
Political Economy of Work and Employability Educational Challenges and Boundaryless Careers of Youth

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Abstract: The convergence of an aging society, knowledge economy, and professional labor mobility introduces issues for education. Societies are approaching a norm of social politics organized around flexible labor markets and structural exclusion which alters the access to social inclusion through education and employment. The analysis of national education and employment policy is important in the context of a contemporary crisis of capital. The local communities, Taiwan accommodates global capital by deregulating and opening up its markets, takes active interest in the competition for the best brains, and develops a cosmopolitan outlook. The author addresses the rescaling processes affecting Taiwan in which youth are settling. The aim of this paper is to examine some key aspects of social change in Taiwan, which has undergone significant changes in its occupational structure, labor market, economy, and educational provision since the 1980s. The material of the paper draws on three levels. The first deals with the structural and institutional transformations, and some key aspects in its political economy, labor market and education. The second is concerned with occupational and social mobility patterns and trends, and their association with the changing role of education. Finally, this paper explores the experiences of youth to gain an understanding of the social, political, and cultural factors that impinge on school-to-work and social mobility outcomes.

Keywords: Boundaryless Careers, Employable Workforces, Labor Market, Young

1. Introduction

Globalization produces a reconfiguration of the mobility of capital. The increasing mobility across national borders obliges states to face new kinds of working relations and other changes. The growing competition has led to a drastic increase in labour market risks, and has significant consequences for the life courses and employment trajectories of individuals, above all for young people. The socio-economic context of careers has changed from traditional bureaucratic careers to ones described as boundary-less, so that workers must be protean in adjusting to different work contexts. Young people face a world of work filled with uncertainties in the context of intensifying global competition and contractual flexibility. They are entering the labour market at a time of flexible labour market regulations that have contributed to an increase in atypical and precarious employment and high job mobility and have turned into a flexible mass. The changing structure of jobs is a critical factor shaping the nature of a country's path of development and the distribution of opportunities for employment.

Human resources have become increasingly dynamic, and are expected to contribute to the competitive advantage. The growing demand for highly skilled workers and the demographic decline create economic opportunities for migrants. Migration is a feature of the international political economy, and presents the possibility of bringing in new skills or new talents. The local communities are concerned about international competition for high-skilled labor and the importance of global talent for economic competitiveness. They recognize the value of human capital for economic development, so that a growing number of them court highly skilled labor. An education function determines the individuals' human capital. Active labour market policy shifts from economic to social policy, and its objective becomes the preservation of human capital and social cohesion in the context of unemployment. Unemployment is a problem to be addressed through active labour market policies and education. Education is at the core of this analysis. The competing demands for skills that promote economic development have far-reaching implications for youth livelihoods and national

development and merit further investigation.

Access to the labour market and to stable employment is a core characteristic for understanding social inequalities and the risk of social exclusion. The growth of middle-wage jobs is crucial to the expansion of the middle class that its decline may contribute to worsening prospects for social mobility. But the feature of economic restructuring has been the decline of middle-wage jobs, driven especially by the collapse of manufacturing employment. Understanding job polarization is key to efforts to improve the life chances of middle- and lower-wage workers. The Taiwan economy is globalizing rapidly as transnational capital investment flows have sought new localities to establish productive infrastructure, and moves from mass-production to professional-services that is knowledge-intensive. Competitive advantage of Taiwan is increasingly derived from human resources. These circumstances raise important questions regarding how we go about understanding the relationship between economic growth and labour flows. The paper charts how these issues influence policy development and examines some of the critiques of the work–education nexus in a global context.

2. Method

2.1. Aims & Underlying Assumptions

The local communities, Taiwan has seen an increase in the intensity and scope of cross-border interactive relationships. We aim to disentangle the strategy applied by Taiwan to adapt its national labour markets to increasing globalization and flexibility demands, and to investigate what these differential strategies imply for the development of social inequalities. The concern is to examine the changes in the variables, GDP, productivity and employment, in Taiwan over the periods of downturn since 1980s. The author uses datasets derived from studies with young workers to explore the experiences of workers transitioning into and out of the labour market. The aim is to investigate what types of career transitions, the reasons behind those transitions, and the support provided to those making transitions. It has been interesting for us to verify at what level the idea of flexibility develops in young people, by analyzing the work and career expectations of young people and the development of the protean career.

The paper focuses on the inequality effects of the process of labour market flexibilization, depicting various forms of social, economic, and demographic consequences that impact on young people in Taiwan. We will discuss how the social divisions due to the flexibilization of work are reflected in the career trajectories of young people. This paper is divided into 4 parts. First, we summarize some background characteristics of the Taiwan employment regime. It starts from a theoretical perspective by sketching the characteristics of the globalization process and its effects on labour market processes. Second, we discuss changes in the labour market and educational system since 1980s. Third, we discuss how these changes have impacted on Taiwan workers' career trajectories and how these have influenced patterns of social

inequality. The educational systems bear significant influences on human-capital formation. We use empirical quantitative and qualitative data to discuss the experiences of young workers entering the labour market. A final summary reflects on the key finding of this paper, its contribution to the research arena, as well as open questions for future research.

2.2. The Data Sources and Measures

A fundamental source of data comes from government documents and reports, official statistics, the Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics (DGBAS) of Executive Yuan, and Workforce Development Agency, Ministry of Labor (MOL) of Executive Yuan, and budget documents. There is a need for theoretical discussions on how to understand the concepts of the political economy of work and employability. The statistic data cover the following main themes: labor force participation rate (including sex, age and education), financial issues (including current income source, economic growth, GDP, GNI, NI, disposable income), and foreign workers (including number, nationality, categories of work). These data are combined with data on labour inputs and productivity from the statistics database in relation to the recent period, 1980–2016. More detailed data on employment from the Taiwan Labour Force Survey are used to describe employment shifts at occupational level during the great recession. The concern is to examine the changes in the variables GDP, productivity, average month worked and employment. The quantitative analysis can be complemented with some qualitative information about what specific jobs are common among the young people and how this picture compares with locals. To fulfill our aims, we will introduce the international literature on the educational challenges, boundaryless careers and youth and then describe our explorative study, adding concluding remarks on a future research agenda related to this topic.

