

Generational Differences in Attitudes towards Cross-Straits Trade

Ping-Yin Kuan, Ph. D.

Associate Professor

Department of Sociology &
International Program in Asia-Pacific Studies (Joint Appointment)

National Chengchi University

Taipei, Taiwan

E-mail: soci1005@nccu.edu.tw

A paper prepared for the “Conference on the Politics of Polarization: Taiwan in Comparative Perspective” organized by The Taiwan Democracy Program at the Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, Stanford University, Oct. 17-18, 2014.

The Sunflower Movement erupted in March and April this year because of the hasty passing of the Cross-Straits Service Trade Agreement by the Legislative Yuan. This movement has certainly made many people in Taiwan aware of the anxiety and distrust the younger generation has towards China. Regardless of the possibility of party politics and power struggle having played a role in triggering the protest, the Movement may have been a culminating event summarizing the gradually developing generational differences in attitudes towards the cross-straits political and economic relationship. As Wang Jenn-hwan (2014), a Taiwanese sociologist, commented recently in *Taipei Times*, unlike those above the age of 40, who have gone through the KMT's "greater China" education and have certain understanding about China, younger people in Taiwan grew up during the process of democratization and have no emotional attachment to China.

The purpose of this paper is to explore important macro and micro factors that may have formed the social basis of these generational differences. The exploration pooled national statistics and large-scale social surveys across many years to investigate the trend of these differences. The paper also draws upon the information provided by several previous studies, in particular a survey that specifically studied the participants of the Movement and another survey that targeted the attitudes of Taiwanese people towards various agreements signed between the Straits Exchange Foundation (SEF, Taiwan) and Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits (ARATS, China), to understand the differences at the individual level.

Who participated in the Movement?

The Sunflower Movement is widely identified with the younger generation, in particular, college students in Taiwan. It is, however, very important to learn more about the composition of the activists who actually participated in the event. First, the so-called "younger generation," just like any generational cohort, may not be a homogenous group. There have been comments in newspapers to the effect that students who participated in the Movement were angry young men and women (fen qing, 憤青) and mostly were not students of natural sciences (e.g., Yuan, 2014). Secondly, the young activists also tend to be opinion leaders and are likely to engage in political activities in the future.

Other than gathering information based on reports in mass media to learn about the composition of movement participants, it is fortunate that Prof. Wan-chi Chen with the assistance of her colleagues and students conducted a fairly systematic on-site structured interview survey of these activists on March 25th and 26th, about a week after the movement participants occupied the Legislative

Yuan. Results of the survey are available online (Chen, 2014) and the following is a summary of that survey report.

The survey covered the areas within and outside of the Legislative Yuan occupied by the participants, divided into 4 sampling blocks. Within each block, the participants were sampled systematically. During the two-day survey, each day was segmented into 6 time slots. A total of 1,005 cases were sampled and only 16 people refused to be interviewed. The sample surveyed could probably be generalized only to those who staged the sit-in within and outside the Legislative Yuan during those two days of the survey. However, sit-in participants were most likely enthusiastic during the Movement. The survey report indicated that most of the sampled participants spent about 85 minutes commuting from where they lived to the Legislative Yuan and more than 82% of them had invited others to participate in the event.

In terms of the basic demographic characteristics, the survey found that 56% were students (N=554). The survey also found that during daytime, the percentage of non-students was somewhat higher and students tended to show up after midnight. It is important to learn that about 76% of non-students had college or higher degrees. Genderwise, the survey interviewed slightly more females (51.8%) than males. The maximum age of the participants was 83 and the youngest participant was only 10 years old. The average age of the sample was 28. If the sample is divided into students and non-students, the average age of students was 22 and the mean age of non-students was 35. The dominant age groups were 20-24 (44.5%) and 25-29 (22.3%). In short, active participants of the movement were indeed young people of age 20 to 29.

