

出國報告（出國類別：出席國際會議）

東南亞政治、文化、與移民
青年學者工作坊研討會

服務機關：國立暨南國際大學東南亞研究所

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派赴國家：日本京都

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摘要

本次「東南亞政治、文化、與移民，年輕學者工作坊研討會」在日本京都的京都大學東南亞研究所舉行。會議目的主要是讓我國研究東南亞相關議題的年輕學者與亞洲其他國家的年輕學者做交流。

會議舉行日期為 2013 年 11 月 8 日，所探討的主題分為三類：政治、文化、與移民。筆者所投稿的主題為「移民」類。探討近年來外籍移工來台工作與台灣原住民族的工作權問題，試問這些台灣原住民族的社會流動是向上流動？還是向下沉淪？

此次交流不僅獲知他國年輕學者目前對東南亞區域研究的研究狀況，也讓亞洲其他國家的學者了解我國年輕學者目前所從事的東南亞區域研究等相關議題。彼此給予對方的研究議題很多建議及回饋，可謂收穫良多。

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一、目的

筆者認為東南亞研究並不單單只是從台灣這個角度去研究，或去到研究國家去做研究，還要與其他國家的研究者做交流，從他們的視角了解他們是如何看待東南亞議題的。

此次會議是由日本京都大學東南亞研究所及我國國立暨南國際大學東南亞研究所合辦的，會議地點在日本京都大學東南亞研究所。

此研討會的主要目的，是讓我國研究東南亞相關議題的年輕學者與亞洲其他國家的年輕學者做交流。因此，本次研討會的主題訂為「東南亞政治、文化、與移民，年輕學者工作坊研討會」。

預期效益為獲知他國年輕學者目前對東南亞區域研究的研究狀況，也讓亞洲其他國家的學者了解我國年輕學者目前所從事的東南亞區域研究等相關議題，並由京都大學東南亞研究所及國立暨南國際大學東南亞研究所的教授，依著自己多年的研究經驗及在這個學術領域的成果，給予雙方年輕學者一些建議及回饋。

二、過程

第一天（11/7，星期五），從桃園機場啓程出發前往日本關西機場。爲了要早點抵達日本，好適應、了解當地的環境，所以計畫搭乘早上八點長榮航空 BR2132 的班機，卻忘記搭飛機並不像搭客運那樣 隨到隨搭即可 要兩個小時前抵達機場辦理登機手續，所以就是早上六點要抵達桃園機場。扣除交通時間（從家裡到桃園機場）、早起梳妝時間、早餐時間，約莫四點就要起床。那天原本計畫在飛機上把發表的講稿再讀一遍的，結果在飛機起飛、空姐送來豐盛的早餐，吃完後就呼呼大睡了。

到達關西機場後轉搭 MK Taxi 前往京都下榻飯店 Kyoto Gimmond Hotel。抵達下榻飯店都已經是下午三點了，去附近的市場逛逛並買晚餐，晚上就回下榻飯店爲第二天的發表做準備。

第二天（11/8，星期六），一早八點即在飯店樓下大廳等待京都大學的接待人 Prof. Caroline Hau 的接應，該飯店還住宿參與這場研討會的其他學者，例如研究印尼的 Tri Nuke Pudjiastuti、研究菲律賓移工回匯的 Jan Isaac V. Nolasco、在東京擔任研究員的 Khoo Boo Teik (Institute of Developing Economies-Japan External Trade Organization) 大家一同搭乘計程車前往今日的會議地點—稻盛紀念館 這也是京都大學東南亞研究所的所在大樓。

前往發表論文的年輕學者，除了來自國立暨南國際大學東南亞研究所的博士生、京都大學東南亞研究所的博士生外，還有來自菲律賓、印尼、馬來西亞等地的年輕學者，大家都是前來發表自己目前的研究。評論人有在東京擔任研究員的 Khoo Boo Teik (Institute of Developing Economies-Japan External Trade Organization)，以及常在報章雜誌、媒體節目發表意見的大師 Pavin Chachavalpongpun 博士，還有在京都大學亞非研究

所任教的 Okamoto Masaaki、Caroline Hau、Hayami Yoko、以及 Ishikawa 等教授。

開場是由京都大學亞非研究所所長 Hiromu Shimizu 及國立暨南國際大學東南亞研究所所長嚴智宏博士致詞。嚴智宏所長介紹了該研究所是台灣第一也是唯一的東南亞研究所，成立的資歷雖淺，但目前已擁有碩士班、博士班，也即將在明年九月招收第一批學士班學生，除了期望東南亞研究所更壯大以外，以希望歷史悠久的京都大學亞非研究所能給予國立暨南國際大學東南亞研究更多的建言。

本次研討會主題分為三部分，早上第一場的主題是「政治」(political)，發表者與評論人如下：

1. 何弘欣 (Ho, Ann Hung-Hsin)，暨南大學東南亞研究所的博士候選人，發表主題為「塔信政府下的泰國：泰國政治中『非曼谷』力量的崛起。」(“Thailand under Thaksin: The Rise of ‘Non-Bangkok’ Power in Thai Politics”)。

評論者為日本貿易組織發展經濟研究所的 Khoo Boo Teik，建議何弘欣同學可以不要用「曼谷 vs. 非曼谷」的兩極概念來探討塔信治理下的泰國政治，而可以用「階級困境」(Class Struggle)來探討。

