative Yuan. Its original predecessor was Revive China Society, a revolutionary group founded in Honolulu, the Republic of Hawaii on November 24, 1894. It was later reorganized into the Tongmenghui, the Kuomintang and the Chinese Revolutionary Party. On October 10, 1919, it was reorganized by Sun Yat-sen in the French Concession in Shanghai and renamed the "Kuomintang".

economic production dominated by state-run industries. The KMT also used military security and public security to improve the security of the MCTs and increased their incentives for loyalty to the KMT. At the same time, the retirement system of the MCTs was also established, and they became the only group with two-tier old-age retirement benefits. The welfare system was established exclusively for the MCTs so that the KMT regime would have used the social policy as a means to patronize those loyalists to the state.

In the 1980s, the state's allocation of social welfare resources could be carried out in accordance with its own ruling cycle regardless of the needs of the society. On the whole, the KMT regime at the time was concerned with economic development. The implementation of social policy was mainly to ensure the stability of the regime and gain the loyalty of the masses, thus forming a state-led redistribution of resources.<sup>6</sup> However, in the 1990s, the Democratic Progressive Party<sup>7</sup>(DPP) appealed for the welfare state to shift its focus on the injustice caused by the welfare of the MCTs. This reform met the mounting resentments of intergenerational and class justice towards the post-martial-law rule under the KMT. DPP instead argued for the social-democratic welfare state.<sup>8</sup>

Lin Wan-Yi, a well-known social work scholar in Taiwan. He is currently the minister of State in the Executive Yuan and the first deputy convener and Chief Executive of the National Pension Reform Commission of Taiwan. In his book "*Taiwan's Social Welfare: An Analysis of History and Institutions*", he wrote that after the February 28 Incident<sup>9</sup>, the social legislation planned in Taiwan was mainly based

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<sup>6</sup> 陳奇宗, "台灣發展型福利體制的轉變:以國民年金為例" (碩士 國立中山大學社會學系, 2014).

<sup>7</sup> DPP: The Democratic Progressive Party, or DPP for short, is one of the main political parties of Taiwan, and is currently the ruling party and the largest party in the Legislative Yuan of Taiwan. It was established on September 28, 1986.

<sup>8</sup> 陳惠姍, "烏托邦的建構與反挫: 民進黨執政下的福利國圖象解析."

<sup>9</sup> February 28 incident: The February 28 Incident refers to the violent clashes between officials and

on MCTs and labor insurance for different occupations. In this way, the state could use social welfare as the main supporter of its legalization (MCTs). At the same time, it could also enforce the protection of the poor (the elderly, the weak, women and children). After this, Taiwan's "MCTs welfare state" was formed.<sup>10</sup>

In Taiwan, the MCTs has long been the supporter of the KMT. The social image, social movement and civic field of the Taiwan MCTs' pension have formed the societalization that has changed the role of the Taiwan pension group.

However, as the media and politicians incite the public's perception of the image of the MCTs, which has also led to "moral panic". "Moral panic" has led to a shift in the image of Taiwan's MCTs shared among the former stable and middle class. The MCTs have been narrated as a greedy group and aged group that deprives the new generation of resources. It means that the pension group is regarded as a source of social problems that would become a social crisis if no official agency intervenes. However, with the continuous rotation of political parties nowadays, image-making related to the MCT reflect a disparity between the KMT and the DPP.

### **Motivation**

My mother was a civil servant, so I was interested in exploring the dispute on the pension system related to the MCTs in Taiwan. In fact, the MCTs is a hierarchical group, in which there are different positions, statuses or the so-called

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people in various parts of Taiwan from February 27 to May 16, 1947. The people demanded political reform, and finally the National Government of the Republic of China sent troops to suppress it. In October 1945, after Japan surrendered in World War II, the Chief Executive and Governor-General headed by Chen Yi took over Taiwan.

Politically, the government is biased in governance, corrupted by official discipline, and politically discriminated against, and most Taiwanese elites are excluded. After the war, there was a clear gap between Taiwan and Mainland China. Taiwanese who were affected by "Japanization" were accused of being "slaved" and asked to be "sinicized". Taiwanese people's dissatisfaction with the government is gradually accumulating, and tensions between officials and people and ethnic groups continue to rise.

<sup>10</sup> 林萬億, *台灣的社會福利:歷史與制度的分析* (五南圖書出版股份有限公司, 2012).

classes. That cover varied generations and staff members who might have contradictory views on pension reform. Given my background affinity to the MCTs, I decide to uncover the more complex images of the MCTs within the society in Taiwan. Therefore, I not only have to uncover my own family story through my graduation thesis, but also take a closer look at different ways of seeing the MCTs.

### **Research Purpose**

The purpose of the research is to look at shifting images or the changes in public opinions toward MCTs. During the reform of the pension system, I assumed that there seemed to be public misconceptions about the MCTs. Thus, the research aims at knowing why the public's image of the MCTs has shifted from more positive ones (e.g., lifetime job, honor, and political stability) to the cause of social problems (e.g., stigma, discrimination, privilege, and moral terrorists). Therefore, the research shows the development of Taiwan's MCTs and the changes in the pension reform system, as well as its impact.

### **Research Questions**

To what extent the pension reform has influenced people's image of the MCTs?

### **Contribution**

The research could be provided to the government to advise or make more details on the policies which the government had not done. Pension reform was not only the responsibility of the government, but also the responsibility of all the people in Taiwan. If everyone in Taiwan can maintain the pension reform together, the pension reform can create a more complete system that can last for generations.

## **Limits**

There were two limits to the research. First, an interview study can cause some biases because the interviewees' answers can be affected by their background or prior knowledge about the issue.

Second, this research focused on MCTs in Taiwan. The limit of this research is that it could only find five civil servants, not most of them in Taiwan.

## **Delimits**

Using the narrative analysis as a research method has a limitation on all the usual biases and problems of sampling, the author can only collect the data from two newspaper outlets based on the keywords. The keywords include "pension reform" and "MCTs", it is possible that the author will collect repeated and irrelevant news by entering these two keywords, so the process of data sampling should be careful and rigorous.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to construct the research questions of this research and clarify related concepts, the literature review in this chapter consists of the following four sections. The first section is about the development of the pension, including the origin of the pension, pension trends in the world, Taiwan pension reform controversy and Nine Three March in Taiwan. The second section is legitimate expectation. The third section is the mediation of MCTs, including stigma, labeling theory and stereotypes. And the last part is about moral panic.

### The development of the pension

#### *The origin of the pension*

The Health Insurance Act of 1883<sup>11</sup>, the Accident Insurance Act of 1884<sup>12</sup>, and the Disability and Old Age Insurance Act of 1889 marked the beginning of Germany's compulsory public social insurance system, which formed the core of Germany's public pension system<sup>13</sup>. The world's first old-age social insurance program was proposed by Germany in 1889.<sup>14</sup> Adopting the Bismarck model is one of the most frequently mentioned system models in ensuring the economic security of the elderly, and it is also adopted by most Western industrial democracies after the Second World War. The pension system is designed to be a social insurance system based on the

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<sup>11</sup> Miriam Blümel Reinhard Busse, Franz Knieps, Till Bärnighausen, "Statutory health insurance in Germany: A health system shaped by 135 years of solidarity, self-governance, and competition," *The Lancet* 390, no. 10 (2017).

<sup>12</sup> Timothy W. Guinnane and Jochen Streb, "Incentives That (Could Have) Saved Lives: Government Regulation of Accident Insurance Associations in Germany, 1884–1914," *The Journal of Economic History* 75, no. 4 (2015).

<sup>13</sup> Beatrice Scheubel, *Bismarck's Institutions: A Historical Perspective on the Social Security Hypothesis* (Mohr Siebeck GmbH & Co. KG, 2013).

<sup>14</sup> Sujay Rao Mandavilli, "Introducing Anthropological Economics: The quest for an Anthropological basis for Economic theory, growth models and policy development for wealth and human welfare maximization," *ELK Asia Pacific Journal of Social Sciences* 6, no. 3 (2020).

principles of pay-as-you-go (PAYG) and defined benefits. Today, pension reform remains a policy area that continues to be high on the political agenda in all advanced industrial countries, in part because old-age economic security is the largest item of public social spending in most European countries and is driven by aging populations and slowing economic growth. The trend of public pensions has formed a major test of the financial sustainability of public pensions.

Taiwan's population aging and low birthrate problems are also serious. According to statistics from the Ministry of the Interior, at the end of January 2021, Taiwan's elderly population (over 65 years old) was 3.804 million(Figure 1), and the proportion of the total population had risen to 16.2% since the end of March 2018, after exceeded the threshold of "senior society" defined by the United Nations of 14.0%.<sup>15</sup> As for the problem of the low birth rate, according to the latest demographic data from the Ministry of the Interior, Taiwan's population had shown negative growth for two consecutive years. In 2021, the number of births in each month would be lower than the number of deaths. Both the crude marriage rate and the number of newborns would hit a record low. Especially in 2021, the number of births would be 153,820, which was significantly higher than that in 2020.<sup>16</sup> It is no wonder that the CIA released the 2021 Global Fertility Forecast Report, Taiwan's total fertility rate ranked last in the world<sup>17</sup>, which also means that due to aging and declining birth rate, such an unbalanced population structure has become a more serious problem in Taiwan.