2.3. Theoretical Foundations

Globalization is flourishing cross-world mobility [1]. The vehicle of international labor mobility is skilled immigration which provides a foreign-born professional the opportunity to work freely [2]. Knowledge and other human-based intangibles have become the resources for wealth creation [3]. The more knowledgeable the worker is, the more likely he (she) is to be employable [4]. Economies are becoming knowledge based, which require a skilled workforce to maintain economic viability [5]. Highly skilled migrants tend to the professional development and employment opportunities [6]. The increase in the number of international migrants translates into more migrants seeking to cross borders [7]. States face economic pressures stemming from demographic changes, skill retention, and their capacity to compete innovatively [8]. They accommodate global capital by deregulating and opening up their markets [9]. Young people tend to engage more in circular mobility which is defined as international or temporary migration for economic reasons [10]. A rethinking of immigration policy reflects the

state's role in facilitating a broader socio-economic transformation [11].

Labour market deregulation has played a major role in growing heterogeneity in the labour market [12]. Non-standard work is designed to attract highly productive and highly skilled workers, helps bring investment and increases productivity and flexibility in the labour market [13]. For today's new entrant to the labour market, securing fulltime and permanent work has become the exception rather than the rule [14]. Flexible working arrangements include not only non-standard work schedules such as part-time work or flexi-time, but also measures as diverse as shift work, and temporary employment [15]. Younger cohorts will work atypically [16]. The processes of globalization lead to a re-commodification of already disadvantaged groups of the workforce and to a strengthening of already existing social inequalities [17]. Unskilled and semi-skilled workers are affected by employment flexibilization [18]. Countries with a higher level of human development perform better in terms of GDP growth, therefore, a higher level of human development seems to be the major cause of faster economic growth [19]. Equality of opportunity is seen through investment in education which would provide individuals with the means to lay the foundations for a skilled and mobile workforce [20]. Education as a social public good is necessary for creating workers to fuel a healthy economy [21]. Younger generations that have benefited from the process of educational expansion are able to escape from the atypical work trap by transforming their flexible contracts into permanent ones [22].

3. Result: Local Community in Its Global Context

The shift towards recognition of an education–work nexus has occurred within the broader context of a globalized knowledge economy and a global race for skills. The local communities, Taiwan is in constant competition for its share of the international market and for the best skilled talent pool. The Taiwan economy confronts a wide range of contradictory pressures to cope with increased levels of uncertainty, while also responding to its population demands for security and social cohesion. Industrial relations, employment laws and policies and social policies are confronted with new challenges. The paper moves further into the investigation of how well the diverse segments of the population are making the transition from the local economies into the global economy.

3.1. Boundaryless Career

Taiwan determines to reverse the drain of top talent that accompanies its opening to the outside world. Taiwan begins tapping into the highly educated diaspora overseas, and launches an aggressive campaign to induce more overseas students to return. US educated engineers of Taiwanese origin contribute to the development of the home country's information technology industry. Active involvement and support build industrial parks, strengthen the science and technology infrastructure, and provide incentives to draw researchers back to Taiwan. Temporary foreign workers have played a critical role supplying labour, and foreign workers are considered to be a structural necessity for the industry. Governments have been pursuing a variety of policies to maximize the development impacts of international migration. International graduates of local universities are also seen as fitting the model of the desirable worker.

By national income in Taiwan, the rate of economic growth has decreased from 8.36 in 1991 to -1.26 in 2001, from 0.70 in 2008 to -1.57 in 2009, and then 1.40 in 2016; the amount (US\$) of Gross Domestic Product (Per Capita GDP) develops from 9,136 in 1991 to 13,448 in 2001, from 18,131 in 2008 to 16,988 in 2009, and then 22,495 in 2016, which is shown in Table 1. Over the course of the period 1991 to 2016, GDP, GNI and NI for Taiwan grow nearly 3 times overall. The approach calls on Taiwan not only to restructure its economic systems and reorder its fiscal and monetary priorities, but also to improve performance through improved bureaucratic accountability. There is some sign as a whole of the share of managers and professionals (engineers, professional, scientific & technical services and so on) increasing as total employment declined from 2000 onwards. According to "Foreign Workers for Special Professions or Technical Assignments by Educational Attainment and Industry in Taiwan", the top 6 priorities of the number of "persons of effective employment permit" are follows: "Education", "Manufacturing", "Wholesale & retail trade", "Professional, scientific & technical services", "Arts & entertainment & recreation", "Information & communication"; the last 2 priorities of the number are follows: "Mining & quarrying", "Agriculture & forestry & fishing & animal husbandry", which is shown in Table 2. The share of skilled and semi-skilled manual workers in employment declined closely in line with each other as the share of managers and professionals rose.

Table 1. Principal Figures in Taiwan, End of 1991–2016.

Year	Average Population persons	Exchange Rates of the NT\$ against the US\$ Average of daily figures	Economic Growth Rate %	Nominal GDP		Nominal GNI		Nominal NI	
				Nominal GDP	Per Capita GDP	Nominal GNI	Per Capita GNI	Nominal NI	Per Capita NI
				million US\$	US\$	million US\$	US\$	million US\$	US\$
1991	20,503,568	26.82	8.36	187,314	9,136	192,368	9,382	174,722	8,522
1992	20,704,227	25.16	8.29	223,159	10,778	227,959	11,010	204,606	9,882
1993	20,899,019	26.39	6.80	235,140	11,251	239,461	11,458	215,297	10,302
1994	21,086,645	26.46	7.49	256,404	12,160	260,467	12,352	234,550	11,123
1995	21,267,653	26.49	6.50	279,224	13,129	283,411	13,326	253,664	11,927