2. 陳虹宇 (Chen, Hung-Yu)，暨南大學東南亞研究所博士生，發表主題為「緬甸軍事組織的分析」(“The Analyses of Military Power Organization in Myanmar”)。

評論者為京都大學東南亞研究所的 Pavin Chachavalpongpun 教授。該教授建議發表者不只是把杭廷頓(Hungtinton)的第三波民主理論拿來應用或解釋緬甸的政治現況，而是要去了解緬甸當地的實際政治狀況。甚至緬甸的政治現況可以拿泰國來和

他比較。再者，緬甸的民主現狀是特有的例子嗎？爲什麼要用西方理論來解釋緬甸的民主呢？這些都是建議發表者可以再度思考的部分。

3. Boon Kia Meng，馬來西亞獨立政治評論家、同時也是英國大學的博士生，發表主題爲「馬來西亞第十三屆大選之後：是社群主義、資本主義或專制政治？」(“Malaysia, After GE-13 - Communalism, Capitalism or Caesarism?”)

評論者爲國立暨南國際大學東南亞研究所的陳佩修教授，陳教授建議可以再加入宗教議題(如伊斯蘭教)或馬來皇室的議題近來討論。或是把 Anthony's 的危機理論 (Crisis Theory) 拿來應用、解釋。

4. Kayane Yuka，京都大學亞非研究所博士生，發表主題爲「印尼尤多約諾政府的自由主義政策與戰略管理—以石油與天然氣政策爲例」(“Liberal Policy and the Strategic Management of the Yudhoyono Government in Indonesia: The Case of the Oil and Natural Gas Policy.”)

評論者爲國立暨南國際大學東南亞研究所的李美賢教授，李教授認爲這是個很好的議題，尤其在現今資源短缺的時代，探討石油與天然氣等資源是非常重要的議題。然而，印尼並不是世界上最重要的產油國家，反而印尼是很貪汙很嚴重的國家。爲何發表者會針對印尼的石油問題做討論，這是首先必須要說明的。再者，自由主義與戰略管理之間的關係爲何，這點也是要說明的。必須要先去了解自由主義、新自由主義的歷史脈絡，才能進而討論這個議題。

早上第二場的主題是「話語與社會建構」(Discursive and Social Constructions)，發表者

與評論人如下：

1. Tri Nuke Pudjiastuti，京都大學亞非研究所博士生，發表主題為「印尼傳統捕撈業的建構：澳洲非法移民的結構性受害形式活動」(“The Construction of Indonesian Traditional Fishing's Involvement in the Activities of Migrants' Smuggling to Australia as a Form of Structural Victimization”)

評論人為京都大學東南亞研究所的 Okamoto Masaaki 教授。

2. 沈豪挺 (Shen, Hao-Ting)，國立暨南國際大學東南亞研究所的博士候選人，發表主題為「新加坡華語戲劇的左翼實踐—以表演藝術為例 (1965-1976)」(“Cultural Resistance of Chinese Drama in Singapore: A Case Study of Performance Art School (1965-1976)”)

評論人為京都大學東南亞研究所的 Caroline Hua 教授。Hau 教授認為發表者這個議題非常好，而且可以從華語戲劇中探討新加坡的左翼實踐實為難得。Hau 教授建議發表者除了新加坡以外，可以再看看其他國家/地區是否也有這樣的現象產生？例如香港的華語戲劇？或台灣的一些戲劇是否也隱含著某些意涵。這些不同華語區的戲劇都可以一起拿來分析比較相關問題。

3. 林育生 (Lin Yu-Sheng)，京都大學亞非研究所博士生，發表主題為「非華人的華人宗教信仰：以泰國一貫道為例」(“‘Chinese Religion’ with Non-Chinese Believers: Narratives of I-Kuan Tao Believers in Thailand”)

評論人為國立暨南國際大學東南亞研究所的林開忠教授。由於在場人員不是全部都熟悉亞洲文化，有許多與談者是來自西方世界的。所以就有一位以色列籍的京都大學東南亞研究所學生詢問發表者關於這個宗教的細節等問題。

早上場的研討會直到 12 點 50 分才結束，京都大學的主辦單位邀請所有人跟他們到大樓外的一間小店午餐，享用日式定食。結束後，下午兩點繼續下午場的研討會。

下午場研討會的主題是「移動與遷移」(Mobility and Migration)，發表者與評論人如下：

1. 楊大概 (Young, Da-kai)，國立暨南國際大學東南亞研究所的博士生，發表主題為「台灣警察隊移民的態度—以外事警察為例」(“A Study of Taiwanese Attitude toward Immigrants—the Case of Foreign Affairs Policemen”)。

評論者為京都大學東南亞研究所的 Hayami Yoko 教授。Hayami 教授建議為何只挑選外事警察為例？外事警察在這種研究中的顯著性為何等都是需要先做說明的。再者，或許可以看看這些外事警察和移民之間的溝通，以此來作為分析基礎。

2. 劉容秀 (Liu, Jung-hsiu)，國立暨南國際大學東南亞研究所的博士生，發表主題為「向上流動或向下沉淪？—在台移工與台灣原住民的社會流動」(“Upward or Downward? The Social Mobility of Migrant Workers and Taiwanese Aborigines”)

