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台灣私立幼教機構外籍英語教師任職動機之研究
The Motivations of Foreign English Teachers in
Taiwan's Private Preschools

Student: Bryn Thomas
Advisor: Doctor Chuing Prudence Chou

中華民國 106 年 3 月 March 2017

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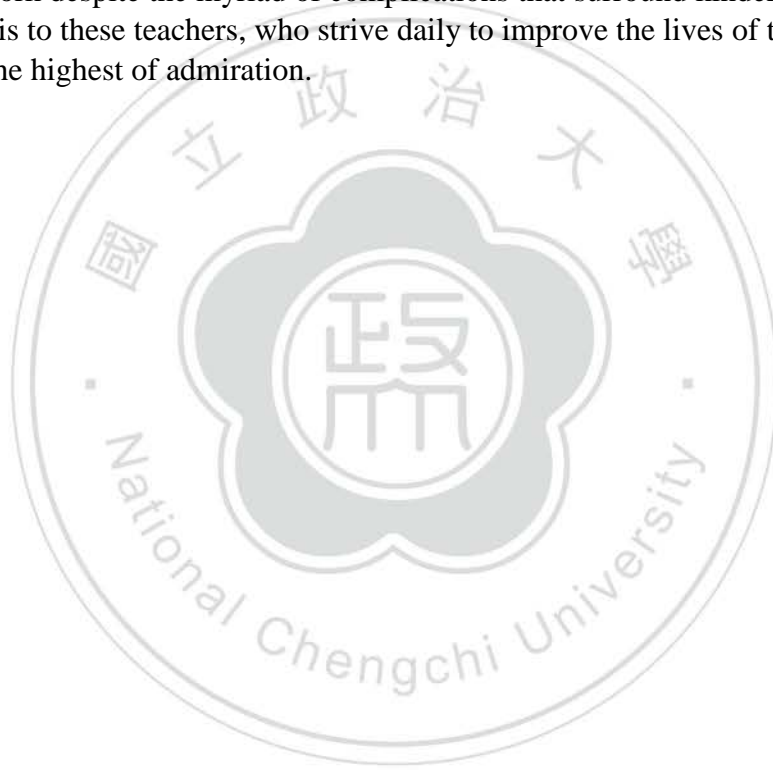
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台灣私立幼教機構外籍英語教師任職動機之研究

在國際化趨勢中，台灣政府推動英語教學，來提升國人成為「終身學習者」。為了達成上述目標，台灣政府允許公立與私立學校聘用以英文為母語的外籍教師，尤其在私人的學前教育機構與補習班等，經常可看到這些外籍教師。由於家長對於子女提前接受英語教育的期望，造成市場的需求，導致政府英語教學政策和民間需求，存在著相當的落差，導致許多私立學前教育機構為了維繫市場競爭力，規避政府的法規，聘請英語非母語的外籍教師任教。本論文旨在探討為何許多來台外籍人士，無論本身是否具有合格師資與英語母語條件，在台灣冒著被驅逐出境的風險，以學前教育工作為首選，從事合法及非法打工，而非選擇其他的工作機會？本研究以英語外籍教師為主要對象，採用質性研究法，運用「計畫行為理論」作為研究架構，先透過 12 個先導性調查，進行初步資料分析，再經由 10 次深度訪談，以及 80 份問卷調查，了解外籍教師的看法。本研究根據計畫行為理論中的變項，包含：態度、主觀規範，以及認知行為控制等項目，分析在台外籍人士何以選擇到學前教育機構，任教英語的行為動機，及其背後原因。本研究發現，學前教育備受來台外籍人士歡迎的原因，包括：台灣學前教育階段英語教師市場需求大，教學資格門檻不夠嚴格、入行容易，薪資待遇佳，尤其是學前教育階段特殊的教學方式，能夠提供較具彈性的上班時間與生活方式，都是造成學前教育機構吸引來台外籍教師任教的原因。研究進一步發現，台灣的教育政策至今仍缺乏對於學前教育機構外籍英語教師聘用等方面，有效的管理與輔導。本論文最後建議，台灣公部門必須對於所有相關機構與個人，諸如：學前教育單位、英語為母語及其他外籍教師、與學生家長等，進行明確的規範，落實學前教育英語教師的任教資格、加強本地雇主與外師之間勞資雙方工作條件的透明度、甚至落實對非法雇主的取締及違法者處分等，都是改善台灣學前教育英語學品質，保障學童受教權及外籍教師工作權的重要途徑。

關鍵字：

學前教育、英語教學、計畫行為理論、外籍教師任教動機、補習班。

The Motivations of Foreign English Teachers in Taiwan's Private Kindergartens

Abstract

The government of Taiwan seeks to create a population of “internationalized life-long learners” through English as a Second Language education. To facilitate this education, the Taiwanese government, permits the hiring of native English speaking teachers in public and private schools. Despite this, a gap exists between parental expectations and government regulation creating a market for English learning at the kindergarten level. This gap is often filled by Private Preschool Institutions. Findings suggest private preschools in Taiwan manifest themselves in numerous ways, and often skirt government regulation to remain competitive. This research discusses why expatriates seek employment at the preschool level in Taiwan, despite the risk of deportation, and the availability of alternatives. This study applied the Theory of Planned Behavior to twelve pilot surveys, ten interviews, and eighty questionnaires from a sample of teachers in Taiwan. Using qualitative methods, this study identified how the Theory of Planned Behavior variables: attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control were significant in creating the behavior intention to teach English at the preschool level in Taiwan. Findings suggested that preschool teaching is perceived as rewarding because of the lifestyle it creates. Furthermore that it is seen as commonplace and acceptable. And finally that endemic, race based, low hiring standards in the English as a second language market create low barriers to entry. Several implications were drawn from this research. Primarily, that policy should address labor and lifestyle issues in legally sanctioned schools and that greater transparency between all actors; the private preschools, Taiwanese government, English teachers, and parents is needed.

Key Words:

Early Childhood Education, English as a Second Language, Social norms, Theory of Planned Behavior , Native English Speaking Teachers, Taiwan

List of Terms

NEST- Native English Speaking Teacher

NNEST- Nonnative English Speaking Teachers

MOFA- Ministry of Foreign Affairs

MOE- Ministry of Education

ESL- English as a Second Language

Buxiban- This is a Chinese term referring to private after school programs or cram schools. Foreigners typically refer to buxiban as private after school programs teaching ages 6-18

NT- New Taiwanese Dollar

LPP- Language Planning Policy

TPB- Theory of Planned Behavior

Kindergarten- A Kindergarten is specific type of school for ages 4-5 defined by MOE licensing (further explanation in section 1.2). Kindergarten for expatriates usually entails any work at the preschool level.



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Chapter 1 Introduction

One of Taiwan's greatest resources is its educated populace. As Taiwan is a relatively small and politically isolated island its qualified workforce has driven the growth of its booming export driven industries. The necessity to maintain a competitive and educated population has seen the Republic of China (ROC), Taiwan's government, create a thorough and comprehensive education program at every level. This education program is extremely competitive, being measured by standardized tests from the kindergarten to the university level, creating one of the highest educated populations on earth per capita.

In an increasingly globalized environment, the Taiwanese government, which relies on its educated population for economic growth, has adapted measures to internationalize its education. Fueled by "English Fever" (Chang, 2008) the population of Taiwan and its government has readily adopted English as a second language (ESL) learning into its curriculum by making the study of English the only mandatory nonnative language taught in its public schools. English language proficiency is also tested in Taiwan's university entrance exams. Taiwan's supplementary private education market has yielded a boom in 'buxibans' adapted to address parental expectations, exam anxiety, and group pressure towards learning (Chou, 2011). Both private and public schools in Taiwan have readily hired native English speaking teachers (NESTs) to enhance the authenticity of the English spoken in their classes.

Conflict has arisen between Taiwan's Ministry of Education (MOE) and Taiwan's population with regard to the age at which English language learning should begin. Many Taiwanese parents agree with the 'earlier is better' theory of language learning (Oladejo, 2006). This sentiment is enhanced by the competitive nature of Taiwan's education program, and the perception of non-standardized English instruction and text in Taiwan's public schools.

Government regulations forbid the teaching of English to young learners (ages two through elementary school) and mandates that ESL education begin by the third year of elementary education, but no earlier than the first grade. A situation has been created in which the societal norms and expectations of parents do not align with legal regulations of the Taiwanese government (Oladejo, 2006). Privatized preschool institutions (PPIs) in Taiwan fill the gap between parental expectation and legal prohibition (Oladejo, 2006; Chang, 2008).

As of 2014, over half the preschools in Taiwan were privately owned (MOE, 2014). In an environment of decreasing birthrates, private preschools seek ways to distinguish themselves from their competition. Furthermore, privatized education in Taiwan is determined by social pressure (Chou & Ching, 2012, pg. 120). However, private and public kindergartens are not the only schools providing English schooling at the preschool level. There is also a large market of unregistered kindergartens and buxibans. Thus a combination of decreasing market and parental pressure create an environment in which English is actively taught at the preschool level. When Taiwanese private preschool institutions incorporate English into their education, they often hire foreign teachers with little screening for quality or qualification (Chou & Ching, 2012).

In sum, the gap between parent expectations and government regulation, market mechanisms in private education, and a competitive education system creates a job market for native English speaking teachers (NESTs) at the preschool level.

1.1 Problem Statement

Private preschool institutions, many of whom are well intentioned, often operate in a legal ‘gray area’ (as legal schools providing illegal services), seeking to provide for a market of parents eager to start language learning earlier than the government mandated age. The unregulated nature of these schools, and the ‘legal gray area’ in which they operate, creates

circumstances in which children are potentially exposed to myriad of dangers, including, but not limited to, unprofessional teachers, inadequate curriculums, unsafe environments, overcrowded classrooms, and nontransparent ineffective teaching practices (Survey highlights number, 2011). As of 2014 Taiwan had 6,560 public and private preschools servicing 448,189 pupils, with a public to private ratio of 3:7 (MOE, 2014). Although not pertaining specifically to preschools, one survey suggests that out of 726,300 elementary-school pupils who are in after-school care programs, only 35,521 attend registered childcare centers (Survey highlights number, 2011). The remaining students attend unregistered cram schools (unregistered buxibans); where they are likely to study English.

A situation exists that is hazardous for all parties involved. Native English speaking teachers (NESTs) in Taiwan, although often unqualified, sometimes unwittingly enter an environment in which they risk deportation and exploitation in employment under regulated by government bodies (Lan, 2011). NESTs, are drawn to Taiwan for numerous personal reasons and have opportunities at a myriad of schools, but often choose to work in PPIs regardless of the legal ramifications.

The existence of a shadow economy of private preschool institutions (PPIs) makes it difficult for the Ministry of Education (MOE) to guarantee the quality of its education. Children are potentially exposed to unqualified or dangerous NESTs, and parents are sometimes swindled out of tuition fees.

Before continuing it is necessary to discuss the terms “kindergarten” and “buxiban”, as well as the relevant laws and so called “legal gray areas” that were used in this study.

1.2 Definition of Terminology

There are three types of schools that teach at the preschool level in Taiwan. Namely kindergartens and nurseries, which Taiwanese government refers to as “educare institutions” (Early Childhood Education and Care Act, 2013); and buxibans (cram schools).

Understanding the complex and often convoluted differences between these schools is necessary for understanding both the legal pitfalls and gray areas NESTs in Taiwan operate in.

As stated above, nurseries, kindergartens, and buxibans (crams schools) cater to the preschool level: ages two through elementary. Kindergartens and nurseries can be subdivided into private and public institutions. All buxibans are privately owned. Due to greater government control, there is no evidence that NESTs are working at public kindergartens or nurseries in Taiwan. Private kindergartens, nurseries, and buxibans are defined by their licenses, which are stipulated according the strict regulations regarding their curriculum, provided services, and teacher qualifications.

Kindergarten licensing depends on several factors. Requirements include indoor and outdoor space, student to teacher ratio, ages of students (4-5), and the qualification of teachers (Hsieh, 2008). Kindergartens must hire teachers according to strictly specified standards (Early Childhood Education and Care Act, 2013). Furthermore the curriculum taught in kindergartens is restricted to, physical, language (first language), cognition, aesthetic emotional, and interpersonal development (Early Childhood Education and Care Act, 2013). Foreign languages such as English are not considered developmentally appropriate. Kindergartens are also restricted as to what kinds of care services they can provide, be it meals or napping areas. Educators in kindergartens, are referred to as Teachers (Hsieh, 2008). Parents who enroll their children in kindergartens are also eligible for a government voucher (Ho, 2006).

Private nurseries are distinguished from private kindergartens by larger class sizes and a focus on care rather than education. Educators in nurseries are referred to as nurses (Hsieh, 2008). Furthermore nurseries employ those with two year college degrees (Hsieh, 2008). Children in nurseries cover a larger age range than those in kindergartens (ages 2-5) (Hsieh, 2008).

Buxibans (cram schools) also provide education at the preschool age and are less regulated than both nurseries and kindergartens (Hsieh, 2008). Looser regulations are exhibited in terms of classroom sizes, school spaces, teacher qualifications, age of students and curriculums. Buxibans are considered to be supplementary education (Supplementary Education Act, 2013). Although it is forbidden for ‘young children’ to attend buxibans, the practice is exceedingly common (Supplementary Education Act, 2013; Cai, 2016).

This study specifically addresses NESTs operating in the myriad of institutions that manifest at the preschool level; be it private kindergartens, nurseries, or buxibans. For the sake of streamlining, this study refers to these schools as: Private Preschool Institutions (PPIs). In this study, a PPI unless noted, refers to all private institutions that teach at the preschool level (ages two through elementary).

The English term “kindergarten” is used by expatriates in Taiwan to refer to the above discussed myriad of teaching activities in PPIs, whereas buxiban refers specifically to cram schools occurring between the ages of six and high school with class placement in the afternoons and evenings. Foreign teachers who use the term ‘kindergarten’ are often referring to the teaching of what the Taiwanese government refers to as ‘young children’; that is children older than two but not yet in elementary school (Early Childhood Education and Care Act, 2013). Similarly, while there are ‘buxibans’ that teach preschool aged kids, these are referred to by expatriates as “kindy” or kindergarten. NESTs in Taiwan often do not understand the

differences in licensing within PPIs and organize schools according to the age taught, in this case ages two through elementary; or ‘kindergarten’.

This age group, referred to as ‘young learners’, is subject to a ‘legal grey area’, which can result in the deportation of NESTs. Deportation is due to working illegally. The illegality of this refers to the act of working at a place not specified on their work permit, and not due to teaching ‘young learners’ specifically (Employment Service Act, 2006). Likewise, NESTs can also be deported for substitute teaching at a school which is not listed on their Alien Resident Card (ARC). Thus once a NEST is in possession of an APRC (Alien Permanent Resident Card) they will no longer risk deportation, as their visa is no longer dependent upon their employment. However, the school or institution is still subject to fines, and the NEST may lose their jobs. The following sections will attempt to define this legal ‘gray area’ (Table 1) in black and white terms.

Table 1 The "Legal Gray Area"

Types of School	NESTs	Young Learners	Consequence to NEST without APRC
Nurseries	Foreigners and English not allowed	Ages 2-5 Allowed	deportation
Registered Kindergartens	English allowed with strict regulations. Foreign teachers not allowed.	Ages 4-5 allowed and encouraged with vouchers	deportation
Buxibans	Foreign Teachers and English curriculum allowed	Forbidden but common practice	none/ case by case
Unregistered Kindergarten	Unregulated	Unregulated	deportation

Source: Author

Thus far we have established that NESTs in Taiwan risk deportation for teaching at the preschool level in Taiwan. Based on this one would assume that it is the act of teaching by a

foreigner at the preschool level that is expressly illegal. ESL recruitment websites for major private school chains address the issue openly stating “although it is technically illegal, it is a legal grey area” (Is Teaching Preschool Illegal, 2017). In order to further understand the phenomenon of English teaching at the preschool level, we need to gaze into the legal fog in which these schools operate.

The question of English teaching at the kindergarten level was first addressed in 1981 with the Preschool Education Act which expressly banned both the teaching of English and foreigners in Kindergartens (Oladejo, 2006). This initial ban was initiated a part of the Kuo Min Tangs pro-Chinese ‘Language Planning Policy’ (LPP) (Su, 2006).

The question came to the foreground again in 2004 with Taiwan’s Challenge 2008 Education Development Scheme which sought to make education both more globalized and internationalized for young learners (Chou & Ching, 2012). The government decreased the English language learning age from the fifth grade to the third year, with classes starting in the first grade where resources are available.

As established in the literature review, chapter 2, other market forces have created a boom in ESL teaching at the kindergarten level. Increased attention to English teaching yielded a request for clarification regarding the issue. In 2004 the Ministry of Education announced a ban on English medium kindergartens stating that “foreign language learning at the kindergarten level was not developmentally appropriate” (Taiwan to Ban Kindergarten, 2004). The same announcement also stated that foreigners were barred from working in kindergartens as they are not qualified teachers (Taiwan to Ban Kindergarten, 2004). In the event that a foreigner is caught teaching in a school registered as a kindergarten, they will be deported for working illegally and the school will be fined.

Bowing to market demand and a desire to stay competitive, private education entrepreneurs have been creative in their skirting of government regulations. One method is not registering the kindergarten (Taichung City Government, 2010). While illegal, this practice has been argued to be tolerated, as there are fears the registered kindergartens could not handle the surplus of children (Hsieh, 2008). Another way is simply registering the PPI as a kindergarten then having the foreign teachers run or hide when education officials arrive (Appendix C: Nelson, John, Rachel, Jim, Hugo, Kyle). A final and probably the most common practice is registering a PPI as a buxiban and teaching preschool aged kids English there. Schools registered as buxibans will choose English and Chinese names suggestive of them being a kindergarten; “Bilingual Kindergarten” for example (MOE Clarifies English Learning, 2004). While outwardly registered as a buxiban, some of these schools conduct day to day business as though they were a kindergarten, providing meals, sleeping areas, outdoor play time, English instruction, and of course NESTs; practices not allowed according to their licenses (Cai, 2016).

The practice of teaching English, as well as abacus, mental arithmetic, and speed reading in buxibans to preschoolers was banned first in 2004 (Taiwan to Ban Kindergarten, 2004) and again in 2009 with the passage of the Supplementary Education Act (Bill Seeks to Protect Young, 2009; MOE, 2013). The practice continues however, with schools regularly popping up in the Taiwanese television news (Cai, 2016). While still illegal, NESTs caught at a buxiban are not typically deported, as their ARC is correctly registered.

