

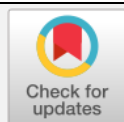
## Accommodating Religious Practices in the Workplace: The Case of Indonesian Workers in Taiwan

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### ABSTRACT

The increasing number of Indonesian migrant workers, who are largely Muslims in Taiwan, makes the work environment more diverse. Consequently, the need for diversity management programs such as accommodating religious practices in the workplace has become significantly more relevant. But the extant studies and reports point out those migrant workers, who are largely Muslims, have not been properly accommodated to implement their religious practices in the workplace. The study seeks to understand as how Indonesian migrant workers, who are largely Muslims, experience a kind of deprivation of their religious practices in the workplace. To that end, it uses a qualitative case study method to investigate a group of Indonesian Muslim workers of the X Company who were deprived to observe daily prayers in the workplace. The results of the study evidently found that the employer views that accommodation of such religious practices in the workplace as unreasonable for the company. The results further showed that the accommodation of religious practices of Indonesian Muslim workers was considered as unreasonable because of some important issues such as disruption of job duty, inflexible work schedule, other workers' concern/objection, facility cost and management response/approach. Accordingly, the study suggests some recommendations. First, the Taiwanese employer needs to sit together with relevant government institutions and religious leaders to formulate a specific policy on the accommodation of religious practices in the workplace. Second, as a single case study, the results of this study might lack of external validity (generalizability). It therefore strongly suggests prospective researchers to do a cross-cases study of this phenomenon or issue.

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## 1. Introduction

The increasing number of Indonesian migrant workers who are largely Muslims in Taiwan, makes the work environment more diverse. According to the Taiwanese official report released by the Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics (DGBAS), numbers of migrant workers in Taiwan amount to 706,000. Indonesian are the largest with 271,000 people (38.4 percent), followed by Vietnamese with 221,000 people (31.4 percent), and Filipinos with 154,000 people (21.8 percent) (DGBAS, 2019). Indonesian Economic and Financial Statistics Report released by the Bank Indonesia (2019) gives a different number of Indonesian migrant workers in Asia excluding ASEAN as below:

Table1  
Number of Indonesian Migrant Workers (IMWs) By Host Country  
(Thousands of People)

No	Country	2015	2016	2017	2018
1	Hong Kong	153	132	178	208
2	Taiwan	182	177	208	264
3	South Korea	31	25	24	28
4	Japan	26	24	23	23
5	Macau	16	16	16	16
6	Others	3	1	1	0
<b>Total</b>		<b>411</b>	<b>375</b>	<b>450</b>	<b>539</b>

Source: (Bank Indonesia, 2019)

The data evidently show the increasing numbers of Indonesian migrant workers in Taiwan for the last four years. This increasing trend has been partly due to the attracting and welcoming policy of Taiwanese companies and government to migrant labor market such as Indonesia, Philippine, Vietnam etc. Along with opportunities, the increasing flow of migrant workers brings unintended impacts culturally and socially on both Taiwanese society and companies, and the migrant workers themselves. One of the unintended impacts is the urge of diversity management program for the migrant workers such as accommodation of their religious practices in the workplace. Whilst, for the Taiwanese employers this also demands more work environment adjustments which might cause more costly to the company.

Although some recent studies and practices extend the health and safety issue to include religious, gender, and other cultural needs as integral part of employee well-being (Achylurdyyeva et al., 2019; Sharma, 2016; Wu & Chiang, 2007). Yet the policy makers and company managements in particular did not pay due attention to deal with such issues properly. For instance, The Newslens (2016/08/16), quoting from The 2015 International Religious Freedom Report says: "Taiwanese authorities appear to have finally noticed that despite the protections for religious freedom enshrined in the Constitution, hundreds of thousands of domestic workers are still unable to attend religious services". The news further says, "The largest single group of migrant workers is from Indonesia, with a population of

approximately 236,000 persons who are largely Muslim". This finding is strengthened by 2017 Human Rights Report on Taiwan, which points out that a large number of foreign workers, approximately 600,000, who primarily from Indonesia were not properly guaranteed their rights to attend religious services (U.S. Department of State, 2017).