Year	Average Population persons	Exchange Rates of the NT\$ against the US\$ Average of daily figures	Economic Growth Rate %	Nominal GDP		Nominal GNI		Nominal NI	
				Nominal GDP	Per Capita GDP	Nominal GNI	Per Capita GNI	Nominal NI	Per Capita NI
				million US\$	US\$	million US\$	US\$	million US\$	US\$
1996	21,441,432	27.46	6.18	292,665	13,650	296,653	13,836	265,856	12,399
1997	21,634,124	28.70	6.11	303,737	14,040	306,859	14,184	275,525	12,736
1998	21,835,703	33.46	4.21	280,369	12,840	282,418	12,934	250,950	11,493
1999	22,010,489	32.27	6.72	304,171	13,819	306,976	13,947	271,772	12,347
2000	22,184,530	31.23	6.42	331,452	14,941	335,921	15,142	296,816	13,379
2001	22,341,120	33.81	-1.26	300,450	13,448	306,129	13,703	266,664	11,936
2002	22,463,172	34.58	5.57	308,875	13,750	315,887	14,062	274,853	12,236
2003	22,562,663	34.42	4.12	318,590	14,120	328,145	14,544	287,190	12,729
2004	22,646,836	33.43	6.51	348,479	15,388	359,609	15,879	313,121	13,826
2005	22,729,753	32.18	5.42	375,769	16,532	384,808	16,930	333,521	14,673
2006	22,823,455	32.53	5.62	388,589	17,026	398,171	17,446	341,757	14,974
2007	22,917,444	32.84	6.52	408,254	17,814	418,387	18,256	352,952	15,401
2008	22,997,696	31.54	0.70	416,961	18,131	426,937	18,564	353,896	15,388
2009	23,078,402	33.06	-1.57	392,065	16,988	404,587	17,531	332,285	14,398
2010	23,140,948	31.65	10.63	446,105	19,278	459,679	19,864	385,290	16,650
2011	23,193,518	29.47	3.80	485,653	20,939	498,832	21,507	417,057	17,982
2012	23,270,367	29.62	2.06	495,845	21,308	511,179	21,967	421,779	18,125
2013	23,344,670	29.77	2.20	511,614	21,916	525,851	22,526	440,559	18,872
2014	23,403,635	30.37	4.02	530,519	22,668	546,013	23,330	461,605	19,724
2015	23,462,914	31.91	0.72	525,196	22,384	542,711	23,131	458,475	19,540
2016	23,515,945	32.33	1.40	528,866	22,495	547,224	23,277	461,400	19,626

Source: Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics (DGBAS) of Executive Yuan, R.O.C.

Table 2. Foreign Workers for Special Professions or Technical Assignments by Educational Attainment and Industry in Taiwan, End of Dec., 2016.

Item	Accumulation of application	Accumulation of the employment permit	Persons of effective employment permit
Grand total	467,464	450,183	31,025
By Educational Attainment	-	-	-
Under Senior school	118,561	113,351	5,334
Junior college	291,994	281,518	19,191
Master	40,058	38,830	5,006
Doctor	16,176	15,831	1,494
Others	675	653	—
By industry	-	-	-
Agriculture, forestry, fishing & animal husbandry	81	70	14
Mining & quarrying	39	38	2
Manufacturing	57,205	55,537	6,338
Electricity & gas supply	1,268	1,261	9
Water supply & remediation services	250	230	21
Construction	14,307	14,003	980
Wholesale & retail trade	45,485	43,034	5,775
Transportation & storage	6,999	6,880	916
Accommodation & food services	5,960	5,319	839
Information & communication	16,163	15,179	1,326
Financial & insurance	4,295	4,209	466
Real estate	439	403	65
Professional, scientific & technical services	69,680	66,894	3,712
Support services	7,296	7,141	180
Public administration & defence; Compulsory social security	7,325	7,158	24
Education	-	-	-
Human health & social work services	122,868	119,554	7,830
Arts, entertainment & recreation	5,628	5,398	655
Other services	81,026	77,583	1,464
Others	20,562	19,735	409
	588	557	—

Source: Workforce Development Agency, Ministry of Labor (MOL) of Executive Yuan
Unit: Person-case

3.2. Youth

Young people have been confronted with increasing labour

market insecurity and a delayed integration into employment. Young labour market entrants are equipped with fixed-term contracts and find it increasingly difficult to establish

themselves securely in employment. Today's young workers are of no longer expecting a job-for-life from their employers, and are said to face more difficult routes to employment in comparison with previous generations. It is important to remember that Taiwan has a low level of force participation rate of youth: the rate of "15~19 years" group has decreased from 44.72 in 1978 to 8.60 in 2016, and the rate of "20~24 years" group also has decreased from 65.16 in 1978 to 53.53 in 2016, which is shown in Table 3. Moreover, Taiwan has a high level of unemployment rate of youth. The rate of "15~19

years" group has grown from 3.95 in 1978 to 8.94 in 2016, and the rate of "20~24 years" group also has grown from 3.77 in 1978 to 12.62 in 2016, which is shown in Table 4. The Taiwan youth labor force participation rate currently lags behind. Taiwan faces a growing youth population that is unable to secure sustainable employment. More young people combine flexible employment with further investments in educational degrees. While more young people are attending higher education, they are learning the knowledge and skills needed for the changing market economy.

Table 3. Labor Force Participation Rate by Age in Taiwan, End of 1978–2016.

Year	15~19 years	20~24 years	25~29 years	30~34 years	35~39 years	40~44 years	45~49 years	50~54 years	55~59 years	60~64 years	65 years & over
1978	44.72	65.16	68.39	69.48	70.60	70.53	69.21	65.36	56.81	43.53	9.48
1980	41.57	65.30	68.96	68.75	72.13	70.86	69.62	66.02	56.30	40.83	8.48
1990	24.68	65.73	76.32	75.67	76.60	76.21	72.33	65.04	56.43	40.90	9.77
2000	15.14	59.41	81.22	80.08	79.15	78.04	73.43	63.91	50.54	35.68	7.71
2008	9.74	51.66	85.02	84.75	83.86	81.56	76.18	65.94	50.60	31.86	8.10
2009	8.84	49.64	85.82	85.18	84.24	81.45	76.62	65.43	49.95	31.75	8.05
2011	8.69	50.27	89.39	85.89	84.13	82.92	77.84	67.14	51.66	32.01	7.93
2012	8.45	51.65	91.87	86.40	83.96	83.60	78.70	67.73	52.52	32.56	8.10
2013	8.11	52.73	92.50	86.71	84.10	84.02	79.56	68.27	53.21	33.42	8.34
2014	7.98	51.35	91.67	88.19	83.77	84.48	80.21	69.63	54.41	35.61	8.68
2015	8.35	52.15	92.49	89.38	83.87	84.86	80.92	70.34	55.08	35.77	8.78
2016	8.60	53.53	92.23	90.16	84.71	85.16	81.68	71.44	55.67	36.35	8.61

Source: Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics (DGBAS) of Executive Yuan, R.O.C.

Unit: %

Table 4. Unemployment Rate by age in Taiwan, End of 1978–2016.