In the context of this study, preschool refers to all teaching activities at the ‘young learners’ level (ages 2-6). Conversely, unless explicitly stated buxiban refers to age six and above or cram schools. This study specifically addresses all NESTs who teach ages two through elementary in private preschool institutions (PPIs), be them nurseries, registered or unregistered

kindergartens or buxibans. Essentially all practices which fall into the “legal gray area”.

1.3 Personal Motivations

Many recent college graduates from the United States, United Kingdom, South Africa, Australia, and Canada are drawn to teaching ESL in Taiwan as a way to build personal and career experience, internationalize, tackle student debts, and travel. Taiwan’s flourishing ESL industry draws qualified and unqualified teachers alike, working at almost every level of education. Due partially to a conflict between parental expectations and government regulation, many native English teachers find themselves working in unregulated PPIs. These jobs leave foreign teachers defenseless against labor abuses and put children in potential danger. The issue of English teaching in preschools in Taiwan is rarely studied in English, and is only addressed peripherally (Hsieh, 2006, Oladejo, 2006). While other authors have demonstrated the presence of foreign teachers, issues of immigration in Taiwan, and the adverse effects of Taiwan’s education policies; none have addressed preschool teaching through the NESTs involved. The questionable legality of the practice also yields a lack of transparency concerning its extent. While a scan of the MOE or Immigration Services website provides numerical counts of foreigners by country and profession, registered schools, and children in attendance; the prevalence and practices of NESTs at the preschool level is unknowable. Without knowing the practices, prevalence, or qualifications of its teachers, the MOE’s ability to guarantee the quality of its teaching is called into question. With this in mind, this research was exploratory in nature. We are casting a stone into a dark ocean and examining the ripples.

1.4 Aim of Study

This study helps define the effect of NEST's attitude, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control on the decision to teach English in a PPI in Taiwan. Through collecting data on a sample of NESTs in Taiwan within the framework of the Theory of Planned Behavior (Ajzen, 1985), it is hoped that the consistency of individual variables can be identified. Identification of individual variables will contribute to previous scholarship by discussing why NESTs choose to work in PPIs. With conclusive identification of the constitution of these variables, policy implications were drawn with the intention remedying some perceived problems involving ESL in Taiwan and the recruitment of NESTs. This study consists of exploratory research and builds on this previous research by analyzing factors that push NESTs into filling the gap between parental expectations and government regulation regarding the teaching of English at the preschool level.

1.5 Research Questions

This research applies the Theory of Planned Behavior to the decisions of native English speaking expatriates teaching at the preschool level In Taiwan; a deportable offense. This study aimed to address the phenomenon of *“Why foreigners teach English at the preschool level in Taiwan?”*

The above stated general research questions will be addressed through answering the following operative questions.

1. How are the three determinants of behavioral intentions: attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control present in a NEST's decision to teach English at the preschool level in Taiwan?
2. What are the enablers or barriers to teaching English at the preschool level in Taiwan?
3. What policy implications can be made from understanding the determinants of behavior intentions, enablers, and barriers?



Chapter 2 Literature Review

The following chapter will detail the literature surrounding this study. This chapter will begin with an introduction to the Theory of Planned Behavior, its surrounding concepts, and its relevant application in this study. This chapter will then discuss expatriates, NESTS, and job recruitment followed by a discussion of works surrounding Taiwan's private ESL market.

2.1 Analytical Framework

Social psychologists have long sought to address *why* individuals choose to engage in certain behaviors. The Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB) (Ajzen, 1985) provides a model for understanding the formation of people's decision making processes. This study seeks to apply the Theory of Planned Behavior to the question of "*why foreigners teach English at the preschool level in Taiwan?*" In particular, what TPB variables are significant in the creation of the behavior intention to teach English in PPIs?

Behavior intentions are assumed to encapsulate the motivational factors that influence certain behaviors, actions, or decisions. The stronger the intention, the more likely someone is to engage in an act. The Theory of Planned Behavior posits that behavioral intentions are the direct antecedents to a behavior (Ajzen, 1991). If an individual has a strong intention to teach in a PPI they will likely try to do so.

The Theory of Planned Behavior is an extension of the Theory of Reasoned Action (Figure 1) (Madden, Ellen, & Ajzen, 1991). Originally propagated by Icek Ajzen and Martin Fishbein, the Theory of Reasoned Action discusses behavior intentions which are under volitional control of an actor through an assessment of the two variables; attitude and subjective norms (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1975).

The Theory Of Reasoned Action

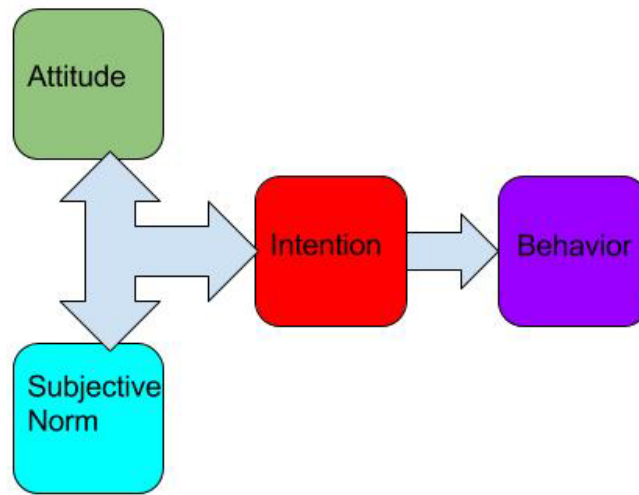


Figure 1 the Theory of Reasoned Action (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1975)

In regards to both the Theory of Planned Behavior and the Theory of Reasoned Action, ‘attitude’ refers to an individual’s positive and negative behavioral beliefs about an action, as well as an individual’s outcome beliefs regarding said behavior. ‘Subjective norms’ refers to the perceived social pressure towards performing a certain action (Ajzen, 1988). In the event that an individual’s attitude towards a behavior is positive, and normative pressures are pushing them towards a behavior, a behavior intention will likely be created. This is assuming a behavior is under an individual’s volitional control.

Not all behaviors are within complete volitional control of an individual. For example having a positive attitude, and a supportive social network does not always give one the ability to become a professional athlete.

The Theory of Planned Behavior (Figure 2) was developed to address behavior intentions, while considering variables that are not entirely within a person’s volitional control.

The variable of perceived behavioral control was added to Theory of Reasoned Action creating the Theory of Planned Behavior (Ajzen, 1988; Madden, Ellen, & Ajzen, 1991).

The Theory Of Planned Behavior

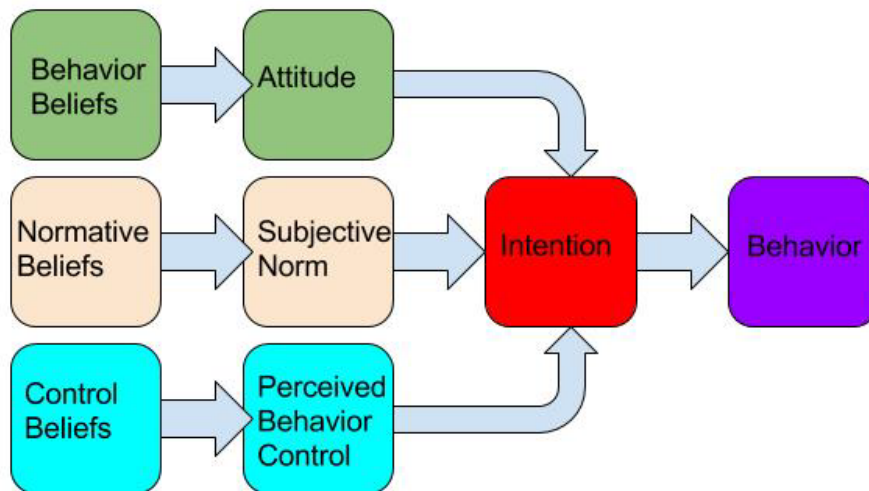


Figure 2 the Theory of Planned Behavior (Ajzen, 2006)

Perceived behavioral control relates to how difficult or easy performing a behavior is perceived as being. According to Ajzen (1985), perceived behavioral control is formed through a combination of past experiences and anticipated obstacles. Perceived behavioral control can also be influenced by access to the required resources in completing a task. The greater the resources an individual feels they possess (be them financial, physical, social, etc.) the greater the perceived control of a behavior (Ajzen, 1988; Madden, Ellen, & Ajzen, 1991).

Typically, intentions to perform actions, be it wearing condoms, job seeking behaviors, or teaching preschool, should be strong when individuals exhibit positive attitudes towards a task, are supported in their task by social groups, and perceive a strong degree of behavioral control (Ajzen, 1988).

2.1.1 Salient Beliefs

Salient Beliefs, or Accessible Beliefs, are key to both the Theory of Planned Behavior and its predecessor, the Theory of Reasoned Action. In layman's terms, Salient Beliefs are shared outcome ideas that surround a certain behavior (Ajzen 2006; Sutton et al. 2003). For example when considering rock climbing, 'dangerous' may be an idea that instantly comes to mind. Salient Beliefs are the beliefs of this nature which are shared within a large portion of the sample population. The Theory of Planned Behavior variables of attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control, consist of varying Salient Beliefs about the positive and negative outcomes of a behavior. When participating in any behavior one is thought to weigh the negative outcomes against the positive ones. The weights on this mental scale are Salient Beliefs.

In The Theory of Planned Behavior, Salient Beliefs, are the immediate ideas associated with the behavioral outcomes, normative outcomes, and barriers or enablers to a particular behavior. Therefore, Salient Beliefs fall into three categories: outcome beliefs, normative beliefs, and control beliefs (Sutton et al. 2003). Outcome beliefs are the shared expected outcome of a behavior; for example, being paid wages via employment. Normative beliefs are the shared perceived social outcomes of a behavior. Your doctor approving of you quitting smoking for example. And, control beliefs are the shared perceived enablers and barriers to the successful completion of a behavior. For example, your ability to afford a gym membership when attempting to lose weight.

Salient Beliefs can be further organized into modal accessible beliefs, beliefs shared within a population, and personal accessible beliefs, beliefs believed to be individually based (Ajzen, 2002). In the case of NESTs teaching in Taiwan, a modal belief may be that it provides a comparatively high wage (Appendix: A), where as a personal belief would be "I'm too old to deal with children". The methodologies for eliciting Salient Beliefs are discussed further in

Chapter Three of this study.

This is a reverse TPB study. The behavior intention is always assumed to be positive as the entire sample has taught in a PPI. Therefore, this study focuses particularly on how the variables, attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control were present in the formation of the preexisting behavior intention.

Due to the Theory of Planned Behaviors extensive use in numerous topics, considerable meta-analysis has been conducted. Meta-analysis has concluded that TPB provides explanations for a wide range of behaviors (Ajzen, 1991; Armitage & Conner, 2001).

2.2 The Theory of Planned Behavior

This section will discuss the origins and applications of the Theory of Planned Behavior. Behavioral psychology has long sought to predict behaviors. A successful model in this endeavor has been the Theory of Planned Behavior (Ajzen, 1985) which demonstrates behavior intention through the measuring of three variables; attitude, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control (Ajzen, 1988).

The model provided by the Theory of Planned Behavior has been effectively applied to a wide range of topics from condom use to smoking cessation (Godin & Kok, 1996); and, more relevant, regulatory violations. Studies have established that this theory is applicable both to fraudulent financial reporting in white collar businesses (Carpenter & Reimer, 2005) or failure to obey traffic regulations (Parker, Stradling, Reason, & Baxter, 1992). Although these studies differ greatly from the subject of preschool teaching in Taiwan, it is worth noting that the Theory of Planned Behavior is commonly applied to regulatory violations and other activities with potential negative externalities. This study addresses visa violations in regard to illegal work and illegal work place.

As of yet the Theory of Planned Behavior has not been utilized in measuring either NESTs in foreign countries, or preschool teachers in general. Still, The theory has been demonstrated to be applicable to the decisions of multiple nationalities to expatriate (Engle, Schlagel, Dimitriadi, Tatoglu, & Ljubica, 2015). Engle et al.'s study (Engle, Schlagel, Dimitriadi, Tatoglu, & Ljubica, 2015) discussed the motivations of expatriates from multiple backgrounds to seek employment or accept positions abroad. Although both studies deal with expatriates from different countries, this study varies in that it deals with those who have already moved abroad to work in unregulated ESL.

The Theory of Planned Behavior has also been applied to job seeking behaviors of recently graduating students and ethnic minorities in temporary employment in the Netherlands (Caska, 1998; Van Hooft, Born, Taris, & Flier, 2003). Although many NESTs in Taiwan are recent graduates, ethnic minorities, and arguably temporarily employed, these studies differ as the deals with legal work in multiple careers. This study examined unregulated employment in PPIs.

In conclusion, The Theory of Planned Behavior has been demonstrated as suitable for analyzing a plethora of human behaviors. This study contributed to the application of this theory in several ways. First this study addressed expatriates in Taiwan. Second this is the first time that this theory has been applied to unregulated teaching specifically. Furthermore this was the first time that this model had been applied to the employment choices of ESL teachers in East Asia. Finally this study applied the theory retrogressively through both qualitative and quantitative means, meaning that the behavior intention was always positive.

2.3 Expatriates, NESTs, and Job Recruitment

Taiwan is a popular destination for ESL job seeking expatriates due to its sizable market. NESTs in Taiwan are a non-permanent migrant population, coming from a myriad of backgrounds; as such few comprehensive studies have focused specifically on them. This portion of the literature review seeks to analyze studies that have addressed the issue specifically and peripherally.

Few academics have discussed NESTs' career prospects in Taiwan. One article discussed the topic in detail. Lan (2011) establishes that English Teaching is a futureless job, typified by high turnover rates. Through interviewing multiple foreign workers at different levels of income from different high skilled jobs (as defined by 2006 Foreign Employment Service Act), Lan (2011) concludes that foreign teachers are valued as having native knowledge and not an achieved skill, yielding a situation of cultural ghettoization. The article contends that NESTs fall victim to unethical business practices, including withheld wages and denied benefits. These result from the extralegal nature of some buxiban work (Lan, 2011). Lan's (2011) study also establishes that ESL teachers are recruited through private recruiters and employed at PPIs with a work permit provided through a buxiban (a private afterschool program). Although this study establishes the career prospects, pitfalls, advantages, and practices of both legal and illegal teachers in Taiwan from the perspective of NESTs; it does not address PPIs specifically. In relation to the TPB this study illustrates several of behavioral outcomes, or perceived outcomes (Ajzen, 1988), of ESL in Taiwan. These outcomes are labor abuses, diminished career prospects, and cultural ghettoization. While this study discusses behavioral outcomes, it stops short of discussing how these outcomes affect the decisions of NESTs to seek PPI employment.

ESL recruitment in Taiwan relates to the perceived behavioral control of NESTs. The topic has been discussed in numerous studies. Recruitment practices are important in understanding the perceived behavioral control and subjective norms towards teaching English in PPIs.

Jeon and Lee's (2006) article conducted a comparative study of the ESL hiring practices of Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea, and China. The study concluded that Taiwan recruits ESL teachers through private agents, and not through a centralized government bureau (Jeon & Lee, 2006). This study however is refined only to public school teachers who do not teach English in PPIs. Wang & Lin's (2013) study discussed the emphasis on professionalism in English teacher recruitment in Taiwan. The study concluded that, despite regulations mandating a minimum Bachelors in Education, and TESOL certification, schools in Taiwan often recruit those with a minimum of a Bachelor degree. Although this policy suggestion paper does not specifically address teaching in PPIs, it does highlight other extra regulatory practices in Taiwan's ESL market. Likewise, a lack of professionalism in hiring standards implies diminished barriers in regard to the variable perceived behavioral control. This study built upon this research by addressing the extent to which lax recruiting practices influence NEST's decision making processes.

Recruiting practices for PPIs (buxiban and PPI work) have only been addressed peripherally. Demonstrated by Lan (2011), one contacts a so called "Mr. Chen" who introduces you to a job which in turn provides you with work documents through a "buxiban". Oladejo (2006) suggests that the main qualifier for teaching English is your skin color, with white being preferred. This argument is reinforced by a 2000 Taipei Times article which see private schools blame parental preference on race based hiring practices (Jan, 2000). Although ESL recruitment

has been discussed by several academics, no studies have addressed the foreign teacher's perspective on the matter.

The procurement of wages, and the conflicts they create have also been discussed. Public schools offer a wage in the range of 50,000 to 70,000 NT a month (Jeon & Lee, 2006). A quick Google search of the topic reveals that payment for ESL teachers in Taiwan (including PPI teachers) is delivered through a monthly salary, or on an hourly basis, hourly wages range between 580 NT per hour to 750 NT per hour depending on numerous factors including experience, the location of the school, and the age of the students (Addis, 2014, What are English Teacher, 2016). These same websites establish that the average starting wage in preschools is 550-600 NT per hour. The wages received by NESTs in Taiwan are higher than the wages received by nonnative English speaking teachers or NNESTs, creating a situation of low motivation and resentment in NNESTs (Yeh, 2002). Yeh (2002) further argues that NESTs have greater fringe benefits than NNESTs.

It is apparent that English teaching in Taiwan has been discussed peripherally in terms of the recruitment, wage, and fringe benefits. This study builds upon previous research by addressing how issues of wage, recruitment, and cultural ghettoization contribute to the TPB variables: attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control.

2.4 Government Policy, Taiwan's private ESL market, and the Buxiban

This section of the literature discusses parent perceptions about ESL, and the structural conditions that have created the PPI's market. Parental perceptions and market forces contribute

directly and peripherally to the perceived behavioral control, and subjective norm of NESTs in Taiwan.

Understanding parental expectations of language learning in Taiwan is essential to understanding why a demand for NESTs exist at the preschool level. Three studies conducted by James Oladejo (2006), Chang Yuh Fang (2008), and a collaborative work by Hui-fang Shang, Robert Ingebritson, and Chen-Lin Tseng (2011) address the issue. James Oladejo (2006) surveyed over 1,060 parents seeking to determine, which languages were preferred and at what age language learning should begin. Furthermore, he addressed the perceived negative consequences of learning English from a young age in regards to acquisition of mother tongue, and effect on traditional culture. The study concluded that an overwhelming majority (95.3%) of respondents preferred English as their foreign language; introduced at an early age (32.7% in Kindergarten and 17.8% in grade one) (Oladejo, 2006).