The survey report further revealed a few interesting characteristics of student participants. First of all, only about 5% were of high school or five-year junior college students. Undergraduates of four-year colleges were about 73% of the sample and Master's students were about 17%. Among 403 college students, there is a positive relationship between seniority and participation. Seniors had the highest percentage, 30.2%, which was about twice the percentage of freshmen (15.9%). Among 510 college students who offered information about the colleges or universities attended, about 57% were from public colleges or universities. This percentage is significantly higher than the 32% reported by the Ministry of Education (Ministry of Education, 2012). While these students came from more than 96 different colleges and universities, the survey showed that among these 510 students, students of national universities were the leaders of the pack. About 9.4% of them were from the National Taiwan University, which was the largest student body, followed by students of National Chengchi University and Fu Jen Catholic University (about 5.1%

each). The survey report also indicated that the alumni of National Taiwan University also had the largest percentage (9.4%) of the nonstudent sample.

Table 1 lists the frequency distribution of 9 universities whose students accounted for more than 2.4% of the sample and the percentage of students of each of 9 universities in the whole college student population in Taiwan.

Table 1. Frequency distribution of nine universities whose students were of more than 2.4% of the sample

University Name	Number	% of the sample (N=510)	% of the college student population
National Taiwan University	48	9.41	2.38
National Chengchi University	26	5.10	1.18
Fu Jen Catholic University	26	5.10	1.98
National Tsin-hua University	19	3.73	0.92
National Cheng-Kung University	19	3.73	1.63
Soochow University	15	2.94	1.16
Chinese Culture University	14	2.75	1.96
National Taipei University	13	2.55	0.72
Shih-shin University	13	2.55	0.88

As to the fields of study, of the 508 participants who offered detailed information about their fields of study, the report showed that 15.6% were studying humanities, 15.2% engineering, 11.2% commerce and management, 9.3% fine arts, 7.3% social sciences, 6.9% medical and health sciences, and 5.7% law. While the distribution does not seem to be dominated by non-science majors, it is important to compare the distribution with the marginal distribution of the total college student population. Hence, the survey report further compared these percentages with the percentages of fields of study classified by the Ministry of Education. The comparison indeed indicated that percentages of students of humanities, social sciences, fine arts, mass communication, and law were statistically significantly higher ($p < .05$) than the population and the percentages of students of commerce and management, computer science, engineering, and personal services were significantly lower than the population. Percentages of other fields of study such as education or various science related fields were about the same as the population. In short, students of humanities and social sciences were most enthusiastic about participating in the Movement while students of more practically oriented fields such as commerce and management or engineering were less active

in this event.

This interesting survey of Movement participants reveals at least two important pieces of information: firstly, the activists were surprisingly young and probably the cream of the crop among their peers and, secondly, the “younger generation” may not be homogeneous in their attitudes towards the cross-straits relationship.

Why the Discontent?

Why then the highly educated young people in Taiwan, especially those studying humanities and social sciences, are so discontented with the possible negative impacts of the cross-straits trade? I would argue that other than the rather depressive economic situation in the last few years which has had the most serious negative impact on youth employment across the world (International Labor Organization, 2013), rapid expansion of higher education in the last few decades in Taiwan has also played an important role in fueling anxiety and discontent in the younger generation.

In the last three decades, one of the most important social changes in Taiwan has been the expansion of higher education. Tsai (2004) maintained that Taiwan first expanded its higher education in 1985 which changed the higher education from an elite education system to a much more accessible system. Taiwan further expanded its higher education in 1997 following the massive educational reform implemented by the government. Between 1997 and 2002, the number of colleges and universities drastically increased from 78 to 139. On average, a new college or university was established every month during this 5-year time. In 2014, the number of four-year colleges or universities is 159. According to the Ministry of Education (2014), the net enrollment rate¹ of the tertiary education before 1990 was a mere 19.4% which rose to 70.4% in 2013.