Year	15~19 years	20~24 years	25~29 years	30~34 years	35~39 years	40~44 years	45~49 years	50~54 years	55~59 years	60~64 years	65 years & over
1978	3.95	3.77	1.54	0.64	0.38	0.43	0.43	0.82	0.76	0.43	0.17
1980	3.21	3.13	1.09	0.44	0.31	0.19	0.29	0.43	0.44	0.29	-
1990	5.68	4.79	1.92	0.99	0.84	0.64	0.64	0.52	0.36	0.22	0.03
2000	9.04	6.89	3.77	2.59	2.24	1.98	1.93	1.85	1.61	0.92	0.24
2008	11.42	11.89	6.38	3.89	2.97	2.63	2.76	2.65	2.33	1.38	0.17
2009	13.55	14.67	8.77	5.82	4.64	4.23	4.27	4.14	3.54	2.00	0.13
2011	11.22	12.71	7.11	4.32	3.32	3.02	2.99	2.66	2.44	1.57	0.15
2012	9.80	13.17	7.08	4.34	3.37	2.76	2.55	2.35	2.14	1.69	0.17
2013	9.65	13.75	7.11	4.20	3.37	2.51	2.59	2.26	2.15	1.32	0.14
2014	8.78	13.25	6.84	4.04	3.26	2.58	2.37	2.12	2.04	1.23	0.10
2015	8.63	12.59	6.55	3.97	3.14	2.37	2.36	2.06	1.76	1.16	0.14
2016	8.94	12.62	6.76	3.79	3.41	2.66	2.51	2.15	1.92	1.63	0.17

Source: Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics (DGBAS) of Executive Yuan, R.O.C.

Unit: %

3.3. Labor Mobility

The analysis of immigrants' performance in the Taiwan labour markets must be preceded by a brief review of the main socio-economic characteristics of this population group. Immigrants are to a large extent young people that half of immigrants are aged between 15 and 39. Large numbers of poor and low-educated immigrants from South-East Asia and China arrive and take the low-level service and labour jobs at the bottom of the wage structure. Taiwan also has robust immigrant among highly educated middle-class populations that find jobs at the top of the wage structure. The bipolar occupational distribution of migrant workers concentrates in professional occupations at the upper end of the skills distribution and elementary occupations at the lower end. In

developing their businesses globally, companies are seeking to increase the diversity of their talent pool. To promote the international mindset, companies increase the nationality mix of the internationally mobile population in their internal labour markets. Highly skilled migrants are preferred. The government is taking active interest in managing its immigration to maximize its share of highly skilled workers, including for instance: expanding programs to recruit foreign workers on a temporary basis, and incentivizing spatially mobile industries to relocate to take advantage of less regulated regions.

Table 5 shows the distribution of foreign workers in productive industries and social welfare by industry in Taiwan. Several interesting facts should be highlighted. First, the

general rule is that the total grand number of foreign workers develops from 304,605 in 2001 to 624,768 in 2016. Over the course of the period 2001 to 2016, the number of foreign workers migrants in Taiwan grows 2 times overall, including the number of foreign workers in productive industries develops from 191,671 in 2001 to 387,477 in 2016, and the number of foreign workers in social welfare develops from 112,934 in 2001 to 237,291 in 2016. Second, the number of foreign workers in manufacturing develops from 157,055 in

2001 to 370,222 in 2016, but, the number of foreign workers in major investing decreases from 61,258 in 2001 to 670 in 2016. Particularly, the number of foreign workers in construction decreases from 33,367 in 2001 to 6,383 in 2016, then, the number of foreign workers in major construction projects also decreases from 29,619 in 2001 to 6,185 in 2016. It suggests that foreign workers seem to face such a severe disadvantage compared to natives, and are under-represented in the top quintiles of jobs.

Table 5. Foreign Workers in Productive Industries and Social Welfare by Industry in Taiwan, End of 2001–2016 (Cont. 1).

End of year	total Grand	Foreign workers in productive industries								
		Sex			Agriculture, forestry, fishing & animal husbandry (Crewmen)	Manufacturing		Construction		
		Subtotal	Male	Female		Manufacturing	Major investing	Construction	Major construction projects	
2001	304,605	191,671	142,498	49,173	1,249	157,055	61,258	33,367	29,619	
2002	303,684	182,973	132,125	50,848	2,935	156,697	64,183	23,341	21,191	
2003	300,150	179,552	126,592	52,960	3,396	162,039	70,354	14,117	12,747	
2004	314,034	182,967	126,529	56,438	3,089	167,694	76,125	12,184	7,763	
2005	327,396	183,381	126,184	57,197	3,147	166,928	79,569	13,306	6,193	
2006	338,755	184,970	127,827	57,143	3,322	169,903	83,993	11,745	5,884	
2007	357,937	195,709	136,990	58,719	3,786	183,329	86,582	8,594	5,992	
2008	365,060	196,633	140,141	56,492	4,865	185,624	74,757	6,144	4,467	
2009	351,016	176,073	126,762	49,311	6,452	165,790	56,573	3,831	2,725	
2010	379,653	193,545	138,281	55,264	7,745	182,192	46,644	3,608	2,833	
2011	425,660	227,806	163,809	63,997	8,670	215,271	29,348	3,865	3,313	
2012	445,579	242,885	176,106	66,779	9,313	230,604	14,550	2,968	2,630	
2013	489,134	278,919	199,252	79,667	9,788	265,741	6,190	3,390	2,848	
2014	551,596	331,585	232,530	99,055	10,316	316,409	2,609	4,860	4,318	
2015	587,940	363,584	255,667	107,917	9,898	346,914	1,200	6,772	6,413	
2016	624,768	387,477	272,585	114,892	10,872	370,222	670	6,383	6,185	

Source: Workforce Development Agency, Ministry of Labor (MOL) of Executive Yuan
Unit: Person

Table 5. Foreign Workers in Productive Industries and Social Welfare by Industry in Taiwan, End of 2001–2016 (Cont. 2).