A similar study discusses parental attitudes concerning the implementation of Taiwan's English Language policies. Chang's (2008) study yielded telling results 94.7% of respondents consider English to be important. All the respondents started their children in English classes before the second grade (a year before government mandated period) with 67.3% starting in kindergarten (at the preschool level), indicating a clear disparity between government policy and parent's needs (Chang, 2008)

A final study establishes that parents see potential career and self-confidence value in learning English at progressively lower ages (Ingebritson, Tseng, & Shang, 2007).

In regards to this research into ESL, several implications can be gathered through understanding parental expectations of the age in which English language learning should begin. First that parents expect English language learning to begin at an age earlier than government

regulation, and second that despite government regulation, English language learning is occurring, creating a market.

Conflict between the expectations of parents and government policy is derived not only from age expectations at the parental level, but perceived inequalities at the education policy level. Taiwan, as is the case with many East Asian developing countries, has an extremely rigorous standardized testing regimen (Oladejo, 2006). The competitive nature of this education system encourages parents to seek the best schools. The Taiwanese government has decentralized its school system in attempt to localize its curriculum, and this has had some unexpected consequences. As James Oladejo (2006) has established “all education policies are made by the central government, while local governments are primarily responsible for implementation” (Oladejo, 2006, pg.151). This means that less well funded schools may not be able to mobilize the same resources in English education. Taiwanese parents compensate for perceived shortcomings through the hiring of private institutions. In 2003 there were 3,306 private and public kindergartens in Taiwan. Many of the 1,948 private kindergartens were teaching English at least part time (Chou & Ching, 2012, pg. 120). A 2004 article reveals 50% of these schools were teaching English before the government mandated age and many in an immersion environment (Oladejo, 2006)*.

The literature has thus far established a gap between government policy and parental expectations. It is clear that there is both a market for kindergarten ESL and a common practice of seeking PPIs to compensate for perceived shortcomings in government Language Planning Policy (LPP). This study builds upon this research by analyzing factors that push NESTs into filling the gap between parental expectations and government regulation through the teaching of

English in PPIs. Likewise this study, addresses the extent to which parental expectations regarding language learning actually effect NESTs' behavior decisions.

The topic of private kindergartens in Taiwan has been widely discussed (Chou, 2014). It is established that 'young learners' education is a non-compulsory subject in Taiwan; largely dominated by privately owned schools (Chou, 2014). Chou (2014) demonstrates that 181,628 students attend 3,154 preschools in Taiwan. Oladejo (2006) claims that there are likely twice as many unregistered kindergartens as there are registered ones. Although these works address the nature of the kindergarten market in Taiwan, they do not address the perceptions of NESTs.

Supplementary education in Taiwan is addressed in several texts. It is reported that buxibans help meet parental expectations based on credentialism (Chou & Yuan, 2011). And that buxiban demand is based on market demand (Chou, 2014).

PPIs in Taiwan often mimic buxibans in general; with much of their education conforming to social pressures by providing English classes, and hiring un-vetted foreign teachers (Ching & Chou 2012, pg. 121). Although the topics of preschool, kindergarten, and private education have been specifically addressed, this study seeks to build upon the previous research in the following ways. While several articles have addressed parental perceptions and reactions to government kindergarten education policy, no study to date has assessed NEST reactions and interactions within the market. Likewise, although private education has been addressed in terms of buxibans (cram schools), no study has discussed the manifold manifestations of PPIs specifically; nor the motivations and lives of NESTs operating within them. Finally, this study builds upon previous research by discussing how parental perceptions and market forces influence the attitudes, subject norms, and perceived behavior control of NESTs.

2.5 Teachers Perceptions

This study addresses the factors that create the behavior intentions of NESTs to take PPI jobs in Taiwan. There have been numerous studies discussing the perceptions of both NESTs and Non-native English speaking teachers (NNESTs) in Taiwan. This study is unique in that it specifically focuses on NEST's behavioral intentions to work at the preschool level.

The majority of the studies concerning both native and non-native English speaking teachers were conducted in regard to the application of teaching strategies. A 2013 article analyzed the effectiveness of the collaboration between NESTs and NNESTs in a private Kaohsiung kindergarten (Chang, 2013).

The opinions of NNESTs regarding government policy at the elementary level have been discussed. A study conducted by Ya-Chen Su (2006) interviewed ten ESL teachers in Tainan, sought to establish the perception of ESL teachers on government policy at the elementary school level. The teachers agreed that English should be taught at a young age as it creates greater listening and communicative skills (Su, 2006) but argued that the over emphasis on early language learning had the negative consequence of increasing the students work load. Both studies, while clearly addressing English teaching before the government mandated ages, failed to address the legality issue. Previous studies regarding teacher perceptions addressed the effectiveness of teachers, but not their qualifications, and presence in PPIs.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Research Design

This research employed a mixed methodology drawing from quantitative and qualitative sources triangulated through the Theory of Planned Behavior. As this is a study of the motivations of NESTs teaching in PPIs in Taiwan, it is the NESTs who are the primary focus of this study. This study surveyed NESTs who are presently or have recently (within the last 3 years) taught in a PPI in Taiwan.

As the designated sample of research have all already demonstrated both, the behavioral intention, and actual behavioral control over teaching English at the preschool level in Taiwan, this study is retroactive in nature (Figure 3). Instead of determining which variables formed the behavior intentions to teach English in Taiwan, this study filtered NESTs' responses through TPB variables.

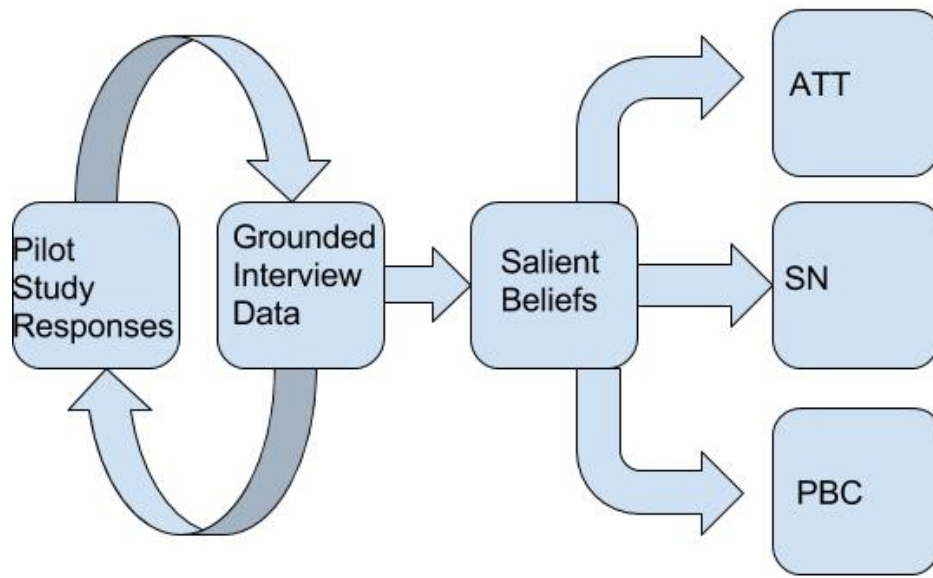


Figure 3 Research Framework (Source: Author. Based on Ajzen, 2006)

Data for this research was collected using three methods; through a pilot questionnaire of open ended questions designed to identify Salient Beliefs, through a primary questionnaire addressing the attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control of NESTs from differing nationalities, and finally through interviews with current, former, and prospective NESTs in Taiwan (Appendix: A&C).

Research progressed in three interconnected phases (See Figure 4), first a pilot questionnaire was distributed to a small portion of the sample population in an effort to identify Salient Beliefs surrounding work in PPIs (Appendix A). This questionnaire was accompanied by a review of the surrounding literature and two preliminary interviews. Second a primary questionnaire was developed and distributed via snowball sampling (Appendix C). Simultaneously, eight more interviews were collected from NESTs in relation to emerging questionnaire and pilot study results. In the event that new findings arose, interviewees were contacted and asked for necessary clarifications.

Data Collection Procedure:

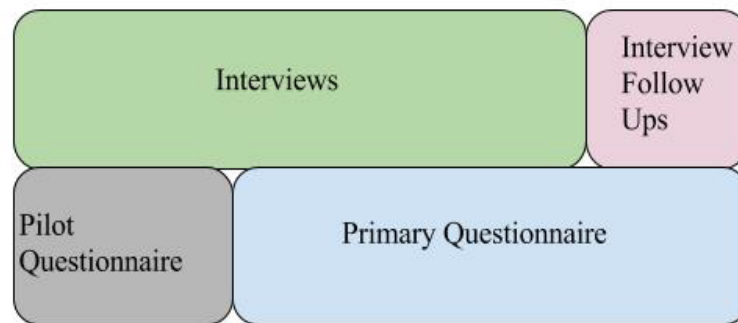


Figure 4 Data Collection Timeline (source: Author.)

3.2 Formative Research, Pilot Study Construction and Distribution

As recommended by Ajzen (2006) this study proceeded with a pilot survey and two interviews to establish the Salient Beliefs surrounding English teaching at the preschool level by NESTs in Taiwan.

The pilot survey was created according to standards established by previous scholarship (Ajzen, 2006). In order to establish Salient Beliefs, a simple ten question survey was constructed and distributed between November 15 and November 29 of 2016. As recommended, the survey featured open response questions related to each of the TPB variables: attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control (Ajzen, 2006).

Respondents came from a small portion of the proposed population (twelve individuals), and were asked questions eliciting Salient Beliefs. Surveys were distributed through purposive sampling to ESL teachers and then snowballed to one other teacher.

3.3 Interviews

Nine semi-structured face to face and one Skype interview represent the primary data set for this study. Interviews are useful in the collection of qualitative data as it allows the researcher to probe and discover details regarding the teaching of English by NESTs at the preschool level in Taiwan. Interviews aid the researcher in avoiding non-respondents and obtaining details from interviewees, when further explanation is needed (Neuman, 2006).

Interviews were also used as a measure for the establishment of Salient Beliefs. Ten interviews were conducted using a semi structured questionnaire designed to discover background information, Salient Beliefs, and details related to relevant TPB variables (attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control).

Interview Questions were devised through the application of the Theory of Planned Behavior (2002). Ajzen's (2002) recommendations were useful in structuring the interview questions to fill all variables of The Theory of Planned Behavior. Further structuring was influenced and informed by previous application of TPB through qualitative measures (Klobas & Renzi 2008) which were refined according to the specific needs of this study.

Interviews were conducted between December 2nd 2016 and January 31st 2017, and were recorded on the interviewer's iPhone with guaranteed anonymity. Summarized transcriptions of the interviews can be found in the appendices of this study (Appendix C).

Interviews built on each other in accordance to principles of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 2009). As new information arose, previous interviewees were contacted, requesting clarification, developing a rich portrait of teaching in PPI's in Taiwan.

Respondents were first asked background questions related to the amount of time they had spent in Taiwan, employment history, education, and demographic factors. Once the

interviewee was comfortable and talkative, questions were asked according to the pilot study and above mentioned guidelines provided by Ajzen (2006). Questions ranged from open ended questions, to specific questions related to Salient Beliefs established by the pilot study.

3.4 Primary Questionnaire

As the Subject of NESTs teaching at the preschool level in Taiwan is relatively understudied. Interviews were supplemented with a questionnaire hereafter referred to as the “primary questionnaire”. Descriptive statistics generated from the questionnaire aided the researcher in expanding interview conclusions to the general population of NESTs in Taiwan.

Primary questionnaire construction took place under the guidelines recommended by Ajzen (2002). The questionnaires were based on unipolar 1-7 point Likert Scales seeking to identify attitude, subjective norms, behavioral control and intention. The questionnaire utilized the TACT (target action context and time) (Ajzen, 2002) in its display of questions. For example, “Teaching English in a Kindergarten in Taiwan for a school year”. It is worth noting that in regard to the time element this study is given a high degree of generality, meaning the time frame for exhibiting a behavior (in this case teaching at the preschool level) was assumed to be a year. This is because PPIs typically sign NESTs on a yearly contract (in accordance with the Taiwanese school year). Also, NESTs’ work visas, known as Alien Resident Cards (ARCs) require one to file for a new work permit after the completion a year. Questions were written to conform to Ajzen's designation of *compatibility* (2002); questions related to attitude, perceived behavioral control, and subjective norm conformed to the same TACT.

3.5 Methods of Analysis

All three data collection methods, the pilot study, interviews, and primary questionnaire; were subject to complementary analytical approaches.

3.6 Analyzing the Salient Belief Study

Salient Beliefs are beliefs related to behavior and normative outcomes; as well as the barriers, and enablers that float around a particular behavior (Ajzen, 2006). The pilot study questionnaire was designed with ten questions with each TPB variable represented. Questions were worded to identify internal consistency. For example, when asked the positives of teaching kindergarten in Taiwan, some may cite working with kids, while others may view this as a negative. Through this measure this study was able to identify shared beliefs. Beliefs were chosen through an internal overlap of approximately 35%, meaning if a belief exhibited itself three times out of ten, it was examined further. Due to the open ended nature of questions, responses were organized according to trends. For example, age groups: “20 somethings” “people in their 20s” “recent undergraduates” and “people younger than 30” would be summed into “people in their 20s”.

3.7 Interview Analysis

Interview data was generated in accordance to a partially grounded approach (Glaser and Strauss, 2009). Grounded Theory works with the creation of theories through the analysis of data. Inference emerges through simultaneous analysis of interview responses. Grounded theory is achieved through the gathering and simultaneous analysis of data. Interview results are allowed to influence follow up interviews as new trends come to light. Grounded theory relies on

comparative analysis (Corbin & Strauss, 1990) where interview data is allowed to influence the theory being studied, in this case, The Theory of Planned Behavior.

With this in mind, during the interview process, when new Salient Beliefs arose they appeared in the following interview questionnaire. For example if dealing with child abuse is cited as an issue of deterrence by one teacher, the following interviewee would be asked “do you ever encounter child abuse in your workplace?” “If so, how does it affect your decision to teach English in a kindergarten in Taiwan?” Likewise, when possible previous interviewees were contacted to address new ideas that became relevant later in the study. The same principle is particularly applicable in the study of subjective norm; for example while some early interviewees were pushed into teaching a PPI by a recruiter, others revealed that they found their jobs through their social network. In the end, recruiters were viewed as untrustworthy and most teachers did not use them.

Following the completion of interviews, results were organized and analyzed according to its respective TPB variable.

3.8 Primary Questionnaire Analysis

Eighty responses were received for the secondary questionnaire with five noted non-respondents (who became nervous of their legal situation and the researchers intent). Results were analyzed through basic descriptive techniques. These results were then compared to the above mentioned interview and pilot study results, in an effort to reinforce assumptions drawn from each respective group of findings.

3.9 Data Coding

Quantitative and qualitative data was coded according to its qualification as certain variables of TPB. Each TPB variable; attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control were given a category. Interview, and pilot belief responses were analyzed according to frequency and importance. While not yielding a statistically definitive answer to which variable is the most important in creating the behavior intention towards teaching English in a PPI in Taiwan; this method yielded a portrait of what these variables consist of, and an in depth look at how these variables are formed on the individual basis.

Through use of the primary questionnaire, implications were drawn as to which extent the various Salient Beliefs and TPB variables are applicable to the larger populations of NESTs teaching at the preschool level in Taiwan.

3.10 Sampling

Interviews and pilot study respondents were sampled through purposive sampling followed by snowball sampling when available. Known members of the ESL community who have taught, intend to teach, or will teach kindergarten were sourced, vetted, and interviewed. In the event that interviews met a predetermined standard, the interviewee was asked to introduce the researcher to a friend who also taught English in a PPI in Taiwan.

This study utilized snowball sampling based on the population of English teachers in Taiwan according to National Immigration Agency (NIA) 2011 statistics. As demonstrated by the NIA 2011 survey presented by Lan (2011), 29% of Americans and 27% of Canadians in Taiwan are female (Lan, 2011). This is out of a combined total population of 3,232 English Teachers (Canadians 1071 and Americans 2161). This trend extends to other expatriate groups.

$\frac{1}{3}$ of the expatriate population in Taiwan is female, therefore the survey results seemed to approximately fit this with 22.2% of respondents being female (This ill-fit is further discussed in limitations). Two surveys were distributed face to face, while 83 were distributed through social media based networks for snowball sampling.

The following discusses the sampling procedure and justifications used during the pilot and primary questionnaire distribution. NESTs who work at the preschool level in Taiwan are arguably a “hard-to-reach” population (Marpsat & Razafindratsima, 2010 p.4). This population is likely small in number, physically indistinguishable from other foreign populations (students, entrepreneurs, travelers), works in illegal and sometimes stigmatized work, and often works at PPIs with dubious registrations.

Considering the difficulties in surveying a population that is difficult to reach and potentially nervous to speak, this study utilized two sampling procedures; non probability purposive sampling, and anonymous snowball sampling. Non Probability purposive sampling was utilized through contacting known kindergarten teachers in Taiwan. All those contacted were known to teach kindergarten or have taught kindergarten within the last three years, and in possession of a Taiwanese Alien Resident Card, or Alien Permanent Resident Card. Possession of an APRC or ARC guarantees two things; a bachelor's level education and that the subject hails from a country that can legally teach ESL in Taiwan. Further non probability purposive sampling was utilized through advertisements placed on ESL recruitment Facebook pages requesting survey volunteers. Those who answered were screened according to the above mentioned criteria and surveyed accordingly.

Trusted respondents were asked to employ our second method of sampling; snowball or chain sampling via the use of the social networking website Facebook. Snowball sampling has

been demonstrated in to be effective in measuring deviant populations (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). Furthermore, internet based social network snowball sampling has been demonstrated as being useful in the surveying of hard to reach survey populations (Baltar & Brunet, 2012; Marpsat & Razafindratsima, 2010). The method is known to have having some pitfalls. Firstly, population surveys are limited to internet users, secondly social media is typically dominated by youth. Snowball sampling also has the tendency to skew the results towards socially active people (with larger friend bases). One particular problem, regarding this study is the propensity for foreigners who've been teaching in Taiwan longer, to know more teachers in PPIs. The most concerning pitfall of online snowball sampling is the high rate of non-respondents argued to be caused by the perception of e-mail being spam (Baltar & Brunet, 2012). This is exacerbated by the inability to adequately measure non respondents.

