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EMPOWERING THE ELDERLY TO PROMOTE ACTIVE AGEING IN THE LABOUR MARKET: A NEW STRATEGIC SCHEME TO IMPROVE AGEING HUMAN RESOURCE AND TO SOLVE SHORTAGE OF LABOUR FORCE IN TAIWAN

Ageing and elderly poverty have now become a general phenomenon that is influencing population structure and economic development worldwide as well as having a great impact in particular on dependency ratio and the labour market. One of the countries that is experiencing a sharp increase in its ageing population is Taiwan, and consequently, this has heavily affected the country's economy and labour force market. In Taiwan, there is almost a quarter century of life span for the ageing after 60, and thus it is crucial for the ageing to learn and plan a better life in the final stage in order to continue with their life productively and independently. As the elderly are now living longer, they must be able to work longer in order to maintain financial independence in their old age. Hence, faced with longevity of life and better health, it becomes a requisite for the government to empower active ageing in Taiwan's labour market. An alternative and creative career reconstruction for the ageing can be arranged by combining work contribution, volunteering assistance, and learning for pleasure. Simply put, turning elderly burden into an active work force should become an important ageing policy in Taiwan.

Keywords: *Active Ageing, Labour Market, Elderly Poverty, Volunteering Assistance, Learning for Pleasure*

Introduction: Rapid Growth of Ageing Population in Taiwan

“Ageing” has become a general phenomenon that is influencing population structure and economic development globally, and is particularly having a great impact on dependency ratio, social welfare, and the labour market. In 2018, Taiwan's median age was 40.2 as shown in Figure 1. Additionally, from a total population of 3.52 million, those over the age of 65 accounted for 14.9% of Taiwan's population in June 2019. It is estimated that the percentage of the ageing will increase to 20% in 2026.¹ Nowadays, Taiwan has become one of the serious ageing societies in the world and consequently, this has greatly affected Taiwan's economy and labour force market.

On the whole, active ageing policy framework is generally acknowledged and accepted in developing ageing-friendly society and in

promoting healthy and independent living among the ageing. Its policy framework comprises three indispensable dimensions which are secure living, health maintenance, and social participation. These three components must take place concurrently for the elderly to engage in building an ageing-friendly neighbourhood.²

“Elderly poverty” has also become a common situation worldwide in the recent years. The ageing generation no longer has huge savings and enough pensions as was the norm previously to support their life after retirement in terms of housing, medicine, insurance, and care services. Many of the ageing gradually become impoverished and end up as a low-end income ageing generation after their retirement. As a result, the elderly are often left with no choice but to work in order to earn some money to continue with their lives. Hence, having a better life in terms of work, leisure, and health becomes a very important policy in promoting active ageing among the elderly.

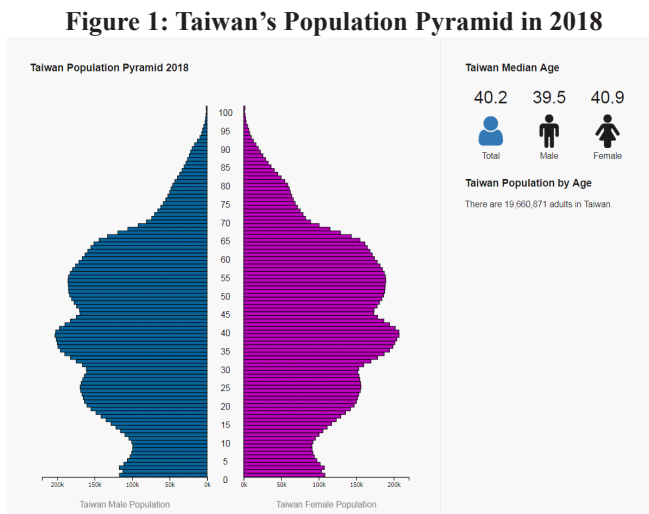
Additionally, ageing is a kind of anxiety for individuals in the society. It is acknowledged that because of the great social pressure nowadays, “age anxiety” is quite common for anyone at any age. However, age anxiety is relatively serious for the elderly people in that it could hurt and place a burden on them mentally and physically and, in turn, cause a breakdown among the elderly. Therefore, providing the opportunity for adequate education among the elderly may effectively decrease their ageing anxiety. Furthermore, giving positive encouragement for the elderly is helpful as it could assist them in living better, keeping them well, and continuing to work longer. Consequently, if ageing anxiety is not addressed, it would eventually hamper social and even national development.

According to official statistics, Taiwan’s population was at 23,571,227 in 2017, 23,588,032 in 2018, and 23,603,121 in 2019. Taiwan’s general population growth rate in 2017 was 1.53%. It is estimated that the peak of Taiwan’s population will be around 23.7-23.8 million between the year 2022 to 2024 and after this period, Taiwan will experience negative population growth. It is assumed that Taiwan’s population will decline to 17.1-19.5 million in 2061 which is about 72.5% to 82.8% of Taiwan’s population in 2016. This means Taiwan will lose about 5.17 million of its total population by 2061.

The latest statistics confirmed that Taiwanese have been living longer, with the average life expectancy rising to 79.51 in 2017 and 80.7 in 2018, compared to 78.6 in 2008.³ Taiwan’s life expectancy is now at the same level as that of Germany and Britain, higher than the United States, China, Malaysia and the Philippines, but lower than Canada, France, Japan, South Korea and Singapore.

According to the National Development Council’s estimation, Taiwan only demands 7 years length, that will occur in 2025, from aged to super-aged society, the growth speed of aged population is about 1.6 times fast of Japan, 2.8 times of USA, and 7.3 times of Britain. Taiwan seemingly enjoys

alternative global number one on the ageing growth speed. The shape of the population structure, as shown in Figure 1, presents the shape of a flower vase where the middle part is very wide but relatively very thin and narrow at the top and bottom part.



Source: World Population Review, <http://worldpopulationreview.com/> (accessed on 2018/03/11).

In fact, Taiwan's population structure has moved from 'ageing' to 'aged' as highlighted in the statistics. The increase in the number of Taiwan's 65-and-over population indicates that the nation is moving from being an "ageing society" to an "aged society." In 2017, the ageing citizens accounted for 13.86% of Taiwan's population, an increase from 9.95% in 2006 and 10.9% of 2011.⁴ In 2018, this percentage exceeded 14%, a huge increase compared to 5.6% in 1956.⁵ The intertwined effects of the increase in elderly citizen population and life expectancy have resulted in Taiwan being presently defined and acknowledged as an "aged society". This is based on the United Nations' definition where a population aged 65 and over that makes up 7% of the total population of a country is defined as an "ageing society," 14% as an "aged society," and 20% as a "super-aged society." Hence, according to estimation, Taiwan may easily reach the stage of "super-aged" (or so-called "hyper-aged") society in 2025 when its citizens of 65 years or over are projected to make up 20% of the total population of Taiwan, as shown in Table 1. Additionally, Table 1 also shows the percentage of population aged 65 and above would be approaching 23.85% by 2030, and 36.72% by 2050.

