



Investigating the Perception of Taiwanese Youth on Migrant Workers

JULIA JUSTINE C. MARIANO
GIRARD MARIANO L. LOPEZ
CHIH-NING HO

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Abstract

This study aimed to describe the perception of Taiwanese students on the range of factors related to migrants and migrant workers -- their impact on Taiwan's economy; respondents' personal experience with migrants; migrants' participation, impact or assimilation to Taiwan society and culture; and, migrants rights and equality. A total of 312 students were surveyed using a 40-item self-administered questionnaire. Data were compared along demographic variables of age, location, academic area, academic level, frequency of exposure to migrants, and family employment of a migrant worker. Significant differences were found among the various scales except for students coming from either rural or urban areas. Key finding is the counterintuitive result of those who have employed migrants have a less positive perception on migrants on several scales versus their counterparts who have not employed one. Results have implication on student organizing strategies and policy advocacy.

Keywords: Migrants, students, perception, attitudes

Background of the Study

Taiwan possesses one of Asia's most advanced and export-oriented market economies, anchored in information and communication technology (ICT) and capital equipment. Semiconductors sit at the center of this ecosystem, with Taiwan ranking among the world's leaders in information and communication design and manufacturing, while machinery remains a key export pillar (Taiwan Semiconductor Industry Association, 2025; Ministry of Finance, 2025). Economic momentum in the first half of 2025 reflected this structure: strong global demand for AI-related hardware buoyed growth, with year-on-year GDP expanding by about 5.4% in Q1 and around 8% in Q2, which was the fastest quarterly pace in four years (Reuters, 2025a, 2025b). These macro indicators underscore that Taiwan's competitiveness depends not only on advanced industries but also on a large supply of labor across production lines, construction sites, fisheries, and the care economy.

Within this growth model, migrant labor is indispensable. Official statistics show that more than 820,000 foreign workers were employed in Taiwan at the end of December 2024, primarily from Indonesia, Vietnam, the Philippines, and Thailand (Ministry of Labor, 2025; U.S. Department of State, 2025). Data from Taiwan's labor ministry indicate that roughly 62% were in manufacturing and about 4% in construction, while the remainder filled critical roles in long-term care and household support—functions that enable Taiwanese families to balance paid employment with elder care amid rapid population aging and persistently low fertility (Ministry of Labor, 2025; National Development Council, 2025). In short, migration now underwrites both the tradable sector's labor needs and the social infrastructure that sustains it.

At the same time, a parallel influx of permanent and long-term settlers from Southeast Asia, often called "new immigrants", has reshaped the island's demographics. Reports suggests that ties with ASEAN and the New Southbound Policy helped drive Southeast Asian immigration and intermarriage trends, marking an inflection in Taiwan's social fabric (Fulco, 2018). Government survey data indicate many of these new immigrants report high levels of well-being: 92.1% are happy with their lives, 94.8% are satisfied with their jobs, 62.9% have used available support services, and about one-third participated in social activities in the past year (Ministry of the Interior, National Immigration Agency, Immigration Counseling Section, n.d.).

Education policy has tried to keep pace with diversification, but scholars caution that "multiculturalism" can be instrumentalized in further highlighting distinction between cultures and peoples instead of assimilation and integration. Kasai (2022) argues that Taiwan's embrace of Southeast Asian heritage languages in schools often advances a state-framed multicultural narrative that appropriates "new immigrants" cultures while leaving power asymmetries intact. In common usage, the label "new immigrants" still normatively refers to female spouses from Mainland China and Southeast Asia.

Yet public perceptions have not always tracked migrants' contributions. Previous research found a hierarchy of acceptance. Taiwanese respondents express greater support when immigration is framed as "skilled," while support drops when the focus is explicitly on Southeast Asian origins (Rich, 2019). Media discourse can reinforce such boundaries. Content analyses of mainstream news document recurring frames that objectify migrant workers, differentiate them by gender and occupation, and situate them as peripheral to society. Such workers are visible as labor but invisible as neighbors, citizens-in-waiting, or political subjects (Cheng, 2016). Complementary reportage aimed at newsroom diversity similarly notes how sensational incidents and crime-led narratives can crowd out everyday stories of care, contribution, and community, thereby shaping public common sense about migrants (Thomas, n.d.).