Recommended measures (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981) were taken to ensure the quality of the respondents and the validity of the results. Candidates were screened according the following criteria (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981); respondents had to be holding an ARC, from a native speaking country, and demonstrating a passive knowledge of the market. Respondents found through the first link in the chain were people who were known to the researcher. Further respondents were sourced and vetted from known ESL recruitment Facebook pages. Finally, although the actual population of kindergarten teaching NESTs in Taiwan is unknown, responses were seen to be in approximate relation to the existing expatriate population (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981).

Snowball sampling has been used successfully in numerous studies utilizing the Theory of Planned Behavior. Both deviant behaviors (Gu et al. 2009) and teachers (Underwood, 2012) have been sampled successfully

Chapter 4 Data Analysis

The following details and organizes the results of the pilot study, primary questionnaire, and interview data. Before delving into the individual variables; attitude, subjective norm, perceived behavioral control, this chapter first discusses respondent demographics.

4.1 Populations measures

The 80 primary survey respondents demonstrate a wide diversity in regard to NESTs teaching in PPIs in Taiwan. Respondents were 77.8% male and 22.2% female (See Figure 5).

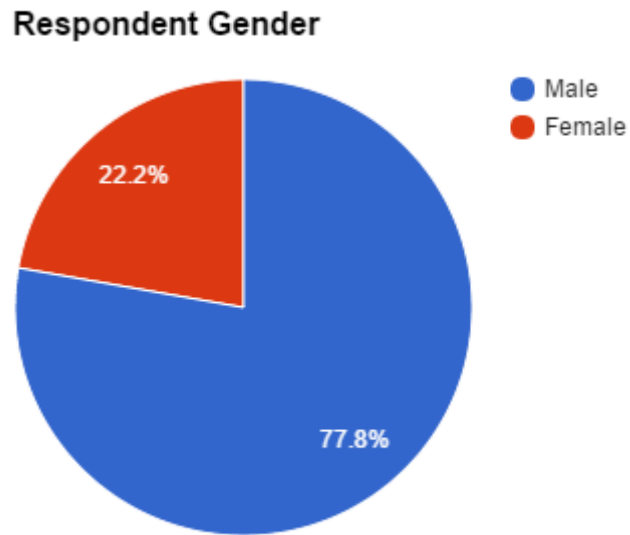


Figure 5 Survey Respondent Gender (Source: Author.)

The population was majority (81%) Caucasian with 9% of population being of Asian descent, 4% of African descent, 4% Hispanic, and 2% responding as other (Indian, Arabic etc., or mixed) (Figure 5).

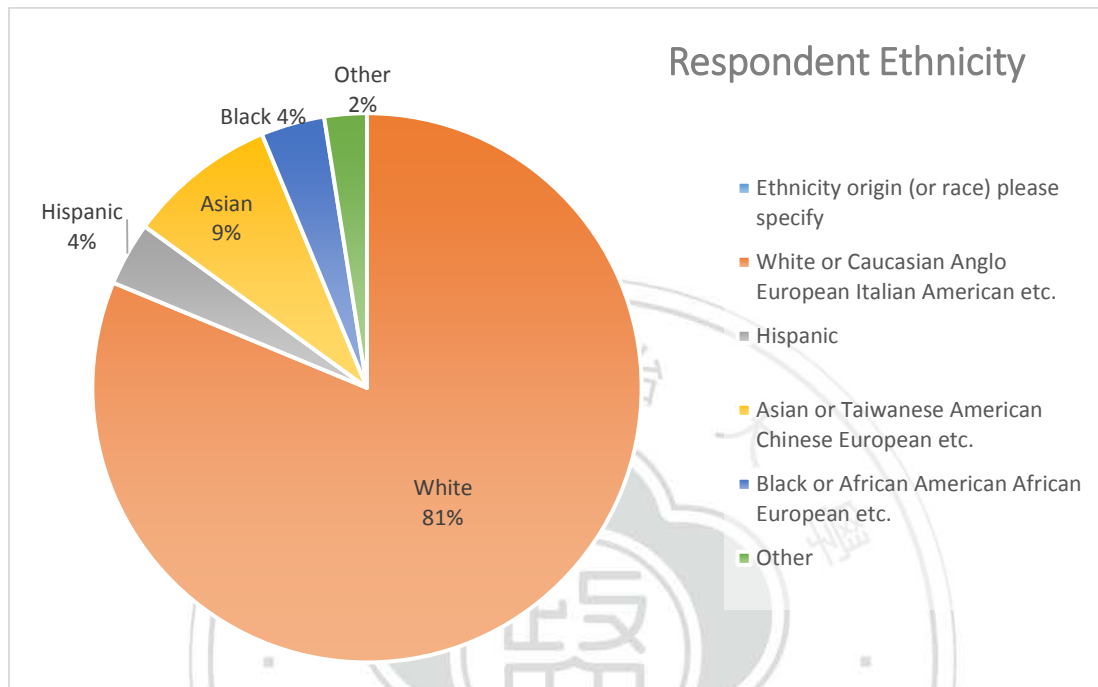


Figure 6 Ethnicity of Survey Respondent (Source: Author)

Americans made up the largest portion of respondents at 59%, followed by Canadians 15%, British at 12%, South Africans at 10%, Australians 3%, and a lone Irish respondent at 1% (Figure 7)

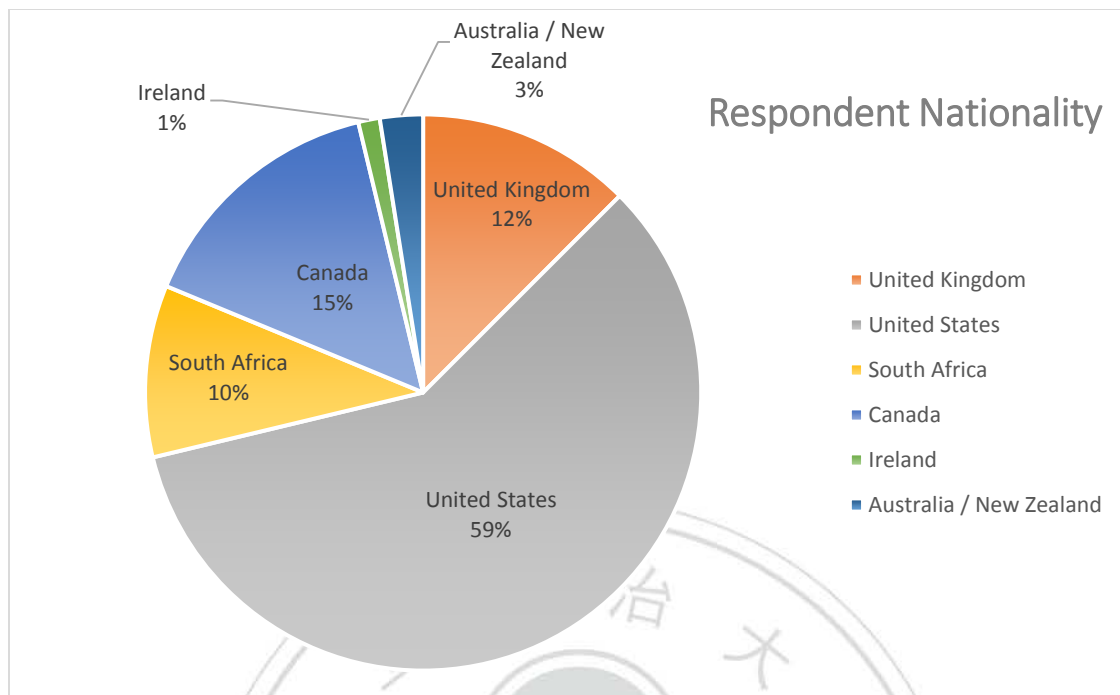


Figure 7 Respondent Nationality 1 (Source: Author)

NESTs had an average age of 31.6 years with notable older outliers being 47.5 years old (with the youngest respondents being 22.5 years of age) (See Figure 8). The mode age for NESTs in Taiwan was 27. Respondents spent an average of 6.5 years in Taiwan, with notable outliers of 18 years in Taiwan, and several scores of less than 6 months. The mode time spent in Taiwan was 7 years. Conversely the average NEST taught in a PPI for 3.9 years with a mode score of 2. Scores ranged between 16 years of PPI experience to less than six months.

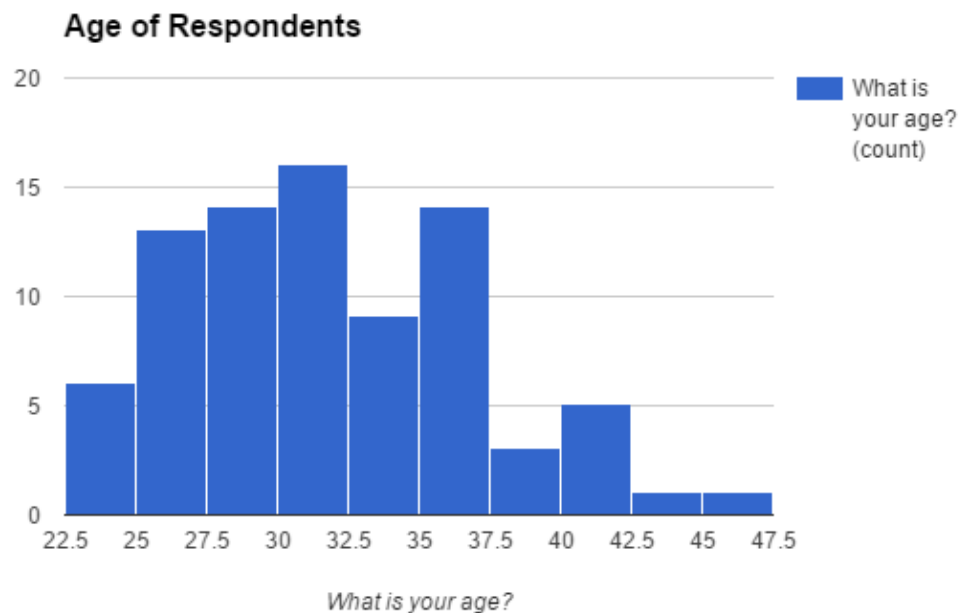


Figure 8 Age of Respondents (Source: Author)

In regards to certifications and qualifications, 46.3% possessed some level of training (usually Celta or TESOL certificates of varying level) with several outliers. There was one post graduate of education, two bachelors of education, one associate's degree of early childhood development, and one certificate licentiate of music (2 instruments). All respondents had the minimal four years undergrad or an equivalent deemed necessary by ARC regulations.

Likewise the interviewed population ranged between 25 and 33 years of age. There were two female, and eight male respondents, with differing levels of experience. Three respondents (Appendix C: John, Mike, and Rachel) had quit teaching in PPIs, whilst two respondents had taught less than one year (Appendix C: Anton, Gregory). Respondents, Kyle, Hugo, Jim, Michelle, Nelson were presently teaching kindergarten at the time of interview with 6, 5, 5, 1, and 3 years of experience respectively (See Table 2).

Table 2 Interviewee Demographics

#	Interviewee	Sex	Age	Nationality	Certification
1	Michelle	Female	31	United States	None
2	John	Male	32	United States	Bachelor of Early Childhood Education
3	Nelson	Male	26	South Africa	None
4	Hugo	Male	31	United States	None
5	Jim	Male	28	United states	TESOL Certified
6	Rachel	Female	28	Canada	Masters of Education
7	Gregory	Male	28	UK-Scotland	CELTA Certified
8	Mike	Male	29	United States	None
9	Anton	Male	25	United States	None
10	Kyle	Male	32	United States	None

Source: Author

One interviewee, Hugo, was a racial minority (Hispanic) in his home country. Other interviewees were clearly Caucasian with no outstanding physical defects. Rachel was Canadian, Gregory Scottish, and Nelson South African. The other respondents were all American (Appendix C). All were seen as meeting the typical desired image of NESTs in Taiwan, young, white, and lacking distinguishing marks (tattoos, obesity, scarring, or peculiar haircuts).

This study sought to first address how the three determinants of behavioral intentions: attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavior control were present in a NEST's decision to teach English in a PPI in Taiwan.

Primary questionnaire results indicate that overall attitudes concerning the teaching in a PPI in Taiwan are mixed to positive. 70% of respondents claim that teaching kindergarten is

enjoyable, whilst 15% remain neutral and 15% felt it was not enjoyable. A mean score of 2.97 (enjoyable) and standard deviation of 2.93 was achieved. Likewise, 67.6% described the work as pleasant (with a mean of 2.97, and standard deviation 1.57). The work is also viewed as being mildly rewarding with 58.7% responding that kindergarten work is rewarding (a mean score 3.35 mildly rewarding, SD 1.6). Considering these three measures, it can be assumed that the overall attitude towards teaching in a PPI is positive.

Conversely, in regards to the subjective norm, perceptions are far more blasé. The literature demonstrates that market mechanisms drive the private education market (Chou, 2014). However, respondents indicate market actors: Taiwanese parents, society, and authority figures do not play as significant a role in the decisions of NESTs to teach in PPIs. The influence of NEST's family and friends is likely more salient. While most NESTs surveyed seem to agree that there is a large local demand for PPI teachers (76.4% in agreement), there is little perceived social pressure pushing them into PPIs (20.1% agree that there is social pressure, with 65.1% in disagreement mean score 5.3 (little to no pressure) and SD of 1.83). NESTs received mixed to positive support from people whose opinions they value with 65.9% saying they supported their decision to teach in a PPI in Taiwan (Mean of 2.70 (positive) with a SD 1.62). Subjective norms were likely most significant in normalizing PPI teaching.

Perceived behavioral control is likely significant in the decision to teach in a PPI. Primary questionnaire results indicate that finding work in PPIs in Taiwan is perceived as being exceptionally easy. 91.3 percent stated that finding kindergarten work in Taiwan was extremely easy (mean 1.86, Standard deviation 1.11), with only 2.6% claiming it was difficult. 92.6% of respondents said they were extremely confident they could find PPI work if they wanted (mean 1.62 or extremely confident, standard deviation 1.15). This notion is created by low standards

based on race at the hiring level and far outweigh the threat of deportation. In regards to perceived behavioral control, PPI work in Taiwan is perceived as having almost no barriers to entry, assuming the NEST is a young Caucasian.

All three TPB variables are present in the NESTs' decisions to teach in a PPI in Taiwan. Primary questionnaire results suggest that a positive attitude towards the work, low barriers to entry, and normalization via peers enables the behavior.

An analysis of the above collected data paints a muddled picture of ESL in PPIs in Taiwan. There are known negative and positive outcomes to teaching at the preschool level and the pervasive attitude is neutral to positive. Subjective norms were significant in the normalization of the practice, but not in encouraging NESTs to commit the behavior. Subject's perceived control and access to the behavior far outweighed any legal or physical barriers. There is however some confusion as to the extent to which these attitudes, subjective norms, and control beliefs are isolated to PPI work in general, or endemic to the ESL market in Taiwan as a whole. Therefore, it is necessary to take a more in-depth look at the Salient Beliefs surrounding PPI work by NESTs in Taiwan.

4.2 Attitude

As demonstrated, the overall attitude towards teaching in a PPI is positive. These attitudes are influenced by various aspects ESL work in general, and attributes unique to dealing with young children. Analysis of the Salient Beliefs that form the positive outcomes, paints a clearer picture.

4.2.1 Working with Children

Results point to the personal nature of PPI work in Taiwan as being a motivator in regard to the variable attitude. The pilot study questionnaire demonstrated this trend, with many of the respondents stating that kindergarten allows a personal connection to the students and an impact on children's lives. Statements such as "Teaching kindergarten allows me to connect with children more than elementary" (Appendix A: 1.2), "I get the feeling that I am having an impact of children's lives" (Appendix A: 2.10) and "teaching abroad helps two parties, the teacher and the student" (Appendix A: 1.3) validate this trend.

NESTs also claim to see more progress at the younger age, be it because of the age or intensity of courses (Appendix A: 2.11) (Appendix C: Rachel, Hugo). Primary survey results support the importance of the age group in creating enjoyment. The majority of respondents, 77.5%, stated that teaching at the preschool age yielded an impact on children's lives and development, with only 11.5% feeling that it did not (and 11.5% remaining neutral). On a 1-7 point Likert scale, results had a mean of 2.37 (likely) with a standard deviation of 1.53.

Measures also indicated that 72.5% of respondents felt teaching preschool allowed for a greater connection to the students (when compared to buxiban work). 20% of this score was neutral, with 7.5% stating unlikely. This question had a mean of 2.6 (likely) with a standard deviation of 1.4.

Interview results suggest that perceptions of working with children often have more to do with the alternatives, buxiban work, rather than the act itself. "Kids are a lot more fun and easier to handle" (Appendix C: Rachel)... teaching is more effective (at that age)". Also a shared idea "buxibans are awful, not developmentally appropriate...kindergartens are a little better"

(Appendix C: John). One teacher said it was originally quite intimidating, but in time he grew to like it (Appendix C: Nelson). Other teachers enjoyed the perceived mindlessness “I’m paid to play with children” (Appendix C: Jim). Teacher Hugo stated that he liked the high energy aspect of dealing with kids, stating it filled idle time, adding that you see results quicker than in PPIs, and that little kids were cute and surprising (Appendix C: Hugo). Hugo continued by stating he had more energy in the mornings.

4.2.2 Working Hours and Placement

The density, time, and spacing of hours is seen as positive outcome from teaching English in PPIs. Pilot study responses indicate that “condensed working hours” (Appendix A: 2.1), a stable schedule (Appendix A: 2.8), and hours in the morning (Appendix A: 2.9) are advantages to teaching English in PPIs. “Kindergarten hours are less antisocial” (Appendix C: Gregory) encapsulates the tone.

Survey results suggested a similar trend with 95% stating that preschool hours are primarily in the morning, with a mean of 1.58 and SD of 0.018. It is worth noting that 57% of respondents thought that working in the morning was preferable.