End of year	total Grand	Foreign workers in social welfare				
		Sex			Nursing workers	Home-maids
		Subtotal	Male	Female		
2001	304,605	112,934	2,775	110,159	103,780	9,154
2002	303,684	120,711	2,044	118,667	113,755	6,956
2003	300,150	120,598	1,834	118,764	115,724	4,874
2004	314,034	131,067	1,924	129,143	128,223	2,844
2005	327,396	144,015	2,219	141,796	141,752	2,263
2006	338,755	153,785	2,246	151,539	151,391	2,394
2007	357,937	162,228	2,040	160,188	159,702	2,526
2008	365,060	168,427	1,862	166,565	165,898	2,529
2009	351,016	174,943	1,840	173,103	172,647	2,296
2010	379,653	186,108	1,840	184,268	183,826	2,282
2011	425,660	197,854	1,847	196,007	195,726	2,128
2012	445,579	202,694	1,772	200,922	200,530	2,164
2013	489,134	210,215	1,711	208,504	208,081	2,134
2014	551,596	220,011	1,774	218,237	217,858	2,153
2015	587,940	224,356	1,659	222,697	222,328	2,028
2016	624,768	237,291	1,724	235,567	235,370	1,921

Source: Workforce Development Agency, Ministry of Labor (MOL) of Executive Yuan
Unit: Person

Table 6 shows the distribution of foreign workers for special professions or technical assignments in Taiwan. By persons of effective employment permit, the top 4 priorities of the number are follows: Specialized or technical work, Full-time teacher teaching courses on foreign languages at a

short-term class registered for supplementary schooling, Director of a business invested in or set up by overseas Chinese or foreigner(s), School Teacher. Table 7 shows the distribution of foreign workers for special professions or technical assignments in Taiwan. By nationality, the top 10

priorities of the number are follows: Japan, United States, United Kingdom, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, India, R.O., Korea, R.O., Canada,

Table 6. Foreign Workers for Special Professions or Technical Assignments by Sex, Categories of work in Taiwan, End of 2004—2016.

End of year	Persons of effective employment permit		Sex			Categories of Work	
	Accumulation of the employment permit	Total			Specialized or technical work	Religious, artistic, and show business work	
		Male	Female				
2004	30,266	20,751	16,474	4,277	11,228	1,311	
2005	63,755	25,933	20,930	5,003	13,118	1,516	
2006	99,588	29,336	24,128	5,208	16,292	1,488	
2007	133,642	28,956	23,805	5,151	15,467	1,792	
2008	164,126	27,319	22,365	4,954	14,509	1,546	
2009	193,188	25,909	20,983	4,926	13,380	1,518	
2010	224,735	26,589	21,605	4,984	13,938	1,699	
2011	260,203	26,798	21,664	5,134	13,981	1,685	
2012	297,051	27,624	22,209	5,415	14,465	1,948	
2013	333,114	27,627	22,093	5,534	14,855	1,818	
2014	372,055	28,559	22,727	5,832	15,672	1,962	
2015	410,432	30,185	23,758	6,427	16,982	1,782	
2016	450,183	31,025	24,133	6,892	17,868	1,698	

Table 6. Continue.

End of year	Persons of effective employment permit		Categories of Work			
	Full-time teacher teaching courses on foreign languages at a short-term class registered for supplementary schooling	Execute bond	School Teacher	Director of a business invested in or set up by overseas Chinese or foreigner(s)	Sports coach and athlete	
2004	5,934	—	1,604	633	41	
2005	6,630	1,537	2,061	1,044	27	
2006	6,392	1,465	2,212	1,440	47	
2007	5,983	1,981	2,243	1,451	39	
2008	5,839	1,575	2,356	1,452	42	
2009	5,841	1,241	2,375	1,503	51	
2010	5,640	1,376	2,397	1,503	36	
2011	5,715	1,327	2,406	1,644	40	
2012	5,615	1,269	2,445	1,853	29	
2013	5,094	1,403	2,408	2,010	39	
2014	5,040	1,342	2,291	2,207	45	
2015	5,000	1,719	2,299	2,357	46	
2016	4,875	1,750	2,254	2,530	50	

Source: Workforce Development Agency, Ministry of Labor (MOL) of Executive Yuan
Unit: Person-case

Table 7. Foreign Workers for Special Professions or Technical Assignments by Permit Authority Agency and Nationality in Taiwan, End of Dec., 2016.

Item	Accumulation of application	Accumulation of the employment permit	Persons of effective employment permit
Grand total	467,464	450,183	31,025
By Permit Authority Agency	-	-	-
Ministry of Labor	458,055	440,824	29,556
Export Processing Zones	2,130	2,113	492
Science Parks	7,279	7,246	977
By Nationality	-	-	-
Japan	107,281	104,819	8,575
United States	78,766	76,201	5,251
Canada	30,136	29,074	1,042
United Kingdom	22,928	22,325	1,033
South Africa	12,987	12,513	595
Philippines	18,725	18,034	1,505
Malaysia	19,761	18,247	2,684
Korea, R.O.	15,919	15,222	1,083
Australia	8,699	8,400	404
Thailand	9,625	8,960	283
India, R.O.	12,512	11,982	1,458
Germany	12,936	12,662	411

Item	Accumulation of application	Accumulation of the employment permit	Persons of effective employment permit
Russia	11,494	11,266	279
Indonesia	8,103	7,745	845
France	9,390	9,065	554
Singapore	7,119	6,748	505
Hong Kong	11,346	10,582	941
Ukraine	5,515	5,266	233
New Zealand	3,680	3,561	135
Vietnam	4,281	3,869	516
Others	56,261	53,642	2,693

Source: Workforce Development Agency, Ministry of Labor (MOL) of Executive Yuan
Unit: Person-case

3.4. Flexible Labour Markets

The global financial crisis put an end to the Taiwan boom as unemployment again reached over 5 per cent in 2009. The government made large investments into active labour market policies such as job placement services and training programmes. Expansionary monetary policy boosted domestic demand, notably in construction, and played a decisive role in Taiwan's success in reducing unemployment. Recent years have shown a sustained interest in work flexibility, and legislators appear to have directed their attention to flexible work issues. The government promoted a cheap and flexible workforce, which created a favourable environment for foreign capital in search of investment opportunities and a way into the world markets.

Over the course of the period 1978 to 2016, the labor force participation rate keeps the same, 58.00. But, the unemployment rate grows from 1.67 in 1978 to 5.88 in 2009, then 3.92 in 2016, which is shown in Table 8. According to employed persons by industry, the rate of goods-producing

industries tends to account for 35.88 per cent of employment, and services-producing industries for around 59.17 per cent in 2016. Low-technology industries (which includes subsectors such as agriculture, forestry, fishing and animal husbandry, manufacture of food, textiles, furniture) had a negative contribution to employment. High-technology industries (which includes subsectors such as production of chemicals, cars, electrical equipment or computers) had a small contribution to the expansion of the highest layers of employment, and an important contribution to the expansion of the middle layers. The industrial sector was the driver of the middle (and mid-low) segments of employment. Knowledge-intensive services (which includes information & communication, professional, scientific & technical activities, and other activities) are biased upwards, whereas less knowledge-intensive services (which includes retail, hotels and restaurants and land transport among other activities) show the opposite image, biased downwards.