Against this backdrop, this study focuses on Taiwanese university students as they are the nation's future managers, policymakers, educators, and platform designers. In a digital information environment where algorithmic curation, influencer narratives, and short-form video shape social perceptions, understanding how students view migrant workers can illuminate where prejudice persists, where contact and education

can shift attitudes, and how digital content might be harnessed to increase migrants' visibility as full members of the community.

The stakes are economic as well as ethical. Cross-national evidence links social inclusion to better sustainable development outcomes, emphasizing people's ability, opportunity, and dignity to participate (World Bank, 2013). Complementary OECD work on the productivity–inclusiveness nexus argues that reducing exclusion can reinforce innovation, labor productivity, and resilience; showing that inclusion and growth are mutually reinforcing objectives, not in competition (OECD, 2016). For Taiwan, cultivating inclusive attitudes toward migrant workers aligns with national well-being, especially among its youth. It supports stable care systems, alleviates labor bottlenecks, and builds the social cohesion required for high-value, globally exposed industries. Therefore, mapping these perceptions is a necessary step toward digital-age strategies that foreground visibility, inclusion, and solidarity, as well as toward policy and pedagogical interventions that connect rights-based commitments with Taiwan's long-term economic and social vitality.

Significance of the Study

This study is significant for Taiwan's social and economic future as it centers on the attitudes of the country's youth toward migrant workers at precisely the moment when demographic aging, labor shortages, and digital media are reshaping the conditions of work and belonging. Today's university and technical-college students are tomorrow's employers, managers, educators, clinicians, media professionals, and public officials. Their perceptions can strongly influence recruitment practices, workplace climates, enforcement of labor standards, and the informal norms that determine whether migrant workers are respected or stigmatized. By systematically gauging youth attitudes now, the study provides an early indicator of how the status and welfare of migrant workers may evolve over the next decade as these cohorts transition into decision-making roles.

Scholarly value also lies in this research. Previous studies on public opinion toward migration in Taiwan often aggregates "the public" or focuses on adult populations, leaving youth-specific attitudes underexamined and potentially masked by broader averages. This project foregrounds Taiwanese youth as the unit of analysis and disaggregates findings by key demographics frequently missed in wider surveys. Examples include field of study, academic level, regional background, prior contact with migrants, and their sources of information. By delving into such specificities, it moves beyond headline acceptance rates to reveal where attitudinal hierarchies are concentrated, where ambivalence persists, and where openness to inclusion is already taking root.

The study further advances understanding of how Taiwan's contemporary media and informational environment shapes youth perceptions. In an era of algorithmic curation, short-form video, and influencer-led news commentary, exposure is uneven and often siloed. By linking attitudinal measures to media diets and to everyday surroundings, the research tests whether diverse contact and broader information repertoires are associated with more inclusive views. This evidence is crucial for designing targeted interventions: media literacy curricula, intercultural dialogue initiatives in schools, and platform partnerships that elevate migrant voices and counter dehumanizing frames.

Finally, the study has direct practical utility for NGOs, unions, human rights organizations, and migrant-led groups that are working to combat stigma and improve working and living conditions. The findings can inform message design, campaign segmentation, and coalition-building strategies by identifying which narratives resonate with youth, which misconceptions are persistent, and which subgroups are most receptive to attitude change. Policymakers and employers can likewise draw on the evidence to calibrate public-information efforts, anti-discrimination guidelines, supervisor training, and complaint mechanisms that foster dignified, safe, and productive workplaces.

Research Problem

The following questions have been formulated to guide this research:

What is the attitudinal profile of Taiwanese students toward migrant workers, and how does it vary across demographics?

To what extent do interpersonal contact and family experience with migrant workers predict students' perceptions on migrants and support for their cause?

How do students' media information sources relate to their perception of migrant workers? Does information diversity mitigate stigma?

Methodology

Design

This research used a cross-sectional quantitative survey to measure Taiwanese students' perceptions of migrant workers and relate attitudes to demographics, contact, and information sources. Analyses were conducted at the item level (40 Likert statements) with planned construction of thematic indices. Negative-valence items were reverse-scored prior to analysis.

Participants and Sampling

This research collected 312 valid responses from students at National Taitung University, National Taiwan Normal University, National Chengchi University, National Taipei University, and National Taiwan University, plus a small supplementary sample of senior high school students in Taipei City. A convenience-purposive sampling strategy targeted classrooms, student forums, and program cohorts likely to yield variation across disciplines and regions. Inclusion criteria were currently enrolled students (high school, undergraduate, or graduate) able to read Traditional Chinese. Participation was voluntary and anonymous.