All but two respondents stated that morning hours were an advantage of teaching preschool. Buxibans are perceived as forcing you to work into the afternoon (Appendix C: Rachel, Gregory, Hugo, Jim) and sometimes on weekends (Appendix C: Rachel, Gregory). Interestingly, interviewees suggested that buxibans pay more than PPIs (Appendix C: Hugo, Kyle), but as ESL teachers are often paid hourly, PPIs are more profitable as they provide “a solid and consistent block” and “more hours” (Appendix C: Kyle).

4.2.3 Salary

Considering pay, most of the pilot study respondents, cited a relative high pay as an outcome of teaching in a PPI in Taiwan. Three respondents to the pilot questionnaire stated that pay was good relative to local salary and cost of living (Appendix A: 2.1; 2.4, 2.5, 2.6). The ability to save money was cited by two respondents (Appendix A: 2.10, 2.9). It is important to note that this high pay is relative to local salaries and not necessarily other high skilled expatriate work.

This however conflicted with the primary survey results which did not indicate that PPIs would necessarily yield a higher pay when compared to other ESL work. On a one to seven point Likert scale, 40% claimed it would with 37.8% claiming it would not. The mean score was 4.02 with a standard deviation of 1.81, suggesting that those surveyed were largely neutral on the issue.

NESTs were drawn to Taiwan specifically for good pay, but not necessarily to PPIs in Taiwan (Appendix C: Hugo, John). PPIs provide additional pay, while being enough to survive (Appendix C: Rachel) is often supplemented by, or used to supplement, buxiban work (Appendix C: Rachel, Nelson, Jim, Kyle, Gregory, Hugo). Four interviewees also stated that you often could not get one without the other “it was a package deal” (Appendix C: Nelson).

Teacher wages ranged between 60-100 thousand NT a month, often mixing buxiban and PPI jobs (Appendix C: John, Rachel, Jim, Hugo, Kyle, Nelson). Elaborating on wages Anton stated “I have a job in a field I have no experience in, and still I can afford an apartment and save money... I’d say it’s pretty good” (Appendix C: Anton). Many of the NESTs seemed to be motivated, not by pay, but by the lifestyle and fringe opportunities ESL and PPIs in Taiwan create.

4.2.3 Lifestyle

Much of the pilot study, primary questionnaire, and interview results noted the benefits of cultural exchange as being a motivator to teach English in a PPI in Taiwan. The ability to experience other cultures and travel was cited as a positive outcome numerous times in the pilot study (Appendix A: 2.2, 4.4, 5.5, and 1.3). This was complemented by the lax workload of PPI employment as providing opportunities for skill acquisition (Appendix A: 2.1, 2.9); primarily learning Chinese (Appendix A: 2.7, 2.9).

Primary questionnaire respondents lend some credence to this perceived outcome. 59.7% of respondents argued that teaching kindergarten was likely to yield greater free time (with 18.3% feeling neutral and 22% feeling it was an unlikely option) when compared to buxiban work. The mean score was 3.29 (more likely than not) with a standard deviation of 1.78. More convincingly 72.5% felt teaching kindergarten would allow them to experience different cultures and travel (with only 7.5% stating unlikely and 20% remaining neutral). The mean score was 2.48 (likely /more likely than not) with a standard deviation of only 1.38.

Ten interviewees cited the joy of living abroad and opportunity for travel as being significant in their decision to accept work in Taiwan (Appendix C: Kyle, John, Anton, Michelle, Rachel, Jim, Hugo, Mike, Gregory and Nelson). Michelle and Anton cited the location of Taiwan as being suitable for travelling to South East Asia, and the job as paying well enough to do so regularly. Six of the interviewees, Hugo, Kyle, Gregory, Mike, Jim, and Michelle had used their time in Taiwan to pursue Chinese lessons, whilst Anton stated, that while he does not do so personally, many of his coworkers did (Appendix C: Anton). PPI hours also contribute to greater free time, with Jim claiming he enjoyed having summers off, and Nelson stating “in Taiwan I can work a little and chill out” (Appendix C: Jim, Nelson). Anton continued by stating ESL in

general allows you to stay a long time a soak up the culture, a travelling practice that he prefers (Appendix C: Anton). Literature supports travel as being a motivator for teaching in Taiwan (Lan, 2011). Teaching English in Asia in general is also seen as a suitable gap year between higher academic pursuit by three respondents (Appendix C: Gregory, Mike, and Hugo).

The fringe circumstantial benefits of teaching in a PPI in Taiwan are juxtaposed with negative behavior outcomes, in the form of bad management and abuse.



4.2.4 Management and Abuse

Whether due to cultural differences or tangible management problems, PPIs are seen by NESTs as being poorly managed. This gripe is exhibited in one way or another by most pilot study respondents; be it a lack of autonomy (Appendix A: 1.2) a gap between management expectation and reality (Appendix A: 1.4), unnecessary stress (Appendix A: 4.6, 2.3), or simply lack of organization (Appendix A: 4.6, 4.10).

A telling statement “there are schools out there that have no idea what they’re doing” (Appendix A: 4.10) summarizes the sentiment. And while one could argue that many of these NESTs are not qualified to be teaching and thus not qualified to be judging the way schools are run, it is still a perceived negative behavior outcome.

The primary survey gave a little clarification with 59% of respondents stating that kindergarten management tended to be bad with 21% claiming it was neutral and 20% saying it was not likely to be bad. This had a mean score of 3.2 (more likely than not) with a standard deviation of 1.62.

Many of the interviewees had strong things to say about the issue. Both qualified NESTs claimed to have had big enough problems with their PPIs that they quit, both stating that PPI managers were incompetent, only caring about money, and only concerned with the appearance of quality (Appendix C: John, Rachel). Rachel further comments that “I was powerless when implementing discipline” (Appendix C: Rachel). Nelson claims that PPIs only gave negative feedback (Appendix C: Nelson), while Anton claims they didn’t approach problems until long after they arose; both NESTs considered that it might be a cultural misunderstanding. NESTs continually discussed the difference between expectations and reality when dealing with management (Appendix C: Kyle, John, Hugo). Interviewees and pilot

respondents continually cited parents as influencing managers (Kyle, Hugo, Anton, John); logical as private schools are dictated by market mechanism (Chou, 2014). Management is unaccountable and uses verbal punishment (shouting) rather than actual dismissal (Appendix C: Hugo). Discipline was another issue regularly discussed be it too lax in the case of teacher Anton who claimed “it’s a case of the inmates running the asylum” (Appendix C: Anton) or too extreme in the case of the perceived child abuse.

Although child abuse did not arise in the pilot survey, recent news articles involving a PPI (in this case a buxiban acting as a kindergarten) made it prudent to address the issue (Lin & Chen, 2015). Several of the interview respondents had encountered incidents similar to those in the news, kids forced to eat hot sauce as punishment for eating slowly, kids being made to strike themselves, hair pulling, and use of stress positions (Chen, 2015). Teachers Nelson, Rachel, and John claimed that exposure to child abuse influenced their decisions to leave a PPI, and Rachel claimed it contributed to her decision to quit teaching in Taiwan altogether: “my parents didn’t approve of me dealing with the abuse” (Appendix C: Rachel). Notable individual events include kids being taped to chairs for not sitting properly, kids having tape put over their mouths, (Appendix C: Nelson), and kids being hit for being naughty (Appendix C: Rachel, Hugo, Mike). John cited incidents of kids being force fed and made to drink too much water (Appendix C: John). Other teachers cited general rough treatment; kids being carried out of classrooms as though “it were a bouncer taking someone out of a bar” for example (Appendix C: Kyle). Teacher Mike claimed that he was shown a location in the school where he could hit students off the CCTV camera during an early interview (Appendix C: Mike). Although a deterrent for some, three NESTs stated that the punishments were conducted on instructions from parents (Appendix C: John, Nelson, Hugo) and although disturbing, were dismissed as being an element of

Taiwanese culture they did not understand (Appendix C: Nelson, Hugo, Gregory). One teacher rationalized the situation “I’ve seen things that made me uncomfortable, but when I tutor kids I see their parents doing same thing, and even as a child I experienced whippings” (Appendix C: Hugo).

There is a silver lining however, the practice is not perceived as being totally endemic. 30% of respondents stated child abuse was common, 30% remained neutral and 40% stated it was uncommon. The mean score of 4.31 with a standard deviation of 1.57 implies that most respondents were neutral on the subject. Considering that the mean years in Taiwan is 6.5 these people are more likely to have been exposed, skewing the statistic. Interestingly, a score of 30% mirrors a 2015 study which states 20.3% of student suffer physical abuse in public schools (Wei, 2015). We can surmise that NESTs in PPIs are not prepared in any sense to address the implications of child abuse, nor do they feel confident in addressing the issue due to cultural and legal implications (as well as the risk of losing their job). NESTs however do have a stronger grasp of the labor abuses they perceive as enduring.

The research indicates that labor abuses are perceived as being a likely result of teaching ESL in a PPI in Taiwan. Labor abuses run the gamut between withheld wages, to being denied vacation time, or paid sick leave. Labor abuses in the guise of this study are benefits or protections provisioned by the Employment Service Act (2006) that were perceived as not being received.

Pilot study results suggested that “work without compensation” (Appendix A: 4), and work with no benefits (Appendix A: 4) or pensions (Appendix A: 4) was a negative outcome to teaching English in PPIs. Furthermore, that the legal status of NESTs allows employers to put

you in a “compromised position” (Appendix A: 4). the idea of NESTs being exploited without legal repercussion is further discussed in the literature (Lan, 2011).

Out of eighty respondents 60% believed that teaching kindergarten would expose them to labor abuses with 20% remaining neutral and 20% perceiving exposure as unlikely. On a 1-7 point Likert scale the mean score of 3.33 (likely) was observed with a standard deviation of 1.65.

Interview results explain labor abuses in greater depth. One respondent stated “The whole thing is a labor abuse... your made to work extra hours, work through breaks, check books on your free time, schools misrepresent taxes” (Appendix C: John). Two respondents reported being docked wages, and all but one respondent claimed that they did not receive paid sick leave (Appendix C: Kyle, Nelson, Rachel,). Kyle claimed to have been fined 19,000 NT for leaving a contract early when his mother was sick (Appendix C: Kyle).

All but one interview respondent viewed labor abuses as being an outcome to teaching in Taiwan at any level. “I moved away from Taiwan because of labor abuses; my boss refused to let me take time off to see my family” (Appendix C: Rachel). Teacher Hugo stated that a previous buxiban tried denying him wages, but after he contacted relevant legal authorities, his employer relented and he was paid in full (Appendix C: Hugo) he added that they are used to NESTs accepting these consequences. Teacher Gregory reiterated this notion citing his Chinese abilities and his understanding of the law as protecting him (Appendix C: Gregory). The outlier in the group stated that although labor abuses did occur, they didn't concern him as they were nothing compared to those inflicted on NNESTs (Appendix C: Anton).

As demonstrated, foreigners in Taiwan often have their taxes misreported (Appendix C: Chris; Lan, 2011). It is likely that NESTs working 30 plus hours a week, are having their taxes reported as being part time labor. While working at two schools, and clearly full time; employers

skirt the regulations by misreporting their actual hours; thus inhibiting their ability to make legal claims.

4.2.5 Summary of Attitude

While attitudes regarding work in PPIs were largely positive, there were both negative and positive perceived behavioral outcomes to the practice. While PPIs pay better than local wages, it is not clear that it pays better than buxibans. Advantages of PPI work are largely due to the location and density of the hours and the proximity to young children. While teaching ESL in Taiwan provides one with an opportunity and financial means to travel, teaching in a PPI is perceived as providing the free time to enjoy that travel (through normal working hours). However, PPI work in Taiwan is perceived as having some negative outcomes as well, NESTs are forced to deal with unfamiliar work and pedagogy practices, which are often perceived as abusive. It is however likely that these abusive practices are not limited to PPIs and are endemic of the entire private ESL market in Taiwan (Appendix C: Mike, John, Hugo; Survey Highlights Number 2011; Lan 2011). Therefore, it is arguably the consistent morning hours and travel PPIs provide that shapes the positive skew in attitude.

To summarize this idea, the negative behavioral outcomes; child abuse, bad management, and labor abuses are likely endemic in private ESL education in Taiwan; whereas the positive behavioral outcomes: consistent hours, working with small children, and greater free time (when compared to buxiban) are unique to teaching in a PPI.

4.3 Subjective Norm

As discussed previously, the variable subjective norm was likely significant in normalizing teaching in PPIs. A concise analysis of the normative beliefs surrounding the practices sheds further light.

4.3.1 Family and Friends

NEST's familial support for teaching English in a PPI was often exhibited with limitations. Pilot study responses often cited immediate family or family members as approving of them teaching English in PPI in Taiwan (Appendix A: 5.2,5.3,5.4) ; with two NESTs claiming extended family and family members may not approve (Appendix A: 6.2,6.3).

73.75% of respondents said their family approved of them teaching English in PPIs with a mean score of 2.23 (approve) and standard deviation of 1.48. Only 6.25% of respondents stated their parents didn't approve (with 20% remaining neutral).

The interviewees seem to suggest that this support is a support for employment and not job choice per se. Two interviewees stated their family originally supported them, but grew skeptical as they continued to do it, and as they learned more about it (Appendix C: Nelson, Kyle). Rachel stated that her parents were supportive of the job, but not her dealing with abuse (Appendix C: Rachel). Anton's brother suggested he take a job in ESL (Appendix C: Anton), and John's mother thought it was acceptable, as he'd taught in a kindergarten in the United States (Appendix C: John). Commonly, interviewees seemed to feel their parents didn't know enough about the job or situation in Taiwan to make an accurate judgement call. "My parents had no conception of what it entails, they just knew I had a job and was alright" stated Mike (Appendix C: Mike). Gregory's parents extended support as long as he pursued his PHD afterwards (Appendix C: Gregory). NEST's friends in Taiwan have a clearer idea of what teaching English in a PPI entails.

Friends played both supportive and discouraging roles in the decision to teach English in a PPI in Taiwan. Three pilot study respondents stated that friends were supportive of their decision to teach (Appendix A: 5.2, 5.4, 5.7, 5.4) while two cited friends from their home

country as disapproving (Appendix A). One respondent stated that “other foreigners” (Appendix A) were supportive of teaching English in a PPI in Taiwan.

Survey results indicated that most of the friends who had taught in Taiwan had taught in a PPI (62.5%, with 13.75% neutral, 23.75% negative with a mean of 2.37 (more likely than not) and standard deviation of 1.79). Perceived expatriate approval of the matter is considerably more neutral with a mean of 4.075 (neutral) and standard deviation of 1.504. When asked what percentage of NESTs in Taiwan had taught kindergarten before 80% of were perceived as likely, 11.25% stated unlikely, with a mean score of 3.21 (likely) and standard deviation of 1.366.

Interview respondents did not see any significant influence either way. It was accepted as normal (Appendix C: Nelson). “I needed a job and everyone seemed to be doing it” (Appendix C: Rachel) encapsulates the sentiment. “Other expatriates don’t praise it... it’s not surprising... a regular sort of thing... (They say) ‘oh yeah me too’...never had anyone tell me to stop” (Appendix C: Nelson). Alternatively, one respondent said his friend originally deterred him, not due to potential legal sanction (see chapter 1) but as kindergarten is “too much trouble” (Appendix C: Kyle). Several respondents hinted at a negative perception from Taiwanese people (Appendix C: John, Anton, Gregory, Mike) and from other expatriates (Appendix C: Mike, Hugo, Gregory, Anton). To quote teacher John “Other foreigners don’t have a bad attitude about it... Taiwanese women will not date you if they know you’re a teacher... (they have) preconceptions of English teachers as being... losers in their home country” (Appendix C: John). Similar ideas were reiterated in other interviews (Appendix C: Anton, Mike, Michelle).

4.3.2 Taiwanese Society

Taiwanese society, Taiwanese people, and Taiwanese parents continually arose in approval questions of the pilot study. Four respondents cited Taiwanese parents as supporting the

behavior (Appendix A: 5.7, 5.8, 5.9, and 5.10). Conversely Taiwanese authority figures were seen as not approving (Appendix A: 6.3, 6.7, 6.9, and 6.11). Society in general was divided between traditional (xenophobic) Taiwanese (Appendix A: 6.3, 6.6, 6.9, 6.10) disapproving; and children and globally minded Taiwanese approving (Appendix A: 5.5, 5.8, 5, 9).

Roughly corresponding with previous studies, (Oladejo, 2006; Shang et al, 2007.) NESTs perceived a high rate of approval from Taiwanese parents (72.5% approve, 26.25% neutral and only 1.25% disapproving). A mean score of 2.23 with a standard deviation of 1.389 suggests that parents were likely to approve. Taiwanese society on the whole was perceived as approving, with 62% approving, 32.9% neutral and 5.1% not approving of the NEST teaching in PPIs. This response had a mean of 2.70 (likely to approve) and a standard deviation of 1.4.

The NESTs interviewed had different interpretations of parental behaviors and likewise attributed little value to it. Four teachers shared a sentiment that Taiwanese parents didn't really care about English, and viewed the school as a glorified child care service (Appendix C: John, Nelson, Rachel, Anton). “Taiwanese culture doesn't value kids learning English, but it is taken more seriously at the kindergarten level” (Appendix C: Nelson) and “I get no respect from the parents, they are only concerned with appearances” (Appendix C: John) being two negative reframes. Not all sentiments were dismissive however, three teachers felt the parents were kind and took NESTs’ efforts seriously (Appendix C: Kyle, Hugo, Gregory). Interviewees often admitted that their co-teachers handled much of the negotiations with parents (Appendix C: Nelson, Rachel, Kyle, Hugo, Mike, John, Anton, Gregory, Hugo) implying the NESTs did not have a clear idea. A meaningful notion sums up the situation: although Anton sometimes feels like a babysitter, parents were clearly willing to spend a lot of money (on tuition) (Appendix C: Anton).

NESTs' perceptions of Taiwanese society were also interesting "Taiwanese people don't express their thoughts" (Appendix C: Anton). Compared with Michelle's generalization "Taiwanese people are rude (Appendix C: Michelle)". Anton said "they must assume I come here to party and meet Taiwanese girls" (Appendix C: Anton), who has a long term Russian partner, adding considering some other expatriates "it's probably a safe assumption" (Appendix C: Anton). Mike argued it's a case of a few bad apples spoiling the bunch, stating people sometimes think "mainly we're here to have sex with women, save money, get drunk, 'whore around', go to clubs; we are the losers from our (home) countries who couldn't get jobs and girlfriends" adding while he doesn't think it's true "the worst are the loudest" (Appendix C: Mike) implying Taiwanese do not focus on those who take it seriously. NESTs' perceptions of the government are more mixed.