Whether the rapid expansion of higher education in the last three decades is a miracle or a disaster has been debated fiercely since the 1990s. Critics of the expansion point out the fact that during the corresponding decades, the economy in Taiwan has been rather sluggish. The economic growth rate (i.e., GDP growth rate) in 1990 was about 6.87% and the rate was only 2.09 in 2013. Similarly, the growth rate of personal income (i.e., GDP per capita) in 1990 was about 6.92% and in 2013, the rate was 2.68%.² In short, increasing human capital on average in Taiwan has encountered decreasing economic performance, which is not enough to accommodate the expansion of higher education in the last two decades or so. The

¹The net enrollment rate is defined as number of students in the school age at each education level divided by demographics corresponding to the schools age at each education level.

²These statistics were based on the website of National Statistics, R.O.C. (Taiwan), <http://www.stat.gov.tw/point.asp?index=1>.

trend of the incongruence at the macro-level of social and economic development is presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1. The trend of the net enrollment rates of tertiary education, economic growth rates, and the growth rates of personal income between 1980 and 2013



Figure 1 shows that those who benefitted from expansion of higher education in 1980s also benefitted from the economic growth at the same time, until around 1995. The second wave of the higher education expansion was met with sluggish and unstable economic situation in 2000s. This trend would certainly be a social basis at the macro-level for a greater sense of relative deprivation for college graduates.

I further draw from the findings of two studies of my own to illustrate the negative impacts of macro-level incongruent development on college graduates at the individual level. The first study used the new samples gathered by Panel Study of Family Dynamics (PSFD)³ in the 5th wave and the 11th wave to analyze the impacts of expansion of higher education in Taiwan on earnings and occupational attainment of college graduates.⁴ The new sample of the 5th wave of the PSFD, called by the project as RI2003, was collected in 2003. The population targeted by the RI2003 was adults born between 1964 and 1976 in Taiwan and the sample size is 1,152. The new

³The PSFD is a longitudinal study sponsored by Project for the Study of Family in Chinese Societies, Research Center for Humanities and Social Sciences, Academia Sinica since 1999.

⁴The study is an ongoing research. The findings reported here are based on a conference paper in preparation. I would like to thank the co-author, Mr. Sheng-zhang Lee for research assistance.

sample of the 11th wave of the PSFD, called by the project as RI2009, was collected in 2009. The population sampled by RI2009 was adults born between 1977 and 1983 and the sample size was 2,092. The cohort of RI2003 was exposed to the college system before the 2nd wave of the higher education expansion started in 1997 and the cohort of RI2009 was exposed to the much expanded college system when it was of the age of entering colleges. Hence, these two PSFD samples are perfect for analyzing the impacts of the higher education expansion on young people in their 20's and 30's in the last two decades in Taiwan.

My analysis adopted a counterfactual approach by first identifying within two PSFD samples those who would have entered college regardless of the expansion (always-takers), those who would never have entered college regardless of the expansion (never-takers) and those who would not have entered college but for the expansion (compliers). Always-takers include respondents of RI2003 who were admitted into colleges and respondents of RI2009 who shared with always-takers of RI2003 similar demographic characteristics, family backgrounds and high-school performance and predicted probabilities of being admitted into colleges. Never-takers include RI2009 respondents who did not enroll into colleges and respondents of RI2003 who shared with never-takers of RI2009 similar family backgrounds and high-school performance and predicted probabilities of not enrolling into colleges. After always-takers and never-takers were identified, the rest of RI2003 and RI2009 were taken as compliers (see Table 2 for illustration of construction of these three groups). In short, I assumed that those who were admitted into colleges pre-expansion would also be admitted into colleges after the expansion. Those who did not enter the college in the pre-expansion era could be divided into compliers and never-takers. Compliers of the pre-expansion era would have entered the colleges if they had been given the opportunities offered after the expansion. Likewise, those who entered the college in the post-expansion era could also be divided into always-takers and compliers. Of course, compliers and never-takers of the pre-expansion and compliers and always-takers of the after-expansion period could not be observed and could only be predicted counterfactually.⁵ Since always-takers of the pre-expansion era were students of