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<sup>15</sup> 行政院主計總處, 國情統計通報, (行政院: 行政院, 2021).

<sup>16</sup> 陳俊華, "人口連兩年負成長 2021 年出生數結婚率創新低," *中央通訊社* 2022, <https://www.cna.com.tw/news/firstnews/202201105007.aspx>.

<sup>17</sup> Central Intelligence Agency, "Total fertility rate," (2021). <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/field/total-fertility-rate/country-comparison>.

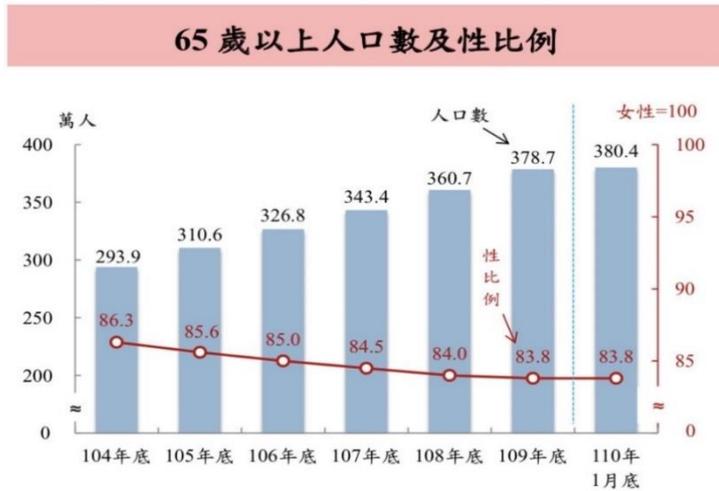


Figure 1. Population over 65 years old and sex ratio in Taiwan from 2015 to January 2021

In order to cope with the unstable financial situation caused by the growth of the elderly population and the declining birth rate, raising the retirement age has become a controversial issue in various countries. The main reason for raising the retirement age is that demographic changes are reflected in longer life expectancy and therefore longer pension withdrawal times. Longer life expectancy is used as a reason to raise the retirement age because they tax the financing system as benefits are paid out longer than in the past. Raising the retirement age would ease the strain on the system by reducing the time it takes to pay benefits and increasing the likelihood that workers will not get benefits.

The life expectancy adjustment of pension benefits can be seen as a substitute for an increase in the pension age, because as life expectancy increases, many people can voluntarily work longer hours to make up for lower annual pension payments.

### *Pension trends in the world*

In order to solve the impact of the growth of the elderly population and the declining birth rate on pensions, many countries have begun to implement "gradual

retirement", that is, individuals gradually reduce their work content during the process of completely leaving the labor market or reduce their work tasks in recent years.

There are two main types of "gradual retirement" models, one is to engage in joint work, and the other is to continue working after receiving a pension. Its main features are "flexible work arrangements", including "workplaces", which can be continued to be employed by the same employer or employed by different employers; "working hours", which are generally half of the original working hours, or gradually reduced; "Work content", usually the original work is redistributed, the workload will be lighter, or changed to self-employed; "salary", because the working hours are reduced, the salary will naturally decrease, but both parties need to negotiate and agree; "Time point", which can be a part-time work in the original career, which is called a transitional work, or it can be retired and then returned to the workplace, which is also called "reverse retirement" (reverse retirement).<sup>18</sup>

Sweden was the first country to establish and promote a gradual retirement system. Since 1976, the government had encouraged workers between the ages of 60 and 65 to adopt this model, combining part-time work with the Pension System, allowing them to gradually withdraw from the labor market. This is done to provide more flexible working options for the elderly and to reduce the impact of sudden retirement on labor.<sup>19</sup> Lei Delsen, the research fellow of NETSPAR (Network for Studies on Pensions, Aging and Retirement), mentioned that gradual retirement in Sweden has a high rate of partial pension replacement, a friendly employment environment, and sufficient part-time work opportunities, so the elderly adopt a high

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<sup>18</sup>莊婉君 陳寬政, 楊靜利, "台灣中高齡勞工漸進式退休的影響因素," *人力資源管理學報* 15, no. 1 (2015), <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org.wenzao.idm.oclc.org/10.6147%2fJHRM.2015.1501.04>.

<sup>19</sup> ARTHUR VAN SOEST TUNGA KANTARCI, "GRADUAL RETIREMENT: PREFERENCES AND LIMITATIONS," *De Economist* 156 (2008).

rate of gradual retirement and are also successfully reduce early retirement.<sup>20</sup>

Germany's gradual retirement system is composed of a combination of employment insurance and state annuity, which not only supports the job security of the elderly, but also improves their social welfare, which is sufficient to maintain living standards and reduces insurance due to early retirement. Take Germany's BMW as an example. In 2012, it began to promote a gradual retirement system, which can cut working hours in half six years before employees retire. In the 1st to 3rd years, they usually work full-time and receive a full salary; in the 4th to 6th years, they cannot work and the salary is 88% of the full salary. In addition, with some working hours, expanding flexible working hours, improving the working environment and welfare measures, these benefits allow employees to have sufficient experience inheritance and physical and mental preparation time before formal retirement.<sup>21</sup> Kantarci & Soest mentioned that Germany's gradual retirement scheme successfully replaced the generous early retirement scheme, and the main factor is the training of senior workers, which is quite common in large enterprises in Sweden and Germany.<sup>22</sup>

#### *Taiwan's pension reform controversy*

In 2017, in response to Taiwan's aging population and declining birthrate, the Ministry of Civil Service planned the "Gradual Retirement Manpower Reuse System", planned for civil servants to claim full monthly pensions at the age of 65 in the first few years, in order to reduce working hours and pay discounts to work, this

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<sup>20</sup> Lei Delsen, "Gradual Retirement: Lessons from the Nordic Countries and the Netherlands," *European Journal of Industrial Relations* 2, no. 1 (1996), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1177/095968019621004>.

<sup>21</sup> Olly Wehring, "BMW offers employees more incentives to reduce work or leave," *Just Auto* 2020, <https://www.just-auto.com/news/bmw-offers-employees-more-incentives-to-reduce-work-or-leave/>.

<sup>22</sup> Tunga Kantarci & Arthur Van Soest, "Gradual Retirement: Preferences and Limitations," *De Economist* 156, no. 2 (2008), <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10645-008-9086-1>.

proposal caused some civil servants to rebound and question the responsibility system for pay cuts. Therefore, gradual retirement has not been implemented in Taiwan. However, Taiwan's Labor Standards Act stipulates that after 15 years of work and the age of 55, people can voluntarily retire. Therefore, many workers may not really intend to retire when they apply for retirement. The main purpose may be to obtain pensions for other purposes. On the other hand, Taiwan labor market has not provided sufficient and suitable part-time work opportunities for retired senior citizens. These factors may also be the reason why fewer people agree to implement gradual retirement in Taiwan.

Joseph Quinn, a professor of aging issues and Social Security reform. He mentioned that gradual retirement inserts a period of reduced workload in the middle, so retirement is a transition process rather than an instantaneous transition.<sup>23</sup> If employment opportunities for older workers are mostly flexible and part-hour jobs, gradual retirement may be a strategy that can simultaneously meet the hiring needs of business owners, the employment expectations of older workers, and the government's financial pressure on the social security system. European countries have been promoting gradual retirement for more than 20 years, and Japan and South Korea have recently introduced various gradual retirement plans. Taiwan has neither relevant policies nor research literature, and most studies treat work and retirement as two completely mutually exclusive phases.

### *Ninth Three March*

On September 3, 2016, the "Supervising Pension Reform Action Coalition"

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<sup>23</sup> Joseph Quinn, "The Role of Bridge Jobs in the Retirement Transition: Gender, Race, and Ethnicity," *The Gerontologist* 36, no. 3 (1996), <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/geront/36.3.363>.

held the "Ninth Three March". They took "anti-smear and defending dignity" as the main appeal of the parade. The Supervising Pension Reform Action Coalition thought that before and after the DPP came to power, they repeatedly slandered and smeared the MCTs, especially they emphasized that the MCTs' retirement system is a drag on the state's finances, but it was not in line with the facts. On the contrary, it had caused disputes among various job groups. The DPP also used the media, ruling officials and legislators to slander the MCTs. For example, the pension of MCTs was guaranteed by the constitution and laws, and it was also a solemn commitment of the state. However, President Tsai Ing-wen described their brutal behavior of breaking the law and the constitution, breaking promises, and forcibly deleting the statutory pensions of public servants as "pension reform" for the sake of future generations.