While convenience sampling constrains generalizability, and self-report risks social desirability, controls were applied to mitigate effects. One, anonymity was guaranteed; two, it was emphasized in the cover letter that there is no right nor wrong answers; three, negative items were included to also control for response set.

Instrument

The survey comprised 40 statements rated on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree ... 5 = strongly agree; 3 = neutral). Items were distributed across the following themes: (a) migrants' traits/characteristics; (b) economic contribution/necessity; (c) social distance and contact; (d) rights/protections/policy views; (e) perceived conditions and governance. The 40-item scale demonstrated high internal consistency (Cronbach's $\alpha = .849$) and acceptable split-half reliability (Spearman-Brown = .799), supporting the use of item means and composite indices in subsequent analyses.

How the Data Collection Meets the Study's Needs

The breadth of the 40-item instrument plus contact, family employment, and media-source measures operationalized the study's core constructs: inclusion, solidarity, stigma, social distance, perceived contributions or conditions, rights support, and information sources. The sample composition, marked by a broad age span but youth-heavy; multiple academic areas; metropolitan and rural residences; high

prevalence of household experience with migrant workers, enables comparative analyses central to the research questions such as which subgroups hold less inclusive views and the reasons for such. Item-level findings and group contrasts like academic level, discipline, age band, and contact provide actionable targets for curriculum, media literacy, and NGO interventions. The online interface and Chinese-language usage maximized accessibility and participation, yielding adequate statistical power for subgroup tests while preserving anonymity to reduce social-desirability bias. However, it must be noted that items on voting and curriculum inclusion may still be affected and interpreted accordingly.

Data Analysis

While student perception of migrants is the key focus of the research, two and multiple group comparisons were also made using gender, age, academic level, location, and academic area as grouping variables. The Welch's T-test is used for scales with unequal variances. Negatively worded statements were reverse-scored prior to analysis, and explicit assumption checks were undertaken strengthen internal validity. The SPSS was used for statistical analyses.

Ethical Considerations

The study minimizes risk via anonymity, voluntary participation, and the right to skip items. Results are reported only in aggregate.

Results and Discussion

Profile of Respondents

A total of N = 312 valid responses were analyzed. Most participants were 15–19 years old (62.2%), followed by 20–24 (31.4%). By academic level, first-year students (51.0%) comprised the largest subgroup; others were second-year (18.3%), third-year (7.7%), fourth-year (7.4%), high school (7.7%), and graduate (6.1%). Disciplinary distribution was Science & Engineering (37.2%), Social Science (31.7%), Arts & Humanities (25.6%), Business (5.1%), and Law (0.3%). Nearly all respondents held Taiwanese citizenship (99.4%). In terms of residence, most lived in metropolitan areas (74.4%), with rural (21.2%), sub-metropolitan (3.8%), and offshore islands (0.6%) less represented.

Table 1

Age Range of Respondents

Age Group (in years)	Frequency	Percentage
15-19	194	62.2
20-24	98	31.4
25-34	16	5.1
35 and above	1	0.3
No response	3	1
Total	312	100

Table 2
Academic Level of Respondents

Academic Level	Frequency	Percentage
First year	158	51
Second year	57	18.3
Third year	24	7.7
Fourth year	23	7.4
High school	24	7.7
Graduate school	19	6.1
No response	6	1.9
Total	312	100

Table 3
Academic Area of Respondents

Academic Area	Frequency	Percentage
Social Science	99	31.7
Arts and Humanities	80	25.6
Science and Engineering	116	37.2
Business	16	5.1
Law	1	0.3
Total	312	100

Employment of Migrants

A notable share reported household employment of a migrant worker (62.2%). Reported worker nationalities were primarily Indonesian, followed by Filipino and Vietnamese; the leading role category was care/ domestic work. This is consistent with current government data concerning the top migrant worker groups in Taiwan. Furthermore, the top profession undertaken by the aforementioned nationalities is in the area of care work as domestic workers or caretakers. With more than 50% of the respondents having employed migrants, this implies that they belong to a social class with economic means.