When asked if government and education officials approve of them teaching English in a kindergarten 16.25% replied they approve, 53.75% had neutral feelings, and 30% stated they did not approve. This had a mean score of 4.3 (neutral) with a deviation of 1.54.

Interviewees continually stated loopholes, and legal gray areas when pressed (Appendix C: Nelson, Anton, Rachel, John, Jim, Hugo, Gregory, Mike, Kyle) which is relevant to perceived behavioral control.

4.3.3 Summary of Subjective Norm

Subjective norm, according to the available evidence, was not significant in the decision making processes of NESTs at the preschool level in Taiwan. As with attitude, the majority of negative pressure arose from the perception of English teachers in general and not in their position as PPI teachers specifically with one exception: a passive idea that parents care more at the 'young learners' age. Those whose opinions the NEST's value either seem to have little grasp

of the complexities of their employment (in the case of family) or normalize their employment (in the case of friends). Reiterating a previous trend, negative perceptions of NESTs' in Taiwan are not limited those working in PPIs. While many interviewees expressed perceived malign, they assigned that malign to their role as English teachers and not as preschool teachers per se.

4.4 Perceived Behavioral Control

This study sought to identify potential enablers and barriers to teaching English in a PPI. Perceived behavioral control relates to the presence of barriers and enablers to performing a given task, in this case teaching in a PPI. According to Ajzen (1985), perceived behavioral control is formed through combination of past experiences and anticipated obstacles. NESTs encounter few obstacles to teaching English in a PPI, assuming they are of the preferred age and racial background. There is also a strong social network in place in Taiwan, which can facilitate, and thus enable NESTs to find work in PPIs. The energy requirements and legal entanglements provide the only ineffective barrier to teaching at in a PPI.

4.4.1 Hiring Standards and Qualifications

Pilot study respondents demonstrate that teaching in a PPI in Taiwan is an easily accessible form of employment, not subject to high standards. Employment is perceived as being easy (Appendix A: 2.5), not physically demanding (Appendix A: 2.5), and not serious (Appendix A: 2.4). One respondent stated “it's a good start to teaching” (Appendix A: 2.2). This is reflected in responses about who is most likely to teach kindergarten; recent college graduates (Appendix A: 7.5, 5.1, 7.1, 7.2) and ‘twenty somethings’ (Appendix A: 7.2, 7.3, 8.11). Juxtaposing this perception are three responses discussing those not likely to teach; the highly educated (Appendix A: 8.5) accredited teachers (Appendix A: 8.7) and people over 40 (Appendix A: 8.11).

Being young is seen as necessary due to the only perceived personal barrier to teach kindergarten: energy.

82.5% of respondents claimed that teaching kindergarten is enabled by having a high amount of energy with a mean score of 1.61 (highly enabling) and standard deviations of just 1.19.

High energy requirement may not be limited to PPIs however, as two interviewees claimed, buxiban work was more taxing (Appendix C: Hugo, Mike).

Energy is however the only convincing perceived barrier. 57.5% stated it was necessary to be good with children (mean score 1.6 and standard deviation 1.19). And 58.75% said that teaching experience was not necessary to teach preschool in Taiwan (with 11.25% remaining neutral and 30% claiming it was necessary).

This trend is starkly demonstrated in the perceived hiring practices of interviewees. Every NEST interviewed stated they found a job within weeks of commencing a job hunt in Taiwan, many within days. “40 minutes after arriving in Taiwan, I got on TEALIT (a known ESL website) and had a job (Appendix C: John)”. Several of the NESTs claimed their first employers vetting process consisted of a single interview (Appendix C: Rachel, Gregory, Hugo, Kyle, Mike, John, Anton). Qualification and work experience were not perceived as barriers by any of the interviewees. The sentiments hovered around experience and qualification as being helpful, but not necessary (Appendix C: Kyle, John, Anton, Rachel, Nelson). Teacher Nelson stated that at his first job lied about his qualifications, but upon looking for his second, found it unnecessary (Appendix C: Nelson). This lack of standards is consistently seen as an enabler: “part of the appeal of teaching in Taiwan is it doesn't require any credentials” (Appendix C: Anton).

In line with previous variables however, ESL work in general is perceived as easy to acquire, be it in PPIs or buxibans. Ease of access is not necessarily unique to PPIs

ESL jobs were often found through friends, internet ads, or recruiters. Interview respondents implied that their first buxiban jobs were often found on the internet (Appendix C: Hugo, Mike, Rachel, John) and their PPI jobs through a friend in Taiwan (Appendix C: Hugo, Kyle, Michelle). Often it is a friend's recommendation that motivates a NEST to move to Taiwan in the first place (Appendix C: Rachel, Kyle, John, Hugo, Nelson, Anton, Gregory). It is perceived that expatriates in Taiwan provide most job opportunities in Taiwan. "You go to Revolver (a local expatriate bar) and ask around, someone will recommend you a job" (Appendix C: Rachel).

PPIs (and likely buxibans) in Taiwan are also perceived as being equipped to handle inexperienced NESTs. The largest two employers of NESTs in Taiwan, were the first to hire many interviewed here (Appendix C: Hugo, Kyle, Anton, Gregory) and have mechanisms for training in place. Three interviewees suggested that due to a high turnover rate, and hiring a lot of inexperienced teachers, their curriculum was adjusted to accommodate for inexperience (Appendix C: Gregory, Hugo, Anton). Limited training programs were also provided to NESTs (Appendix C: Hugo, Anton, Gregory, Jim) in the form of classes (Appendix C: Anton, Gregory), or by simply shadowing more experienced NESTs (Appendix C: Hugo, Jim, Nelson); but were often seen as ineffective (Appendix C: Anton, Gregory).

NESTs in Taiwan muse upon the extent to which their student's parents are cognizant of their inexperience and lack of qualification. As demonstrated in the subjective norm section, many respondents feel parents are apathetic, but are limited in their exposure to parents. One telling response in regards to qualification and experiences sheds more light "They blatantly lie

and deceive parents, either through misleading or omission” (Appendix C: Gregory) about his qualifications. Two teachers responded that they would be very surprised if parents were completely oblivious (Appendix C: Hugo, Anton) citing their parent’s high education levels. “I’d be really surprised if parents were totally ignorant... (they must think) this is just a 25 year old kid from the US who came to teach in Taiwan” (Appendix C: Anton). Teacher John stated that a previous PPI would show off his credentials to the parents, but that he received no benefit (in terms of wage or authority) because of it (Appendix C: John).

To an extent, being qualified is itself a barrier to teaching in a PPI in Taiwan. Both certified NESTs Rachel and John, stopped teaching in PPIs because of perceived abuses and developmentally inappropriate practices (Appendix C: Rachel, John). Furthermore it was argued that the wage ceiling and legal implications of teaching at the ‘young learners’ age, drives certified teachers into schools where they can teach legally (Appendix C: Rachel, Gregory, and Hugo). Or as suggested in the literature review, certified NESTs can find jobs in their home countries or Taiwanese public schools, where there is a dearth of language professionals (Jeon & Lee, 2006). Survey results were neutral on the matter (a mean of 4.25 neutral) with 33.8% saying qualified teachers were likely and 33.8% were unlikely to teach kindergarten in Taiwan with a standard deviation of 1.76.

In sum, qualification and experience are clearly not a perceived barrier to Teaching English in a PPI in Taiwan. John said a joke floated around his former school “Did we show up on Time? Yes. Are we white? Yes. Ok let’s go teach!”(Appendix C: John). In reality the biggest perceived enabler to teaching English anywhere in Taiwan, but particularly in PPIs is likely race.

4.4.2 Race Based Hiring Practices

Previous research, as discussed in the literature review, has suggested that Taiwanese private schools exhibit race based hiring practices (Lan, 2011, Oladejo, 2006). Several pilot study responses suggest this to be the case as well (Appendix A: .1.1, 3.9, 10.10, 10.7). It is argued by some that this is the most important qualifier for a PPI teacher in Taiwan; “it’s no secret that being white trumps teaching experience” (Appendix A: 10.10).

On a 1 to 5 point Likert scale, 87.5% of respondents said race was strongly considered in their hiring in kindergartens in Taiwan (with 10% remaining neutral and 2.5% saying it wasn't considered) with a mean score of (1.98, considered) and standard deviation of 1.56. Furthermore, on a 1 to 7 point Likert scale, 86.25% stated that being white would enable them to teach in a kindergarten in Taiwan (Mean 1.32 SD 1.98).

Interview respondents lend credence to the perceived racial preference. Seven interviewees cited race as being important in their hiring in a PPI (Appendix C: Hugo, Kyle, Anton, Gregory, Rachel, Mike, Jim). Two respondents added that being attractive helps (Appendix C: Jim, Nelson) and John stated “if I shaved, I could get any job, no problem” (Appendix C: John). One NEST stated that although his teaching was ineffective, the parents were just happy to see a white man there (Appendix C: Mike). Although race was argued to be “100%” a factor by both Anton and Gregory, they added that their two large chain schools were known for being one of the few schools that hires racial minorities (Appendix C: Anton, Gregory). Hugo added that although he was Hispanic, he's fortunate to look like a white person

(Appendix C: Hugo). As mentioned above, all but one interview respondent was Caucasian. Furthermore only 4% of primary respondents were Hispanic and 4% were African American.

Five respondents argued that being white was more important than being qualified or experienced (Appendix C: Gregory, Kyle, Hugo, Anton, Rachel). To reiterate information already discussed, many teachers feel PPI teaching is about ‘appearances’, and this notion extends to race.

One could argue that race based hiring practices, unqualified teachers, and exceedingly low standards for NESTs in Taiwan is exactly why foreigners are banned from teaching English at the preschool level. As stated in the Preschool Education and Care Act, teachers must be certified according to an exacting standard and curriculum must adhere to state guidelines (Early Childhood Education and Care Act, 2013). However despite the legal prohibition the practice continues. Legal prohibition is likely a deterrent, but not an effective one.

4.4.3 The Perception of Legality

Pilot study respondents continually espouse the complex legality of PPI teaching in Taiwan as an issue. Most respondents cited legality and government regulations in some way (Appendix A: 1.6, 1.7, 3.6, 3.7, 3.10, 4.2, 4.4, 8.10, 8.7, 10.8, 10.9). Be it lamenting over whether or not you can tell people what you do (Appendix A: 3.6) or the risk of deportation (Appendix A: 3.10) it would seem that for many NESTs the “rewards outweigh the risks” (Appendix A: 4.9).

Every interviewee was aware that teaching English in a PPI in Taiwan was illegal or forbidden in some way, but were unclear as to why and how it was forbidden. Survey respondents reflected this trend with 80% stating that teaching at the preschool level would cause them to break the law. A mean score of 2.16 (likely to break the law) and a standard deviation of 1.48 further suggest some confusion. While interviewees had some notion of why teaching in a

PPI involved legal entanglements, many could not state why they would be deported. It was seen simply as an inevitable result of an unlikely capture.

No interviewees were told during their interview process that foreigners teaching English at the preschool level was forbidden. Each respondent came to the realization independently. Two respondents stated they did their own research and were curious to see if their bosses would warn them (they didn't) (Appendix C: John, Gregory). “No one told me ever” (Appendix C: John). Several respondents said they heard from other expatriates that it was illegal but common practice (Appendix C: Mike, Kyle, Michelle, and Hugo). And others realized several months after starting work when their managers exhibited suspicious behaviors, like randomly tell them not to come in (Appendix C: Nelson, Anton).

NESTs justified their behavior in similar ways, citing the normalcy of the situation (Appendix C: Hugo, Kyle, Anton, Gregory, Rachel). “Everyone in my situations was doing it” said Rachel, referring to other recent college graduates in Taiwan. Assumptions about the Taiwanese legal system also persist “Taiwan's laws are not enforced unless there is a complaint” (Appendix C: John). Other’s cited that the government likely didn’t care “it's a legal gray area” being a refrain that was used to the point of being cliché (Appendix C: Nelson, Kyle) and mirroring recruiting websites (Is Teaching Preschool Illegal, 2016). Furthermore, there is a pervasive perception that the Taiwanese government is aware of the practice and ignores it (Appendix C: John, Kyle, Mike). Teacher Kyle added, while it was illegal, he knows of someone who taught the former Taipei mayor's kid in a PPI (Appendix C: Kyle); though this could be hearsay.

Schools were also seen as having safety measures in place that could mitigate inspections and help foreign teachers avoid detection. These measures which included hidden or

unmarked entrances (Appendix C: Mike), back doors for escaping raids (Appendix C: Gregory, Hugo, Kyle, Rachel), alarm systems (Appendix C: John), and random days off (unpaid of course) (Appendix C: Nelson, John) served both to comfort and upset the NESTs. One PPI would announce “Its tea time”, the NEST would leave, and the NNEST would set about hiding English materials and pencils (writing is also not allowed in kindergartens). Other times teachers would be given sudden days off (Appendix C: Nelson, Hugo, Kyle, John) and the school would conduct business as though it were a registered kindergarten. Teacher Mike discussed the nervous feeling he would get while walking in and out of an unmarked exit down an alley everyday (Appendix C: Mike), whilst others claim to feel scared and demeaned, frantically fleeing out a back door of the PPI (Appendix C: Rachel, Hugo, Nelson). Extreme measures included teacher Nelson being made to wear a concealing mask while on an outing with his students (Appendix C: Nelson). Rachel argued that while fleeing did feel normal, she doubted her manager would pay her legal fees if she was caught (Appendix C: Rachel).

4.4.4 Summary of Perceived Behavioral Control

To reiterate, overwhelmingly, a major appeal of teaching English in Taiwan is its ease. This is reinforced by demonstrated race based hiring practices, and a perceived complete lack of standards within the private ESL industry. Apart from the legal complications of PPI work specifically, there is little in the way of barriers. While the majority of NESTs in Taiwan feel blasé about their work and people's perceptions of their work; most feel certain that ESL work is easy to find if you're white and in your twenties.

4.5 Discussion

To understand *why NESTs are teaching English at the preschool level in Taiwan*, one must accept that there are likely vast similarities to ESL work in Taiwan at every level and age

group. Buxibans and PPIs likely yield similar behavior and normative outcomes and are subject to the same control beliefs. Addressing the positives and negatives of ESL work, in regards to the Theory of Planned Behavior (Figure 9), allows us to address why PPIs are preferable to buxibans despite their legal entanglements.

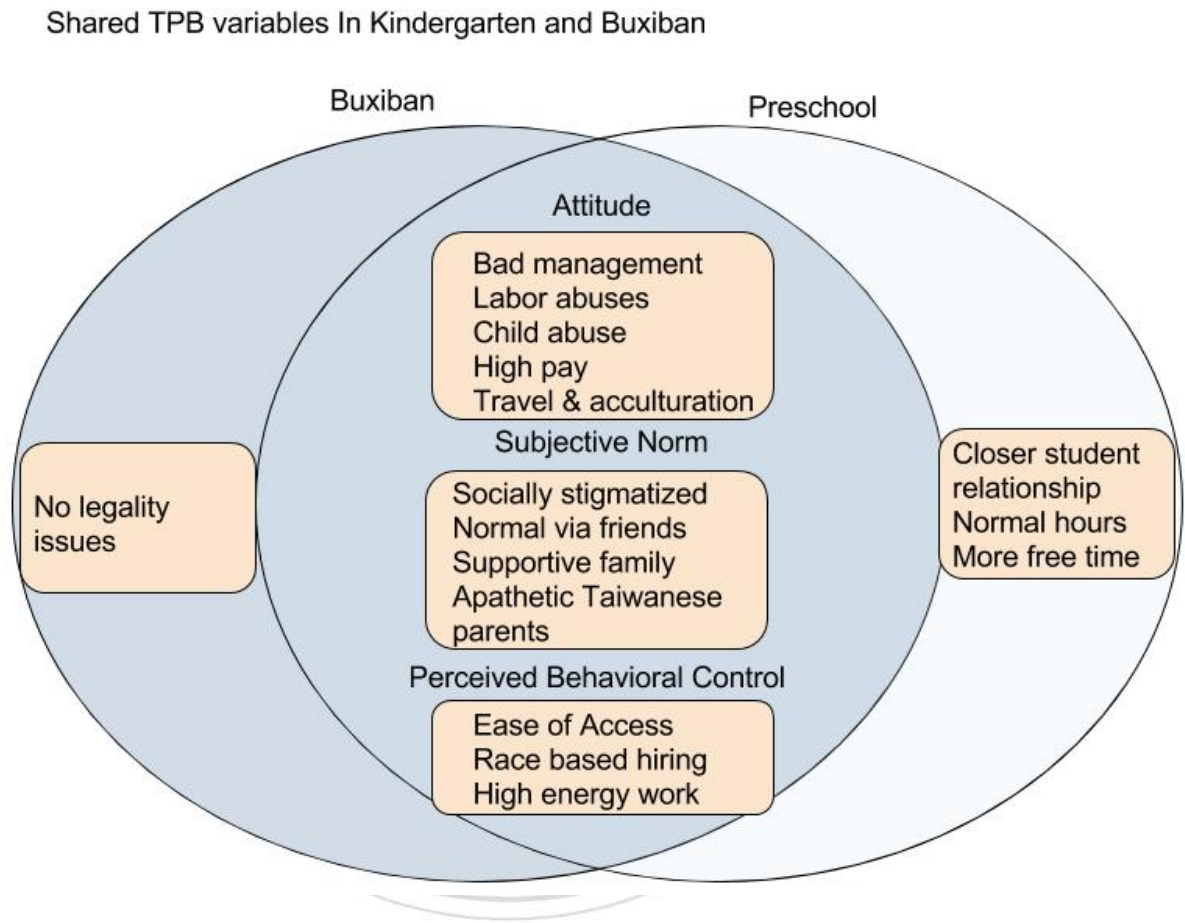


Figure 9 Shared TPB Variables (Source: Author)

In terms of the variable attitude, all private ESL work is perceived as rife with bad management and abusive practices (towards children and NESTs). Conversely, ESL work provides young college educated men and women with an opportunity to travel, save money, gain work experience, and should they chose; pursue other skills.