⁵The predicted probabilities of being always-takers were obtained by first using logistic regression with RI2003 respondents' college enrollment status as the dependent variable and their demographic characteristics, family background variables and high school performance as predictors. The estimated coefficients of the regression model were then used as the coefficients of the same predictors to estimate the probabilities of college enrollment for the RI2009 respondents who indeed entered the college. Likewise, the estimated coefficients obtained by modeling college enrollments of RI2009 sample were then used to estimate probabilities of college enrollments of the RI2003 respondents who did not enter colleges. I used the probability of 0.5 as the cut-off point to identify the compliers and never-takers of the RI2003 sample and always-takers and compliers of the RI2009

public universities and a few reputable private colleges and universities, it is not unreasonable to assume that always-takers of the post-expansion era would also have a higher chance to be admitted into these colleges and universities. Compliers of the post-expansion era, however, would probably be more likely to be students of less prestigious colleges and universities.

Table 2. Construction of Always-takers, Never-takers, and Compliers

	Pre-expansion Cohort		Post-expansion Cohort	
	Observed	Counterfactual (Post-expansion)	Counterfactual (Pre-expansion)	Observed
Never-takers		0	0	0
Compliers	0	1	0	1
Always-takers	1	1	1	1

After identification of these three groups for both RI2003 and RI2009 samples, a difference-in-difference model is used to estimate the effects of college expansion on monthly income and occupational prestige of the first full-time job and the current job.

Table 3 presents the findings of the counterfactual analysis of the impacts of higher education expansion on monthly income⁶ and occupational prestige of two cohorts of college graduates in Taiwan. It shows that in terms of income, college expansion per se has had a significant positive effect on either the income of the first or the current job. In terms of occupational prestige, however, expansion has had a negative effect and has depressed the current job attainment a bit more than the first job attainment. In other words, college expansion per se increases economic return of the young generation with less prestigious jobs. Table 3 also indicates that gaining a college degree definitely pays for compliers and always-takers with the latter gaining even more than the former. However, the effect of

Table 3. The Effects of Higher Education Expansion on Monthly Income and Occupational Prestige of Two Cohorts of College Graduates in Taiwan

	Monthly Income	Monthly Income	Occupational	Occupational
--	----------------	----------------	--------------	--------------

sample.

⁶ Monthly income is the log of NT\$ and is adjusted to the NT\$ value of 2001.

	First Job		Current Job		Prestige First Job		Prestige Current Job	
	Coef.	S. E.	Coef.	S. E.	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.
Compliers (vs. Never-takers)	.317 ^{***}	.079	.408	.380	4.388 ^{***}	1.094	3.331 [*]	1.294
Always-takers (vs. Never-takers)	.925 ^{***}	.081	1.188 ^{**}	.385	15.541 ^{***}	1.120	14.171 ^{***}	1.275
Expansion	.467 ^{***}	.051	.859 ^{**}	.247	-1.582 [*]	.707	-2.996 ^{**}	.891
Compliers × Expansion	-.171	.092	.038	.438	2.175	1.278	7.008 ^{***}	1.473
Always-takers × Expansion	-.655 ^{***}	.100	-.540	.466	-5.578 ^{***}	1.396	-.674	1.523
Unemployment rate of the previous year	.057 ^{**}	.019	-1.413 ^{***}	.095	2.099 ^{***}	.264	-.194	.344
Female	-.098 ^{**}	.033	-.592 ^{***}	.095	2.197 ^{***}	.464	1.114 [*]	.532
Constant	9.429 ^{***}	.056	13.256 ^{***}	.342	33.262 ^{***}	.464	43.838 ^{***}	1.124
N	2,298		2,259		2,307		2,160	

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

interaction between expansion and always-takers (see the coefficient of “Always-takers × Expansion”) shows that always-takers suffered from college expansion since the positive first-job income gap between them and never-takers shrank considerably. The expansion did not affect the first-job income gap between compliers and never-takers. In short, after expansion, the abundant supply of college graduates made always-takers compete with other possibly less-qualified college graduates for their first jobs and therefore their earnings from the jobs were less than those who had received college degrees before the expansion. A similar negative impact was observed in terms of first-job occupational prestige. Table 3 shows that the edge of always-takers over never-takers in obtaining a better first job was reduced after college expansion. Once again, compliers benefitted from college expansion in terms of occupational attainment since the interaction effect between compliers and expansion is not statistically significant.