評論者為京都大學亞非研究所的 Ishikawa Noboru 教授。Ishikawa 教授建議文中未清

楚說明移工的移出國為何？甚至是台灣原住民有多少族等問題。這些都是會影響研究結果的變數，必須要好好定義研究問題。

3. Jan Isaac V. Nolasco，京都大學亞非研究所博士生，發表主題為「從匯款到革命：菲律賓人的離散、政治與經濟的變化」(“From Remittance to Revolution: The Filipino Diaspora and Political and Economic Change in Philippine Society”)

評論人為國立暨南國際大學東南亞研究所的李美賢教授。

在四點時，研討會終於結束了，但緊接著還有新加坡國立大學的 Paul Kratoska 教授為大家說明「如何在亞洲的期刊上發表？」這場演講對所有與會的博士生有非常大的幫助，讓我們可以藉由這些技巧將投稿的論文修改，並將之投稿到期刊上。

會議進行中，除了發表者的傑出表現、評論人的專業回饋外，與會同學的對話也讓整場會議充滿更多思辨，讓大家將自己的所學拿出來互相交流，以刺激大家更進一步的研究可能。

第三天(11/9，星期日)，發表論文結束。今天就是走訪京都大學，看看學校生態。可惜的是，這一天是星期天，沒有機會進入京都大學東南亞研究所及其圖書室參觀，希望下次有機會前來觀摩。

接下來的幾天是我個人的私下行程。雖說是私人行程，其實也是利用這次到京都發表的機會，好好觀察京都的人、事、物。到了京都，一定會去寺廟參觀。金閣寺、銀閣寺、三十三間堂、東本願寺、西本願寺、錦天滿宮、清水寺、南禪寺、哲學之道都藉此機會走遍。

三、心得

其實這樣的研討會機會是非常難能可貴的，它不像一般的研討會：同時段舉行很多場發表，每個人依據自己的喜好去挑選要聽哪一場，聽完後就整個散場再前往下一個會議室。這次的研討會是把所有與會的發表者及評論人聚集在同一個場次，大家從早聽到晚，所以我們有很多機會，例如利用中午休息時間、下午茶時間等，去和發表人或評論人做進一步的討論。例如我的評論人 Prof. Ishikawa Noboru 就在會議結束後，還特別邀請我到一旁，針對我的發表題目給予進一步的指導。

11月8日那天從一早8點離開飯店大廳開始算起，直到晚上11點才回到飯店房間。因為大家在晚餐時間，又聚起來一直在討論。雖然忙了一整天很累，但那種收穫卻是無比的充實。很開心自己有機會可以參與這樣的活動，和來自日本、菲律賓、印尼、馬來西亞的學者一起進行對話。

四、建議

對於這次研討會，筆者有幾點建議：

1. 多舉辦此類年輕學者研討會

舉辦一場研討會很不容易，更何況是舉辦一場國際研討會。但筆者以為，舉辦國際研討會有其必要性，藉由與他國學者的交差，才能知道東南亞區域研究的議題有哪些可能性。也可藉此讓他國學者知道我國對此領域的學術耕耘至哪個地步。

年輕學者並不是為了畢業門檻才去參加研討會的，我們未來多半會走上學術研究這條路，所以筆者認為多舉辦這類國際年輕學者研討會，經過前輩們的指導，才能讓其學術精進。

2. 增加補助的次數

目前博士生出國參加國際會議多半可申請補助，除了申請不好獲得以外，即使獲得補助，只限一年申請一次。筆者認為可以增加補助的次數。以筆者為例，今年上半年度前往中國澳門參加「亞洲學者研討會」、下半學期前往日本京都參加「東南亞政治、文化、與移民，年輕學者工作坊研討會」，上半年度本已取得補助，卻被告知一年只能補助一次，筆者於是放棄上半年度的補助，改申請下半年度的補助。

出國參加會議，除可增加國內博士生增廣見聞，也可提升其英語寫作、英語簡報等能力，這不是參加國內的研討會所能獲益的。



Young Researchers' Workshop on Politics, Culture, and Migration in Southeast Asia

A joint activity of the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University "Toward Sustainable Humanosphere in Southeast Asia" Research Program, the Asian Core Program of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS), and the Graduate Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, National Chi Nan University

8 November 2013

Middle-Sized Room, Third Floor, Inamori Foundation Building

Center for Southeast Asian Studies

Kyoto University

(Access map: http://www.cseas.kyoto-u.ac.jp/about/access_en.html)

This international workshop aims to train PhD-level students, particularly those who are working on their dissertations, to make public presentations in English and prepare their papers for publication in English-language journals. The workshop is organized by the Kyoto University Center for Southeast Asian Studies' "Toward Sustainable Humanosphere in Southeast Asia" Research Program and the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science's Asian Core Program, in collaboration with the National Chi Nan University's Graduate Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

PROGRAM

9:00-9:05 Welcome Remarks by Prof. Shimizu Hiromu, Director, CSEAS

9:05-9:10 Opening Speech by Prof. Yen Chih-hung, Director, GISEAS

SESSION 1 (9:15-11:15): Politics

Chair: Hiromu Shimizu

Ho, Ann Hung-hsin, “Thailand under Thaksin: The Rise of ‘Non-Bangkok’ Power in Thai Politics”

Discussant: Khoo Boo Teik (Institute of Developing Economies-Japan External Trade Organization)

Chen Hung-yu, “The Analyses of Military Power Organization in Myanmar”

Discussant: Pavin Chachavalpongpun (CSEAS)

Boon Kia Meng, “Malaysia, After GE-13 - Communalism, Capitalism or Caesarism?”