Interestingly, Table 1 also shows that the population aged 65 and over

accounted for 13.86% of the total population in 2017 which slightly exceeded the population of those aged 15 and below which stood at about 13.12%. This is in sharp contrast to the percentage of the same age categories in 2006 where those over 65 stood at 9.95% in comparison to 18.17% for those under the age of 15. What is certain is that this gap will continue to grow. In 2050, it is estimated that 36.72% of the total population of Taiwan would comprise citizens over 65 compared to those under 15 which would only make up 7.85% of the total population as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Distribution of Taiwan's Population by Age and Dependency Ratio (%)

Year	T o t a l population (million)	Age Structure (%)			Dependency Ratio		
		A g e 0-14	A g e 1 5 - 64	A g e 65 and over	%	Y o u n g Age (0-14) Population Ratio (%)	The Aged (over 65) Population Ratio (%)
2006	22.9	18.17	71.88	9.95	39.13	25.28	13.85
2017	23.6	13.12	73.02	13.86	36.96	17.97	18.99
2030	22.8	10.59	65.56	23.85	52.54	16.16	36.38
2050	18.9	7.85	55.43	36.72	80.42	14.17	66.25

Source: 1. Dept. of Household Registration Affairs, MOI, 2018. 2. Council for Economic Planning and Development, "2006-2051 Population Projection in Taiwan ROC," June 2006. 3. Council for Economic Planning and Development, "2008-2056 Population Projection in Taiwan ROC," Sept. 2008. 4. For 2030 and 2050 values are predicted.

Furthermore, within the next 10 years, Taiwan will have increased its aged population of above 65 by about 1.78 million. This means that every one of five persons in Taiwan will be an aged person, with the aged population standing at about 4.71 million. The aged population of above 65 will be the same size as the younger population of the age below 15. The dependency ratio of the aged will therefore be increasing to 100%, indicating that every three workers will have to bear one aged dependent. Hence, the economic burden for the society is going to be quite heavy to the extent that it will hinder economic growth.

Currently, Taiwan is facing two population changes and impacts. The first is the high ageing rate that will increase the dependency burden for the productive labour force or the working population aged 15-64. This is because the ageing population of Taiwan has increased very significantly since 2010. The second is the low birth rate that has brought about a sharp decline in Taiwan's population and this will eventually lead to a shortage of labour force. In fact, Taiwan has been experiencing a rapid shortage of labour force in its productive sectors since 2010.

Two important and crucial effective measures need to be adopted to solve the emergent ageing problem which is having an impact on Taiwan's economic development as well as causing a shortage in its labour participation. One is to carry out training education for the ageing to improve their living quality and to reuse or reengage the ageing labour force in order to decrease the financial dependence of the elderly. The other is to amend relevant labour regulations in relation to labour retirement age. Extending the age of retirement may keep the ageing labour force in employment for another 5 to 10 more years. This could relatively help to decrease the number of dependent ageing population at the same time. The key policy is to adopt delicate ageing continuing education for work skills, not just only for lift up ageing life quality, but also improving ageing labour skill into productive market.

In facing the changing structure and characteristics of the ageing population, much attention has been paid to active ageing policy and practices in relation to expanding opportunities for employment, volunteering, care-services, and lifelong education and learning among the elderly in Taiwan. This is also to boost the policy on ageing that is based on the concept of "how to turn elderly burden into self-support safety and productivity." Such ageing policy could contribute to the national economic growth by providing more active ageing labour, reducing social welfare expenditure, raising financial independence and capacity, and encouraging social participation among the ageing citizens of Taiwan.

Current Conditions of Taiwan's Active Ageing on Labour Force: *Live Longer and Work Longer*

Ageing is traditionally and biologically defined as the process of growing old and reaching the chronological age of over 65 years old. This definition however is heavily based on the physical aspect and socialization of the elderly. Yet, it is not really acceptable in the modern age to treat the elderly as an inferior group any more. Two negative reasons of sociological suggestions keep the elderly people recognized worse and worse, not as supposed to be better as they should be. One is related to psychological influence. Ageing people are inclined to receive and accept unfavourable messages and perception from the society, i.e. the norms of ageing or stereotypes about ageing. The other concerns social influence. Human ageing is embedded in social contexts and is shaped by social factors. The concept of ageing is highly embedded in the social role which is learnt through socialisation. Elderly people have learnt and internalised the expectations of the elderly's role which cause them to feel weak, feeble, helpless, dependent, and sickly. Nonetheless, this tendency does not necessarily lead to the inevitable physical process.⁶ Research has shown that if the mind and body are not on the same track, then mindfulness becomes important for the elderly as when people are mindful they benefit physically

and psychologically (Langer, 1989). Hence, it is clear that elderly issue does not stem from physical senescence or physical process of deterioration with age but from ageing mentality. Therefore, engaging the elderly in learning something new can be conducive to their physical health as it gets their mind to be continually occupied. Moreover, it is never too old or too late to learn something new as an individual's life combines about 90% of mind activity and 10% of sport.

Basically, the impact of increasing ageing population is very broad and widespread in the society. Economically, it will influence economic growth, savings, investment, consumption, labour market, pension, debt, rental, and care. At the societal level, it will affect family composition, living arrangement, housing demand, immigration, medical care, welfare, insurance, and social activity. In politics, it will influence voting mode, interest distribution, policy preference, fiscal burden, and policy making.

In general, ageing may cause the reduction of income, the rise of medical care cost, the decline of labour productivity, the decrease of tax revenue, and the expansion of fiscal burden on ageing social welfare. All these negative impacts will eventually worsen economic growth. Hence, turning the burden of ageing population into valuable reusable labour is crucial to cope with the issue of ageing and elderly poverty. Two important features can be observed among the ageing population in Taiwan based on the data of 2018 as shown in Table 2. First, the female ageing population is much larger than the male. Second, the younger ageing population, i.e. those between the age of 65-79 accounted for 1.91 million of the country's population. This number is much larger than the elderly in the age group of over 80 (about 763,663 people), i.e. almost 2.5 times higher. Arguably, most of the 1.9 million younger ageing population are basically still active and productive members of the society, and thus, they can be reused and re-engaged in the labour force as well as in volunteer work in the community. In this way, the number of the dependent ageing population can be reduced as this group would not be fully treated as the elderly. Moreover, being able to participate in the labour force can also help to improve elderly poverty as this younger ageing population would be able to be independent financially.

Table 2: Ageing Population Structure in Taiwan, 2017 (Persons, %)

Age/ Sex	65-69	70-74	75-79	80-84	85-89	90-94	95-99	100 & Over
T.	1,222,156 (5.18%)	686,478 (2.91%)	592,390 (2.51%)	398,232 (1.69%)	245,808 (1.04%)	97,452 (0.41%)	22,171 (0.09%)	3,326 (0.01%)
M.	582,609 (4.97%)	318,877 (2.72%)	262,498 (2.24%)	168,622 (1.44%)	113,012 (0.96%)	44,987 (0.38%)	9,585 (0.08%)	1,521 (0.01%)

F.	639,547 (5.40%)	367,601 (3.10%)	329,892 (2.78%)	229,610 (1.94%)	132,796 (1.12%)	52,465 (0.44%)	12,586 (0.11%)	1,805 (0.02%)
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Source: Dept. of Household Registration Affairs, MOI, 2018

Notes: T (Total), M (Male), F (Female).