"Supervising Pension Reform Action Coalition" questioned that the reform had become a "Cultural Revolution-style pension struggle." Although President Tsai Ing-wen had convened a meeting of the National Pension Reform Committee, the public had not seen the government propose a specific version of the pension system reform. Instead, people of different occupations were compared and opposed to each other. Based on "respect for dignity and anti-stigma," the Ninth Three March expressed to Tsai Ing-wen's government the absurdity of the current pension system reform. The whole people supported the pension system reform but opposed the "Cultural Revolution".<sup>24</sup>

### **Legitimate Expectation**

According to the principle of legitimate expectation declared in the

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<sup>24</sup> 周祝瑛, "退休公務員雙薪 整頓年金首步," *人間福報* 2016, <https://www.merit-times.com/NewsPage.aspx?unid=445769>.

Interpretation No. 525 of the Grand Justice of the Judicial Yuan of Taiwan.<sup>25</sup> The principle of legitimate expectation means that the state first performs an administrative act, and then performs another to change the original legal order. At this time, the people made some investments because they trusted the previous administrative actions of the state, whether it was time, money, or mental effort. Therefore, the state should safeguard the investment made by the people because of their reliance on the state's previous administrative actions. In addition, the principle of legitimate expectation is not only a general principle of administrative law, but also a basic principle of the constitution.

For the people to claim protection in accordance with the principle of legitimate expectation, the following three requirements must be met. First, the foundation of trust is the existence of an administrative act for the country to generate trust among the people. The basis of reliance includes administrative sanctions and executive orders.

Second, the performance of trust means that people have made corresponding performance behaviors because of the existence of the foundation of trust and have actually begun to plan and implement changes in their lives or properties.

Third, trust is worth protecting. If the people have trustworthy protection, and their trust interests are obviously greater than the public welfare they want to protect, the administrative organ shall not revoke the benefit points; however, if the people have trustworthy interests worth protecting, but their trust interests are not obvious. If the revocation is greater than the public welfare you want to maintain, and the revocation does not cause major harm to the public welfare, the granting points can still be revoked, but the people should be reasonably compensated for the property

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<sup>25</sup> 司法院, 釋字第 525 號, (司法院公報, 2001).

losses suffered by it.

### **Mediation of military officers, civil servants and teacher**

There are actually many groups of stakeholders affected by the pension reform, including MCTs, laborers, and farmers, etc. However, my research mainly focuses on MCTs.

Roger Silverstone, an outstanding contributor to the field of media and communications studies. He mentioned that mediation is a dialectical process that examines the circulation of symbols involved in institutionalized media (such as newspapers, news, and the World Wide Web) in social life. He also emphasizes the concept of "mediation" and attempts to explain how the process of communication changes and supports the social and cultural environment of this process, and also changes the relationship between individuals and institutions, and between them and the environment.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, in the process of mediation, many public opinions or information may be distorted, which also creates a certain consensus among certain groups, but at the same time, mediation also reflects the more mainstream views in society. With the development of mediation, the image and representation of MCTs also appeared in the media and mediation texts. The essential characteristic of MCTs is middle class and high and low levels of official rank. However, Nick Haslam, a professor of Psychology, mentioned that essentialization can lead to labeled theory, stereotypes, stigma, prejudice, discrimination, and more.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Roger Silverstone, "The Sociology of Mediation and Communication," *Handbook of sociology* (2005), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.4135/9781848608115.n11>.

<sup>27</sup> Sheri R. Levy. and Haslam Nick, "Essentialist Beliefs About Homosexuality: Structure and Implications for Prejudice," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 32, no. 4 (2006), <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0146167205276516>.

## *Stigma*

Erving Goffman, a social psychologist, notes that stigma is “the phenomenon whereby an individual with an attribute which is deeply discredited by his/her society is rejected as a result of the attribute. Stigma is a process by which the reaction of others spoils normal identity.”<sup>28</sup>

MCTs suffer from stigma in the process of reappearance, whether it is public opinion, news, etc. The public will think that the job nature of the MCTs is most attractive for long-term stability and guaranteed retirement. Unlike other types of jobs, MCTs can apply for retirement as long as they have served a certain number of years and received the appropriate pension to maintain retirement. Because of this, the public believes that the pension system for MCTs is the culprit that dragged down Taiwan's finances. During this pension reform process, the MCTs were stigmatized by some people as “Rice Bugs”.<sup>29</sup>

## *Labeling theory*

The most controversial issue in the pension reform is in 1971. When the KMT was in power, the government passed a rule that the seniority of the KMT was equal to the seniority of the public office. This provision showed the political purpose of the rulers at that time to consolidate the core supporters with social policies. The KMT's approach also makes the DPP feel unfair.<sup>30</sup>

However, in the absurd context of the DPP, the MCTs and its supporters, who were forced to defend their own rights and interests, became "rice bugs" and "counter-

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<sup>28</sup> Erving Goffman, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* (1963).

<sup>29</sup> 莊惠琪、葛子綱, "後援會買廣告「民進黨罵軍公教米蟲」 府院要求郭台銘道歉," *三立新聞* 2019, <https://www.setn.com/News.aspx?NewsID=547083>.

<sup>30</sup> 顏維婷, "軍公教優渥退休福利這個「歷史共業」的政治成因," *關鍵評論網* 2017, <https://www.thenewslens.com/article/67829>.

reformers", and those who took the lead in breaking the law became "reformers", while the victims of arbitrary deprivation and trampling of rights have instead become "counter-reformers". Although the relevant personnel continued to clarify, it still could not change the people's views on the MCTs.

For example, laborers think that the biggest problem in pension reform is labor insurance and farmer insurance, which are the government's biggest pension holes. Why not give priority to both? Instead, pension reforms are being made everywhere regarding the issue of MCTs' pensions. However, the public's attitude towards MCTs is mostly based on mass media.<sup>31</sup>

### *Stereotype*

The Oxford English Dictionary defined stereotype as a "widely held but fixed and oversimplified image or idea of a particular type of person or thing". Stereotypes are ubiquitous. Among other things, they cover racial groups, political groups, genders, demographic groups, and activities.<sup>32</sup>

With the continuous development of Taiwan's history, politics and economy, the related system of MCTs has not kept pace with the times, which has also led to the repeated criticism of the distribution of pensions and the justice of generations. In such an atmosphere, the media constantly compares other occupations with the MCTs' pension system, which makes the differential treatment between the two increasingly prominent. These discriminatory treatments also lead to unfriendly attitudes and biased negative views of the MCTs among the public, and even negative stereotypes,

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<sup>31</sup> 李瑞瑾, "勞保破產大限到! 年輕人怒「遭割韭菜補漏洞」: 倒一倒自己存更實在," *PHEW! 好險網* 2021, <https://www.phew.tw/article/cont/phewpoint/current/topic/12515/2021092812515>.

<sup>32</sup> Pedro Bordalo et al., "Stereotypes\*," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 131, no. 4 (2016), <https://doi.org/10.1093/qje/qjw029>, <https://doi.org/10.1093/qje/qjw029>.

resulting in opposition and irrational criticism among the public.

### **Moral panic**

Stanley Cohen, a South African criminologist. He developed and popularized "moral panic". From the book "*Folk devils and moral panics: The creation of the Mods and Rockers*", he mentioned that moral panic is the occurrence of a condition, episode, person, or group of persons emerging to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests. Moral panic is fueled by the news media and politicians, and this often leads to the passage of some new law or policy. Moral panic can also contribute to the strengthening of social control. Thus, moral panics tends to use known stereotypes to reinforce them even more, which can lead to exacerbating real and perceived differences and divisions between groups of people.<sup>33</sup>

The current retirement security in Taiwan is based on occupational separation. Different occupational categories enjoy different differential treatments. The design of insurance wages, contribution rates, and contribution levels in different systems are different, which also causes the root cause of moral panic. The opposition of pension reform can be divided into the opposition between the public, the MCTs, the current MCTs and the retired MCTs. The opposition between the public and the MCTs is that the image of the MCTs has been "demonized" by the media or politicians. The general public thinks that the retirees of the MCTs have a high replacement rate, 18% of preferential interest deposit, and a good life, but they are unwilling to even "think for the country" and take a little less pension.

The opposition between the current MCTs and the retired MCTs is that their

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<sup>33</sup> Stanley Cohen, *Folk devils and moral panics: the creation of the Mods and Rockers* (London: MacGibbon and Kee Ltd, 1972).

pension system is different. The pension system of the retired MCTs is a "Superannuation", and the pension is completely given by the state. However, after 1984, the MCTs' system implemented the "defined contribution system", and what they will receive in the future is the money they deducted first. The difference in the pension system also led to the current MCTs worrying that the government would go bankrupt and that they would not receive any pension.<sup>34</sup> Many politicians also mislead the public with words in the media. Politicians emphasize that the unfairness of pensions to young people is completely provoking intergenerational confrontation, and they will also use the words "the next generation to raise the previous generation" to create moral panic.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> 苦苓, "年金改革, 別上了狡猾政府的當!", 2017, <https://forum.ettoday.net/news/879112>.

<sup>35</sup> 賴建寰, "那些反年金改革的話術, 錯在哪?," 報導者 *THE REPORTER* 2017, <https://www.twreporter.org/a/opinion-review-antipension-reform>.

## **METHODOLOGY**

This chapter explains various methodologies that were used in gathering data and analysis which are relevant to the research. The methodologies include areas such as research design, source of data, data collection and its instruments.