Taiwan has actually enacted some relevant regulations and laws concerning migrant workers. It started from the Employment Service Act of 1992 which established a regular guest worker program to the Fair Labour Standards Act and the Labour Safety and Health Act. But the problem is that such basic labor protection legislations do not cover all basic rights of migrant workers yet, especially religious rights (FIDH/TAHR, 2013; Abella, 2009). For instance, the 2018 Human Rights Report on Taiwan reports that although amendment to the law for health and safety standards was recently made, yet it did not address the issue of migrant workers' rights to observe religious practices (U.S. Department of State, 2017).

Beside of regulatory issues, deprivation of such basic rights is because migrant workers are mostly not aware of the Taiwanese labor rights and ways to seek legal help. Even if they are aware, they are usually unwilling to report employer abuses for fear the employer would fire them (Melchert, 2017). Melchert (2017) further argues that a lack of government monitoring also makes these policies or regulations ineffective.

It is therefore not surprising that cases related violations of the basic rights of migrant workers continue until today. For example, in the beginning of 2019, many Indonesian newspapers were massively reporting the issue of maltreatment of Indonesian workers in Taiwan (CNN Indonesia, Jan 2, 2019; Kompas.com, Jan 3, 2019; Republika.co.id, Jan 2, 2019). The issue has raised a grievance concern from Indonesia government, and Taiwanese government and companies. The maltreatment issues range from over-working hour, unhealthy working conditions to the harassment of religious belief and practices. The issue of employees harassment in the workplace in Taiwan was not really new and has been well covered by some studies (Chiao, 2008).

Based on the aforementioned issues, this study seeks to answer questions such as: How do Indonesian Muslim workers experience the deprivation of religious practices in the workplace? Why does the company management not accommodate the religious practices of Muslim workers in the workplace?

## **2. Literature Review**

Accommodation of religious practices in the workplace has lately become an important topic in the field of Human resource Management, especially the diversity management program. Some studies point out the emerging trend of religiosity in the workplace which are mostly in the European context. For instance, Webley (2011) points out the contextual factors of religion in the workplace, such as immigration, the internationalization of business operations, the diversity agenda, generational differences, employee well-being, and recent legal developments. The other factor is wider acceptance that workforce diversity is not only ethically correct, but also economically beneficial. Griffiths (2016), for instance, argues that accommodating the employees' religious needs in the workplace can improve important company goals; "employees' well-being, a company's public image and help with the recruitment and retention of staff". The other scholars point out that the issue of generational differences has a significant impact on the religiosity in the workplace. It is argued that employees' conception and expectations of the workplace today are quite different from their predecessors. As Griffiths (2007) correctly point out, "They are part of a culture which has

placed a strong emphasis on the freedom to choose – not just for goods and services, but the freedom to choose their own value systems, beliefs and lifestyle”.

Consequently, companies will need to consider of accommodating diverse religious identities and practices in the workplace. But the questions arise as follows: (1) to what extent the company has to accommodate the religious practices? (2) Whether is it reasonable or unreasonable to accommodate such religious practices in the workplace? And many other related questions. To answer this question, we need to have a comprehensive understanding of what really means by reasonable accommodation. There is no agreed upon definition of reasonable accommodation. A number of studies define reasonable accommodation as one that eliminates the employee conflict between the religious practices and work requirements and that does not cause an undue hardship for the employer (Anti-Defamation League, 2015). On the contrary, employer’s refusal or reluctance to make any meaningful adjustment to the work environment that allows employee to comply with the religious belief is considered as a failure/absence of reasonable accommodation (Ghumman et al., 2013). Such work environment adjustment varies from place to place or religion to another. But generally it relates to various religious needs from work schedule, dress and grooming, to religious expression or practice at work.