Exposure and Information Environment

Contact with migrants was common: 49.0% reported encountering migrants “sometimes,” 25.3% “many times,” and 8.0% “everyday.” As to information sources about migrants, respondents ranked TV news (mean rank = 1.65) and social media (1.70) almost equally as primary channels followed by websites, newspapers, and local/national government sources.

Perceptions and Attitudes Towards Migrants

Negative items were reversed scored prior to data analysis to reflect higher values correspond to a more positive perceptions. Table 8 shows top mean scores of scales according to social interaction and stereotypes, social condition, economic contribution, and, rights and privileges.

Data show that many respondents have employed migrant workers. This may account for their comfortability with them in social interactions and see their value in the economic realm of Taiwanese society. For certain, they have noted that without migrants taking care of family members or domestic affairs, one of their

parents or other adults in the household would have to stay home and do unpaid domestic work. However, while migrants' economic contributions are recognized, there appears to be a realistic perception about their living and working conditions. Again, this may be borne out of their own experience.

Items on rights and social protection were rated highly. While indubitably this may be so, other factors may have contributed to this like social desirability or simply because these are "shoulds" and the right thing to do.

Though not equally high and still quite significant are the negative stereotypes on migrants especially the view that migrants increase crime. This is contradictory to their comfortability in social interactions with migrants. Perhaps, response to these items come from different "sources".

The experience of personal interaction with migrants is recalled more in responding to items on social interaction while the sensationalized news on migrants are better recalled when responding on items that stereotype migrants. This is probable as the respondents have noted that their main source of information about migrants is the TV news. In many Taiwan households, the TV is switched on the entire day. Exaggerated news stories are better remembered and more likely associated with memory distortions (Lawson & Strange, 2015 cited in Psychology Today)

Table 4

Top Mean Scores per Scale Category/theme

Category	Item	Mean ()
Social interaction	I am comfortable sitting next to a migrant worker in public transportation	3.96
	I would be comfortable working with a migrant worker	3.92
	I am open to being friends with migrant workers	3.79
Rights / Social Protection	Children born of migrants in Taiwan should be accorded social protection and education	4.15
	Migrant caretakers must have at least 1 day off every week	4.13
	Women migrant workers must be accorded the same maternity leave and related benefits as Taiwanese women	4.06
Social Condition	Migrant workers are provided with good work opportunities in Taiwan	2.77
	Migrant workers have decent living and working conditions	2.68
Migrants' Contribution	Migrant workers have a positive contribution to Taiwanese society	3.97
	Migrant workers' role in Taiwan's economy must be taught in school	3.96
	Taiwan needs migrant workers to sustain its economy	3.38
Stereotypes	Migrant workers increase crime	3.53
	Migrant workers encroach public spaces	3.19
	Migrant workers are harder to trust	2.55

By Academic Area

In running comparisons by academic area, “Law” was excluded from the analysis because it is only a single case. The F-test were significant for the following scales:

Table 5
Item Scales with Significant F-test

Item	Sig.
Migrant workers should be accorded the same rights as any citizen of Taiwan.	.040
I support migrants in their campaigns.	.005
Undocumented migrant workers are criminals.	<.001
I vote for politicians who have a clear stand for migrants.	<.001
Migrant workers’ role in Taiwan’s economy must be taught in school.	.002

Significant effects were observed for rights parity ($p = .040$), support for migrant campaigns ($p = .005$), undocumented as criminals ($p < .001$), voting for pro-migrant politicians ($p < .001$), and teaching in school ($p = .002$). Science & Engineering students consistently scored lower than other areas in post-hoc tests on these measures. It is interesting to note that for the statement about undocumented migrant workers are criminals, respondents who belong to science and engineering courses are significantly different from all three other academic areas.

The results somehow reinforce the idea that STEM students tend to think in black and white versus their peers from the social sciences and humanities fields; and support prior research findings that they score lower on measures of empathy (e.g., Thompson, Wurtzburg & Centifanti, 2015). It may also be that within this group of respondents, they are the least to have employed a migrant worker and thus, do not have much opportunities of interacting with them. This is further validated by finding that the science and engineering groups significantly differ from students in business in terms of frequency of interacting with migrants.

By Location

Mean comparison was done for students coming from rural and urban areas. It was hypothesized that people coming from the urban areas are more exposed to migrant workers that might contribute to their perception. However, no significant differences were found.