### **Research design**

In this research, I adopt two approaches to the research design. First, I collect and analyze various media coverage related to pension reform. Data is selected from media coverage. Second, I conduct in-depth interviews with five MCTs to obtain more detailed information, thoughts and opinions on the pension reform.

### **Source of data**

For narrative analysis, the source of data was from *SET News* and *China Times*. I searched for articles published from 2016 to 2022. 2016 was the year the pension reform began. For in-depth interviews, my mother was a civil servant, so the source of data was from my mother and her colleagues. I met these 4 colleagues through my mother and asked them if they would like to be interviewed. I conducted in-depth interviews with them in the café between September 4<sup>th</sup> to September 6<sup>th</sup>. Each interview lasts 40 minutes to 60 minutes.

### **Instrument and Data Collection**

For the narrative analysis, I use two media coverage analysis to do my research. These two media are *SET News* and *China Times*. The former supports the DPP and the latter supports the KMT. Through narrative analysis, I can find out polarized views on pension reform.

Then, I use face-to-face in-depth interviews with 5 civil servants in the cafe. The topics of the in-depth interview are mainly divided into three aspects, one is the image of the MCTs, another is the pension reform of the MCTs and the other is political inclination.

## DATA ANALYSIS

The data that I received was from interviewing people in the public sector, I interviewed five civil servants in the public sector. The interview took about an hour to finish.

Table 1 shows the background of the five interviewees. All of them joined the public sector more than 20 years. Interviewee A and interviewee B are executive officers, interviewee C and interviewee D are officers and interviewee E is a revenue officer. Their education level was all college degrees. They all lived in Taichung.

**Table 1.** Background of the Five Interviewees

Interviewee	Job tenure	Education level	Place of residence	Public sector
A	25 years	College	Taichung	Household Registration Office
B	20 years	College	Taichung	Household Registration Office
C	23 years	College	Taichung	Household Registration Office
D	25 years	College	Taichung	Household Registration Office
E	30 years	College	Taichung	National Taxation Bureau

**Source: edited by the author**

The other part analyzed the media coverage. The data used for this research came out from two newspapers- *SET News* and *China Times*. The author used two keywords, “MCTs” and “Pension system reform”, to extract news articles from May

2016 to September 2022.

### **New Policy**

In 2016, President Tsai Ing-wen came to the office and said that our pension system is facing bankruptcy crisis due to the impact of changes in population and industrial structure. Reforming pensions became the most pressing issue when the new regime planned to allocate or redistribute social value resources through pension reform. She also wants to use pension reform to arouse the support of the younger generation for her.

### *Stigma*

The news content above caused the public representation among certain media to stigmatize the MCTs. The phrase of stigma mentioned in the Chapter 2 refers to "the phenomenon whereby an individual with an attribute deeply discredited by his/her society is rejected due to that attribute. Stigma is the process by which the reaction of others disrupts normal identities."

In fact, in the process of pension reform, the government has put a lot of labels on the MCTs and separated many social groups. Therefore, the government lacked social communication in the process of pension reform, which became controversial agenda with a sense of exclusion, punishment and moral scare.

Based on interviews with some of my interviewees, interviewee A described

*“Many people now believe that privileges are granted as long as they can find a legislator or a higher authority. Administration according to law has turned into making things difficult for them.”*

In the extract, Interviewee A was very active in expressing her thoughts and

deeply sharing her own feelings during the interview. She seems to have many opinions and views on pension reform, which used to privilege the people in the public sector, but now appears to divide the groups.

I saw some phenomena through the interview content, such as stigma and so on. In fact, this phenomenon is often seen in reports. *SET News*, stands in support of the DPP, seems to convey certain messages in stigma, and some of these messages are like what Interviewee A said, like labeling and trouble-making and so on.



Figure 2. *SET News*' news on July 7, 2016, titled "MCTs pensions have a hidden debt of 8.1 trillion? Pension reform committee approves "stigmatization" <sup>36</sup>

As Figure 2 indicates, *SET News* stated

*"The National Pension Reform Commission stated the hidden liabilities of MCTs totaled 8 trillion Yuan, the financial burden of the MCTs' pension is quite staggering. However, the representatives of the MCTs were dissatisfied with the term "hidden debt", believing that it was too stigmatized, and they raised a strong backlash."*

<sup>36</sup> 吳宜蓁, "軍公教年金潛藏負債 8.1 兆？ 年金改革委員批「污名化」," 政治, *三立新聞* 2016, <https://www.setn.com/News.aspx?NewsID=162378>.

The country has a total debt of 18 trillion yuan, and the MCTs are estimated to have a hidden debt of about 8.1 trillion. It has led the public to point the finger at the MCTs, believing that poor financial discipline is the fault of the MCTs.

Now the stigma of MCTs is very serious, whether it is “rice bugs”, “greedy people”, “hidden debts” and so on. But the stigma of MCTs is basically made by the government.

The government forced pension reform on the grounds that the pension system would go bankrupt. In the process of pension reform, they did not hesitate to stigmatize the MCTs and create class conflict, so that the two sides could not carry out the reform in an agreed way.

The government's pension reform has stigmatized the MCTs, which made them discouraged and unable to exert themselves to contribute. They just want to get the job done, but not necessarily the best. What they care about is not necessarily the amount of pension, but more importantly, the dignity of working for the country.

### *Legitimate expectation*

Legitimate expectation is a very important issue in the process of pension reform (see Chapter 2). It refers to the trust mechanism working between the ruler and the ruled: “people make certain living arrangements because they trust the government's behavior or regulations. After that, because of the sudden change of laws and regulations, the rights and interests of the people were affected.”<sup>37</sup> Given that legitimate expectation matters for MCTs in securing the preferential fixed deposit rate they promised. When the new ruler dropped that, the promise no longer exists. It

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<sup>37</sup> 司法院大法官, “信賴保護原則,” ed. 司法院 (司法院公報, 2001).  
<https://law.moj.gov.tw/LawClass/ExContent.aspx?ty=C&CC=D&CNO=525>.

led to some outrages shared among the MCTs. In my interview, Interviewee B had strong dissatisfaction with this.

Interviewee B said

*“When I was a civil servant, the terms given to me by the state were not like this. We had our own life plans, but when we were about to retire, they told us that I was sorry, nothing counted, and we had to start all over again. All of our life plans have been disrupted. We will feel that the country has not given us enough time to adapt.”*

For the civil servants I interviewed, their choice to become civil servants essentially means their dependence on the long-standing protection of the government while giving up other opportunities to compete in the free market. They have devoted the best years of their lives to long-term national public service, as they mostly trusted the pension equates with a stable life after retirement.

In fact, in the early days, the salaries of civil servants were relatively low, see what I mentioned in Chapter 2. They still chose to be civil servants because they believed once they would have contributed to the country and society, the government guaranteed to repay them with a perfect welfare system.

However, no principles are not permanent, the new policy has affected the benefits that public servants are entitled to. *China Times* stands in support of the KMT, which seems to convey certain messages.

## 談年改嗆執政黨不守信 韓國瑜主張：過去已承諾的要恢復

04:10 2019/05/30 中國時報 | 曹明正、袁庭堯、高雄、陳科廷



政府進行年金改革，引發軍公教人員抗議。(本報系資料照)

字級設定：小 中 大 特

高雄市議員吳益政29日在議會總質詢要有意參選總統的高雄市長韓國瑜就年金改革

Figure 3. *China Times*' news on May 30, 2019, titled “Talking about pension reform and choking the ruling party's untrustworthiness, Han Kuo-yu<sup>38</sup> advocates: what has been promised in the past must be restored”<sup>39</sup>

As Figure 3 indicates, *China Times* mentioned that

*“For the sake of stability, even if there is not much cash, at least eat enough, not starve to death, so MCTs are willing to sacrifice for a stable. They didn't expect that when they were old, the government did not keep its promises and made them "the older they get, the less they get". Han Kuo-yu emphasized that the government's promises in the past cannot be repented. Only by fulfilling its promises can*

<sup>38</sup> Han Kuo-yu: a Taiwanese politician, ran for Kaohsiung mayor in 2018 on behalf of the KMT, winning with 892,545 votes. In 2019, he represented the Kuomintang in the 2020 presidential election. Shortly before the 2020 presidential election, Han Kuo-yu was jointly signed to remove his Kaohsiung mayor due to various controversial words and deeds. Subsequently, on April 17, the Kaohsiung City Election Commission announced that the number of valid joint signatures for the Han Kuo-Yu recall case reached 377,000. Through the second stage, Han Kuo-Yu became the first person in the Republic of China to be recalled and voted twice, and also the first recall case to enter Mayor at the voting stage. On June 6, the recall case was passed with 939,090 affirmative votes. On June 12, the Central Election Commission announced his dismissal. Han Kuo-yu became the first mayor of a municipality directly under the Central Government to be recalled in the Republic of China.

<sup>39</sup> 袁庭堯 曹明正, 陳科廷, "談年改嗆執政黨不守信 韓國瑜主張：過去已承諾的要恢復," 政治, 中時新聞網 2019, <https://www.chinatimes.com/realtimenews/20190530000572-263101?chdtv>.