It is important to see that the negative impacts experienced by always-takers

gradually decreased. Table 3 shows that as far as the current-job income is concerned, in the post-expansion period, compliers had no edge over never-takers and always-takers did not suffer from the negative impact of expansion in the long run. Compliers, however, still gained over never-takers from the expansion by having a better current job (see the positive coefficient of “Compliers \times Expansion”).

The findings (Table 3) have several implications for understanding the predicament of college graduates after higher education expansion in Taiwan. First of all, if always-takers are the most motivated and able young people in the pre- and post-expansion era, they should also be the most dissatisfied and most anxious about their future outlook when they first step into the job market in the post-expansion era. They could not have enjoyed economic prosperity as their predecessors in the pre-expansion era and had to compete with possibly less able people who also had college degrees to get their first jobs. While the expansion may have benefitted the compliers and even reduced the economic and social gap among young people, always-takers probably view this rather negatively. Hence, this finding may support the survey finding that movement participants tended to be students of national universities majoring in humanities and social sciences. Secondly, it is also possible that as long as always-takers established themselves in the labor market, their better ability begins to give them an edge over others since they earn more than other college graduates and no longer suffer from the negative impacts of college expansion as in the early stages of their careers even in times of slow economic growth. This prospect, however, could not have been easily perceived by more able college students who soon faced the uncertainty of entering the labor market or by those who were just entering the job market.

The college expansion has not only had negative impacts on career prospects of relatively more able college graduates but has also lowered subjective assessment of social standing of being a college graduate in recent years. I used 11 waves of Taiwan Social Change Survey conducted between 1992 and 2012 to explore the trend of changing subjective social standing of college graduates among different age groups. Taiwan Social Change Survey from time to time asked respondents to evaluate their subjective social status based on a scale from 1 to 10 with 1 being the lowest social standing and 10 the highest. Figure 2 presents the trend of college graduates' assessment of their subjective social status between 1992 and 2012. While the ups and downs of the assessment were affected in part by the economic situation, the expansion of higher education has also played a role in lowering the collective self-esteem of college graduates in recent years (Chang and Kuan, 2012).

Figure 2. The Trend of College Graduates' vs. Non-College Graduates' Evaluation of Subjective Social Status by Age Groups, 1992-2012.