By Age Group

In the survey, respondents were asked to indicate their age. For purposes of comparison, individual data were classified according to whether they are in their teens, operationally defined as from 15 to 19 years old; or, they are adults, defined as between 20 to 24 years old.

Table 6
Mean Comparisons by Age Group

Item	Teens	Adults	Sig.
Most employers of migrant workers respect legal work hours.	2.98	2.74	.035
Migrants are invisible in Taiwanese society.	2.65	2.44	.049
I vote for politicians who have a clear stand for migrants.	3.31	3.48	.050
Migrant workers’ role in Taiwan’s economy must be taught in school.	3.89	4.07	.017

Significant differences were found between the younger and older group in the scales in Table 6. It is worth noting that these differences were found in 3 out of 4 scales relating to policy and governance. The older group appears to have a more realistic assessment of migrant conditions and thus have a firmer stand on how these conditions can be improved in terms of policy and legislation. This may be developmental as the older group has more experience and maturity simply due to the passing of time.

Corollary, the younger group have less knowledge about migrants as a societal issue, and even less of migrants' experience. While they may have a concept of migrants or migrant work, they are at a developmental stage where this is not significant to them in the sense of really having an opinion about migrant workers.

By Household Employment of Migrant Workers

Table 7 shows means of scale items where households that employ(ed) migrant workers and those that did not significantly differ.

Table 7.

Mean Comparisons by Employment of Migrant Workers

Items	Employed	Did not employ	Sig.
Most employers respect the legal work hours of migrants.	2.74	2.99	.038
Migrant workers should be grateful to their employers for providing them employment.	3.54	3.33	.050
Migrant workers have a positive contribution to Taiwanese society.	4.09	3.89	.020
Migrants are invisible in Taiwanese society.	2.42	2.66	.021
Migrant workers are harder to trust.	2.39	2.63	.018
Migrant workers are needed to care for the elderly so Taiwanese professionals can pursue their careers.	3.66	3.45	.047
Migrant workers are easily dispensable.	3.47	3.15	.005
Migrant workers do work beyond what they were contracted for; do things over and above their job descriptions.	3.69	3.43	.010
It is reasonable for employers to push migrant workers to work overtime to get their money's worth.	4.37	4.19	.043
I vote for politicians who have a clear stand for migrants.	3.53	3.27	.002
Migrant workers' role in Taiwan's economy must be taught in school.	4.09	3.88	.003

One would think that those who have employed migrant workers would consistently have a positive perception of migrants compared to those who have not. For this set of respondents, this is not so. In fact, contradictions can even be seen in their perception.

The significant items in the table above seem to tell the story that those who have employed migrants see the migrants' services as beneficial especially with care for the elderly but only to the extent that it frees them of this duty and do other pursuits. Taken with other items, there appears an attitudinal relation that is hierarchical and transactional; an employer-employee relationship with an underlying (perhaps, subconscious) neoliberal and capitalist thinking.

Most likely, by seeing how migrants are kept within the premises of the residence and were not given a day-off or if given is not on a weekly basis, then they are hardly visible in Taiwan society.

They recognize that migrants have a positive contribution to Taiwanese society, do work beyond what they were contracted for, and know that there are employers who don't respect legal work hours. It is likely that

they have observed that their migrant worker at home is made to work over and beyond the legal work hours or job description. As this is the experience at home, it is likely that they think this is the norm compounded and correlated with the thinking that migrant workers should be grateful to employers for providing them jobs. Thus, it is reasonable to push them to work more to get their money's worth. It is just a matter of cost-efficiency.

Clearly too, they feel that migrants can be easily dispensed with probably because the migrant is not seen as a person but as a commodity whose value is the labor. They can be easily dispensed with since there is a glut in its supply. Value is placed on the labor and not the person. Moreover, it is easy to replace a migrant worker because there is an effective broker system in place the expedites the process, one that is sanctioned by both Taiwan government and supported by governments of sending countries.

The high statistical significance between those who employed migrants and those who haven't on potential behaviors of voting for politicians who have a clear stand on migrants and that the role of migrants must be taught in school in relation to the other scale items necessarily raises the question what kind of stand are they looking for and to what end does inclusion of migrants' role in the economy in school curriculum serve. These are questions that necessitate further research especially in relation to those who have employed migrant workers.