In 2002, the World Health Organization (WHO) introduced the concept of “active ageing,” that resulted in the development of the policy framework based on three pillars of health, social participation and security for the ageing population. Understandably, education and learning is the key element to reach the goal of “active ageing” as it would empower the ageing with the skills and knowledge to maintain health, be involved in social participation and, in turn, assuring social security among the ageing population so that better quality of life can be achieved.⁷

Consequently, the “active ageing index” which was developed as a means of measuring active ageing in every nation becomes a crucial strategy for gauging the potential of the elderly for active and healthy ageing. The comprehensive index contains 22 indicators which are grouped into 4 domains, namely 1) employment; 2) social participation; 3) independent, healthy and secure living; and 4) capacity and enabling environment for active ageing. Social participation may include volunteer work, community activity, care provision, and political participation. Independent, healthy and safe life include aspects of physical activity, medical care and insurance, self-reliant life, financial security, physical safety, and lifelong learning. Active ageing capacity and advantageous environment include life expectancy, mental well-being, social connectedness, IT usage, and educational achievement. Obviously, the guarantee of ageing employment definitely contributes to the rest three indicators. Likewise, the rest of the three dimensions may support and improve the situation for the ageing for employment.

Medical and technological progress has resulted in longevity of human life which is steadily lengthening, resulting in the increase of the ageing population worldwide. Hence, it is vital that active ageing policy and how this policy works are discussed. Active ageing policy stresses three core tasks, namely promoting productive ageing, creative ageing, and age-friendly environment. The active ageing policy tries to help the elderly to be more independent, contribution, service, and sustainability. Most importantly, the active ageing policy turns elderly people into human resources for work. The active ageing policy is mainly aimed at elderly people who are physically active and capable of working and contributing to the workforce in contrast to the inactive older people. The former can still be active outdoors without needing intensive care while the latter might require a caretaker to assist them in their daily life activities.

The focus of the active ageing policy is on productive ageing. Productive ageing is concerned with productivity in the later stage of life

including engaging older people who are already retired but still capable of contributing in the labour market. Creating opportunities for productive ageing would enable elderly people who are in retirement but are still physically active to be re-engaged in the labour force market. The elderly who are productive may have retired from their workplace but they are still healthy and are capable of actively participating in the job market, and thus are not much different from the middle age workers. Thus, by creating opportunities for productive ageing, these old-age retirees can be treated in the same way as the normal workers and could still be employed for work for another 5-10 years if the retirement age can be extended to the age of 65 up to 70.

Moreover, the average life expectancy in Taiwan has increased to nearly 80 years in the recent years and this means that after retirement at about 60, most retirees have about 20 or so more years to continue with the rest of their life. In Taiwan, the retirement age will be extended to 65 years old in 2026. As regulated, during the period of 2017-2026, the retirement age will be gradually increased by year as a buffer period, i.e. 61 years old in 2018, 62 years old in 2020, 63 years old in 2022, and 64 years old in 2024.⁸

Restructuring of active ageing for work would strongly affect the labour force market and productivity competitiveness in Taiwan. In order to decrease the challenges of population ageing, Taiwan's authority has approved a ten-year care plan for strengthening and enhancing the popularity and parity of the long-term care system of the community which emphasises localised long-term care for the ageing within a familiar living environment. Another strategy is to promote active and productive ageing by re-engaging the elderly in the labour market to offset the problem of labour shortage in Taiwan.

Based on Table 3, it can be observed that the elderly of the ages 65-69 and 70-74 years who have attained higher education, i.e. having university/college degrees and above account for 11.8% and 9.9% of the population respectively, against 12.3% of the population at the age of 60-64. It is clear that the percentage of higher education population among the elderly becomes smaller as their age increases because the national policy promoting higher levels of education only came into existence in the 1970s and 80s.

Table 3: Educational Attainment of Ageing Adults in Taiwan, 2017
(Unit: Person)

Education Degree	Age/Sex	50~54	55~59	60~64	65~69	70~74	75~79	80~84	85~89	90~94	95~99	100 & Over
Total	T.	1,841,651	1,792,852	1,581,805	1,222,156	686,478	592,390	398,232	245,808	97,452	22,171	3,326
	M.	909,365	878,847	764,913	582,609	318,877	262,498	168,622	113,012	44,987	9,585	1,521
	F.	932,286	914,005	816,892	639,547	367,601	329,892	229,610	132,796	52,465	12,586	1,805

Doctor	T.	13,569	11,313	8,172	5,162	2,414	1,327	606	241	94	19	—
	M.	9,626	8,640	6,658	4,294	2,128	1,225	564	227	86	18	—
	F.	3,943	2,673	1,514	868	286	102	42	14	8	1	—
Master	T.	92,206	54,451	33,764	20,924	8,730	4,185	1,764	827	210	45	16
	M.	56,597	35,846	23,727	15,303	6,669	3,482	1,530	757	193	38	15
	F.	35,609	18,605	10,037	5,621	2,061	703	234	70	17	7	1
University or College	T.	223,817	183,423	152,836	117,893	57,108	30,929	15,336	12,101	6,360	1,748	244
	M.	109,875	97,460	88,560	72,464	38,879	23,692	12,393	10,579	5,445	1,447	191
	F.	113,942	85,963	64,276	45,429	18,229	7,237	2,943	1,522	915	301	53
J u n i o r College	T.	266,459	203,507	153,771	95,213	32,934	19,313	10,999	9,832	4,265	776	90
	M.	145,158	118,249	95,043	59,187	20,195	11,784	7,435	7,840	3,399	578	53
	F.	121,301	85,258	58,728	36,026	12,739	7,529	3,564	1,992	866	198	37
S e n i o r High School	T.	713,199	611,699	448,001	244,401	105,058	63,438	31,169	25,963	12,335	2,458	301
	M.	329,312	293,695	227,253	130,568	62,115	40,536	20,544	18,148	8,314	1,537	169
	F.	383,887	318,004	220,748	113,833	42,943	22,902	10,625	7,815	4,021	921	132
J u n i o r High School	T.	450,011	533,630	320,713	167,301	91,136	58,465	34,262	26,111	10,106	1,931	302
	M.	229,688	264,424	156,397	83,756	45,117	28,890	16,679	15,853	6,430	1,229	197
	F.	220,323	269,206	164,316	83,545	46,019	29,575	17,583	10,258	3,676	702	105
Primary School	T.	82,390	194,829	464,548	571,262	389,098	414,733	304,096	170,733	64,082	15,194	2,373
	M.	29,109	60,533	167,275	217,037	143,774	152,889	109,477	59,608	21,120	4,738	896
	F.	53,281	134,296	297,273	354,225	245,324	261,844	194,619	111,125	42,962	10,456	1,477

Notes: T (Total), M (Male), F (Female)

Source: Dept. of Household Registration Affairs, MOI, 2018

Compared to the past two decades, today’s ageing population should have a gap of about 10-15 years of active and productive period after their retirement. As ageing people are now living longer, the means of bringing out the missing 10-15 years of unemployment from their longer retired lives are crucial. Hence, it is vital to let ageing people have a new mindset of work after retirement. Simply put, extending 10-15 more years of the retirement age should be considered in the ageing policy. Nonetheless, the precondition of changing the retirement age should meet two prerequisites for the elderly, namely living a life of better quality and reengaging in the labour market. In doing so, it can reduce social and public burden and cost for implementing the ageing policy and the responsibility of caring for the elderly. The best policy for the ageing to pursue new life is to promote continuing education among the elderly. Education for the ageing with the idea of “living and learning” can raise the quality of life and enhance the work capacity of the elderly. Offering the elderly more life skill training through lifelong education will give them more opportunity to be active in the labour market.