Table 8. Important Indicators Based on Manpower Survey Results in Taiwan, End of 1978–2016.

Year	Civilian Population aged 15 years & over	Labor Force			Not in labor force	Labor force participation rate
		Total	Employed	Unemployed		
1978	10784	6337	6231	106	4448	58.76
1980	11378	6629	6547	82	4749	58.26
1990	14219	8423	8283	140	5795	59.24
2000	16963	9784	9491	293	7178	57.68
2008	18623	10853	10403	450	7770	58.28
2009	18855	10917	10279	639	7937	57.90
2011	19253	11200	10709	491	8053	58.17
2012	19436	11341	10860	481	8096	58.35
2013	19587	11445	10967	478	8142	58.43
2014	19705	11535	11079	457	8170	58.54
2015	19842	11638	11198	440	8204	58.65
2016	19962	11727	11267	460	8235	58.75

Table 8. Continue.

Year	Unemployment rate	Employed Persons by Industry		
		Agriculture, forestry, fishing and animal husbandry	Goods-producing industries	Services-producing industries
1978	1.67	-	-	-
1980	1.23	-	-	-
1990	1.67	-	-	-
2000	2.99	-	-	-
2008	4.14	-	-	-
2009	5.85	-	-	-
2011	4.39	5.06	36.34	58.60
2012	4.24	5.01	36.23	58.75

Year	Unemployment rate	Employed Persons by Industry		
		Agriculture, forestry, fishing and animal husbandry	Goods-producing industries	Services-producing industries
2013	4.18	4.96	36.16	58.89
2014	3.96	4.95	36.14	58.91
2015	3.78	4.95	36.03	59.02
2016	3.92	4.95	35.88	59.17

Source: Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics (DGBAS) of Executive Yuan, R.O.C.

Unit: Thousand Persons, %

3.5. Employment Structure

Taiwan embraces the neoliberal policies of free trade and deregulated markets, and the Taiwan economic development has been its increasing economic openness to global capital. It does this by implementing a series of policies that would create a financial and economic environment more conducive to capital mobility and labour flows. Industries like textiles and clothing were decreasing and disappearing, while upcoming economic branches like banking and insurance, transport, and retail trade were hiring growing numbers of employees. Taiwan with an upgrading pattern of employment growth with little expansion in the bottom quintile experienced low levels of job growth in the middle. Slow growth in the middle raises concerns about the structure of opportunities in an economy. One of the worries about economies is that they do not produce sufficient middle-wage jobs to support the maintenance of the large middle class. Opportunities for social mobility may be diminished in employment structures with growth only at the ends of the wage distribution. The middle-quintile jobs are the solid

manufacturing and office jobs that enabled people to achieve decent pay and a middle-class standard of living. The employment expansions in Taiwan shared some features which were higher growth in high-paid jobs, relatively lower growth in middle-paid jobs and in lower-paid jobs. The declining middle or the hollowing out of the labour market appears to have been somewhat sharper.

Between 2008 and 2009, the total number (Unit: Thousand Persons) of employed persons declines from 10,403 in 2008 to 10,279 in 2009, and the number of the paid employees declines from 7,902 in 2008 to 7,889 in 2009, as a result of the economic crisis in Taiwan. By employed persons of private-paid- employees, the number decreases from 6,945 in 2008 to 6,850 in 2009, but by employed persons of government - paid-employees, the number develops from 958 in 2008 to 1,040 in 2009, which is shown in Table 9. Employment growth in government or public administration is greater during periods of recession than in periods of economic growth. This in some degree reflects government efforts to counter the downturn in economic activity through increased public expenditure.

Table 9. Employed Persons by Class of Worker in Taiwan, End of 1978–2016.

Year	Total	Employers	Own-account workers	Unpaid family workers	Paid employees		
					Subtotal	Private	Government
1978	6231	197	1374	775	3885	3141	744
1980	6547	290	1341	701	4216	3400	815
1990	8283	399	1543	744	5597	4641	956
2000	9491	513	1523	710	6746	5790	955
2008	10403	508	1374	619	7902	6945	958
2009	10279	470	1331	588	7889	6850	1040
2011	10709	480	1323	577	8328	7291	1038
2012	10860	476	1319	570	8495	7468	1027
2013	10967	468	1317	567	8615	7595	1020
2014	11079	458	1310	573	8737	7714	1023
2015	11198	451	1313	574	8860	7836	1024
2016	11267	445	1319	576	8926	7901	1025

Source: Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics (DGBAS) of Executive Yuan, R.O.C.

Unit: Thousand Persons

The growing service sectors were polarized between the top and bottom of the jobs structure in Taiwan. According to employed persons by occupation, the priorities of the number are follows: “Craft & machine operation related workers”, “Service & sales workers”, “Technicians & associate professionals”, “Professionals”, “Clerical support workers”, “Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery Workers”, “Legislators, senior officials & managers”, which is shown in Table 10. It shows the top-heavy growth in knowledge-intensive services and decline at the bottom in low-skill services, illustrating the polarizing pressures in the

Taiwan labour market. Knowledge-intensive services accounted for 50 per cent of growth in the top quintile, such as occupation “Professionals” (from 732 in 2001 to 1,389 in 2016, 190 per cent of growth), and “Technicians & associate professionals” (from 1,450 in 2001 to 2,029 in 2016, 40 per cent of growth). Low-skill service jobs make up 20 per cent of growth in the bottom quintile, such as occupation “Clerical support workers” (from 1,001 in 2001 to 1,257 in 2016, 26 per cent of growth), “Service & sales workers” (from 1,828 in 2001 to 2,206 in 2016, 21 per cent of growth), and “Craft & machine operation related workers” (from 3,292 in 2001 to

3,506 in 2016, 7 per cent of growth). It shows the top-heavy growth in knowledge-intensive services and shows the

slight-growth at the bottom in low-skill services, illustrating the polarizing pressures in the Taiwan labour market.

Table 10. Employed Persons by Occupation in Taiwan, End of 2001–2016.