In addition, Dessler (2014) points out that reasonable accommodation might include redesigning the job, modifying work schedules, or modifying or acquiring equipment or other devices. It is a broad area that might include almost anything of a religious nature. Practically, an employee may need a leave for a particular day every year for a religious holiday; a particular hour of every week for Sabbath/Friday sermon; or to wear religious garb; to have a place to pray. But Van Bever (2018) argues that companies need not to agree to all religion-related demands of employees, but what they need to do is to make an attempt at a reasonable accommodation. Reasonable accommodation is that an employer cannot simply say “NO” to employee’s religious needs.

Another characteristic that constitutes a reasonable accommodation is that such accommodation does not cause undue hardship. Undue hardship means that the accommodation of employee’s religious needs causes no harm to others, and involves minimal cost, disruption or inconvenience (Wintemute, 2014). A similar definition is put forward by Harrison (1977) that undue hardship is viewed as an accommodation which creates a “more than de minimis cost” or burden to the employer. Whereas Griffiths (2016) go further by proposing the idea of ‘reasonableness’ threshold, that includes an assessment of the impact of the accommodation. In principle, the implementation scenario must be based on a rational scale of priority as Bader et al., (2013) put it:

*“Where a fully equal treatment is either impossible or unfair to cultural and religious majorities, fairness-as-evenhandedness is the right second-order principle and reasonable accommodation is the appropriate way or method to sort things out”.*

According to Ghumman et al., (2013) there are three major aspects of accommodations that have been the subject of study and need further research/investigation: (1) grooming and dress accommodation, (2) observance and practice accommodation, and (3) work duties accommodation. Extant studies on grooming/dress code accommodations usually center on the treatment of Muslim applicants and employees wearing head scarves (Ball & Haque, 2003). While the literature on accommodation of religious practice usually centers on the time of its implementation as conflicted with work schedules. Above all, one of the more contentious



accommodation issues, according to Kelly (2008) are cases where employees object to performing work duties that conflict with religious beliefs.

### **3. Research Methodology**

The study is a qualitative case study of a group of Indonesian migrant workers who experienced a deprivation of religious practices in the workplace. It uses a case study because it has the capacity to provide in-depth knowledge about an individual's experience in a particular context and time (Merriam, 1998). The other rationale is because of its focus on depth rather than breadth (Yin, 2014).

Participants of the study were four Indonesian migrant workers who experienced a kind of deprived accommodation of their regular prayers in their workplace in Tainan. The study used purposive and snowball sampling technique in that it is initially relying on two workers, but in order to verify and crosscheck the data, the other two workers were invited into the interview. In addition, one participant was a Taiwanese employer.

The data were collected mainly through an in-depth interview and a loosely group discussion. The study was conducted intensively from September to December 2018. Nonetheless, the interaction with the participants had begun from early 2018. The interviews with participants took place several times, especially during their gathering activity on Sunday mostly in Tainan Park. The gathering usually formally lasted for 2 hours. But a light discussion and chatting continue until evening. Within such situation, we conducted a loosely group discussion about the issue/case. The interview and discussion were done in Indonesian language. But the excerpts were later on translate into English.

Finally, we run the data analysis through the following processes: coding, combining emerging codes into themes, verifying themes through a follow-up interview, and drawing conclusions (Creswell, 2008; Miles et al., 2014). The validity mechanism used triangulation or multiple sources of data, and looking for counter examples (Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2011). Apart from that, a prolonged interaction with participants strengthens the validity of this study.

### **4. Results and Discussion**

#### **A. Results**

##### **1) The Case Overview**

The study took a case happened at an electrical equipment manufacture in Tainan, a southern part of Taiwan, wherein some Indonesian migrant workers experience a kind of deprivation of religious practices, daily prayers. In terms of employee size, the firm is categorized as a medium enterprise with approximately less than 200 employees who are mostly migrants from Southeast Asia. Indonesian workers are approximately 50. There is not valid information as when Indonesian migrant workers exactly started working there. For confidentiality reasons it will be simply referred as "the X Company".