Taiwan’s Elderly Education in Connection to Labour Force Training: Elderly Employment as the First Priority in Active Ageing Strategy

In Taiwan, the main thread of study on ageing since 1950 can be found in three areas. The first area of research from 1950 to 1990 was mainly on social welfare, elderly nursing care, and pension system. The second research area which began in the 1990s focused on the growing concern about the ageing population and ageing problems. The last area concerns Taiwan's welfare act for older adults. In 1998, Taiwan's government announced the first Welfare Act for Older Adults. Since then, active ageing programmes and research in areas such as physical health, mental health, long-term care, community care, social engagement, and education learning/training, as well as economic security have been promoted. It reflects the three in one effort in the policy of active ageing: social welfare and long-term care, education training and economic security, and social participation.

Regarding the elderly education learning and training, two important government policies must be mentioned here.

In order to encourage the elderly to be active and continue to participate in the society, the government of Taiwan carried out lifelong learning educational programmes. According to Taiwan's Ministry of Education White Paper in 2006, six principles for elderly lifelong learning education system have been underlined, and these are: 1) social justice and equality; 2) adaptation and empowerment; 3) resource integration and sharing; 4) localisation and ageing in place; 5) civil engagement and autonomy; and 6) professionalisation.⁹

Additionally, in addressing "active ageing" development and consideration, the government of Taiwan's White Paper on Population Policy particularly emphasised five development strategies by cross-sector, cross-generation, and cross-field in order to improve the ageing-friendly environment.¹⁰

First, it must enforce and enrich the elderly family and community care system such as strengthening elderly activity, elderly health and care, elderly consultation, and promoting elderly health-friendly environment.

Second, it must assure the economic security of the elderly and accelerate re-use of elderly human resource in the labour market such as implementing national pension, real estate deposit for elderly funding (以房养老), and strengthening employment skill training for the elderly to help them participate in the labour market.

Third, it must provide elderly-friendly transport and residence environment such as better sidewalk safety, transportation management, car-driving safety, barrier-free facility and construction, three-generation cohabitation residential allowance, and elderly free bus/van schemes to ensure the independence of the elderly in their activities and encourage social participation.

Fourth, it must promote more social participation and appropriate leisure activities for the elderly such as engagement in social activities,

elderly leisure and community network, and enhancing training of the nursing profession for elderly community care.

Fifth, it must improve the educational system for the elderly such as creating elderly learning platform, developing learning materials and educational resources appropriate for older citizens, cultivating professional community manpower, setting diverse learning channels, opening university-level programmes for senior citizens, and extending Grandparents' Day.

In relation to the age of retirement, the average age of Taiwan's civil servants was 60.8 in 1997 and 55.4 in 2013. For employees in the educational sector, the average retirement age was 58 in 1997 and 54 in 2013. For the manufacturing sector, the average retirement age was 60.4 in 2013, with 61.1 for male workers and 59.8 for female workers. This apparently indicates that the retirement age in Taiwan becomes younger in the civil service and the education sector. Comparatively, the retirement age is 5-6 years higher for the manufacturing sector compared to the civil service and education sectors. Life expectancy in Taiwan was 79.84 in 2014 and 80.7 in 2018. This means that after retirement in civil service and the education sector, these workers have more than 20 years to continue with the rest of their life. Additionally, the same situation is also reflected in the manufacturing sector.

Medical care in Taiwan also seems to be costlier the older a person gets. Statistics shows that at the age of 60-69 in Taiwan, a person will be paying medical care at an average of about NT\$ 73,194 per year relative to about NT\$ 107,339 at the age of 70-79, and about NT\$ 140,505 for those over 80. Comparatively, at the age of 50-59, a person only pays on average about NT\$ 44,760 for medical care.¹¹ This indicates that the older elderly population will need to pay more for medical care than the younger ones. Hence, the costlier medical care underscores the great importance of economic safety for the elderly in order for them to enjoy a better ageing life. It is therefore not surprising that over 60% of Taiwanese worry about post-retirement financial security.¹² This is why elderly poverty is an issue that needs to be given utmost importance in the ageing policy of Taiwan and why re-engaging the active elderly in the labour market is crucial.

It is worth mentioning that the development of gerontology education and elderly studies in Taiwan began in 1993 with the establishment of two Graduate Institutes of Adult Education at the National Chung Cheng University and National Kaohsiung Normal University. These two institutes initiated the research on educational gerontology and simultaneously contributed to the studies and practices of elderly education.

Four important development stages could be clearly marked in the development of educational gerontology in Taiwan.¹³ The first stage is the initial stage which began before 1993 even though at that time there were no specific academic programmes on adult education studies in universities. However, it facilitated the development of community education for the

elderly. The second stage is the formative stage that took place between 1993 to 2003; this stage saw Taiwan entering the phase of ageing society, with more than 7% of its population falling into the group of 65 years and above in 1993. This stage witnessed great progress in elderly education in terms of leisure and social activities. Most importantly, Taiwan's Ministry of Education declared the Lifelong Learning Year in 1998, encouraging many local authorities, institutions, associations, organisations, and charities to set up social universities for older adults in order to enrich the lives of the elderly. In 2001, there were about 317 universities for older adults which almost doubled that of the first stage.¹⁴

The third stage was the expansion stage, which took place between 2003 to 2010, when Taiwan's ageing population began moving towards the phase of aged society. The development in this stage highlights the drive to fulfil the vision of "One Town, One Learning Resource Center for Active Elderly," a policy proposed by Taiwan's Ministry of Education. About 368 Learning Resource Centres were established, many of them located in community centres, libraries, elderly centres, or schools.

The fourth stage is the maturity stage which occurred after 2010, and this was accomplished through the establishment of professional skill training and professional university studies for the elderly. These skill training programmes and university studies are closely related to job training, second career planning, or rebuilding employment.

From 1978 to 1980, Taiwan's elderly education was aimed at providing the older citizens with activities to fill up their free time such as lectures, art education as well as amusement and leisure activities in order to promote continuous education among the elderly. From 1981-1988, elderly education was oriented towards service and welfare such as the setting up of colleges for the elderly. The design and curriculum of the programmes were mainly based on social welfare and recreational or leisure activities.

In 1989, the orientation in terms of gerontology education in Taiwan was towards the promotion of lifelong education for the elderly. In 1994, lifelong education for the elderly began to be planned carefully due to the widespread advocacy given to lifelong education and learning in later life. During this period, NGOs were actively promoting and establishing elderly lifelong learning programmes such as Pine-Age University (松年大學), Elderly Social University, and Respected Elderly University (敬老遐齡大學). Along the same line, the local governments within the 25 units of county and city also aggressively established their own leisure, recreation, and learning courses in colleges for the elderly. Hence, living and learning became the key principle in elderly education in order to enrich the lives of these older adults.

In 2002, the Ministry of Education (MOE) announced the "Lifelong Learning Act" in order to increase learning opportunities for ageing adults. In 2008, Taiwan's MOE set up the Learning Resource Centre for Active Elderly

and launched the first Grandparents’ Week. In doing so, it created great benefits in terms of inter generational fusion in life and education. It enabled the elderly to play more active roles in social activities such as productive and creative activities, care provision, and volunteer work.