Year	Total	Legislators, senior officials & managers	Professionals	Technicians & associate professionals	Clerical support workers	Service & sales workers	Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery Workers	Craft & machine operation related workers
2001	9383	405	732	1450	1001	1828	675	3292
2008	10403	463	1098	1921	1076	2040	500	3305
2009	10279	444	1100	1977	1088	2014	506	3149
2011	10709	435	1195	1957	1188	2086	496	3352
2012	10860	422	1244	1950	1222	2119	495	3408
2013	10967	404	1286	1962	1232	2156	492	3435
2014	11079	394	1333	1990	1244	2166	492	3459
2015	11198	387	1370	2019	1248	2181	496	3496
2016	11267	381	1389	2029	1257	2206	500	3506

Source: Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics (DGBAS) of Executive Yuan, R.O.C.
Unit: Thousand Persons

The fate of the less knowledge-intensive service sector will be important to understand variation in job polarization. The institutions that regulate the low-wage labour market will be important for understanding variability in service job growth. Unless some low-skill service jobs begin to upgrade, growth in the middle of the jobs structure will be increasingly affected by the cycles of boom. Economic restructuring altered the employment structure in Taiwan. The striking feature of economic restructuring has been the decline of middle-wage jobs, driven by the collapse of manufacturing employment. This pattern of change has raised the spectre of a transition to an hourglass economy, where job growth is concentrated at the top and the bottom of the wage structure but not in the middle. The poor growth of middle-wage jobs is worrying because these jobs were crucial to the expansion of the middle class, and its decline may contribute to worsening prospects for social mobility.

3.6. Human-Capital

Taiwan has not only experienced rapid technological change, but also undergone a process of massive educational reform. Changes in education began during the 1980s when the government initiated a modernizing project based on the marketization of education delivery. The centrality of education is seen as the driver of economic growth in the context of globalization. Government policy has emphasized raising the number of school leavers continuing in higher education or the opening of tertiary education to larger

sections of the population. The policy goal of widening participation, that is “increasing the numbers of undergraduates from lower socio-economic groups”, has been achieved in part. The young graduates expressed feelings of uncertainty as they entered a new life-course phase from education to work. This is especially pertinent in Taiwan, given emphasis on the expansion of higher education and the growing disparity between graduates (highly qualified and skilled) and non-graduates (poorly qualified and low-skilled) in their experiences of career transitions and trajectories. Having university degrees would enable them to have more choices in employment.

According to educational attainment of labor force participation, the rates develop in these educational phases: “Senior high” (from 47.39 in 1978 to 50.41 in 2016), “Vocational” (from 59.39 in 1978 to 67.48 in 2016), “Junior college” (from 67.46 in 1978 to 74.04 in 2016), “University & graduate school” (from 59.65 in 1978 to 64.53 in 2016), which is shown in Table 11; but the rates decline in these educational phases: “Primary school & below” (from 57.25 in 1978 to 25.31 in 2016), “Junior high” (from 67.45 in 1978 to 60.00 in 2016). Over the last three decades, the proportion of the labour force with tertiary education increased by 11.46 percentage points or more in Taiwan. The proportion of workers without upper secondary schooling declines everywhere. The proportion of highly educated workers has increased, while numbers of mid- and lowly educated workers have declined.

Table 11. Labor Force Participation Rate by Educational Attainment in Taiwan, End of 1978–2016.

Year	Total	Male	Female	Educational attainment					
				Primary school & below	Junior high	Senior high	Vocational	Junior college	University & graduate school
1978	58.76	77.96	39.13	57.25	67.45	47.39	59.39	67.46	59.65
1980	58.26	77.11	39.25	55.47	68.29	47.51	60.24	68.50	59.96
1990	59.24	73.96	44.50	51.86	67.24	52.04	64.68	70.06	62.24
2000	57.68	69.42	46.02	39.58	64.62	51.75	65.67	73.29	61.44
2008	58.28	67.09	49.67	29.71	61.99	50.57	69.31	77.47	62.63
2009	57.90	66.40	49.62	28.23	61.02	49.91	68.12	76.99	63.58
2011	58.17	66.67	49.97	27.40	60.56	49.62	68.05	76.28	64.13
2012	58.35	66.83	50.19	27.36	60.51	49.62	68.04	75.51	64.35
2013	58.43	66.74	50.46	27.23	61.04	48.79	67.80	74.92	64.44
2014	58.54	66.78	50.64	25.79	60.64	49.16	67.68	74.52	65.14

Year	Total	Male	Female	Educational attainment					
				Primary school & below	Junior high	Senior high	Vocational	Junior college	University & graduate school
2015	58.65	66.91	50.74	25.36	59.89	49.92	67.69	74.02	65.13
2016	58.75	67.05	50.80	25.31	60.00	50.41	67.48	74.04	64.53

Source: Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics (DGBAS) of Executive Yuan, R.O.C.

Unit: Thousand Persons, %

The total rate of unemployment in Taiwan develops from 1.67 in 1978 to 3.92 in 2016, which is shown in Table 12. According to educational attainment of unemployment, the rates develop in these educational phases: “Primary school & below” (from 0.64 in 1978 to 2.31 in 2016), “Junior high” (from 2.28 in 1978 to 3.52 in 2016), “Senior high” (from 3.72 in 1978 to 3.99 in 2016), “Vocational” (from 3.67 in 1978 to 3.87 in 2016), “University & graduate school” (from 2.54 in 1978 to 4.84 in 2016); but the rate declines in the educational phases: “Junior college” (from 3.75 in 1978 to 2.91 in 2016).

Over the last three decades Taiwan created a disproportionate share of jobs in the high-paid occupations that require high levels of education, whereas the numerical importance of occupations with low levels of education has declined. Lowly educated unemployment is particularly sensitive to economic fluctuations and the labour market situation. Cyclical unemployment becomes increasingly persistent as the recessions of the late 2008 and early 2009 increased the numbers of long-term unemployed.

Table 12. Unemployment Rate by Educational Attainment in Taiwan, End of 1978–2016.

Year	Total	Male	Female	Educational attainment					
				Primary school & below	Junior high	Senior high	Vocational	Junior college	University & graduate school
1978	1.67	1.57	1.86	0.64	2.28	3.72	3.67	3.75	2.54
1980	1.23	1.11	1.47	0.40	1.45	2.31	2.79	2.51	1.93
1990	1.67	1.68	1.64	0.58	1.73	2.38	2.55	2.46	2.03
2000	2.99	3.36	2.44	2.05	3.50	2.96	3.48	2.90	2.67
2008	4.14	4.39	3.83	2.66	4.52	4.36	4.33	3.44	4.78
2009	5.85	6.53	4.96	4.35	6.83	6.07	6.23	4.96	5.98
2011	4.39	4.71	3.96	2.52	4.44	4.75	4.63	3.40	5.18
2012	4.24	4.49	3.92	2.32	4.27	4.45	4.15	3.18	5.37
2013	4.18	4.47	3.80	2.29	4.29	4.25	4.06	3.11	5.26
2014	3.96	4.27	3.56	2.04	3.87	3.79	3.85	3.09	4.99
2015	3.78	4.05	3.44	1.84	3.29	3.80	3.84	2.75	4.79
2016	3.92	4.19	3.57	2.31	3.52	3.99	3.87	2.91	4.84

Source: Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics (DGBAS) of Executive Yuan, R.O.C.