By Frequency of Encounter

Only a sub-set of the data was used for this mean comparison. The groups compared were those at the extremes, that is, those who rarely encounter migrants with those who encounter them everyday (n=20 and n=25, respectively). The middle of the continuum was disregarded. This was done to ensure a clear-cut distinction between groups instead of dividing them at the midpoint.

	Rarely	Everyday	Sig.
I don't feel the need to make an effort to interact with migrants.	3.20	3.76	.035
Taiwan needs migrant workers to sustain its economy.	2.90	3.76	<.001
I am comfortable sitting next to a migrant worker in public transportation.	3.60	4.24	.008
Children born of migrants in Taiwan should be accorded social protection and education.	3.90	4.44	.005
I would be comfortable working with a migrant worker.	3.65	4.40	<.001
Women migrant workers must be accorded the same maternity leave and other related benefits as Taiwanese women.	3.85	4.28	.039
I support migrants in their campaigns.	3.50	4.00	.028
Migrant caretakers must have at least 1 day off every week.	3.90	4.40	.009
It is reasonable for employers to push migrant workers to work overtime to get their money's worth.	3.80	4.32	.039
I vote for politicians who have a clear stand for migrants.	3.05	3.64	.006
Migrant workers' role in Taiwan's economy must be taught in school.	3.75	4.24	.011

Except for the reasonableness in pushing migrant workers to work overtime, all items are significant in the predicted direction. Encountering migrants more often result to a more positive perception and attitudes towards them in social and work settings. It also increases the probability of advocacy behaviors.

A Note on Voting Behavior and Inclusion of Migrant Workers in School Curriculum

Consistently, the item about voting for politicians appear significant across analyses and the probability levels are significantly high. However, it should be interpreted with caution because it is something that is socially desirable. Furthermore, the item may have been “lost in translation” as “clear stand for migrants” may not have been easily understood as a “pro-migrants” or a “migrant-friendly” stand.

The same consistency is seen with the item on including the role of migrants in Taiwan’s economy in their school curriculum. This is probably because of social desirability or on its position in the list of scales. This is the penultimate item of the survey. Having gone through 38 items on issues on migrants and probably realizing how little they know about them, it may be that their response to this item is not much based on their perception but what they believe to be an action point that must be done by the government. If this hypothesis is true, then this research has at least contributed to make students aware of migrants and their issues.

Summary and Conclusions

Migrant workers will long continue to be part of Taiwanese society. The younger generation today will be tomorrow’s employers or colleagues of migrant workers. Thus, it is meritorious to have this study aimed at describing the overall perception of Taiwanese students on migrant workers.

Developmentally, the older group is more mature and hence are more open to migrant issues. This is not to say that we leave the younger ones behind. There is a greater need for them to be more aware of migration and migrants’ issues especially since forced migration will continue, pushed by economic needs and thus will continue to be part of Taiwan society; it is inevitable to encounter them especially that half of them employs a migrant worker.

We have seen that exposure or having experience with migrants result to more positive perceptions. This means that in the course of organizing students, it is important to organize activities that will provide meaningful interactions on a peer-to-peer basis and not on a hierarchical setting or structure. This is to negate the common experience of a hierarchical and power-relationship type seen in the home especially of those who employ migrant workers.

Strategically, it may be better to initially target students in the social sciences and humanities since they are more inclined to have more positive perceptions on migrants and perhaps a higher degree of openness. Discussion of migrant issues can easily fit in their fields of study or courses. As seen in the course of gathering data for this study, the inclusion of migrants issues and the underlying neoliberal and imperialist structures in the classroom, albeit as special topics, have opened students’ eyes to these realities. What more if this can be part of the syllabus or curriculum as a matter of policy? The survey respondents themselves agree or at least see the value of integrating the role of migrants in their studies in school. Migrant issues can easily be discussed in social studies or even economics within the high school curricula. The same can be said in curricula of university programs. Formal discussion in school can temper the reliance to TV news as source of information on migrants where there is a probability that they are sensationalized.

The counterintuitive finding that those who have employed migrant workers are less positive of their perceptions and attitudes is worth revisiting both as a topic for further research and as a focus in student organizing. It has been put forward in the beginning that these generation of students will be the next employers and thus their perceptions matter. Seeing this now, it essential to educate them and be more aware of realities of migrant workers to shift perception towards a more positive one and to break them away from the current normative views on migrants.

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