Discussant: Chen Pei-hsiu (GISEAS)

Kayane Yuka, “The Political Rise of the Constitutional Court in Indonesia: A Case of the Oil and Gas Policy”

Discussant: Lee Mei-hsien (GISEAS)

11:15-11:25 BREAK

SESSION 2 (11:25-12:45): Discursive and Social Constructions

Chair: Pavin Chachavalpongpun

Tri Nuke Pudjiastuti, “The Construction of Indonesian Traditional Fishing's Involvement in the Activities of Migrants' Smuggling to Australia as a Form of Structural Victimization”

Discussant: Okamoto Masaaki (CSEAS)

Shen Hao-ting, “Cultural Resistance of Chinese Drama in Singapore: A Case Study of Performance Art School (1965–1976)”

Discussant: Caroline Hau (CSEAS)

Lin Yu-sheng, “‘Chinese Religion’ with Non-Chinese Believers: Narratives of I-Kuan Tao Believers in Thailand”

Discussant: Lim Kay-thiong (GISEAS)

12:45-14:00 LUNCH BREAK

SESSION 3 (14:00-16:00): Mobility and Migration

Chair: Okamoto Masaaki

Young Da-kai, “A Study of Taiwanese Attitude toward Immigrants—the Case of Foreign Affairs Policemen”

Discussant: Hayami Yoko (CSEAS)

Liu Jung-hsiu, “Upward or Downward? The Social Mobility of Migrant Workers and Taiwanese Aborigines”

Discussant: Ishikawa Noboru (CSEAS)

Jan Isaac V. Nolasco, “From Remittance to Revolution: The Filipino Diaspora and Political and Economic Change in Philippine Society”

Discussant: Lee Mei-hsien (GISEAS)

Session 5 (16:00-17:30): Getting Published in Asian Studies

Chair: Caroline Hau

Speaker: Paul Kratoska (National University of Singapore)

This presentation will describe the procedures of international academic publishing in English and provide suggestions about how to meet the expectations of editors of English-language publications.

Upward or Downward? – The Social Mobility of Migrant Workers in Taiwan and Taiwan Aboriginal Workers

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Abstract

Throughout history, the Taiwanese aborigines are always be seen a minority ethnic in Taiwan. According to the discourse from the TV channel of Taiwanese aborigines, they thought the coming of migrant workers would deprive their working rights. This paper attempts to explore the social mobility of migrant workers in Taiwan and Taiwan aboriginal workers. Participant observation and semi-structured interviews were used in this study. Result of this research showed that the coming of these migrant workers did not threaten the aboriginal Taiwanese's working rights. Moreover, these migrant workers were generated a new class in Taiwan's society—beneath the original underclass.

Keywords: migrant workers in Taiwan, Taiwan aboriginal workers, underclass, social mobility

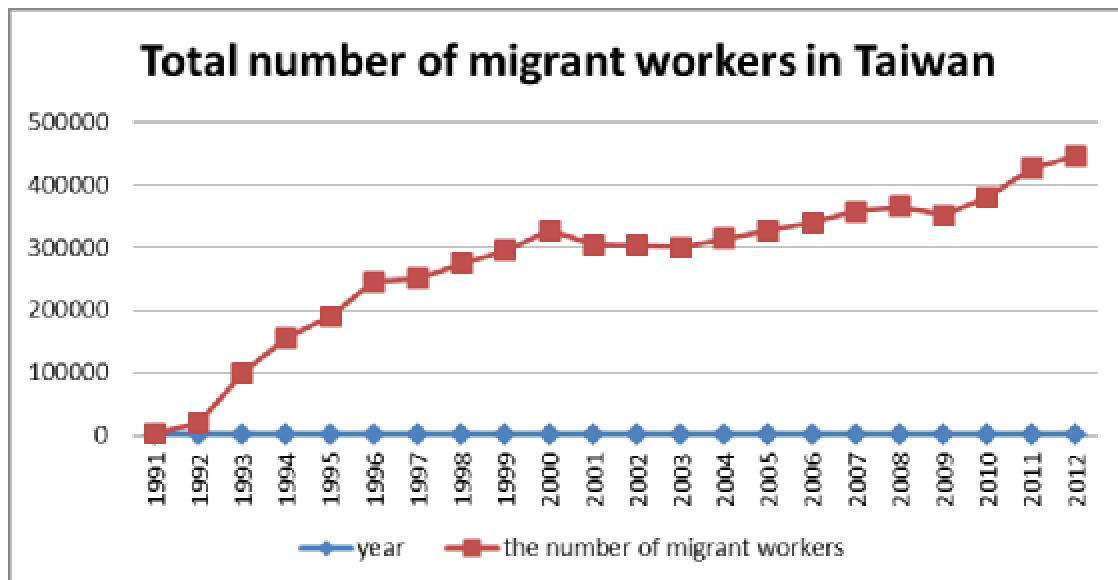
關鍵字：在台移工、台灣原住民工人、底層階級、社會流動

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Introduction

Migrant Workers in Taiwan

First of all, we can see from Figure 1 which plotted the yearly total number of migrant workers in Taiwan from 1991 to 2012. At the beginning of the period the population was only 2999 and by the end it had grown to 445,579. The fastest growth was from 1992 to 1996; thereafter, the growth was gradual.