Unit:%

The process of rising levels of educational achievement continues for the last three decades. This is shown by Table 13, which depicts the share of education attainment of population aged 15 and above in Taiwan. The educational level of the working population has substantially increased in Taiwan since the 1980s. By school-life expectancy of aged 6(year), the average workers’ education increased from 14.6 in 2002 to 16.5 in 2012. Changes in the Taiwan labour market have

created flexibilization winners and losers, especially along the lines of human capital endowment. The expansion of higher education has been accompanied by an increase in the types of skilled and professional occupations. This suggests that in the race between education and technology, labour supply driven by rising educational attainment has kept pace with labour demand shaped by continuous technical change.

Table 13. Education attainment of population aged 15 and above in Taiwan, End of 1998–2013.

Year	Junior high school and below (%)	Senior high school and Vocational school (%)	Junior college and above (%)	School-life expectancy of aged 6(year)
1998	45.9	33.0	21.2	-
1999	44.2	33.5	22.3	-
2000	43.2	33.5	23.3	-
2001	41.8	33.7	24.5	-
2002	40.2	33.8	26.0	14.6
2003	38.9	33.7	27.4	15.0
2004	37.7	33.5	28.7	15.4
2005	36.6	33.2	30.2	15.6
2006	35.5	32.9	31.6	15.7
2007	34.4	32.7	32.9	16.1
2008	33.3	32.3	34.3	16.1
2009	32.3	32.1	35.6	16.0
2010	31.3	32.0	36.8	16.2

Year	Junior high school and below (%)	Senior high school and Vocational school (%)	Junior college and above (%)	School-life expectancy of aged 6(year)
2011	30.3	31.8	37.9	16.3
2012	29.3	31.7	39.0	16.5
2013	28.4	31.5	40.1	16.3

Source: Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics (DGBAS) of Executive Yuan, R.O.C.

Unit: %, year

4. Discussion

In a globalized economy, capital and labour are increasingly mobile and these have led to an intensification of competition. During recessions the burden of economic adjustment is shifted to lower educated workers, and firms tend to dismiss low qualified workers. Those with lower education have been considered as a rather marginal workforce and have become highly flexibilized. There will be an increase in the numbers of workers who will be trapped in an insecure or sub-protected position: part-time workers or atypical workers. Welfare states are expected to help non-working people back into employment, and to provide social services for an ageing society. These employment relationships contribute to the social integration of large parts of the population by integrating them in the labour market. The status of the employment relationship is an important source of individual social security and social participation. But, neither the recent labour market reforms, nor the state unemployment protection schemes, provide a sufficient level of social security. Adapting unemployment protection to labour market change represents a major social and economic challenge for welfare states. The local communities, Taiwan should opt for preventing the rise in inequality through institutional rules.

As the risk of fixed-term employment has increased among young people, gaining a foothold in the labour market has become increasingly difficult for them. The ubiquity of uncertainty and risk has turned industrial societies into risk societies, and employment risks become generalized at all levels of society. Social inequalities will increase because uncertainties will lead employers to increasingly shift labour market risks on to less powerful employees. Individuals with fewer human capital resources come to face a greater risk of experiencing labour market exclusion, thus raising their poverty risk. Unequal educational outcomes are the cause of social problems, and social policy can play a preventive role by investing in people's skills. A form of security provision is when individuals insure against future labour-market risk by investing in their own educational opportunities to anticipate future adverse labour-market change. The educational qualifications and occupational class are increasingly important for young people.

5. Conclusions

The social and human context within knowledge is dynamic and complex in the local communities. Careers are no longer something predictable but rather something more boundaryless. The knowledge economy emphasizes the

importance of human capital in generating wealth. Intelligent enterprise is presented as a new paradigm to build sustainable competitive advantages. The local communities, Taiwan with legislation to attract highly skilled migrants, and with measures to ease the entry and boost the employment and entrepreneurial opportunities of overseas students, is one of the best places to benefit from the global talent pool. Taiwan should be willing to open its borders to the movement of people, and should provide infrastructure for support so that all can work to benefit from trade. Education comes to be a means to accumulate the social and cultural capital required to be competitive in increasingly globalized professional contexts. The internationalization of education becomes a vehicle for the preparation of students to compete in a global marketplace.

The 2000s was a period of slow growth and economic restructuring, with unemployment rising fast as numbers of workers were made redundant from traditional industries. The chances of a smooth transition into work life after leaving the education system have dropped. A large amount of education system leavers have to face a period of unemployment after graduation. The risk of entering the labour market by taking up a fixed-term job has increased over the last few decades. Employment and life-course trajectories no longer follow stable long-term pathways, but take the form of unstable and contingent patchwork careers. Taiwan has implemented variable strategies when adapting its economies and labour markets to the increasing flexibilization demands. This strategy of labour flexibility has brought about an increase of labour precariousness. Such precariousness is understood as a loss of job quality not only in terms of temporality but also in other dimensions: economical (low wages), social (atypical job), security and access to social protection. The activation strategy might promote social inclusion and participation. Taiwan should make the adjustment of social security schemes and infrastructure to the needs of people in various life circumstances.

Domestic labor shortages due to brain drains, inadequate natives with requisite qualifications, aging, or declines in the population stimulate employers' demands to access global talent. Student mobility and corporate mobility will lead to a more mobile global labour market and an internationally mobile elite. The increasingly globalized natures of both the labour and education markets are the social consequences of how market-driven forces have intertwined the mobilities of globalized flows of workers. Such practices have changed the social-political settings of workers' daily lives. Opportunities for the higher qualified to convert their precarious employment situation into a stable one are much higher, while especially low-qualified young adults are increasingly stuck in

precarious forms of employment. The situation of young labour market entrants, has been further worsened by selective employment deregulation which has caused a dramatic increase in employment risks. Policy for youth unemployed took a step towards strengthening investment in human capital. Taiwan should be interested in improving its access to high-skilled migrants and implement policies to facilitate this objective.

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