Additionally, the implementation of elderly education in Taiwan needs to be realised based on the characteristics of the nation’s ageing population. Five general features can be attributed to the ageing population of Taiwan, namely 1) the predominance of females in the ageing population; 2) the predominance of young ageing population; 3) the increase in the number of ageing population with higher educational attainment; 4) the improvement in terms of health conditions among the ageing population; and 5) the increase in the number of active and productive ageing population.

As can be seen in Table 4, which presents the different age range of labour force in employment in Taiwan, 62.82% of the labour force population were in the age between 45 and 64 years in 2017. The percentages of the labour force at the age range of 55-59, 60-64, and over 65 years were 55.66%, 36.65%, and 8.58%, respectively. Clearly, more active older adults can be released into the labour market from the senior age range of 55-59 and 60-64. At least, 20% of the labour force at the age of 55-59 years (about 1.8 million) can be released into the labour market including 20% of the labour force at the age of 60-64 (about 1.58 million). By combining the population in these two age-range, almost 676,000 (360,000 and 316,000 persons) older citizens can be re-engaged in the labour market. This is a huge number that can offset the shortage of workforce in the labour market. Moreover, only 8.58% of the population over 65 or 185,600 persons were in employment or still working in 2017. If we were to take that 10% of the population over 65 (about 3.2 million) were made up of active and healthy older citizens, almost 320,000 productive elderly could be released and re-engaged in the labour market. Hence, it can be surmised that the number of workforce that can be released for employment among the older adults is very significant.

Table 4: Age Range of Labour Force in Employment in Taiwan (%)

Year/Age	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
45-64	60.31	60.36	60.48	60.73	61.65	61.89	62.42	62.82
45-49	77.20	77.84	78.70	79.56	80.21	80.92	81.68	82.66
50-54	65.93	67.14	67.73	68.27	69.63	70.34	71.44	72.47
55-59	50.67	51.66	52.52	53.21	54.41	55.08	55.67	55.66
60-64	32.20	32.01	32.56	33.42	35.61	35.77	36.35	36.65
65+	8.09	7.93	8.10	8.34	8.68	8.78	8.61	8.58

Source: National Statistics of the Republic of China (Taiwan), 2018.

The characteristics of the ageing population would reveal the general need and requirements of the ageing, especially for employment. Table 5 shows that for the population over 65 in 2013, about 89.7% were without jobs

and 10.3% were still in paid jobs in contrast to those in the age range of 55-64 years old where 56.8% had no jobs and 43.2% were still in paid jobs. This suggests that the government should promote and improve labour employment for the elderly by prioritising those in the age group of 55-64 first, followed by those in the age group of over 65. Regarding the “no job” situation of those in the age group of 55-64 years and over 65, it might be possible to reduce the “no job” situation from 56.8% down to 31.8% and from 89.7% down to 59.7% respectively by engaging and supplying 25% of the non-working (no-job) elderly in each of the two groups into the labour market. As a comparison, only 10.3% of the population over 65 in Taiwan were still in employment compared to 17.7% in the USA and 20.1% in Japan in 2013.

Engaging the elderly who are capable of working but are not in employment can solve the pressing problem of labour shortage in Taiwan. In addition, most elderly people are still expected to be engaged in some kind of work in order to support family expenditure as can be derived from Table 5 where the data in 2013 showed that almost 66.5% of those in the age group of 55-64 and 51.0% in the age group of over 65 reported having to work because of the burden of family budget. Only 29.1% of the elderly in the age group of 55-64 and 27.4% in the age group over 65 enjoyed financial independence, suggesting that 70.9% and 72.6% of the elderly in each group respectively were in financial insecurity and suffering from “elderly poverty.” Elderly women were a little bit worse than elderly men in terms of financial independence. As a result, the data suggests that employment in active ageing is of utmost concern, not just to offset the problem of labour shortage but also to support economic security of the elderly, particularly elderly women.

In order to overcome the negative image and biased perception of “ageing” which is often depicted as old, sickly, weak, poor and disabled in the society, re-education and re-orientation of the elderly through learning and educational activities are crucial to improve societal mind-set and perception of the elderly towards a more positive image. Furthermore, more than 80% of the ageing people in Taiwan are most often categorised as healthy and sub-healthy. Hence, providing educational activities and skill training that could help to prevent physical, psychological, and mental degradation for the ageing is considered an important educational policy to enable active and healthy ageing among the elderly population.

Table 5: Reasons for and Percentage of Working Elderly in Taiwan in 2013

Age Group	Total (%)	No Job (%)	In Paid Job (%)	Reasons for working (%)				
				Burden of Family Budget	Financial Independence	Maintaining Social Participation	Killing Time	Others

55-64	100.0	56.8	43.2	66.5	29.1	12.0	14.0	1.2
Male	100.0	42.8	57.2	72.1	24.2	11.7	12.3	0.8
Female	100.0	70.2	29.8	56.4	38.2	12.7	17.2	2.1
Over 65	100.0	89.7	10.3	51.0	27.4	12.0	33.1	1.2
Male	100.0	84.6	15.4	49.1	28.0	15.0	30.9	1.7
Female	100.0	94.2	5.8	55.5	26.0	4.9	38.2	-

Note : No Job includes Non-paid workers.

Source : Ministry of Health and Welfare (MHW), Report of the Senior Citizen Condition Survey 2013, Oct. 2014, Taipei, p.25.

In order to assist elderly re-employment, Taiwan's government has set up an Elderly Re-employment Plan to eliminate work barriers for the elderly since 2015. Each senior or elderly worker that is kept in the labour market and continue being a productive member of the society may receive NT\$ 100,000 allowance from the government. This plan expounds the concept of "job re-design" (職務再設計) or "job accommodation" which was put in place to keep the senior workers in their jobs in the environment that is familiar to them and to delay retirement from their work positions. The plan is that for the elderly to live longer, it would involve working longer but in an ageing-friendly environment at the workplace and in the society.

Additionally, in the government's effort to promote lifelong learning and elderly education, community-level educational learning centres (樂齡學習中心) have been setup nationwide in the country. These Joy Elderly Learning Centres are taken as a major educational policy for the active ageing programme. In 2016, there were 339 centres established based on "One Town, One Center" principle. Via these Senior Active Learning Centres, close social linkage and exchange between the elderly and the community as well as intergenerational cohesion and integration can be promoted. The two major purposes of these education learning centres are for the elderly to provide service and to contribute to the society. The former is to focus on services related to community care and volunteering work. The latter is to extend social participation and re-engagement in the labour market. Basically, both are geared towards efficiently utilising and re-using valuable elderly human resources and manpower in the community and for productivity. Since the elderly are still active, creative, and healthy after retirement, they can contribute their high quality skills, talents and professional knowledge to the community. Accordingly, the government sees no reason to regulate these active and healthy elderly citizens with excellent work experience accumulated over the years from continuing working in the labour market.