Note: Modified from Council of Labor Affairs, the Executive Yuan of the Republic of China.²

Figure 1. The Trend in Total Number of Migrant Workers in Taiwan from 1991 to 2012.

During the period 1991 to 2000 there was a sharp increase in the foreign worker population growth in Taiwan and there was a steady increase during the period 2003 to 2008. The number of foreign workers decreased during the period 2000 to 2003 due to the Former

² http://www.evta.gov.tw/content/list.asp?mfunc_id=14&func_id=57

President Chen Shui-Bian's (陳水扁) decision based on his political white book (ChinaTimes.com, 2000). Since the year 2000 power transferred in Taiwan³, new government decided to cut 15,000 migrant workers per year for solving the growing unemployment rate in domestic employment market (Chiu, 2000; W.-Y. Lin, 2000; Y.-L. Lin & Chiu, 2000).

Based on the data from Department of Household Registration Affairs, Ministry of the Interior⁴, the population of Taiwan is 23,315,822. The percentage of migrant workers in Taiwan is only 1.9%.

Taiwan Aboriginal Workers

Based on the data from the Department of Household Registration Affairs, Ministry of the Interior, there are 531,435 aboriginals in Taiwan⁵. The amount of Taiwan aboriginal workers (314,674) is lower than the amount of migrant workers in Taiwan (445,579).

In general, Taiwanese aborigines are distributed away from town or city. Due to their low socio-economic status, most of them are busy for their livelihood. They do not have extra resources or economic capital to support their young generation to get higher education. Therefore, lots of indigenous people are to be trapped in the underclass. They can only find labor-intensive work.

³ Taiwan's politics is party politics. Before year 2000, Taiwan's presidents were belonging to KMT party; however, during the period 2000 to 2008, Taiwan's president Chen Shui-Bian was belonging to DPP party. Thus people say the power transferred in 2000 and the government called "new government".

⁴ <http://www.moi.gov.tw/stat/>

⁵ 2013. 07 data.

Now the government permit migrant workers can work in Taiwan, so these Taiwan aboriginal workers are worry about these migrant workers would deprive their chance of work.

Ethnographic Method

The company I did research was a butcher and food processing company. It was divided into five departments: management department, sales department, quality control department, storage management department, and operation department. There were about 120 employees in this company. There were 20 migrant workers in this factory. In the factory which I did observation, there were two types of works which migrant workers did: firstly, sequential works which were done in the second floor; secondly, individual works which were done in the third floor.

Results and Discussions

Small Power Distance in the Work Place

A group leader not only assigned tasks for every member but also did the same task with her members. Migrant workers did the same tasks with other local workers. The group leader would not assign a more labor force task to them just because they were migrant workers.

“They seem to have hierarchy. An officer from the storage management department told to the group leader when is dead line of a group of product, and then the group leader told to the migrant worker who responsible for this group of product. Not the officer from the storage management department told to the migrant worker who responsible for this group of product directly.”

[ObservationNote_0410]

In the beginning, while I took notes (ObservationNote_0410), I thought there was stratification in this work place. Since a Taiwanese worker would tell a work-related thing to another Taiwanese worker directly but to a migrant worker indirectly. I thought this was some local workers wanted to highlight their own position. These local workers created the concept of “class” deliberately to dwarf the class of migrant workers. However, when I discussed this query with some migrant workers in an informal conversation, one migrant worker said that they thought the group leader had the great authority in this work place, so they only followed the direction from the group leader. Otherwise he would have a lot of things to do if he follows direction from everyone. Any task had its priority; he only followed directions from the group leader since the group leader had authority to stop his unfinished task. On the other hand, he might need to work overtime if he follows directions from many people. Therefore, the main organization in the third floor seemed to be a flatten organization. There were only two levels: a group leader and group members.

Prejudice and Stereotype

Generally speaking, most Taiwanese people have bad attitudes toward these migrant workers. But I do not think this is related to ethnicity—they are outlanders. Taiwanese people had good impression on foreign English teachers or foreign chief executives (especially they are white people) and they also treated Japanese tourists, European tourists very friendly. The reasons why local people treated migrant workers unfriendly were that firstly, these migrant workers came from low-and middle-income developing countries and secondly, they thought these migrant workers were grabbing jobs away from them. Actually, based on Chu's (2003) study, the change of Taiwan's industrial structure, Taiwan's economic recession, and great amount of investment to Mainland China were main causes to Taiwan's higher unemployment rate. After 1990s, the industrial structures in Taiwan changed very fast. Lots of labor-intense industries moved out of this island, but the occupations on capital-intense, technical-intense, or service-related industry increased. Labors that had lower technical, lower educational level, and elder were hard to transfer to other jobs. Therefore, that local Taiwanese people imputed the high unemployment rate to these migrant workers was unfair.

Social Mobility

E. O. Wright (1982) modified Karl Marx's social class structure. He extended two-level social class structure—bourgeoisie and proletariat -- into three levels and three contradiction

locations. Fig. 2 illustrates E. O. Wright's model.