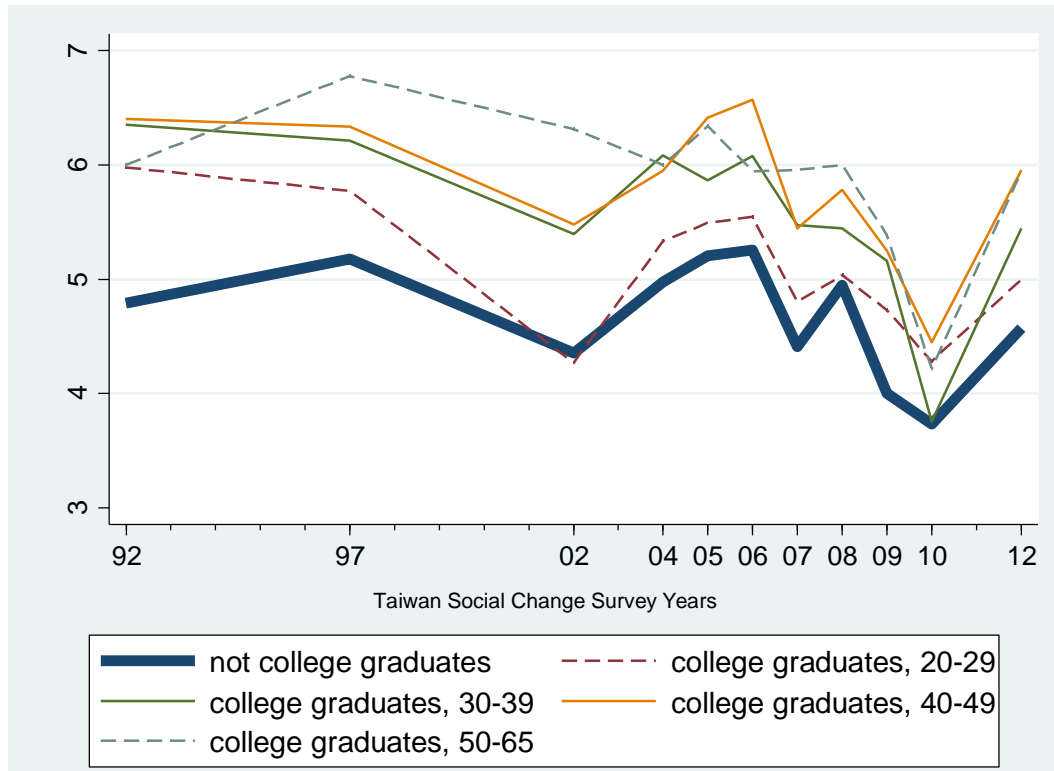


Figure 2 shows an overall downward trend in the evaluation of college graduates' subjective assessment of their social status over the years. The subjective status scores of college graduates aged 20 to 29 have dropped fairly dramatically since 1990s when college graduates of all age groups viewed themselves as having higher social standing than non-college graduates; there was not much difference among college graduates of various age groups. However, in early 2000s, college graduates of age 20 to 29 started to view themselves as no higher in social standing than non-college graduates and the gap between young and old college graduates also widened. The tough economic situation between 2008 and 2010 had probably depressed the social status of college graduates of all ages to the lowest point. College graduates of all age groups, except the youngest cohort, however, seem to have bounced back in 2012 with the gradual improvement of economic situation. In short, the rather straightforward exploration of the changing trend of subjective status of college graduates in the last 3 decades has clearly reflected the sense of relative deprivation experienced by young college graduates in recent years. The highly educated young people's sense of deprivation and uncertainty in future outlook would certainly be exacerbated by the perception of possible threats due to

the further expansion of cross-straits economic exchange. Findings of a 2011 telephone survey discussed in the next section offers clues to such a perception.

Highly Educated Young People's Attitudes towards Cross-Straits Trade

The resumption of formal negotiations of various agreements between the two governments across the Taiwan Straits since 2008, in particular, the signing of the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (EFCA) in 2010, has been expected to contribute significantly to Taiwan's slow growing economy. Routine public opinion surveys of Mainland Affairs Council of Taiwan indicate that while over half of people in Taiwan consistently perceive Mainland Chinese government's attitude toward Taiwan as unfriendly, the majority of Taiwanese people, however, support its government on exchange issues with Mainland Chinese government through institutionalized channels even at the time right before the eruption of the Sunflower Movement (Mainland Affairs Council, 2012, 2013, 2014). The same surveys have also shown rather consistently that Taiwanese people's perception about the pace of the cross-straits exchange has been rather polarized. Roughly about 1/3 of people in Taiwan believe the pace of the exchange is too fast and a roughly equal proportion of people thinking the pace has been about right. The findings of these public opinion surveys have already showed the ambivalent feelings of the people in Taiwan towards cross-straits relations. A preliminary report of a telephone survey commissioned by Taiwan government in 2011 to study the people's attitudes towards various cross-straits agreements further illustrates this ambivalent sentiment.⁷

This 2011 telephone survey asked 1,067 respondents to assess rather comprehensively the positive and negative impacts of 16 cross-straits agreements on Taiwan's economic, political and social life, and international status. The findings of this particular survey are important since it was conducted a few years back and any significant generational difference towards the cross-straits trade precedes the Sunflower Movement and can be viewed as the precondition of the recent development. Table 4 summarizes percentage distribution of the three most positively and three most negatively evaluated impacts.

Table 4 clearly demonstrates that while the great majority of Taiwanese people viewed positively the transportation convenience, tourist business, and health safety brought by the cross-strait agreements positively, about 75% also agree that the promotion of the cross-straits exchange would contribute positively to overall

⁷The final report of this survey has not been officially released by Taiwan government and I can only rely on the preliminary report that I received as a consultant of this research project.

economic development of Taiwan and peace across straits (not shown by Table 4).