*the pension reform be approved by the majority of MCTs.”*

The government broke its word to MCTs. It has led to many MCTs now being afraid to retire, including the five interviewees I interviewed. Moreover, they also said that they are afraid to retire now, because the current pension is no longer the condition that the government promised them. They originally planned to use this stable and continuous pension to pay for mortgages, insurance, etc., but all their efforts in the past few years were wasted because of the government's pension reform. Could it be that these retired MCTs have their lives reversible? Or can they ask to go back to work again?

However, no matter how the pension is changed indiscriminately, the government can still trust that MCTs will still be conscientious in their jobs, but how can MCTs trust what the government says again. If trust is lost between the government and the people, the operation of society will increase more intangible costs. When the people view the government as they view the fraudulent syndicate and have no sense of trust, is there any legitimacy and necessity for the government to exist?

#### *Rule and divide: intergenerational culture war*

Intergenerational justice is a controversial topic in the process of pension reform. This term appeared basically when pension reform was mentioned. Steve Vanderheiden, a professor in political science, noted that intergenerational justice is “essentially concerned with the duties and responsibilities that present generations have to past and future generations, and what moral considerations ought to be considered when thinking through these duties and responsibilities.”<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Steve Vanderheiden, *Atmospheric Justice: A Political Theory of Climate Change* (Oxford University

In Chapter 2, I mentioned that “At the end of January 2021, Taiwan's elderly population (over 65 years old) was 3.804 million.”. The pension system is to enable the elderly to be supported and prevent the elderly from becoming poor and sick after retirement. However, with the change of generations, pension reform has been unable to guarantee a life of basic dignity in old age for all. For this reason, Interviewee E has great concerns about her own future old age.

Interviewee E said

*“For some retired MCTs, when they are old, they may need more money to pay for their old body and sickness. However, because of the pension reform, their pension is reduced, and they may lead to the so-called "Karyu Rojin". The older they are, the less money they will have, but the older they are, the more money, social welfare and medical system that should be used.”*

Takanori Fujita, the author of *Karyu Rojin*, coined the term "karyu rojin".<sup>41</sup> “Karyu rojin” refers to “the elderly with low income, low savings, low dependence and living in the lower middle class.” In Japan, a large number of seniors who had a middle-class life before retirement thought they would be able to spend the rest of their lives comfortably, but in old age, they moved downward due to a sudden drop in income, insufficient savings, and no one to rely on, and were attacked by poverty and loneliness. And this kind of situation is gradually happening in Taiwan with the change of generations. *China Times* stands in support of the KMT, which seems to convey certain messages.

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Press, 2008).

<sup>41</sup> 藤田孝典, *下流老人：即使月薪5萬，我們仍將又老又窮又孤獨*, trans. 吳怡文 (日本: 如果出版社, 2016).

中時專欄：李念祖《世代正義的虛構正義、實質不正義！

19:55 2019/06/19 言論 李念祖



年金改革，撕裂族群，軍公教族群退休金大幅縮水，朱羅英籲台中市政府，幫退休軍公教提集體年金行政訴訟案。(黃國峰攝)

Figure 4. *China Times*' news on June 19, 2019, with the headline "The fictional justice, substantive injustice of generational justice!"<sup>42</sup>

As Figure 4 indicates, *China Times* mentioned that

*"The salaries and pensions of MCTs are determined by the government's legislation. This is the case today, and it was the same yesterday. If the government can legislate to set a new ceiling anytime and anywhere and use today's salary to decide to change yesterday's pension, it means that as long as the government lowers today's salary, it can lower yesterday's pension. This is not generational justice, but generational injustice."*

In the process of pension reform of MCTs, "intergenerational justice" was an issue that has often received attention. There had always been calls for pension reform in the past, but the system has existed for many years and was not easy to change. The government pays many pensions for MCTs every year, which indirectly increased the burden and relative deprivation of the younger generation.

<sup>42</sup> 李念祖, "世代正義的虛構正義、實質不正義!", *中時新聞* 2019, <https://www.chinatimes.com/newspapers/20190620000780-260109?chdtv>.

In terms of the current state of MCTs pension and labor insurance pension in Taiwan, renegotiated the agreement, compromised with each other, and took a step back to change the sustainable structure was definitely a better choice than doing nothing and going bankrupt.

What's more, generation was not a precise concept, but an imaginary division. Each MCT had a different starting point and length of qualifications, so it was difficult to distinguish between different generations. The previous generation of each era was a different set. The so-called intergenerational justice was an ideological misunderstanding and lacked a clear legal definition. It was a fictional concept with serious blind spots in its operation.

Therefore, it was nothing wrong with the MCTs. The structure of the pension was not what they set, but it was absolutely nothing wrong with the government needing to renegotiate contracts because of past design mistakes.

What we should discuss is how to change Taiwan's pension structure to strike a reasonable balance between fiscal balance, government credibility, and the country's future.

### *Class Conflict*

With regard to Marxist perspective, class conflict is the conflict between different classes in a society resulting from different social or economic positions so that people in different classes tend to reflect opposed interests.

In the process of pension reform, MCTs who have relatively better retirement benefits than labor have been attacked by some public opinion. The government provides too little retirement security for labors and unreasonable provision of certain benefits for MCTs. However, some media and politicians simply use "labor" and

"public servants" to distinguish the two groups. The fact that it can not help but feel rough and ulterior motives.

This can be shown in an extract below that interviewee A said

*“Civil servants are also citizens of the country, and we also get paid for our labor. Why does the government have to reform the MCTs’ pension to create a class conflict for the laborers? Perhaps pension reform is necessary, but is it necessary to make the public feel that the pensions of the MCTs are not earned by hard work?”*

Interviewee A was emotional when she responded to this quote. During the process of pension reform, she seemed to have a lot of opinions on the government. She thought that the government did not take into account the rights and interests of the MCTs.

This is echoed by a mention of *SET News*, which always supports the DPP and the MCTs, conveying some messages in relation to class conflict.

三立新聞網 > 名家  
觀點 / 只容階級剝削不容階級鬥爭 反年金改革的奇談怪論  
2016/09/20 16:32:00



Figure 5. *SET News*’ news on September 20, 2016, with the headline “Only class exploitation is allowed, class struggle is not allowed. The illogical rhetoric against pension reform”<sup>43</sup>

<sup>43</sup> 林濁水, "只容階級剝削不容階級鬥爭 反年金改革的奇談怪論," *三立新聞* 2016,

As Figure 5 indicates, *SET News* mentioned that

*“MCTs are a community of shared destiny with the same interests, facing the struggle of the jealous class who cannot receive generous pensions. Now President Tsai continues to push for pension reform and continues to be attacked for class conflict.”*

Since President Tsai Ing-wen was sworn in, the Tsai government has promoted a series of institutional changes in the name of “reform”. Among them, the most deeply involved people's rights should be the so-called “pension reform”. In particular, the Tsai government produced propaganda that "unjust pension must be reformed", labeling retired MCTs who received retirement benefits in accordance with the law as "unjust". It is worrying that the “reform” of the pension system has become a conflict between the MCTs and non-MCTs.

In fact, the government's grant of retirement to the MCTs is not only a legal provision, but also a contractual relationship in public law. The MCTs are actually employees of the state and the government. If the government refuses to give pensions to old employees in the name of "pension reform" and "intergenerational justice". However, such exploitative behavior can make the halo of "justice" and "reform" appear.

The government uses the division of generations and classes to promote "reform". What it loses is the mutual trust between the government and those affected groups. The government avoids its due responsibilities, but it keeps hurting the reputation of its employees and making society hostile to each other. It also caused “moral panic”.

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<https://www.setn.com/News.aspx?NewsID=183377>.

The phrase of moral panic mentioned in Chapter 2 refers to “the occurrence of a condition, episode, person, or group of persons emerging to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests.” In fact, the class conflict and intergenerational justice caused by the pension reform have all caused the public to have a moral panic about the pension reform. This evasion by the government also makes people no longer trust the government and think that the government is incapable of protecting them. When people generally lose trust in the government, the definition of government becomes a symbol of nothingness. How the government can make the public believe in them again and remove the public's moral panic is what we should be thinking about now.

## **Media**

In modern democratic society, mass media has become an indispensable source of information dissemination. Mass media mainly refers to the broadcasting system that offers services like news media, entertainment programs, and commercial information via television, newspapers, radio, magazines, and the Internet. However, the media not only serve the public, but also potentially changes the thinking logic of most audiences and readers. Most of us could have been baptized or even brainwashed by coverages and representation of the media for some reasons. Thus, our behaviors sometimes become accomplices in spreading bad media messages. This could be applied to those groups of MCTs who mostly follow certain sources of media in favor of the vested interests of them. For the others, they might be shaped by the opposing views offered by the other sources of media, which celebrate the new policy.

## *Mediation*

For the reasons mentioned above, we will be accustomed to understanding the state of government administration from the viewpoints conveyed by the media. However, the news provided by most of the media today gradually has a strong political position. The information received by the public has been deliberately filtered, and the content is too simplified or dramatic, which prevents us from comprehensively viewing an event, and subtly recognizing or agreeing with the media's position. It will also have some impact on public opinion. In this regard, interviewee C also expressed her views on the mediated event in the interview.