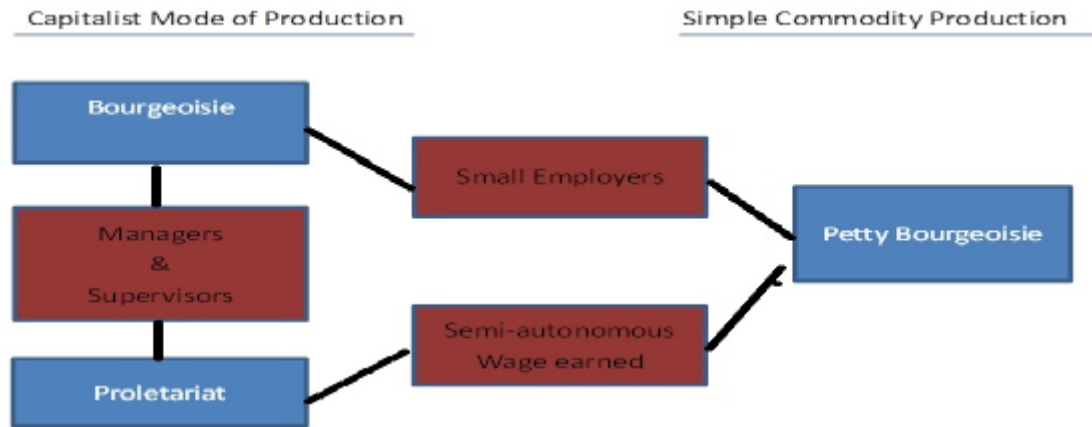


Figure 2. The Basic Class Structure of Capitalist Society.

Note: Adopted from E. O. Wright (1982: 711)

- means classes.
- means contradictory location within class relations.

Bourgeoisie class owns means of production, and they can buy labor power. Petty Bourgeoisie class owns means of production and directly uses them without employing labor power. Proletariat class does not own means of production, and they only can sell their labor power.

Managers and supervisors class is in a contradictory location within class relation. They do not own means of production, and they subordinate someone. But they can dominant someone, that is, they have powers to control someone.

Based on E. O. Wright's (1982) model, Taiwan aboriginal workers did upward in their

class structure. Since they are from proletariat class up to supervisor class, they have powers to control or dominant migrant workers.

Another class model is more easy-understanding. Erikson & Goldthorpe (1992) synthesized major occupations in the society and then categorized into different classes. As can be seen from Table 1, these classes could influence how many the resources each class get. This occupational class is also parallel to the socio-economic status.

Table 1
The Class Schema (collapsed version— seven-class)

The Name of Class	Examples
Service class	Professionals.
	Administrators and managers.
	Higher-grade technicians.
	Supervisors of non-manual workers.
Routine non-manual workers	Routine non-manual employees in administration and commerce.
	Sales personnel.
	Other rank-and-file service workers.
Petty bourgeoisie	Small proprietors and artisans, etc., with and without employees.
Farmers	Farmers.
	Smallholders.
	Self-employed workers in primary production.
Skilled workers	Lower-grade technicians.
	Supervisors of manual workers.
	Skilled manual workers.
Non-skilled workers	Semi- and unskilled manual workers (not in agriculture, etc.)
Agricultural laborers	Agricultural.
	Workers in primary production.

Note. Adopted from Erikson & Goldthorpe (1992: 38-39)

Most local workers in this company were aboriginal Taiwanese. They usually were in the underclass in Taiwan's society. Most of them did non-skilled jobs which belonged to the lower class—non-skilled workers—in Erikson & Goldthorpe's (1992) categorization. In addition, migrant workers also belonged to this occupational class—non-skilled workers. Both parties stayed in the underclass in Taiwan's society and they had different causes based on Fang's (2001) explanation. Aboriginal Taiwanese had imbalance distribution in reality. The high drop-out rate and the low educational level caused indigenous people to be trapped in the underclass. On the other hand, migrant workers stayed in the underclass because they were deprived of their civil rights⁶ and labor rights⁷. In Taiwan society, people usually call the new Taiwanese residents is “the fifth ethnic group”⁸—foreign spouses and migrant workers (Chi, 紀駿傑, 2009).

These Taiwanese aboriginals' social mobility did upward due to these migrant workers' coming because another subclass is being created for these migrant workers and it is below the subclass of indigenous people. Since aboriginals stood on a vantage position in language, they could give migrant workers some instructions on communication or on their life. In the work place, in addition, these aboriginals had worked in this company more than five years

⁶ Civil rights include the power of migration, employment, marital, birth, and so on.

⁷ Labor rights include the power of unity, dispute, strike, and so on.

⁸ Based on the categorization on ethnicity or on the use of language, there were four ethnic groups in Taiwan. They are: Hoklo people (70%), Hakka people (15%), Mainlander (13%), and Taiwanese aboriginals (2%) (Hsu&Chen, 2004).

and most migrant workers worked in this company less than three years, so aboriginals could give some techniques of the works to them. Bourdieu (1984) mentioned economical capital, social capital, and cultural capital can help to step up someone's social mobility. Taiwanese aborigines own cultural capital, such as language, so they can use this capital to step up their class structure in Taiwan society.

Both of these two groups are stayed in the underclass in Taiwan, are they getting along?

According to the discourse from the Taiwanese aborigines' channel⁹, they thought the coming of these migrant workers would deprive their working rights.