Table 4. Percentage Distribution of Three Most Positively and Three Most Negatively Perceived Impacts of the Cross-Strait Exchange (N = 1,067)

	Negative (%)	Positive (%)	No Response (%)
The convenience due to direct links, in travel and doing business	6.0	86.8	7.2
The development and improvement of the tourist industry due to Mainland tourists	12.2	81.3	6.5
The protection of health due to agreement on the safety inspection of food and agricultural products	14.8	79.3	5.9
Taking away business due to the entry of Mainland enterprises	69.4	21.9	8.7
Threats to public security due to Mainland tourists	65.9	27.6	6.5
Taiwan's power to determine domestic and international affairs	63.0	22.9	14.1

Taiwanese people, however, have a good deal of concerns about the possible threats to social, economic and international security connected to the cross-strait exchange. I would say the latter concerns are probably much more general and outweigh specific benefits such as health safety or the development of tourist industries. Moreover, Table 4 also shows that the difference between negative and positive perceptions in three most negatively evaluated areas is bigger than the three positively evaluated areas. About 1/5 to 1/4 of respondents do not perceive the impacts negatively. The bigger differences mean a more polarized view among Taiwanese people in these areas. Table 5 presents the percentage distribution of these three most negatively perceived areas by age groups and educational levels.

Table 5. Percentage Distribution of Three Most Negatively Perceived Impacts of the Cross-Straits Exchange by Age Groups and Educational Levels (N = 1,067)

	Taking away business (%)			Threats to public security(%)			Power to determine domestic and international affairs (%)		
	Yes	No	No response	Yes	No	No response	Yes	No	No response
Age									
20-29	77.7	17.4	4.9	69.5	29.0	1.5	73.3	19.5	7.2
30-39	72.7	23.5	3.8	71.2	26.6	1.9	70.8	24.6	4.6
40-49	68.2	24.9	6.9	62.5	33.4	4.2	64.0	25.7	10.3
50-59	71.2	20.2	8.6	67.8	27.0	5.2	61.5	21.5	17.0
60 or over	58.2	23.0	18.7	59.9	23.4	16.7	45.6	24.2	30.2
Education									
Primary	62.7	16.0	21.3	60.0	19.6	20.4	39.5	17.7	42.8
Junior high	62.5	23.9	13.6	66.1	26.2	7.7	62.8	20.9	16.3
Senior high	74.2	20.6	5.2	66.8	30.0	3.2	65.0	26.9	8.1
Junior college	71.0	24.9	4.0	66.6	30.5	3.0	68.4	26.3	5.3
College or above	71.4	24.9	3.6	68.5	30.2	1.3	75.0	21.5	3.5

Table 5 indicates a couple of general tendencies. First, the distribution of “no response” shows that younger and more educated people tend to have more definitive views about the matter. Secondly, there is indeed a tendency on part of younger and more educated people to have negative assessment in these matters. In particular, the young and more educated perceive threat in the sense that Taiwan may lose its power to decide domestic and international affairs and admission of Mainland enterprises may take impact local businesses negatively. The threats in economic and political matters perceived by the young and educated people in the process of increasing cross-straits exchange can in part be attributed to their sense

of deprivation and uncertainty about the future, developed in recent years, and be intensified by the attempted forceful passing of the Cross-Straits Service Trade Agreement at the Legislative Yuan earlier this year.

Conclusion

The study of the generational differences is always a difficult task without proper data based on a rigorous research design. Findings based on cross-sectional data, as studies reported by this paper have used, could not differentiate properly if the observed difference of age groups is due to different historical experiences of the generational cohorts or due to experiences of different life-stages.