The deprivation of religious practices, especially daily prayers actually happens since they have been working in the company. Not all Muslim workers really pay heed to daily prayers. Some of them just succumbed to such unsupportive situation and simply did not offer prayers. But some others tried to inquire as how they could perform daily prayers during the work hours in the workplace. But they found that it was quite hard to do so. They consequently either left the prayers or postponed it until they got to their dormitories. But as time goes on, they tried to find a way to do daily prayers in the workplace. Sometimes they did it during the afternoon break at some places that were considered "safe" and unnoticed by supervisor and other employees. But sometimes they did it during work hours for the evening prayers. They

used to take some minutes off, for example, twice during work hours for the noon and evening prayer. They admitted that sometimes they “cheat” work time. At the end of 2017, some of them caught red-handed by their superior. As a result, they were punished and were strongly warned if they continue to do so. According to them, they tried to explain to the supervisors about their religious duties to perform daily prayers. However, the supervisor could not accept their explanation and stick to the decision to forbid them from doing them at the workplace. The supervisor insisted that such practices might disrupt the performance and reduce productivity. The supervisor threatened them to be fined and even fired if they keep doing so.

## **2) Participant Profile**

For confidentiality reasons, participants of the study are only named as participant A, B, C and so on. Participant A is 25 years old and a single. The participant is from Tegal, a city in the Central Java province, Indonesia. At the time of this study, the participant has been working in the company for almost 2 years. Participant B is about 40 years old from Ponorogo, a city in the East Java Province, Indonesia. The participant is married and has 3 children and has been working for 3 years. Participant C is 30 years old from Magetan, a city in the East Java Province, Indonesia. The participant is married and has a son. The participant has been working in the company for 2 years. These three participants have been working in the X Company. Participant D is about 40 years old and also from Magetan. Participant D is not working in the X Company and did not really experience a deprivation of religious practices in the workplace. Participant D was interviewed because the person is a committee member of the Indonesia Migrant Forum in Tainan. Participant D might give a broader view and more information about such cases in other companies in Taiwan. All these participants came to and work in Taiwan because they hardly found a good job for them in their home cities. They got job opportunities in Taiwan through an agent in Indonesia. Last, participant E is a Taiwanese employer. The person owns a relatively small electrical equipment manufacture. The participant E employs migrant workers from Southeast Asia, some of them are Indonesian. We are able to have a contact with participant E, facilitated by a senior Indonesian who has been in Taiwan for almost 10 years. We met and had a discussion three times in a restaurant in Tainan. The view, opinion and experience help us to have a better and more balance understanding about the case.

## **3) Community and Religiosity**

Indonesian migrant workers in Taiwan and Tainan in particular come from different region of Indonesia. They mostly come from Central and East Java. As such, they have been affiliated into different ethnic, locality, and religious groups and communities. All these different groups and communities are coordinated by Forum Kerukunan Keluarga Besar Warga Indonesia di Taiwan (FKKBWIT), a forum for Indonesian Migrant Workers. It is an organization recognized by Kantor Dagang dan Ekonomi Indonesia (KDEI), Indonesian Government Representative. They used to have a gathering and agenda on Sunday and some religious holidays like Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha. The activities usually take place in public places such as Tainan Park. Based on a long participant-observation, generally, Indonesian migrant workers, including the participants were not really adhering to their religious teaching and practices. But the circumstances changed when they came and lived in Taiwan. Perhaps being far away from home and family, and living in a foreign country strengthens their religiosity. For instance, according to participants, when they were in Indonesia they did not practice daily prayers regularly. But since they have been working in Taiwan, they started to do it regularly.

Performing religious practices help them console their sense of alienation. They, therefore, regularly organize and attend religious festival, sermon and teaching (*pengajian*).