The curriculum framework of the Senior Active Learning Centres is mainly categorised into three aspects: the first is core courses for leisure or self-interest learning such as life safety, exercise, healthy diet, the growth of mind and soul, and interpersonal relations. This part makes up 30-40% of the

curriculum. The second is autonomous design courses which make up 40-50% of curriculum; examples include applying local resources and interests to come up with creative courses for the elderly. The last is social contribution and service courses such as care services, volunteer training, and work training which make up 10-20% of the curriculum. The curriculum has been designed to help the elderly pursue a better and improved quality of life, job engagement, economic independence, social participation and service as well as to create age-friendly environment.

Taiwan's Active Ageing Programmes as Comprehensive Measurement of Ageing Education and Productive Employment: Constructing a Total Strategy Framework

In Taiwan, the ratio of work-age adults began to fall in 2013. In 2017, this rate was about 73.02%. Nonetheless, it is estimated to decline to 65.56% in 2030. In 2004, an average of 6.2 working persons from the age group of 15-64 years was estimated to support one elderly adult. However, in 2060, it is estimated that about 1.3 working persons will support one elderly person.¹⁵ Clearly, the burden of support will become increasingly heavier. Exacerbating the fact is that in 2060, the demands and costs of elderly medical and life-service care will become much more acute and thus, it will be a hefty burden for the next working-age generation.

Additionally, labour participation rate above the age of 55 in 2008 was about 58.2% for Taiwan relative to 70.5% for South Korea, 80.7% for Japan, 78.5% for USA, and 65.6% for Singapore. This means the elderly workers in Taiwan retired out of the workforce earlier compared to the other countries. This is especially for the elderly workers over the age of 65 where the labour participation rate was only 8.1% in 2008 in Taiwan compared to 30.6% in South Korea, 20.2% in Japan, 16.1% in Singapore, and 16.8% in the USA. However, Taiwan fared better compared to 7.0% in the UK, 3.3% in Italy, and 3.7% in Germany. Clearly, looking at the standard rate of retirement for the elderly workers in the labour market in South Korea, Japan, and the USA, Taiwan still has more room for its elderly workers in the labour market. Faced with these percentages, Taiwanese government should implement more effective policies and incentive programmes to increase the rate of participation of the elderly workers in the age group above 55.¹⁶

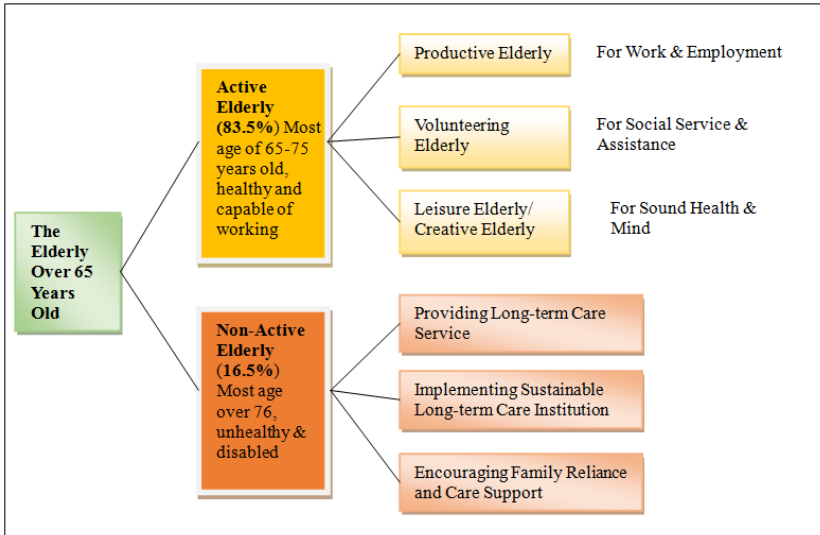
Taking all these statistical information in view, the purpose of education for the ageing is thus not only to promote active ageing, but more so for the goal of promoting productive elderly citizens in order to meet the challenges of reducing ageing dependency and to offset labour shortages. Active elderly citizens make up almost 83.5% of the entire ageing population in Taiwan, and many are still healthy, are capable of working, and are productive. The age range of these active elderly largely falls in the age group of 65 to 75.

In contrast, non-active elderly with poor health and disability such as senile dementia, Alzheimer's disease, severe disability, and paralysis only account for 16.5% of the ageing population. Most of the non-active elderly are those in the age group over 75.

Basically, the characteristics of the active elderly can be categorised into four major kinds as illustrated in Figure 2. The first is productive elderly (i.e., standard labour/employment); second is volunteering elderly (i.e., would-be potential workers, social service workers, or volunteers), third is leisure elderly (i.e., enjoying their life style and not having to work); and fourth is creative elderly (i.e., professional workers or expert workers). Elderly educational resources will be highly required for the active/productive elderly, elderly volunteers/leisure elderly to enhance or promote and enhance their quality of life, social participation/contribution, and productivity. It should be emphasised that engaging or re-engaging the active elderly in the labour market is only for their own earnings and expenditure rather than for their family or children.

In order to increase elderly workers' employment, the government of Taiwan has outlined several strategic policy plans and measures. First is to encourage employment of the elderly in enterprises or businesses and in auxiliary employment and to enhance the willingness of the elderly to participate in work. Second is to increase elderly employment based on media-matching mechanism. Third is to establish a variety of diverse skills in the regional occupational training centres. Fourth is to adopt a policy of subsidising elderly workers' wage through cooperation and coordination with enterprises or businesses. Fifth is to promote community day-care service and supplemental assistance for after-school-children-care and elderly-care to create employment for the elderly. The final strategy involved promoting the implementation of the "redesigning jobs" or "job accommodation" policy in 2012 that was mainly based on consideration of the physical and mental health of the elderly such as weak memory, poor eyesight, reduced physical capacity, and work pressure. Redesigning jobs focus on the improvement of the working environment, equipment, condition, and supplementary employment which can provide a better working environment to attract more elderly people to be employed.

Figure 2: Elderly Population Structure with Condition of the Active Elderly

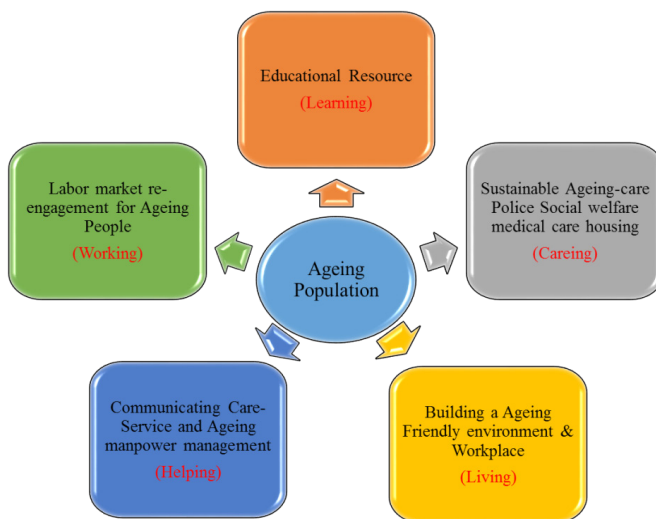


Source: Created by the Author.