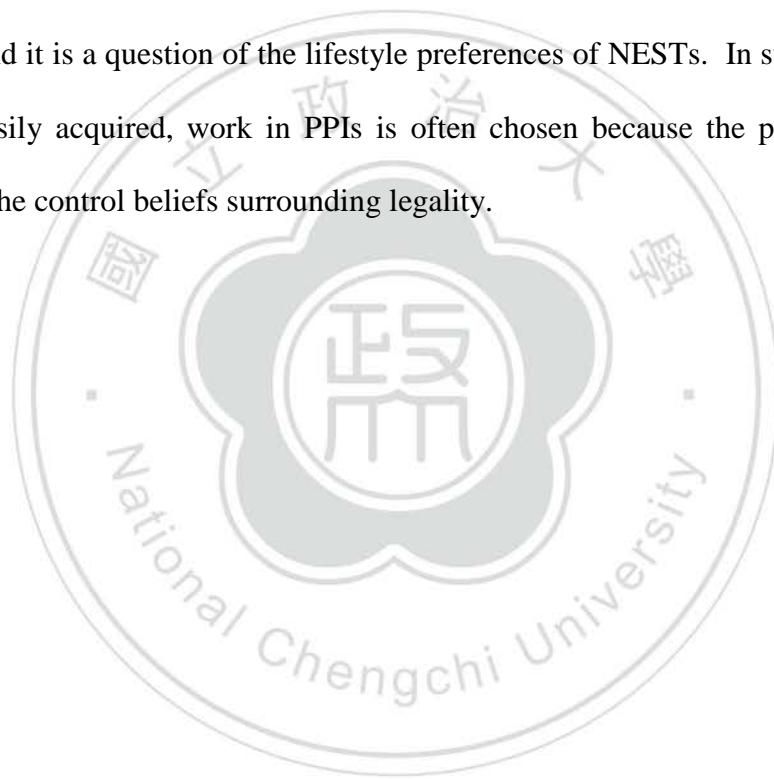
NESTs often perceive their employment as being frowned upon by Taiwanese society and other expatriates alike. Taiwanese parents are often perceived as not taking the schooling seriously at any age group. Accordingly, NESTs often do not put much stock in the opinions of their student's parents or Taiwanese authority figures. ESL at every level, be it in a PPI or buxiban is normalized and sometimes facilitated by NEST's peers. Although a market clearly exists, there is likely no significant social pressure to teach.

ESL employment at every level, preschool through high school, is easily accessible, requiring little qualification. If you are a white native English speaker with a bachelor's degree, you can teach in Taiwan. ESL in Taiwan can provide you, no questions asked, with a substantial income and a short term opportunity.

This study posits that the variable Perceived Behavioral Control is most significant in creating the behavior intention to Teach English in Taiwan, but that the variable attitude draws people into PPIs specifically. Perceptions of perceived behavioral control are created through past experiences and obstacles (Ajzen, 1985). Interviewees clearly demonstrate that both buxiban and PPI work is accessible and easily acquired. Likewise, as the required resources required to teach in a PPI are perceived as low, being white and young creates a lot of self-efficacy; which enhances NESTs perceived behavioral control (Ajzen, 1988, Madden, Ellen, & Ajzen, 1991).

Considering that all ESL employment is easily acquired, NESTs make their choices according to lifestyle preferences which suit them personally. Often they chose employment that provides the behavioral outcomes of reasonable working hours with small children. Therefore it is likely the variable attitude that pushes ESL teachers in Taiwan into teaching at the preschool level.

Considering this, this study posits that most of the Theory of Planned Behavior variable elements of PPIs are endemic to ESL in Taiwan, but that a few good behavioral outcomes are unique to PPIs. The opportunity to travel, ease of access, and relatively high wages are coupled with labor abuses and bad management at every age level. The opportunity to have a normal working schedule, a proximity to children, and ability to better utilize ones free time, are unique to teaching in a PPI. NESTs weigh their options between the positive behavior outcomes and perceived behavioral control of legality, and normalize their decision through their subjective referents. In the end it is a question of the lifestyle preferences of NESTs. In sum, while all ESL employment is easily acquired, work in PPIs is often chosen because the positive behavioral outcomes eclipse the control beliefs surrounding legality.



Chapter 5 Conclusion & Policy Implications

5.1 Conclusion

Upon commencement, this study sought a greater understanding of the phenomenon of kindergarten teaching by NESTs in Taiwan. Diving into the convoluted legal circumstances of PPIs in Taiwan quickly yielded a more complex situation than originally thought. When asking the question: why do foreigners teach English at the kindergarten level one is opening a complex puzzle box of differing definitions and personal opinions. What is seen as blanketed under the term 'kindy' or 'kindergarten' in expatriate lingo is actually a myriad of 'educare' institutions at the early childhood level.

Through surveying and interviewing NESTs who work in PPIs in Taiwan, this study has attempted to explain the motivations of NESTs through the framework of the Theory of Planned Behavior.

All three of the TPB variables were present in NESTs decisions to teach English in PPIs in Taiwan. NEST's positive attitudes towards teaching are created by the joys of working with children, access to travel, comparative high wages, and normalized hours. These positive outcomes are weighed against the negative outcomes of abusive practices and bad management.

Subjective norms were influential in normalizing teaching in PPIs but were not convincingly significant in pushing NESTs towards any particular job. Family and friends provided passive support, while NESTs attributed little value to the opinions of the Taiwanese people in their surrounding environment.

NESTs demonstrated that there were no significant barriers to teaching in buxibans or PPIs if you fit the desired model of being white, young, and a having a bachelor's degree. This lack of barriers is seen as being important in the decision to teach English in Taiwan at every

level.

In sum, NESTs teach ESL in Taiwan as there is a booming market, which provides them with the opportunity to travel and obtain employment. They perceive easy access and likely reward. The differences between teaching in PPI and buxiban are perceived as small; therefore decisions are likely made according to preference. The legal complications are seen as non-threatening, and NESTs are more concerned with tangible issues such as labor abuses and quality of life. It is likely that teaching in a PPI creates preferable behavioral outcomes (a better quality of life). To compile this notion into a single sentence, the positive behavioral outcomes of teaching in a PPI are likely more salient than the barriers of legality.

Previous research, has largely discussed parental perceptions and the age at which English language should commence, the nature and hazards of private education, hiring practices, and the Taiwanese education system. This study aimed to contribute to the understanding of the Taiwanese ESL system by addressing the NESTs who navigate the void between parental expectation and government regulation.

Native English speaking teachers in Taiwan provide a service to parents and children who are unsatisfied with public facilities at the preschool level. Similarly, Taiwanese parents and private education institutions provide an avenue for income, personal growth, and educational exchange to recent foreign college graduates. There are a lot of good teachers at the preschool level, and a lot of bad ones. Similarly, there are a lot of good and bad PPIs. Therefore, the Taiwanese government should not throw out the baby with the bathwater. Instead policy makers should focus on the market issues and the lack of transparency.

5.2 Other Notable Trends

While the previous chapters would seem to paint a grim picture of foreign NESTs working at the preschool level in Taiwan, there are upsides. The majority of the NESTs interviewed care and feel responsible for their students. Many NESTs in PPIs genuinely enjoy working with children (Appendix C: Hugo, Rachel, Kyle, Nelson, Gregory, Jim, Michelle, Anton). Albeit formally unqualified and unaccredited, many NESTs actively try to improve their teaching, and develop their skills (Appendix C: Hugo, Rachel, Kyle, Anton, Jim, Gregory). While it could be the case as described by Mike “when you start from zero, you can only improve, by default” (Appendix C: Mike), it is also likely that there are many skilled teachers at the preschool level; as demonstrated by John and Rachel. Frequently interviewees claimed to act as advocates for students, by approaching their managers in events of child abuse (Appendix C: Hugo, Kyle, Rachel, Nelson). Many of these NESTs have also become very adept at adapting what they perceive as poor curriculums into effective lessons (Appendix A: 3.1).

It is also important consider that the same market mechanisms that employ NESTs can also result in them being fired. If parents have as much say in the curriculum as sometimes suggested (Appendix A), ineffective NESTs should be addressed by market mechanism alone. Another point of argument could be made for the teaching preference. Many NESTs with more than one year experience chose PPIs over Buxibans because they enjoy it more, prefer working with kids, or feel they are more effective at this level. This choice is often made with a complete understanding of the potential legal consequences. In sum, while many children may be in unqualified hands, they are not necessarily in bad hands. The more salient issue is that conflict between parental demand and government regulation yields a situation in which we don't know whose hands they are in.

5.2.1 The ESL Black Hole

English teaching in Taiwan is argued to be a job that offers little to no future career prospects and is subject to a high turnover rate (Lan, 2011). While only explicitly expressed in two interviews (Appendix C: Anton, Nelson), this notion pervades the entirety of interviewees' perceptions. Most interviewees view it as a temporary situation (Appendix C: Mike, Anton, Nelson, Gregory, Michelle). And those who have finished teaching often moved into different occupations (Appendix C: John, Mike). "It's easy to get sucked in" (Appendix C: Anton) and thus should be avoided in the long term. To make the experience worthwhile, it was argued that one had to build towards something else (Appendix C: Anton). The lack of pensions, employment benefits, and the pervasive perception that teaching in Taiwan (especially at the preschool level) is a 'young man's game' exemplifies this notion.

5.3 Avenues for Future Research

To recapitulate, the extent of English teaching at the preschool level is unknown. This is due to the varying definitions of schools, the presence of unregistered schools, and the fact that NESTs received their visas through other institutions. Any research seeking to discover the scope of the practice would greatly contribute both to this study and other studies of the ESL market in Taiwan.

An expanded research group would also greatly benefit this study. It is likely that abuses vary from school to school; as teaching ability varies from teacher to teacher. Future research should also clearly delineate the difference in advantages of ESL in general and ESL

at the preschool level. A comparative study between the experiences of private and public schools would also contribute greatly.

In regards to the Theory of Planned Behavior, a more accurate study would likely require interviewing and surveying expatriates who had recently arrived in Taiwan. As this research focused on those who had already taught in a PPI NEST's perceptions of certain variables likely influenced the results. To elaborate, many interviewees had already normalized their behavior through the subjective norm, and thus had a more realistic expectation towards the legal barriers. Comparatively new NESTs in the market may not be as influenced by the subjective norm, and this may influence their perceived behavioral control, by either increasing or decreasing the barriers. Likewise, without the process of normalization via their peers, NESTs may demonstrate more clearly, that it is the presence of ESL websites or recruiters that push them into illegal employment. A greater understanding of how these variables manifest themselves in newly arriving expatriates may be advantageous in deterring new comers from engaging in the behavior.

Finally greater understanding is needed in regard to the effect being an expatriate has on respondent's perception of the subjective norm. As demonstrated, NESTs perceived both support and malign from Taiwanese, but conversely attributed little importance to it. The extent to which this is due to them being foreigners is worth inquiry. There is a possibility that NESTs would not engage in this behavior, if their home society, government, and parents composed a larger portion of their normative referents.

5. 4 Policy Implications

Internationally, the importance of behavioral science has received abundant attention in regards to its influence on government policy formation. The United Kingdom has created the Behavioral Insights Team (The Behavioral Insights Team, 2016), while president Barack Obama issued the executive order “Using Behavioral Science Insights to Better Serve the American People” (Executive Order, 2015) . The Theory of Planned Behavior has often been used to understand behaviors that governments wish to deter; be it health related (Godin & Kok, 1996) or fraudulent financial reporting (Carpenter & Reimers, 2005). Understanding the factors that form the behavioral intention to teach in PPIs in Taiwan, yields several policy implications.

First, considering that the attitude variable towards working in a PPI is formed through lifestyle conditions (better working hours, proximity to children etc.) meaningful policy change should address life style issues in schools where NESTs can work legally. If the government authorities can create more positive behavioral outcomes to teaching in registered schools, NEST’s attitudes towards seeking PPI employment may change. To elaborate, NESTs choose PPIs because of perceived quality of life differences. Therefore, incremental life style improvements in sanctioned employment could alter the positive behavior outcomes of teaching in a PPI. NESTs may be more inclined to work in buxibans if buxiban employment yielded a better lifestyle.

With this in mind, policy makers should consider enforcing the rights guaranteed by “Employment Service Act” (2006) in all legally registered schools. As NESTs are often denied paid vacation, sick days, and pensions, they see no comparative benefit to accepting legal work. If relevant Taiwanese government institutions correctly enforced these standards, the behavioral outcomes of teaching in legal schools could outweigh the benefits of teaching in institutions

which fall into the ‘legal grey area’. Stricter government enforcement of business, labor, and safety standards has the added benefit of creating greater transparency in both educational and teacher hiring practices; as well as inform parental decision making. Guaranteeing work benefits to NESTs will kill two birds with one stone; teachers will seek legal work, and stay longer. This would require an analysis of the taxation practices of all private schools in Taiwan to guarantee that those working full time are receiving the associated benefits.

As NESTs often used PPI work to supplement earnings from legal buxiban work (See Appendix C: Rachel, Nelson, Kyle, Hugo), increasing the mandatory minimum monthly pay at registered schools could increase the profitability of working legally, and thus affect the variable attitude. NESTs should not necessarily be better compensated per se, but rather that they should be guaranteed more hours in legal institutions. Interviewees implied that they earn between sixty to one hundred thousand NT per month, conversely work permit regulations set their minimum income at around forty thousand (Lan, 2011; Appendix C). This implies, as suggested by the literature and interviewees, that tax evasion is endemic and the PPI wages are often misreported (Lan, 2011; Appendix C: Chris, Hugo).

Increasing the mandatory minimum wage for work permits would simultaneously increase the stability and profitability of legally acquired ESL wages, and decreases the need to compensate buxiban hours through PPI employment. Simultaneously, an increase in mandatory minimum hours would decrease the amount of NESTs working under ‘part time’ employment, and thus make it easier to guarantee labor benefits.

Secondly the Taiwanese government and MOE need a clarified public explanation of the regulations surrounding private kindergartens and PPIs in English and Chinese. As many employers neglect to inform NESTs of the legal barriers to teaching in a PPI, legality does not

factor into NEST's perceived behavioral control. NESTs in Taiwan are often ignorant of these regulations when lured into working in a PPI. Upon realizing that a legal complication exists, the subjective norm, a NEST's surrounding peer group, has often already normalized the practice. Expatriates applying for work permits in Taiwan should be fully informed as to the risk they are taking by teaching in a PPI. There should be greater dissemination of information regarding the legal stipulations surrounding PPIs in Taiwan. Foreign teachers, Taiwanese families, and PPI owners would all benefit from greater legal transparency.

The researcher posits that NESTs should be informed of the legal issues surrounding PPIs upon applying for their work permits. Furthermore, NESTs would benefit from an understanding of why and how it is forbidden. Understanding the potential damage to 'young learners' could deter some from teaching in a PPI.

Many of the NESTs interviewed felt that Taiwanese parent's viewed them as over paid baby sitters. Antithetically, the literature demonstrates that the PPI market is driven by market demand. While, PPIs bridge the gap between government regulation and parental expectation, the greatest remedy to PPIs might lay in bridging the gap between NESTs and Taiwanese parents.

To elaborate, many NESTs, regardless of their ability or lack therein of, believe they are hired based on their race. This idea is reinforced by the advertisements placed on the outside of schools and their interactions with parents. PPIs are keenly aware of the parental demand, and thus the result, as frequently demonstrated, is race based hiring practices.

Furthermore, as NESTs are often hired due to race, they believe their teaching abilities, are viewed as secondary. This both contributes to and derives from the interpretation of apathy on behalf of the parents.

Therefore addressing parental understanding is key to addressing many bad practices

regarding ESL in Taiwan. The government of Taiwan and the MOE in particular should attempt to educate parents on the business practices of PPIs. Parents should understand the basic spatial requirements of kindergartens and the basic requirements for teachers. The idea that skin color and language ability are not as important as qualification and pedagogy skills should be propagated.

Likewise, parents being aware of the possibility of deception should ask to view documents related to both NNEST's and NEST's qualification in order to better inform their decision making processes. They should also be educated on the importance of experience and accreditation. Race should not be considered in the hiring of teachers. Furthermore parents should be informed on how to analyze and interpret diplomas and certifications from foreign countries. Taiwanese parents also need to cultivate a closer relationship with their children's NESTs.

Honesty and capability should be valued over race and qualification. Parents should make efforts to directly communicate with their NESTs in an attempt to change the perception of apathy. This means the Taiwanese government should encourage parents to speak directly to NESTs in all schools and not through intermediaries (NNESTs or PPI management).

This daunting task could be addressed at the kindergarten voucher application stage. In order to receive government vouchers, parents could be made to attend a class on the potential risks of their decisions, as well as avenues to mitigate those risks. Conversely public service announcements or newsletters could address both the importance of respecting NESTs as well as valuing them not for their race, but rather for their potential expertise.

Another useful measure might be a basic requirement for notarized criminal background checks of all NESTs seeking employment in Taiwan. The Taiwanese government presently

requires NESTs to have a health examination prior to receiving a permit, but not a criminal check. Mandatory criminal checks could reduce the potential for hiring potentially dangerous NESTs.

Finally, NESTs in PPIs are often fearful that their precarious legal situation makes them powerless in regards to personal and student advocacy. As NESTs working in PPIs are often exposed to various other unlawful activities, be it child abuse, labor abuse, or general safety concerns, the MOE would benefit from a consequence free avenue for reporting abuse. Removing NESTs from PPIs will help to address labor abuses directed at NESTs but do little towards addressing issues of child abuse and unsafe environments.

To conclude, there is likely no silver bullet for PPI teaching. Therefore the government should take measures to make legal work more appealing. Likewise, The Taiwanese government would do well to educate its populace on the importance and requirements of teachers regardless of their race. Finally greater transparency between all the market actors: the institutions, parents, students, and NESTs, is necessary to help ensure the wellbeing of Taiwanese children.

5.5 Limitations

The researcher has worked in ESL in Taiwan, Korea and the United States for nearly a decade. Although the research often reflects ideas the researcher does not agree with, the researcher admits a possible bias. The findings are, to the best of the researcher's ability, based on collected data.