According to my ethnographic study, I observed local workers and migrant workers developed good rapport between each other. Seventy percent of local workers (exclude officers who stay in the office) were between forty to fifty-five years old and ninety percent of migrant workers were under thirty years old. Local workers treated these migrant workers as their children, so they could tolerate the mistakes from migrant workers. Moreover, I mentioned there were only two levels in this work place, nobody fight others to strive for a higher position. Thus the relationship between these two parties was harmonious. Finally, most aboriginals were open-minded, out-going, and optimistic. I usually saw aboriginal workers and migrant workers drank beers together after work.

⁹ <http://activity.pts.org.tw/Titv/2012TITVVoice/show.aspx?Num=231>

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Research site

a butcher and food processing company
120 employees in this company
20 migrant workers

social relations at work place

- 1) nuanced ethnographic description
foreign migrants vs. Aboriginal Workers ?
- 2) class → social stratification?

PPT p.1

A nuanced approach to social stratification

“how people make people work”

different modes of power, each pertaining to a different level of social relations:

1. power attributed to the endowment of the individual person
2. power produced in interpersonal relations
3. organizational power to circumscribe the actions of others
4. structural power that works on the organizational power itself.

PPT p.2

A nuanced approach to social stratification

“how people make people work”

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1. power attributed to the endowment of the individual person
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4. structural power that works on the organizational power itself.

PPT p.3

ethnography of stratification

Real people doing real things in everyday life

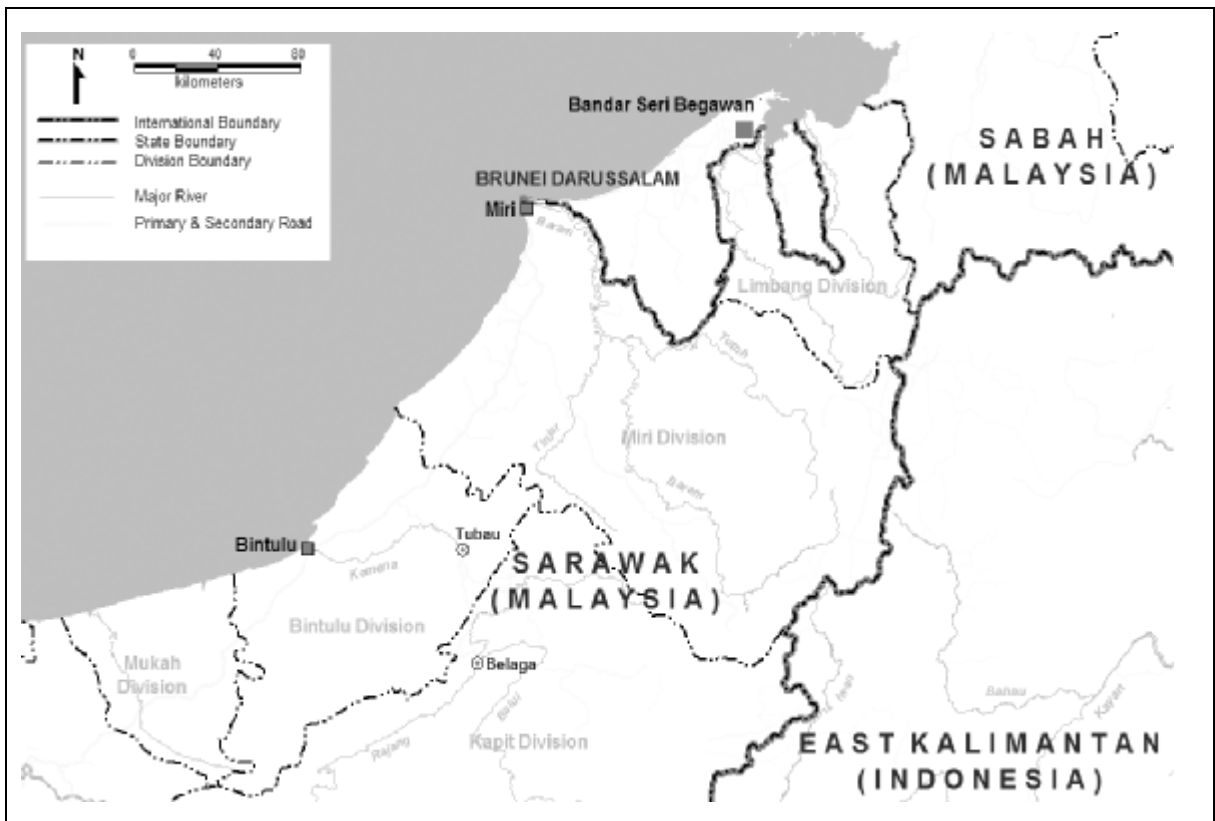
Attention to *power*

“how people make people work”