In dealing with active ageing, Taiwan's White Paper for Aged Society in 2015 outlined a new vision which was established to enable the elderly population to pursue better ageing life by creating a healthy, happy, active and friendly environment for the elderly. These four visions were applied to enable attainment of healthy life, happy family, active ageing society, and an age-friendly environment for the elderly in Taiwan. The aspect of healthy life was aimed at extending the health of the elderly and promoting a better quality of life. Happy family aimed to sustain long-term care services and enhance intergenerational fusion between the elderly and the younger generation. Active ageing society aimed to advance multi-level participation and self-value of the elderly in the community. Meanwhile, the application of age-friendly environment was aimed at widening network support and eliminating barrier discrimination for the elderly. These four visions were highly related to elderly education as well as creating a new life for the elderly to enjoy and to continue contributing to the workforce. Hence, the motto of "to live, to learn, and to work" was adopted for active ageing with the goal of enriching the lives of the ageing population in Taiwan.

Additionally, with the vision of developing active ageing in Taiwan, five major tasks and demands based on the state's ageing policies should be set up as shown in Figure 3. The five major policy considerations on active ageing emphasise learning, living, caring, helping and working in order to improve the elderly's life quality and employment.

Figure 3: Active Ageing Policy Framework and Platform in Taiwan



Source: Summarised and drawn by author.

Based on Figure 3, a three-level framework would be set up for the active ageing programme, beginning with the basic level at bottom and the third level at the top. The first or basic level at the bottom involves caring and helping to promote active ageing. The caring policy is emphasised in the ageing-care policy, social welfare, medical care, and housing, i.e. the so-called “elderly long-term care service.” The helping policy is concerned with community care service and ageing manpower management as well as public budget. The second level is based on building an ageing-friendly environment and workplace. This is oriented towards improving living infrastructure to promote a “healthy ageing society without discrimination.” The third level at the top is concentrated on two mechanisms, i.e. learning and working. The learning policy is adopted by applying educational resources and training programmes for the elderly. The working policy focuses on labour market re-engagement for the active elderly people. The major consideration for the function at this top level is to encourage and reuse elderly labour force by re-engaging them in the labour market.

Table 6 presents information about elderly living conditions based on Taiwan’s MHW data for the year 2006 and 2013. The data shows that many of the elderly people tend to stay with their children (and their spouses) as well as their grandchildren, forming a fusion of two or three generations of family living together in a household. The elderly over the age of 65 living in this kind of arrangement accounted for around 65% of the elderly people and this arrangement can be attributed to cultural influence. The elderly over 65 living

with their spouse only, accounted for 20.6% of the ageing in 2013 compared to 18.8% in 2009. This residential arrangement of living only with their spouse became popular in the recent years because of social change. Additionally, the portion of elderly over 65 who lived alone increased from 9.2% to 11.1% during the 2009 to 2013 period. It is evident that elderly care in Taiwan is heavily dependent on the nuclear and extended family.

Education for the elderly mainly emphasises three dimensions of knowledge, namely education for life, leisure and practices; professional and creative knowledge to enhance productivity; and knowledge for volunteering and participation in social work. Specifically, elderly education for life, leisure and practices involve enjoyable and fun activities that are good for physical health and for improving quality of life such as painting, gardening, swimming, sporting, singing, cooking, crafting, and so on. Elderly education for professional and creative knowledge to enhance productivity aims to prepare the elderly for continuous learning by improving and enhancing their skills and innovativeness. Elderly education for volunteer activities largely concerns knowledge in providing community service or day-to-day care for the non-active elderly.

Table 6: Elderly Living Conditions (unit: %)

	Total	Living Alone	Living with Spouse Only	Two-Generation Family	Three-Generation Family	Four-Generation Family	With Friends/Relatives	Living in Institutions
At the age of 55-64 2009.6	100	5.0	17.4	53.0	22.1	1.2	1.1	0.2
	2013.6	100	5.6	18.3	47.3	25.5	1.8	1.2
Over the age of 65 2009.6	100	9.2	18.8	29.8	37.9	0.8	0.8	2.8
	2013.6	100	11.1	20.6	25.8	37.5	1.0	0.6

Source : Ministry of Health and Welfare (MHW), Report of the Senior Citizen Condition Survey 2013, Oct. 2014, Taipei, p.3. This survey is conducted every five years. The updated version would be published at the end of 2018.

The prerequisite for productive ageing is being an active elderly; however, not all active elderly will go into the labour market. For those who do not wish to engage in the labour market, they could engage in elderly education that provides volunteer training in social work and care services. By gaining education in social work, the active elderly could extend their knowledge and capacity for community volunteering activities and contribution in care work

services.

Re-engagement of the elderly in the labour force can help to balance the labour shortage in Taiwan. Since 2017, Taiwan's population of over 65 has exceeded that of 0-14 years old. In 2018, Taiwan officially entered the stage of "aged society" as 14% of its total population were over the age of 65. The increase in the number of ageing population has resulted in a significant gap in labour demand and supply in Taiwan's job market, particularly in firms and companies. However, switching employment or re-engaging in the workforce is not easy for those over the age of 65. In fact, in Taiwan, it is already very difficult to switch jobs for those in the age group over 55.

Accordingly, three important measures have been adopted by the government of Taiwan in relation to re-engagement of the elderly in the labour market. First of all, for the ageing people who are still in employment, their retirement age can be extended either by rearranging their position or through flexible working hours with financial sponsorship coming from the government. In addition, workplaces are expected to be built with an ageing-friendly environment through financial subsidy and sponsorship to enable the elderly to continue working beyond their retirement age.

The second measure involves provision of continuous education for labour skill improvement for the elderly through the cooperation between the government and enterprises so that the elderly are encouraged to continue being in the labour force. Examples of continuous education include learning how to operate computers and use of new technologies. Keeping the ageing labour in the workforce by providing training is crucial to raise their work competence and improve age-friendly environment in the workplace so that discrimination towards elderly workers can be mitigated.

The third measure involves recalling the elderly retired back into the workplace. This involves giving opportunities for the aged to return to the labour market. In 2016, Taiwan's Ministry of Labour established an Elderly Human Resource Centre through cooperation with several superstores and chain store restaurants and launched an Ageing-Friendly Employment Platform. These have been put in place to encourage more ageing people in the job market.

In the effort to overcome the challenges of ageing problems facing the country, the government of Taiwan has adopted various policies and measures. The first is to cultivate and improve basic competencies among the ageing population. The second is to design and promote learning programmes and special curriculum for gerontology. The third is to strengthen and expand interdisciplinary learning experience for the ageing. The fourth is to pump in more investment into ageing-care and development of medical technology. The fifth is to set up multiple goals for the elderly service system. The sixth and final measure involves cultivating and training human workforce for long-term care and welfare of the ageing.

Additionally, the government has also introduced a concept that is closely related to the idea of accumulation of money in financial institutions but in the form of time or hours of service. This so-called concept of “Time Banking” involves the active elderly depositing their labour hours which they have contributed in care services or volunteering activities for the community into the “Time Bank.” Later, when the elderly require services from other active elderly, they may redeem these hours. This time-banking approach to senior care encourages the active elderly to prepare in advance for their own need for care services later on by providing volunteer services to other needy elderly while they are still active. This concept of time banking makes time a currency, and it allows elderly people who volunteer their time by engaging in care services to receive credit for the time they have volunteered. They can later redeem the time for an equal amount of service time from other elderly participating in the system when they need other senior volunteers to visit and care for them. Such a concept is valuable for the active elderly people since they are still active and can still move about to earn and contribute service hours to the community. It may secure them the help they need in the future when they are badly in need of care services from others.