I hope this paper has offered reasonable evidence to show that the active participation of young and highly educated people in the Sunflower Movement earlier this year has its social basis in both cohort and life experiences. The expansion of higher education in Taiwan is not a reversible trend. How to integrate properly the increased human capital into the labor market is certainly a serious matter facing the Taiwanese society. The expectation that expanded cross-straits exchange in economic matters is certainly perceived clearly by Taiwan people, especially the young and highly educated, as a double-edged sword. Based on the findings of my counterfactual analysis discussed earlier, it is possible that a better economic condition in the near future would somewhat ease the frustration of the highly educated youth in Taiwan.

References

- Chang, Fengbin and Ping-Yin Kuan. 2012. "Impacts of the Expansion of Higher Education and Unemployment on Subjective Social Status in Taiwan (高教擴張、失業與主觀社會地位)." Pp. 63-92 in *Social Change in Taiwan, 1985-2005: Social Stratification and Labor Market*, Taiwan Social Change Survey Symposium Series III, Vol. Three (台灣社會變遷 1985-2005：社會階層與勞動市場，台灣社會變遷基本調查系列三之 3), edited by Y.-S. Hsieh and Y.-C.Fu. Taipei: Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica.
- Chen, Wan-chi. 2014. "Sei Lai 'Xue Yun'? Tai Yang HuaXue Yun Jing Zuo Can Yu Zhe De Ji Ben Ren Kou Tu Xiang (誰來'學運'? 太陽花學運靜坐參與者的基本人口圖像)." *Xiang ZaiKuo She HuiXue* (巷仔口社會學). Retrieved from <http://twstreetcorner.org/2014/06/30/chenwanchi-2/>.
- International Labor Organization. 2013. *Global Employment Trends for Youth 2013: A Generation At Risk*. Retrieved from http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/documents/publication/wcms_212423.pdf.
- Mainland Affairs Council (Taiwan). 2012. "Percentage Distribution of the Questionnaire for the Routine Survey on 'the Public's View on Current Cross-Strait Relations'." Retrieved from <http://www.mac.gov.tw/public/Data/2122614253971.pdf>.
- Mainland Affairs Council (Taiwan). 2013. "Percentage Distribution of the Questionnaire for the Routine Survey on 'the Public's View on Current Cross-Strait Relations'." Retrieved from <http://www.mac.gov.tw/public/Attachment/4251439358.pdf>.
- Mainland Affairs Council (Taiwan). 2014. "Percentage Distribution of the Questionnaire for the Routine Survey on 'the Public's View on Current Cross-Strait Relations'." Retrieved from <http://www.mac.gov.tw/public/Attachment/44239541625.pdf>.
- Ministry of Education (Taiwan). 2012. *Summary of Education at All Levels SY2000-2012*. Retrieved from <http://english.moe.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=14476&ctNode=11429&mp=1>.
- Ministry of Education (Taiwan). 2014. *2104 Education Statistical Indicators*. Retrieved from <http://english.moe.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=14504&CtNode=11430&mp=1>.

- Tsai, Shu-ling. 2004. "Effects of Higher Education Expansion on Inequality of Educational Opportunity (高等教育的擴張對教育機會分配的影響)." *Taiwanese Sociology* 7: 47-88.
- Wang, Jenn-hwan. 2014, September 3. "Generation Gap Wider than Strait." *Taipei Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/editorials/archives/2014/09/03/2003598881>
- Yuan, Hsiao-wei. 2014, June 9. "Bie Dang Fen Qing! ZouRu Shan Lin Zhao ZhengNeng Liang (別當憤青! 走入山林找正能量)." *United Daily*. Retrieved from http://translate.google.com.tw/translate?hl=en&sl=zh-TW&u=http://www.fo.ntu.edu.tw/chairman/news.php%3FSn%3D355&prev=/search%3Fq%3D%25E5%2588%25A5%25E7%2595%25B6%25E6%2586%25A4%25E9%259D%2592!%2B%25E8%25B5%25B0%25E5%2585%25A5%25E5%25B1%25B1%25E6%259E%2597%25E6%2589%25BE%25E6%25AD%25A3%25E8%2583%25BD%25E9%2587%258F%26rlz%3D1C1SFXN_enTW498TW500%26es_sm%3D93.