#### **4) Job Description**

Three main participants are mainly working on the production line. As unskilled workers, their main job deals with packaging. The job duties are two types; (1) to wrap finished electronic goods, (2) to place all finished products on pallets to be delivered to other locations within the factory. According to participant A, there is no a really written job description for this kind of position. What participant A needs to do is just making sure that all finished electronic products pass by the person is being packed properly. The entire day participant A just sits or stands in front of hundreds or thousands of electronic products that are lined up and ready to pack. If the shifting time comes, participant A is usually tasked to place all finished products on pallets to be delivered to other locations within the factory. But, again the main duty is just a rough work dealing with the last chain of the production line. Participant A could not recall the number of finished stuffs that participant A can wrap in a day. The number is quite a lot. There is hundreds of finished stuff lined up in front of participant A. Although the job seems very easy and simple, the burden is in its process. It is demanding, in that participant A has to keep wrapping one after another without interval. According to participant A, it is really painstaking. Not because it is hard, but because the number is huge and the process without interval. The same description is also told by the other two participants.

#### **5) Job Requirement**

Basically, there is no such specific skill needed to perform that job. The only job requirements are diligent, tidiness and precision in wrapping. This is understandable in line with the job duties described above. Participant B commented that 'patience' is the key and properness is the performance. There is no special job orientation given to perform such duty. Participant D was trained to just observe first how thing done. And within days the person had been able to perform that. The qualification for this job is low. An employee who even did not finish secondary school might also be recruited. According to this participant most of the co-workers who happen to be migrants had never attended any college or university. Quite differently, participant C narrated a kind of brief and informal orientation when joined the company.

#### **6) Job Responsibility**

As packaging workers, the participants are responsible for a kind of production line supervisor. According to them, usually the supervisor will give a short instruction and inspection several times a day such as before the working, before and after breaking and before leaving. The supervisor usually makes sure that the job is done before the workers leave the workplace either for noon break or for final leave. But the supervisor also may from time to time makes an inspection to make sure the things are done properly and smoothly. If the supervisor considers the packing is improper or the working pace slowing down, the supervisor will rebuke and even scold the workers. If the person and any worker need do an urgent thing such as going to rest room, the worker needs to make sure that the supervisor considers it to be the real situation. Not just a cheating to avoid the duty.

## 7) Team Work

They do not perform this job themselves. There are other migrant workers from different countries. The workers are made into groupings. In particular spot there are some groups doing the packaging. A group usually consists of five to ten workers. The working relationship with co-workers is an important part of job performance. The participants consider that it is important to have friendly co-workers. If there is no a kind of understanding among group members, some sort of jealousy or suspicion of free riding usually arises. For instance, to take permission to rest room needs a kind of "gentlemen" agreement among them about frequency, duration and so on. If they fail to develop such kind of understanding, the working environment will be stressful. According to participant A, it happens many times that the supervisor knows something happened due to the report from the co-worker. In a nutshell, a co-worker may be a good friend and also hostile foe.

## 8) Working Schedule

Their working day is four days and one day overtime work in a week. The working hours per day are twelve hours; two hours considered as break time and the other two hours calculated as overtime. There are two shift times; day and night shift. The working hours starts from 8 or 9 am until 9 pm. The first break is in the noon for lunch time and the second break in the evening for dinner time. Except for these times, the employee is not allowed to take another rest or break.

## B. Discussion

Based on the above case overview, we might have a clue why it is difficult for them to perform daily prayers in the workplace. It might be also understood why the supervisor insisted that they cannot continue performing prayers during working hours and in the workplace. Following discussion elaborates further emerging themes which might give us a better understanding of the case.