Interviewee C said

*“I think the image of the MCTs has been destroyed mostly because of the media or news. Some media will say that the MCTs is a rice bug or the pension reform of the MCTs has dragged down the national finances, etc.”*

Interviewee C seems to think that the reason why the image of the MCTs has become so negative is all because of the media, which seems to mean that the media actually plays a very important role in the process of pension reform.

One can find an example from sources like *SET News*, which support the KMT, seemed to convey the related message.

後援會買廣告「民進黨罵軍公教米蟲」 府院要求郭台銘道歉



記者莊惠琪、葛子綱 / 台北報導

Figure 6. *SET News*' news on May 27, 2019, with the headline "Support Association buys advertisements "DPP scolded the MCTs as a rice bug." The government asked Guo Tai-ming to apologize" <sup>44</sup>

As Figure 6 indicates, The Guo Tai-ming<sup>45</sup> Support Association bought half-page advertisements on the front pages of four newspapers, *Apple Daily*, *United Daily News*, *China Times*, and *Liberty Times*. When talking about pension reform, he said, "The DPP government believes that retirees are rice bugs in Taiwanese society."

*SET News* mentioned that

*"Guo Tai-ming used the hate speech of "rice bug" to deliberately create class and social antagonism, intending to seek electoral benefits through social antagonism."*

The purpose and core significance of the existence of the media is nothing more

<sup>44</sup> 葛子綱 莊惠琪, "後援會買廣告「民進黨罵軍公教米蟲」 府院要求郭台銘道歉," 政治, *三立新聞* 2019, <https://www.setn.com/News.aspx?NewsID=547083>.

<sup>45</sup> Guo Tai-ming: a Taiwanese entrepreneur and the founder of Hon Hai Technology Group. He has been involved in political work and participated in the 2020 Chinese Kuomintang presidential nomination election in 2019.

than to supervise the government, and to analyze and transmit information to the public from a fair and objective perspective. The rapid delivery of information and diverse perspectives help us connect with the world and enable us to judge things from a broader perspective and attitude. However, due to the excessively fierce media competition in Taiwan, modern media began to develop towards "commercialization" and "politicization", and they forgot their social responsibilities.

In democratic politics, the mass media has become the bridge between the government and the people, so it has considerable importance. Since the aforementioned media have their own political parties and different reporting directions, using a series of reports to praise and praise the parties and candidates they support is the immaturity of the media and political environment.

It is an injury to the power of the general public and led to the occurrence of the phenomenon mentioned by interviewee C. The media convinced people that it was true, and they would not doubt that what the media said was wrong. As a result, everyone thinks that these phenomena are true, and gradually the image of MCTs is more and more negative in everyone's eyes.

And the news in Figure 6 can also shows how important media is to people. They just bought half a page of advertisements to scold the DPP and the MCTs, so that the public can turn their arrows to the DPP and the MCTs. It means that people actually trust the media, and they don't feel that the media is leading the way or that they have their own political parties. Therefore, mediation also plays a very important role in the process of pension reform. Everyone uses the media to understand what happened in the pension reform, but the media that everyone watches is different, which also leads to different messages received by everyone, and everyone accepts these from the mass media. After the dissemination of various messages, they may

strengthen or change their perceptions of elections and specific issues, thus affecting their own political attitudes. When news changes the perception of the audience, public opinion is formed.

## CONCLUSION

The main purpose of this study was to observe the change and impact of public perceptions of MCTs' image. The purpose of this chapter is to integrate and summarize the aforementioned empirical results, draw conclusions and make further recommendations.

This research takes the MCTs as the research object, and collects relevant data through narrative analysis and in-depth interviews, in order to explore how the image of the MCTs changed in the process of pension reform. Therefore, I divided my analysis into five main points. These include "Stigma was caused by the new policy of the government," "People lost trust in government," "Generational inequality" "Government should reduce occupational category benefit differences" and "The changing role of the media."

The first point is stigma was caused by the new policy of the government. Pension reform is one of the government's policies. The MCTs only follow the development of the government to obtain these benefits. However, when the government is under the pressure of the pension system (such as financial losses), the government cuts the benefits of MCTs, the benefits of these "vested interests". Even if the benefits were cut, the government still allowed a few media and TV programs to stigmatize the MCTs. Why should the government's fault be paid for by the stigmatization of MCTs?

The second point is people lost trust in the government. The year-on-year decline in the income replacement rate had led the MCTs to believe that the government broke its promises. These pensions were promised to them by the government at the beginning, but now the government has taken the lead in default, and even not given the MCTs some time to respond. In the face of the government's

unilateral breach of contract and betrayal, the MCTs worried that it would affect the economic status in later years. After all, in old age, additional expenses such as medical care and long-term care are inevitable. How can this make the MCTs believe in the promises given by the government?

The third point is intergenerational inequality. The benefits and costs of pension systems vary significantly across generations. The younger generation needs to take on more debts, and a few years later, they are faced with the dilemma of bankruptcy of the pension fund for civil servants. In this regard, the government sets up a new retirement system for new civil servants. However, as mentioned above, the withdrawal of new civil servants from the pension fund will speed up the bankruptcy period of the pension fund. Moreover, it also damages the overall retirement rights and interests of civil servants, and even affects the general public. Obviously, this pension reform has not alleviated the problem of intergenerational injustice.

The fourth point is government should reduce occupational category benefit differences. The government was actively reforming the pensions for the MCTs, but the pensions for labors were also in great need of reform. Compared with MCTs, labors were paid less and had unstable jobs, which means that labors needed to reduce their insured wages and receive fewer pensions in the future. For the more disadvantaged labors, how to maintain a basic old age after retirement has become a problem for labors. While the government was actively reforming the MCTs' pensions, it should also pay more attention to the issue of labor pensions. The government should not only focus on the MCTs.

The last point is the changing role of the media. The role of the media in a democratic society is to monitor state governance. The media should convey information to the public from a fair and objective perspective. However, with today's

fierce competition in the media, in order to attract the attention of readers and obtain high ratings, the TV media began to package news. The overpackaged news has become a commodity, and consumers are the majority of readers. In other words, it is terrifying that the media loses its original self-worth when ratings dominate everything, whether the effect is good or bad.

To sum up, the pension system is closely related to the future of every citizen. On the occasion of this pension reform, it make all citizen have an understanding of the pension issue and urge the government to promote reforms to make the pension system sustainable. Meanwhile, it is also necessary to resolve the confrontation between occupations and generations, and make everyone have a dignified pension system, which is the way to long-term stability.

# APPENDIX

## Transcript

您好，我叫吳虹儀。感謝您的參與，訪談時間大約 1 小時。我將討論您對於「軍公教形象」、「年金改革」以及「政黨傾向」的看法，過程中我會問一些問題。請注意，回答並沒有對與錯，所以請自由表達您的想法。這點很重要。我們會錄音訪談過程，以便後續的分析與整理。此錄音僅供我們研究使用，不會有其他用途。

### 【訪談內容】

Date: 2022.09.04

Interviewee: Interviewee A

Time: 10:00~11:00

Place: Louisa Cafe

Q: 可否請您稍微簡單地自我介紹一下

A: 我今年 49 歲，任職於戶政事務所，年資 25 年

Q: 以您軍公教的角度，您認為軍公教的形象是什麼？

A: 我認為是奉公守法、依法行政和比較保守

Q: 那您對於軍公教形象的認知是透過什麼樣的管道得到的？

A: 我是從媒體、網路還有民眾洽公的時候得到的

Q: 您認為軍公教的形象是如何被破壞的？

A: 軍公教是依法行政，但是現在很多民眾認為只要可以找到立委或是只要可以找到上級機關就可以有特權，但民眾應該被教導的是遵守法律，而不是想盡辦法的找特權，就因為上級機關去破壞底下基層人員的依法行政，才讓軍公教的依法行政變成刁難，所以我們軍公教的形象才會被破壞

Q:接下來將訪問您對於年金改革的看法

A:好

Q:您對於年金改革了解多少?

A: 年金的部分，除了跟原本的比起來可能金額有減少，可能會減少個百分之多少，依照他們年金的計算方式，還有退休年齡也越來越長，就是一定要到了60-65歲。而法律最高原則的不溯及既往，它退休金的部分又往前推溯及既往，讓原本已經退休的軍公教的退休金可能也會減少。

Q:那想請問您家裡是否有人同樣從事軍公教?

A: 有

Q: 那家人或朋友之間是否會談論或討論年金改革相關議題?

A: 會針對退休金減少的問題以及退休年齡延後的問題會有一些相對的討論，因為多少會擔心

Q: 您認為年金改革對您是有影響的嗎?

A: 多少有影響到吧。我退休之後的計畫通通被打亂了，這些原本安排好的計畫通通都要因為年金改革而延後，我可能還會比我預計退休的年齡更晚的退休，因為領到的退休金越來越少，越來越不敢退休。但我覺得年金改革應該是勢在必行，因為年金改革是一種趨勢。問題是說，當初的承諾是因為那時候政府的經濟狀態，那現在年金改革的話，是因為國家負債太多，但為什麼會用軍公教年金改革來減少政府對財富的付出呢?