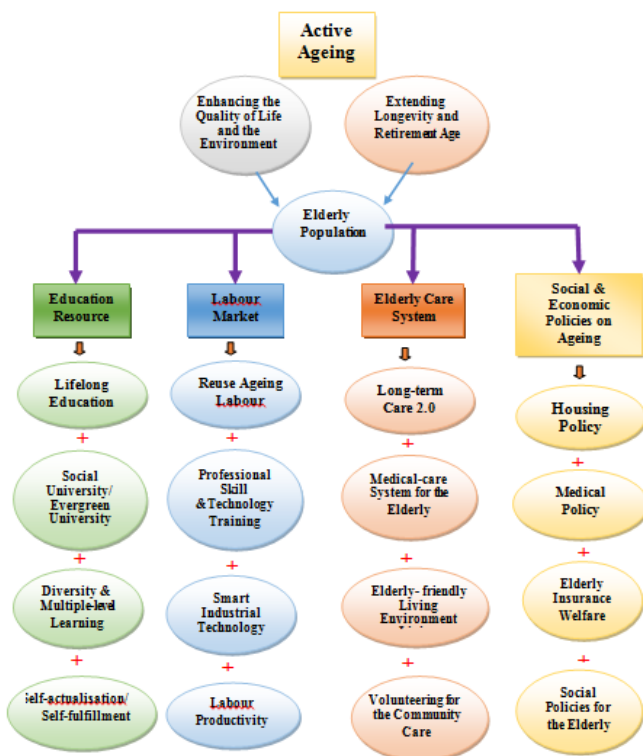
The most impressive project for the elderly put together by the government of Taiwan is to encourage the elderly to go back to school as it combined elderly care with education and learning. The effect is that it makes it possible to fuse elderly education and learning with long-term care services. The project enables a new form of cooperation or co-sharing between the elderly and the students in the schools or colleges that are involved in the project. The value of such a project goes both ways in that it is beneficial to the elderly as well as the students involved. It gives the opportunity for the ageing people to go to school and enjoy learning again. It also helps them recall their earlier memories of learning which could create feeling of happiness and contribute to their mental well-being. Moreover, the interactive environment and the inter generational blending may help prevent dementia among the elderly. The younger students gain valuable knowledge through the sharing of the elderly’s life and work experiences. The elderly also contribute to the community by taking part in the children’s day-care responsibility, and this helps the elderly to feel that they are a valuable part of the community and still have something positive to contribute. Most importantly, the going back to school project allows the elderly to go out for leisure, learn new knowledge, meet up with their friends, participate in social activities, and even engage in a new job while engaging with the younger generation.

Currently, due to the decline in fertility and the growing number of elderly, Taiwan is experiencing a low replacement rate and this has affected the country for more than 20 years. The situation is not getting any better as the number of new-born baby is projected to sharply decline from 200,000 to 150,000 in 2020. The decline in the number of younger population means that 20,000

schools out of the 100,000 schools available in Taiwan are currently unused. Some of the school spaces and rooms that are not in use can therefore be released for the elderly to use for their education, care services, training, and social activities. This strategy for the elderly to use the available schools to promote active ageing underlines the concept of “co-prosperity between the elderly and youth” (老幼共榮). The unused and idle schools can be activated and revitalised for elderly education, long-term care, health activities and social participation in a safe and friendly environment.

To summarise, four key measures have been implemented in Taiwan to support the active ageing policy as shown in Figure 4. The first is to improve and promote lifelong education and training for the elderly. The second is to improve the structure of the labour market and employment opportunity to promote active ageing. The third is to improve social support policies in building an ageing-friendly society and working environment. The fourth is to encourage the active elderly to engage in community volunteering work and services.

Figure 4: Strategic Framework for Engaging the Active Elderly in the Labour Market in Taiwan



Source: Summarised and drawn by author.

Final Remarks: Renewing the Social Condition and Reshaping the Structure of the Elderly Labour Market for Active Ageing

The Taiwanese government and society will continually promote healthy, active, and productive ageing policy for two main purposes. One is to raise the quality of life of the elderly in order to enrich and enhance their social condition. The other is to rebalance the labour market to keep more elderly workers who are capable of working in the labour force.

Two decades ago, the elderly in Taiwan would have lived on average for about 10 years after their retirement at the age of 65. However, nowadays the elderly will continue to live for another 20-25 years after their retirement. Living at least a quarter century longer makes it crucial for the elderly to learn and plan a better life, especially in terms of continuing their employment. This is called alternative and creative “career reconstruction” as it involves a combination of contributive work, volunteering assistance, and leisure learning.

Essentially, the longer life for people to live and the longer time for people to work should come together. Nonetheless, with longevity, an individual’s career must be re-adjusted and modified according to their age. Presently, the life expectancy of humans have increased to about 100 years old compared to 70 years old in the past half century. The standard or legalised retirement age must therefore be extended for at least a decade longer. Hence, if the official retirement age is 60 or 65, then the government might want to consider extending it to 70 or 75. Extending the retirement would enable the elderly to continue to work for at least another 10 years or so. Thus, the strategy for maintaining active elderly in employment must be based on maintaining economic independence as long as possible within an age-friendly society as longer life equals having the benefit of a longer time in employment. This would reduce the reliance of the elderly on their family in terms of financial as well as social welfare. Simply put, turning the elderly burden into active workforce should become a priority and an important ageing policy for Taiwan which is facing the challenges of serious ageing population.

Endnotes

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3. Department of Statistics, op. cit.
4. Statistics from the Ministry of the Interior's statistics on life expectancy, Taiwan, 2017. According to the UN's definition, the aged society must reach the requirement of 14% or more of its population being 65 years old or older. Yet, a society is considered to be "aging" only with 7% of its population being senior citizens. Timothy Ferry, "Long-Term Care for Taiwan's Elderly," Taiwan Business Topics, March 10, 2017, <https://topics.amcham.com.tw/2017/03/caring-taiwans-elderly/> (accessed on Feb. 2, 2018).
5. Taiwan News Online, <https://www.taiwannews.com.tw/ch/news/1749158> (accessed on Mar. 22, 2018).
6. Bruce Grierson, 2014, "What If Age Is Nothing but a Mind-set?" The New York Times, Oct. 22, 2014, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/26/magazine/what-if-age-is-nothing-but-a-mind-set.html> (accessed on March 24, 2018). This report is on Ellen Langer's research. She found that nurse-home residents who had exhibited early stage of memory loss were able to do better on memory tests when they were given incentives to remember. In addition, she concludes that if people have to be mindful and always perceive the choices available to them, they would fulfill their potential and improve their health.
7. World Health Organization (WHO), Active Ageing: A Policy Framework, Geneva, WHO, 2002.
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14. Chin-Shan Huang, "The Development of a University for Older Adults in Taiwan: An Interpretive Perspective", *Educational Gerontology*, 2005, 31, 503-519.
15. See Yi-Yin Lin and Chin-Shan Huang, "Ageing in Taiwan: Building a Society for Active Aging and Aging in Place," *The Gerontologist*,

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16. Wen-Chi Grace Chou, "Implications of Population Ageing on the Labor Market and Productivity in Taiwan," *Journal of Comparative Social Welfare*, 2011, 27 (1), 9, Figure 4.

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