### 1) Disruption of Job Duty

Packaging is not really hard, but painstaking and patience demanding. It is a job duty to continually do packaging with a huge number of finished stuffs and without a real flexible interval that makes them difficult to leave a job and perform prayer. If they leave two times, for instance, the lined up stuff will be a lot and somehow overload them. The impact is not only on their job duty alone, but also affect the workers in the group. According to them, their supervisor objected to accept the explanation with some considerations. First, if the supervisor grants the Muslim workers such additional break for prayer the other workers might demand the same treatment based on belief or religious claims. The supervisor argues that the company cannot make sure which religious claims are really true. Every worker may make such "fake" religious claim. Participant A says:

*"...My supervisor once said who knows you guys are really performing a prayer or just cheating the break".*

Second, the number of Muslim workers is quite huge. If he allows them to perform prayer during working hours, it may cause a kind of disruptions.



## 2) Other Workers' Concern/Objection

The other issue is that their regular leave of the job also affects the performance of the whole group. The workload will be felt also by their co-workers. This situation may cause inconvenience to their co-workers. The frequent rest taking is considered as an act of free riding. It, thus, causes a kind of unfriendly working relationship among group members. On this issue, participant A comments:

*"I think our non-Muslim friends feel uneasy if we too often go to restroom to perform a prayer. I feel uncomfortable too".*

In addition, according to them, they suspect that their co-worker who really inform the supervisor about their practices. It is therefore very important to make sure that all of their co-workers really understand the religious practices. If they can accept that, they may be also able to convince the supervisor that the practice will not disrupt the performance. But as participant B admits that it is a matter of cultural difference in that it is not easy to understand different religious issues. Sometime this participant may be able to discuss with the co-workers about religious duties. But most of the time it is quite hard to expect co-workers to regularly give participant B a kind of "special treatment". Some employees, the participant said, even question why it is so often to perform five times in a day. The others are just arguing that the workplace has nothing to do with religious practices. Likewise, participant C used to encounter complaint from the non-Muslim coworkers and question from the supervisor. Participant C narrates:

*"....my non-Muslim friends and supervisor do not understand why I have to do prayer many times every day. They consider me very conservative".*

## 3) Inflexible Work Schedule

"Fifteen minutes are so precious," participant C said, imitating the supervisor's comment. That was approximately the statement of the supervisor after finding this participant regularly performing prayer during working hours in the factory. Tight working schedule makes participant C difficult to perform the prayer. And at the same time, it is also difficult for the supervisor and the co-workers to make necessary adjustment. Once the co-worker told this participant that they are unskilled workers, doing rough jobs. "We are not a white collar worker, so do not expect more," the co-worker told the participant. According to this person, due to such working schedule the participant used to miss three times prayer. Participant D who is a committee member of FKKBWIT agreed that to adjust work schedule to accommodate daily prayers is still a common issue faced by most Muslim workers. But the participant argued that especially for Islamic festivals/ holidays like Eid Al-Fitr many companies have already given a day break or leave to their Muslim workers.

## 4) Prayer Room and Facility Cost

The other issue is that performing regular prayer, five times in a day, also requires praying room facilities in the workplace. But the factory design is not supported for such religious practice or meditation. According to them, there is a proper place to perform prayer, but it is outside the working place. Most of the times they perform a prayer just near by the rest room that may be considered not proper. According to their story, apart from the cost calculation, the supervisor argues that it is quite unreasonable to allocate a specific room for employee prayer

or mediation. For it may cause a kind of redesigning of workplace and providing related facilities.

In fact, to do daily prayers need not a specifically- designed prayer room like *Musala* (small mosque) in Indonesia. The only requirement for the place is clean and proper. It seems that most Indonesian workers, including participants do not really understand this properly. Participant D shared the experience and the experience of other Indonesian workers, participant D narrates:

*"..There is no a prayer room like musala in Indonesia. But I am still able to use some proper places easily. It is ok for me".*

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Nevertheless, the person argues that recently some Taiwanese companies, especially in Tainan have tried to understand and accommodate their Muslim employees' practices. Furthermore, the participant says that some companies nowadays already have provided a space for meditation or a multi-function place.