Q: 您認為年金改革後，有改變您對軍公教形象的看法嗎?

A: 以公務人員的立場來講，我不認為軍公教形象有改變，我們還是依照我們應該做的事情努力地去工作，因為這是我們的職業，但是或許以民眾來講的

話，他們會覺得哦原來你們領不到那麼多的退休金了，所以在我們這裡辦不成事情之後，他們可能會覺得他接受到的服務有被打折，他認為我們沒有為他辦好事情就是因為我們可能退休金沒有拿到那麼多，所以我們沒有給他一個很好的服務。對民眾來講，只要他們想要辦的事情沒有辦法達成，他們可能就會有負面的想法，不管是不是我們的年金有被打折，他可能就會往負面的方向去想，去認為說因為我們沒有辦法領到這麼多的退休金，所以對他們的服務就沒有這麼好，可是對我們公務人員來講，我現在還在做這份工作，我會依照我們自己的努力，我們還是會照以前的方式去做服務，所以我認為這是分兩個面向來講的。

Q: 那我想知道您作為軍公教，您有以年金改革為榮嗎?

A: 軍公教都不可能以年金改革為榮吧!年金改革讓我們退休金越領越少還要越來越晚退休，退休後的人生規劃都被改變了，哪有可能還以它為榮。

Q: 您在年金改革的過程中，有理解到哪些事情的真相嗎?

A: 公務人員也是付出勞力才得到薪水，公務人員也是國家的子民，為甚麼一定要打軍功教給勞工看呢?或許年金改革是必須的，可是有必須要讓大眾覺得公務人員的退休金都是不勞而獲嗎，我們也付出 3.40 年的歲月才得到的退休金，我們付出我們的勞力與一般的勞工並沒有不同，為甚麼會認為我們得到我們的退休金是不當的呢，為甚麼必須要以改革我們的年金，然後去讓民眾覺得我們是不應該得到我們應該得到的東西呢

Q: 最後想問您一些比較敏感的問題，想請問您是否認為政黨傾向會影響到您參與年金改革的活動或是影響到您看待軍公教形象的看法?

A: 我覺得不管是哪個政黨，年金改革應該都會做，只是怎麼做的問題，還有程

## 度多寡的問題

Q: 那我的訪談就到此結束了。感謝您的參與。

A: 謝謝

Date: 2022.09.04

Interviewee: Interviewee B

Time: 15:00~16:00

Place: Louisa Cafe

Q: 可否請您稍微簡單地自我介紹一下

A: 我今年 50 歲，任職於戶政事務所，年資 20 年

Q: 以您軍公教的角度，您認為軍公教的形象是什麼?

A: 我認為軍公教的形象是為民服務和打不死的蟑螂

Q: 那您認為您對於軍公教形象的認知是透過什麼樣的管道得到的?

A: 我是透過，你有聽過溪頭有一個「18 趴公路」嗎?

Q: 我沒有聽過，可以請您解釋一下那是什麼嗎

A: 18 趴公路就是都聚集一些得到 18%優存利率的退休軍公教人士，因為他們之前還有 18%優惠存款，現在軍公教應該是沒有 18%的優惠存款了，所以我們現在不太清楚所謂的 18%現在還適用嗎?所以我都透過他們所得來的一些訊息來了解。

Q: 您認為軍公教的形象是如何被破壞的?

A: 我覺得軍公教的形象如何被破壞的，就如同第二題是透過什麼樣的管道得到，就好像溪頭有 18 趴的退休制度，那等於說那些退休的軍工教人員在說他們之前在上班的時候的話是如何的輕鬆上班，就好像我每天看個報紙，喝個咖啡，時間就過了，幾乎好像辦公的時間就只有一個鐘頭。可是這樣每天日復一日的話，他們覺得軍公教上班的時數也沒有那麼累，可是他們同時又可以得到 18%制度的退休金，所以因為有這樣聚集的一些退休軍公教人員，軍公教的形象就是這麼被破壞的。因為我們真的都是 8 個鐘頭都

是認真在辦公和為民服務，就因為他們這些退休的軍公教人士的一些聚集活動，而導致我們軍功教的形象這麼容易的就被破壞到。

Q: 接下來將訪問您對於年金改革的看法

A: 好

Q: 您對於年金改革了解多少?

A: 我只知道原本一個月的月退大概是 4 萬多塊，那 4 萬塊的話它會以 10 年遞減的那個方式下去均攤，所以也不是說第一年就會滑落多少，應該以 10 年來均攤的話，1 年其實如果均攤下來的話，一個月大概會少了 4 千多塊。

Q: 家裡是否有人同樣從事軍公教?

A: 沒有

Q: 那麼家人或朋友之間是否會談論或討論年金改革相關議題?

A: 朋友間或同事間都會討論到年金改革這個話題，因為大家都是為了錢生活，所以私底下在聊天的時候多少都會聊到。不過我的朋友或同事也有兩派說法，有一派會真的認為說年金改革真的對他們會落差很大，好像真的會影響到生活品質。另一派會認為年金改革並不會影響到他們，因為現在有太多可以投資來賺錢的方式，譬如說股票也有可能讓他們賺得更多，所以他們對於年金改革根本就不在意，因為其實以十年來均攤的話，其實好像也不會影響到他們的生活品質。

Q: 您認為年金改革對您是有影響的嗎?

A: 年金改革對我們是有影響的。以公務人員來講，我在當公務人員的時候，國家給我的條款並不是這樣，我們有我們自己的人生規劃，但到了我們要退休的時候，卻跟我們說對不起，一切都不算，全部都要重頭開始，導致我

們的人生規劃一切都被打亂了。那以我們的立場來說，我們會覺得國家沒有給我們一個足夠的時間去應變，甚至還溯及既往。

Q: 您認為年金改革後，有改變您對軍公教形象的看法嗎?

A: 其實以我們在職場上來講，如果是一個改革以後的話，會影響自己職場上的一些做事方式，我覺得不見得，因為年金改革是一個國家政策。那軍公教形象的話，我們還是要維持為民服務這個一貫作風，即便真的是有年金改革，那我們為民服務這個形象還是不變的，民眾來的話，我們還是需要去解決他們的問題，所以在我們職場上一些行事作風的話，我認為我們還是沒有改變我們本身的做事方式。

Q: 您作為軍公教，您有以年金改革為榮嗎

A: 哪有可能，我的退休金都因為年金改革變少了，我還要以為榮?

Q: 您在年金改革的過程中，有理解到哪些事情的真相嗎?

A: 當然有啊!因為現在我們的政府有負債，那負債的話，它一定只能抵制軍公教，私人機關當然都不可能抵制，所以他把這些年金改革的錢能去補貼國家的負債，這個已經非常明白地顯示出來了。

Q: 您是否認為政黨傾向會影響到您參與年金改革的活動或是影響到您看待軍公教形象的看法?

A: 我認為其實不管我支持哪個政黨，只要我的權益沒有受損，我就覺得其實沒什麼差別

Q: 我了解了。那我的訪談問題都已經問完了，感謝您參與此次的訪談。

A: 謝謝

Date: 2022.09.05

Interviewee: Interviewee C

Time: 16:00~17:00

Place: Starbucks

Q: 可否請您稍微簡單地自我介紹一下

A: 我今年 43 歲，任職於戶政事務所，年資 23 年

Q: 以您軍公教的角度，您認為軍公教的形象是什麼？

A: 覺得現在軍公教的形象好像就是民眾的「公僕」，什麼事都認為是理所當然的，同時也都很隨心所欲

Q: 那您覺得您對於軍公教形象的認知是透過什麼樣的管道得到的？

A: 我大部分都從上班時民眾對我們講的話來得到的，有時候他們會指責我們，說我們怎麼樣怎麼樣，好像是他們繳稅的錢是來給我們的薪水，就覺得不太好

Q: 您認為軍公教的形象是如何被破壞的？

A: 我覺得軍公教的形象被破壞大部分都是因為媒體或報導，說軍公教都是米蟲或是說什麼軍公教年金改革都吃垮國家財政等等這些負面的新聞才導致軍公教的形象變得這麼負面

Q: 接下來將訪問您對於年金改革的看法

A: 好

Q: 您對於年金改革了解多少？

A: 我知道年金改革有 10 年的緩衝期，還有我們在什麼時候退休，退休金會打百分之幾。年金改革除了提撥金額提高之外，退休年齡還延長，甚至退休金額還逐年遞減。

Q: 家裡是否有人同樣從事軍公教?

A: 沒有

Q: 家人或朋友之間是否會談論或討論年金改革相關議題?

A: 家人和朋友之間很少會提到年金改革的問題，大部分都比較不會討論到

Q: 您認為年金改革對您是有影響的嗎?

A: 我任職的軍公教因為不是非正式的，所以我對年金改革這部分比較沒有什麼看法，那年金改革對我來說也沒有什麼影響。但在同事之間就會常聽到說退休金影響他們很多，所以對他們的生活、人生規劃影響很大。

Q: 您認為年金改革後，有改變您對軍公教形象的看法嗎?