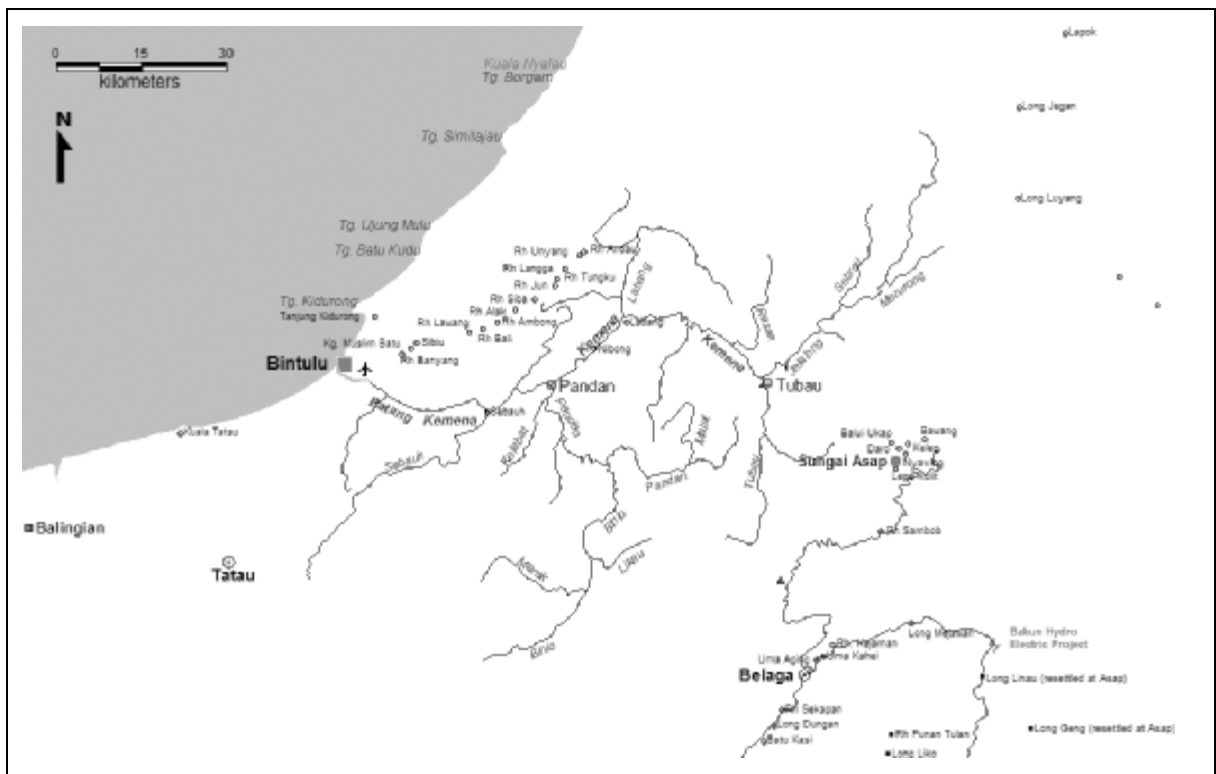
PPT p.4



PPT p.5



PPT p.6



PPT p.7



PPT p.8



PPT p.9

Table 3. Operational Categories and Wage at Timber Camp

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	WAGE	ETHNICITY
Subcategory		
Felling	3- 4RM/ton	Iban=98%
Skidding	3.5RM/ton	Iban, Oran Ulu (Dayak)
Debarking	2- 3RM/ton	majority Dayak, Indonesian 30%
Lorry driver (atas)	3- 4RM/ton	majority Chinese, and Kayan, Iban
Shovel driver (atas)	800- 1000RM/month	majority Chinese, Iban, Kayan
Tally clerk	600RM/ month	Chinese, Dayak depends on the location
Scaler (Stamping+Tagging)	600RM/ month	including Malay
Chief Scaler	1000RM/ month	Chinese only
Shovel driver (log pond)	1200RM/ month	mixed
Ordinary cook	800RM/ month	
Chief Mechanic	2500RM/ month	Chinese
Secretary	2000RM/ month	Chinese
Ordinary Mechanic	1200- 1300RM/ month	Chinese
Manager	3000RM/ month	Chinese
Senior Foreman (Assistant Manager)	2000RM/ month	Chinese or Iban (Baram area - Kayan)
Foren Block Mandor	1500RM/ month	many Iban mixed
Road Grader	1200RM/ month	mixed
Dump Truck Driver	800RM/ month	Kayan, Iban mixed
Excavator Driver (Kobelco)	800- 1000RM/ month	many Dayak mixed
General Worker (Sapu Uras/ Jaga ai)	600RM/ month	Dayak (elders)
Acco chief Clerk	more than 1000RM/ month	Chinese
Ordinary clerk	600- 800RM/ month	Iban, many Dayak female
PRO (Tuai Rumah)	500RM/ month	
Rafting (log pond)	800- 1000/ month	many Chinese a few Dayaks
Electrician	800RM/ month	mixed
Tanker Driver	600- 800RM/ month	
Surv Ordinary Surveyer (Jungle)	3000RM/ month	Chinese, Philippine,
Assistant Surveyer	1200RM/ month	only Local Dayak, including Penan
Worker	800RM/ month	

PPT p.10



PPT p.11



PPT p.12



PPT p.13

- Timber camps

Japanese
Malays (Malaysian)
Chinese (Malaysian)
"Dayak"
Iban
Orang Ulu
Kayan
Kenyah
...
Penan

- Plywood factory

Japanese
Malays (Malaysian)
Chinese (Malaysian)
Indonesian
Javanese
Sambas Malays
Dayaks

PPT p.14

Class and ethnicity

B.F. Williams

*A Class Act: Anthropology and the Race to Nation
Across Ethnic Terrain.*

Annual Review of Anthropology, Volume 18, pp.401-
44, 1989.



研討會地點所在學校：日本京都大學一隅。



研討會地點所在學校：日本京都大學一隅。



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與會人員合影。