### **5) Management Response**

The company management, particularly the supervisor responded to a demand for accommodation of such religious practices with some sorts of suspicion and confusion. The management used to suspect that such demand as "fake claim". Sometimes the management also got confused and failed to understand as why Muslims need to rigidly observe prayers many times in a day. Unfortunately, due to resource and access issue, we are unable to interview the management of the X Company. As an alternative, we have an opportunity to have an interview with a Taiwanese employer who employs many Indonesian workers. This interview helps us to enrich the discussion and gives a better understanding of the case. This participant confirms that most of Taiwanese employers are quite curious why a Muslim is so rigid to pray five times a day. This person also openly argues that workplace is a secular place and has nothing to do with religion. He argues:

*"In my opinion, religion is private business and need not to disrupt public concerns. While the factory is a secular place, so you guys just do a prayer in church or your home".*

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In terms of any specific policy on the issue, the participant admits that the company has not developed any written policy yet. But discussing about the claim that accommodating such religious practices might cost the company a lot, insofar the participant does not make any solid proof. Even this participant admits that most of the company does not really make any real calculation and estimate. The participant argues:

*"There is no really valid account about the cost. It is just a guess".*

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Apart from the management role, this participant also claims that such accommodations might be easily provided if the government advocates a friendlier working environment for Muslim workers through formulating a clear and specific regulation and policy. For instance, Tainan government, in coordination with companies' management, took some measures to facilitate religious practices of Muslim workers such as instructing the firms to offer a day-off for celebrating Holy days such as Eid al-Fitr or Eid al-Adha. The government of Tainan even

arranges a kind of open-house and festival on the occasion of Eidl al-Fitr and invites the Muslim workers and students to come. This participant further argues that government, Indonesian representative and authoritative religious leaders need to sit together with companies to give correct information about such religious practices and discuss how to properly accommodate such practices in the workplace. But this person also admits that practically, accommodation of such religious practices mostly depends on the management approach of each and every particular company.

## **5. Conclusion**

The study found that the religious practices of Indonesian Muslim workers such as daily prayers have not been accommodated properly in the workplace. The employer views that accommodation of such religious practices in the workplace as unreasonable for the company. The study found a number of reasons behind this as follows. 1) Job disruption. The result showed that tight and painstaking job duty might not tolerate Muslim workers to perform daily prayers in the workplace. 2) Working schedule. The conventional and inflexible working schedule might not be compatible with prayer times for Muslim workers to offer prayers during work hours. 3) Facility cost. The result showed that accommodating daily prayers of Muslim workers also encounters a problem of providing a special prayer room and its related facilities. The company management also views that it may cause more costly to the company. Although, claims such companies, are not supported by calculations and real estimates. 4) Other workers' concerns. This study pointed out that accommodation of the daily prayers of Muslim workers strongly relates to other non-Muslim workers. Objections or concerns from other workers might make such accommodation unreasonable. 5) Management response/approach. The accommodation of religious practices of Muslim workers very much depends on the management response/approach. If the employer or management is willing to understand or at least open a dialogue with employees about their religious practices, it would be more reasonable to accommodate such religious practices.

Based on these findings, the study suggests following recommendations. First, Taiwanese employer needs to understand the implication of hiring Muslim migrant workers such as accommodation of their religious practices. Second, practically the management should review extant policies on migrant workers as whether these have covered the accommodation of religious practices or not. If they do not, they need to formulate such policies. Third, the management needs to build a constructive communication with employees concerning their religious belief and practices, and pursue a kind of understanding and agreement on their accommodation. Fifth, technically the management also needs to develop metrics to assess the cost of accommodation to address any claims of undue hardship. In doing these steps, management needs to sit together with relevant government institutions and to consult representatives of employees' religious group. Last, as a single case study, the results of this study might lack of external validity (generalizability). It therefore strongly suggests prospectus researchers to do a cross-cases study of this phenomenon or issue.

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