A: 年金改革後，我對軍公教形象的看法我認為沒有影響很大，因為上班還是上班，服務態度也依然是要有，而且為民服務的東西也越來越嚴格。以民眾對我們軍公教形象來看的話，我認為也沒有改變很多，他們覺得還是我們的退休年金還是很多，也沒有減少很多。他們也認為我們的工作越來越輕鬆，還是比以往輕鬆，但是實際上我們這些在基層的軍公教，我們的業務只是越來越增加而已。

Q: 您作為軍公教，您有以年金改革為榮嗎?

A: 怎麼可能會以年金改革為榮

Q: 您在年金改革的過程中，有理解到哪些事情的真相嗎?

A: 政府都假借為我們好的名義去做事情，但真相是他們根本只是打著軍公教的名號，根本就沒有做任何事，但政府這樣做反而讓民眾對於軍公教形象的看法越來越不好

Q: 您是否認為政黨傾向會影響到您參與年金改革的活動或是影響到您看待軍公

教形象的看法?

A: 我認為不管哪個政黨，只要他們做得好，並且不要影響到我的權益，就不太會影響到我看待軍公教形象的看法

Q: 好，以上就是我的訪談問題，謝謝您的回答。

A: 不會不會，希望我的回答有幫助到你

Date: 2022.09.05

Interviewee: Interviewee D

Time: 17:00~18:00

Place: Starbucks

Q: 可否請您稍微簡單地自我介紹一下

A: 我今年 49 歲，任職於戶政事務所，年資 25 年

Q: 以您軍公教的角度，您認為軍公教的形象是什麼？

A: 我認為軍公教的形象就是中規中矩，同時也是民眾的「箭靶」

Q: 您對於軍公教形象的認知是透過什麼樣的管道得到的？

A: 我是透過媒體或是民眾來洽公的時的講話、反應和態度來得到的

Q: 您認為軍公教的形象是如何被破壞的？

A: 我認為是媒體製造這些對立而導致軍公教的形象被破壞。因為各個電視台都是有特定的政治色彩，所以他們都是針對政黨，自己報導自己有需要的對立題材，才會導致民眾對軍公教的反感

Q: 接下來將訪問您對於年金改革的看法

A: 好

Q: 您對於年金改革了解多少？

A: 年金改革會取消軍公教 18% 的優惠存款利率，導致我們只會越繳越多錢，但領的錢卻越來越少，甚至申請退休金的年齡還會往後延。

Q: 家裡是否有人同樣從事軍公教？

A: 家裡許多人也都是從事軍公教。

Q: 家人或朋友之間是否會談論或討論年金改革相關議題？

A: 雖然家裡許多人也都從事軍公教，但偶爾談論到年金改革時，大家可能軍公

教跟勞工會有不同的意見，所以常常都會大小聲或吵起來。因此，年金改革這個議題很少會討論。

Q: 您認為年金改革對您是有影響的嗎?

A: 年金改革對軍公教來講應該是影響蠻大的，因為退休的年齡跟金額方面都有影響，所以可能會改變我們退休的時間和退休後的人生規劃。

Q: 您認為年金改革後，有改變您對軍公教形象的看法嗎?

A: 我覺得年金改革後，民眾對軍公教的形象是沒有改變的，因為他們會覺得這些事都是我們該做的，對我們的要求會越來越高，他們覺得我們是領他們納稅的錢，所以我們做這麼好就是應該的，所以民眾對我們年金改革後，年金變少都認為是理所當然的。

Q: 您作為軍公教，您有以年金改革為榮嗎?

A: 我不認為我有以年金改革為榮，它讓我越來越晚退休，退休金還越來越少。

Q: 您在年金改革的過程中，有理解到哪些事情的真相嗎?

A: 政府打著為軍公教好的名號，但其實根本沒為軍公教做什麼事，讓民眾覺得政府是站在一般勞工那邊，而不是站在軍公教這邊，然後對軍公教的要求一樣沒有改變，要求我們做的多，領得少，這樣是應該的嗎

Q: 您是否認為政黨傾向會影響到您參與年金改革的活動或是影響到您看待軍公教形象的看法?

A: 我是覺得年金改革是一件勢在必行的事，只是說怎麼做到讓民眾覺得公務人員的形象還可以，並且使他們不要對公務人員產生反感

Q: 那以上就是我的採訪，感謝您的參與。

A: 謝謝

Date: 2022.09.06

Interviewee: Interviewee E

Time: 10:00~11:00

Place: Louisa Cafe

Q: 可否請您稍微簡單地自我介紹一下

A: 我今年 55 歲，任職於稅務局，年資 30 年

Q: 以您軍公教的角度，您認為軍公教的形象是什麼?

A: 我覺得軍公教的形象是盡忠職守、可守本分和敬業熱情，同時也比較穩定和比較有保障，並且經濟不景氣的時候，不會臨時被裁員。

Q: 您對於軍公教形象的認知是透過什麼樣的管道得到的?

A: 我都是透過電視或網路上各方媒體得到的

Q: 您認為軍公教的形象是如何被破壞的?

A: 我覺得是那些考不上的公務人員破壞我們軍公教的形象，因為他們自己考不上，所以都在怨天尤人和亂詆毀公務人員的形象

Q: 接下來將訪問您對於年金改革的看法

A: 好

Q: 您對於年金改革了解多少?

A: 年金改革喔...我只知道年金改革代表我的退休金將會越領越少，我也會越來越晚退休

Q: 家裡是否有人同樣從事軍公教?

A: 有，大部分都是從事軍公教

Q: 家人或朋友之間是否會談論或討論年金改革相關議題?

A: 會啊!因為我自己也快要退休了，所以有時候在家裡就會跟家人討論現在年

金改革改得如何還有年金改革後我能領到多少錢，但現在討論的結果也只能延後退休，因為現在退休的話，錢會不夠用

Q: 您認為年金改革對您是有影響的嗎?

A: 當然有影響。我本來近幾年就要退休了，現在年金改革把退休金改得這麼少，我非常的生氣，所以我現在不敢退休，只能再忍耐幾年才敢退休。那對於一些已經退休的人來說，他們可能年老的時候，需要更多的錢去支付他年老的身體以及生病所需要的錢，可是因為年金改革，導致他的退休金減少，他可能會造成所謂的「下流老人」，他越老錢就會越少，可是越老照理說應該使用到的金錢、社會福利和醫療系統都會更多，那政府減少了退休金的部分，那是不是會造成更多「下流老人」這種現象的產生呢?

Q: 想請問一下您剛剛講的「下流老人」是什麼意思嗎?

A: 「下流老人」的意思是為了說明無法正常度日，被迫過著「下流」(中下階層)生活的老人，而創造出來的詞彙。「下流老人」這個詞是由日本一位學者所提出的，日本近年來出現了大量過著中下階層生活的老人，由於年金制度即將崩壞、長期照護缺乏人力、高齡醫療缺乏品質、照護條件日益提高、老人居住越來越困難，這些情況導致下流老人的出現越來越多，而且未來會只增不減，若是政府不提出有效政策，日本可能就會出現「1億人的老後崩壞」。但也並不是只有日本會出現「下流老人」這種情況，現今台灣也漸漸步入高齡化，我們同樣面臨未婚者、非正職者增多，啃老族和少子化的現象層出不窮，兒女連自己都養不起，更不用說奉養父母，加上經濟成長停滯、青年就業情況不佳、醫療與照護成本提高等問題，老後貧窮的「下流老人」問題也同樣存在於台灣。

Q: 我也覺得近幾年來，台灣好像有越來越多「下流老人」的出現，這也導致越來越多人重視年金這個議題。

A: 但我覺得主要是政府也要重視，而不是只有百姓在重視和擔心。

Q: 我也覺得主要是政府要不要做。那您認為年金改革後，有改變您對軍公教形象的看法嗎？

A: 我覺得是沒有改變的，因為民眾還是會認為我們領的很多，不管我們領多少錢，民眾怎樣都會不滿意

Q: 您作為軍公教，您有以年金改革為榮嗎？

A: 沒有，怎麼可能為榮！我只覺得我退休後的人生規劃被年金改革全部打亂了

Q: 您在年金改革的過程中，有理解到哪些事情的真相嗎？

A: 我覺得政府就是把我們軍公教當箭靶，因為政府就只能處理軍公教，其他私人產業都無法動，所以就只能把軍公教當槍使

Q: 您是否認為政黨傾向會影響到您參與年金改革的活動或是影響到您看待軍公教形象的看法？

A: 我認為民進黨會覺得他們是站在民眾的角度去想，他們會認為軍公教都一定是支持國民黨的，他們的選票通常都是來自於勞工，所以他們會想要一直拿軍公教開槍來得到這些勞工的選票，但事實是軍公教不一定是國民黨的，也是有支持民進黨的，所以我覺得民進黨其實也是可以顧一下這些支持民進黨的軍公教人員

Q: 好的，那我了解了。感謝您今天的幫忙！

A: 謝謝。

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