Several other limitations apply to this study. Firstly, the population of NESTs in PPIs in Taiwan is unknown. This is due largely to the legal confusion discussed in chapter one. Many NESTs who teach at the preschool level in Taiwan are registered as buxiban teachers; others

work from a student visa and are unregistered as teachers. Some who work at unregistered schools are paid under the table and make visa runs. With this in mind, there is also a chance that many of those working as English teachers in PPIs, are not actually native English speakers. There is almost certainly a lot of variation. Legal restrictions make it difficult to give an accurate count. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that there are about 3,232 registered NESTs in Taiwan (Lan,2011), but the percentage of this group teaching at any particular level is largely unknown. With this in mind, it is difficult to judge the extent to which this study applies to the total population. This concept extends to assumptions about gender; while $\frac{1}{3}$ of the native English speaking population in Taiwan is female, they do not necessarily make up $\frac{1}{3}$ of the PPI teachers. The case could be that they are more desirable (as suggested by the literature) but less likely to stay in Taiwan long term (Lan,2011) and make up a higher percentage, or more desirable as suggested by interviewees(Appendix C: Nelson) or less desirable as cited by John and Kyle (Appendix C: John, Kyle). Furthermore perhaps their higher desirability makes it easier for them to find high paying jobs that do not involve legal entanglements and deportation. Again, the population is unknown and we are in the dark territory of assumption.

This study is further limited in its scope and application due to time constraints. Although the majority of Theory of Planned Behavior studies have a follow up study to identify whether behavior intention was followed by actual behavior, this study only surveyed those who have already demonstrated the behavior. This leads to the another limitation.

Apart from one, this study does not address factors that effectively deter people from starting to teach at the preschool level. Based on the experiences of the interviewees it is arguable that teaching in a PPI is based on chance and opportunity (Appendix C: Nelson, Anton, Gregory, Hugo).

It is worth noting that some coding is done at the author's discretion. For example, when trying to provoke a behavioral outcome to teaching in a PPI, questions would be asked as follows: “What are the advantages to teaching kindergarten?” if the respondent says “well it is easy to find work” then the author files the response under perceived behavioral control and rephrases the question.

A final limitation deals with perceptions. Commonly, this study deals with generalities; child abuse and labor abuse being too such examples. Child abuse to one person may be different than child abuse to another person. The definition mirrors the classic anecdote of pornography “it's hard to define, but you know it when you see it”. This is evident in the results where incidents range between children being struck with electric fly swatters to children being made to drink too much water. As attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control are understood to be personal interpretations of outcomes, perceptions of certain outcomes are determined by the interviewee.

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Appendix

Appendix A Pilot Survey Responses

	Question & Response
Question	Please take a moment to tell us what you think about Teaching English in a kindergarten in Taiwan for a school year. There are no right or wrong answers. Please write five to six thoughts on separate lines.
1	<p>1. You have to wake up early. You are a token white person, expected to magically imbue English upon children via entertainment. A distorted version of customer service exists wherein parents are completely capable of influence the "product" (English) that the school is claiming to sell.</p> <p>2. Pretty safe and relaxing environment. Kids didn't had little to no pressure concerning quizzes or tests A lot of games every day and general fun. Not enough autonomy given to the teacher to construct and manage his/her own curriculum.</p> <p>3. I think it provides a great opportunity to experience another culture as well as contribute to something separate from yourself. There is much to learn from teaching anywhere, and teaching abroad can help two parties -- students and teachers -- expand their understanding of other cultures simply by exposure to each other. I do think that the depth of teaching that could develop in just a year might be too little to truly benefit either party. I taught for a year in Taiwan and left uncertain of my impact. Teaching should be taken seriously regardless of where it occurs.</p> <p>4. Most are badly run and not focused on education, Curriculum is highly focused on reading and not hands on education. I have witnessed verb/ physical abuse which was very upsetting.</p> <p>5. It's a really fun job that is very rewarding! There is a wide gap between management's expectations and reality. It's an experience that has taught me valuable lessons to bring with me to other jobs. The lessons can be somewhat redundant from year to year. There is a lot of work that must be completed in a very small amount of time. I have learned how I want to raise my children in the future because of this experience.</p> <p>6. It is a very high energy, fun filled job. It Its extremely rewarding, especially when you see students progress from it knowing any English, to six months later when they speak full sentences. It requires a lot of patience. It is a bit dualistic, as you are setting an example, but simultaneously breaking the law. It pays very well by Taiwanese standards.</p> <p>7. An interesting opportunity which is unfortunately based on financial gain</p>

	<p>rather than an educational outcome! Wrapped in red tape. So many confusing and contradictory rules and regulations. Students are expected to all have the same ability and are not streamed on level but age. A lack of discipline often disrupts other students. Too much pressure can be put on teachers by overbearing parents</p> <p>8.It's a very positive experience teaching young kids English. Kindergarten age children are more impressionable and eager to learn. Teaching kindergarten allows for a more stable schedule of teaching hours. Younger children really like and appreciate their English teacher, especially if he/she is a patient and dedicated one. Teaching kindergarten requires little preparation and planning.</p> <p>9. Teaching English at a kindergarten in Taiwan for a school year seems to me to be an experience that is quite variable amongst the people I know, so I'll just speak to my experience. The job for me has been rewarding in many aspects as the age of the students allows for the teacher to really help shape the beliefs and attitudes with which these children will grow. I know we're just supposed to be teaching a language, but oftentimes explanations and classroom management funnel the class into an explanation of the basis of many normative beliefs. The job, for me, has been challenging. I typically don't try to find something that works and hit cruise control, but am constantly thinking of new ways to teach concepts to these kids. Frustrating. Working with management at my current school, and frankly at every school I've been to, has been frustrating at times. Surprising. I am surprised at times at the ways people choose or circumstances dictate people raise their children.</p> <p>10.A good opportunity earn make extra income. A generally low risk activity. An occupation that is not particularly stressful. A rewarding experience as a teacher. A reason to wake up early in the morning.</p> <p>11.Far better than teaching teenagers. Requires a lot of energy I enjoy the morning hours. It's well paying but one year might not be enough as to save well as you'll spend your first few pay cheques getting set up in Taiwan</p> <p>12.Full filling. Fun. Low pressure.</p>
Question	<p>What do you see as the advantages of teaching English in a kindergarten in Taiwan for one school year?</p>
2	<p>1. The relatively high salary compared to the average local income creates for an enjoyable life. The condensed working hours are stressful but allow for lots of free time to do non-work related activities.</p> <p>2. It's a good start to teaching English as I had never taught before teaching at the kindergarten. I learned how to teach phonics, basic dialogue, and be</p>

	<p>very very patient.</p> <p>3.As mentioned previously, I think cultural perspective and personal growth for both students and teachers is of huge benefit. Additionally, the teacher gets to become part of a foreign society and even be a functional cog in it. One of the greatest benefits of teaching abroad was it taught me the sense of the other -- as in, *I* became the other. Everyone, especially anyone who is white or privileged, should experience being the minority in a room at some point in life, because it is beneficial to feeling real empathy for minorities back home. In short, character development.</p> <p>4.Financial benefits.</p> <p>5.The job is quite easy and the pay is good. It can teach people a lot about how they handle emotionally charged situations</p> <p>6.There are typically steady hours, the pay is great considering the cost of living, and students at that age generally still like to have fun with English.</p> <p>7.An insight into a different culture and educational system Learning a new language while teaching another. Confidence building. Financial gain.</p> <p>8.Teaching kindergarten allows for a more stable schedule of teaching hours. Younger children really like and appreciate their English teacher, especially if he/she is a patient and dedicated one. Teaching kindergarten requires little preparation and planning.</p> <p>9. The job is not very physically demanding. I've worked lots of labor and service industry jobs previously, and this job is fairly light on the physical work. Lowered expectations seem to be common in this industry. This is likely due to the glut of recent graduates who fill many of the vacancies and for whom actually educating the children of people who are paying them for this service is not exactly a priority of their time in Taiwan. I feel this can, at times, be advantageous. Saving. With such a low cost of living, most kindergarten teachers' salaries are sufficient for them to live comfortably and save money. Free time. if you are solely teaching kindergarten, that leaves free time enough to pursue many other interests such as studying or skill acquisition. Proximity to Mandarin Chinese. Of course, if you are interested in learning Mandarin Chinese, teaching English can provide you with the income to support yourself as you live in a Mandarin speaking environment.</p> <p>10.Earning significantly extra money to save/spend each month. Consistency. The hours are rarely/never changed or scaled back. The income stream is more reliable than tutoring or teaching afternoons. No tax. Adds structure and routine to the morning. I don't sleep in until 11am every day. The class is (usually) well managed and well behaved. Having a competent and pleasant co-teacher to help manage the class and teach/do paperwork. The children are enjoyable to be around and enjoy interacting with the foreign teacher. I get the sense that by teaching the same group every day I am actually having an important impact on their lives/education development. Not the case with sporadically teaching older groups of students</p> <p>11.It's far more rewarding than other kinds of teaching as the progress of</p>
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	<p>the agents is a lot quicker and you're given the opportunity to give the kids a good foundation rather than trying to correct bad habits they have learned previously</p> <p>12.Connect with children more than elementary</p>
Question	<p>What do you see as the disadvantages of teaching English in a kindergarten in Taiwan for one school year?</p>
3	<p>1.The complete lack of standards from an educational standpoint reduce the "teacher" to nothing more than an entertainer. Therefore, you are subject to the whim of the parents (who aren't even present while their child is being taught) and their assumptions about you can lead to affecting managerial decisions and even curriculum.</p> <p>2.Low level of cleanliness. I got pneumonia teaching at a kindergarten. Too many kids in one little school as well. Too much high handiness from the brass at top. Need to let teachers do their thing.</p> <p>3.Homesickness is of course a factor. Additionally, the idea of shipping All-American teachers in rather than using Taiwanese teachers can turn the situation into a mascot scenario, and is another facet of privilege. Many teachers aren't qualified or aren't especially interested in teaching.</p> <p>4. I had a really rough time feeling like it was valuable education, and not just herding students in a day-care.</p> <p>5.Management puts a lot of stress on the teachers</p> <p>6.There is usually some type of legal stipulation, due to the Taiwanization laws. It is a grey area in terms of whether or not you need to dodge the government, and what you should tell people you do for a living.</p> <p>7.Government regulations and strict visa rulings. No specific guidelines given for why native speakers can not teach. Stagnant salary because of this factor. Concerns over constant threat of government checks.</p> <p>8.Teaching kindergarten in Taiwan is technically illegal. Managers and academic directors can sometimes take advantage of this illegality to put you in compromised situations. Kids can sometimes become too attached, making leaving a bad job more difficult.</p> <p>9.Time consuming. Depending on how seriously you choose to take the job, it can consume quite a bit of your time and distract you from other pursuits. Your Chinese speaking ability might stagnate or actually decline if you become too focused on the English language for which you are paid to teach. Socially, teaching English as a second language seems to be seen as a transition job for those who are moving up the educational ladder. Therefore, doing it for any extended period of time, I've found, tends to be looked at askance by some. Job insecurity of a sort. It seems that even if you have honed your craft and are demonstrably more capable of actually teaching the English language than fresh college graduates from your or any other English native speaking country, you are most definitely</p>

	<p>replaceable. This seems to stem from Taiwan's vain and superficial culture of demonstrating worth, and the fact that this incredibly homogenous population still goes apeshit over a white face, blond hair, and blue eyes.</p> <p>10. The risk of getting caught and deported. Wariness at disclosing to many friends and acquaintances that I work in a kindergarten because of the legality issue. Being required to wake up every morning when sometimes I want to sleep in/am hungover/have other obligations I need to attend to. Much busier, which means the work-life balance sometimes feels tilted away from enough leisure time. Sometimes students can be rude/unruly/hard to manage and that can be stressful and/or unfulfilling.</p> <p>11. One year may be too short. As mentioned it's not long enough to to save. Also, most people that come to Taiwan are not really great teachers in their first year. It takes some time to become comfortable in the job after which you will enjoy it much more. It can also be tiring and requires a lot of patience. It's impossible for anybody to be happy every day, but with this job you need to be.</p> <p>12. Kids can be a bit much</p>
Question	<p>What else comes to mind when you think of teaching English in a kindergarten in Taiwan for one school year?</p>
4	<p>1. If you don't mind having little to know content to teach and can just improvise English related activities for children, you will probably enjoy the work.</p> <p>2. I think it is not seen as a serious job both by fellow expats here and local Taiwanese. It's a pity because it is a very difficult job.</p> <p>3. police raids</p> <p>4. The opportunity to live in another country with a secure job is amazing. I have made such strong bonds with some of the students that it makes it very worthwhile.</p> <p>5. Games, music, body language, crying, hugs, and laughter.</p> <p>6. Parents control the system not the school. Lack of structure. Emphasis not on the important aspects of language learning. Not enough creativity.</p> <p>7. Meals are provided through the school (breakfast and lunch). Teaching kindergarten can force teachers to learn about valuable early childhood education teaching techniques.</p> <p>8. For me, there are lots of memories that come to mind. I remember putting a lot of effort into creating Christmas shows, only to have them turn out dismally. I remember a sense that I was expected to do lots of work without compensation.</p> <p>9. Feels like a rewarding experience that I would recommend. Rewards probably outweigh the risk in the eyes of many foreigners. Really enjoyed getting to know the students over a period of multiple years and seeing</p>

	<p>them every day. Much closer bond than working afternoon bushiban.</p> <p>10.Find a school with a good syllabus that's been around for a while.</p> <p>There's a lot of schools out there that have no idea what they're doing. And they'll expect you to walk in and somehow make the school great, with zero materials or help</p> <p>11.Get to mold kids in your own way</p>
Question	<p>Please list the individuals or groups who would approve or think you should teach English in a kindergarten in Taiwan for a school year. Please list 5-6 individuals or groups.</p>
5	<p>1.Recently graduated people Currently unemployed people People with an affinity for language learning People with an affinity for travels People who are not ideologically stubborn</p> <p>2.My mother. My former teacher. My old Chinese teacher at NTNU</p> <p>3.my immediate family my instructors at university close friends whoever would hire me abroad, of course some Taiwanese students</p> <p>4.Family Friends Previous employers Previous co-workers Classmates</p> <p>5.Friends Teachers Principals Recruiters Financial advisers</p> <p>6.Open minded travelers. People interested in Culture and language. College graduates. Teachers</p> <p>7.My boss The parents of kindergarten age students My coworkers My friends</p> <p>8.I imagine my coworkers would approve of me teaching English. My employer, Happy Marian, would certainly seem to approve. Former students' parents who have since hired me on as a private tutor for their children seem to approve.</p> <p>9.arents of children enrolled. Children themselves. Other foreigners. Management who need foreign teachers to support viable business model. Taiwanese who feel that learning English is an important tool for success in an increasingly competitive and globalized world. Taiwanese who aspire to attend/have their children attend a Western university.</p> <p>10.Taiwanese mothers People who know me Those seeking opportunity abroad</p>
Question	<p>Please list the individuals or groups who would disapprove or think you should NOT teach English in a kindergarten in Taiwan for a school year. Please list 5-6 individuals or groups.</p>
6	<p>1.People who already have a passion for a non-teaching related job</p> <p>2.My former NCO's in the service. My grandparents. Donald Trump</p> <p>3.some of my extended family hometown/small town friends probably</p>

	<p>many Taiwanese people question this process some Taiwanese students</p> <p>4.No one.</p> <p>5.Police officers Government officials Parents Lawyers Immigration officers</p> <p>6.Professional locals People who have experienced life in Taiwan. Expats that have lived in other Asian countries</p> <p>7.The police Taiwanese policymakers The managers of competing schools Public school officials</p> <p>8.Basically, anyone who knew me before I moved out to California. Anyone who knew me at any time I Lived in Louisiana. Those people would know me as an irresponsible person who derides anything resembling a routine. Typically only those who knew me as a young person. Otherwise, I don't think people would disapprove.</p> <p>9.More tradition-minded Taiwanese who view Chinese language as an important component of community identity and see the learning of English as a threat to said identity. Taiwanese with background in teaching/education who view foreign teachers as a threat to their ability to get a job. Immigration authorities/Police. Politicians/social activists/some Taiwanese citizens who resent/fear/dislike the idea of foreigners coming into their country for work.</p> <p>11.The Taiwanese government People who see it as a job reserved for females</p>
Question	<p>Sometimes, when we are not sure what to do, we look to see what others are doing. Please list the individuals or groups who are most likely to teach English in a kindergarten in Taiwan</p>
7	<p>1. American college graduates Canadian college graduates Foreign born Asians</p> <p>2.young 20 something Americans and Canadians</p> <p>3. twenty-somethings, recent college graduates, unspecified degree holders, aspiring teachers, adventurers, single people</p> <p>4.people who are lost people who can't get jobs in America, people who love adventure people who do not have to grow up</p> <p>5.New graduates. Men who want an easy job. People that want to travel. People that don't have other options at home. People with no previous work experience.</p> <p>6. Teachers College students Graduate students Travelers Small business owners Martial arts fighters Writers</p> <p>7. Backpackers. Students. Travelers. Explorers. Open minded, creative types</p> <p>8.Fresh off the boat foreigners with no knowledge of Taiwanese laws Foreigners with a good idea of how the law works in Taiwan, but who believe in bilingual education for younger children Foreigners who are</p>

	<p>desperate to find any kind of teaching work</p> <p>9.I would imagine it would be those who have some yearning to leave their own culture or circumstances behind. Perhaps as a form of escapism, or a lust for adventure. Of course, there are also those who simply see it as a transition, one of a myriad of options that lay between their undergrad and graduate school education. People who are generally discontented with the state of affairs in their hometown or country.</p> <p>10. Foreigners from an English speaking country who want supplemental income. Foreigners who want to teach English but do not meet the requirements for getting a legal job (college degree/native English speaker etc.) Foreign students here on scholarship who are barred from working in Taiwan yet need more money than the 20,000nt monthly stipend. Foreigners who have a specific background in early childhood education and prioritize working with this demographic.</p> <p>11.People looking to travel Asia People looking to increase their salary abroad People between the ages of 20 and 30 with open mind looking for a new experience</p>
Question	<p>Please list the individuals or groups who are least likely to teach English in a kindergarten in Taiwan?</p>
8	<p>1.Socially conservative people Highly religious people People with low exposure to other cultures</p> <p>2.Older, salty expats. Western female expats</p> <p>3.small town folks, conservatives, hardcore patriots, those engaged or married</p> <p>4.people who like security people who don't like to travel</p> <p>5.Highly educated people. Women. Married people</p> <p>6.Police officers Government officials Immigration officers Lawyers Priests</p> <p>7.Accredited Teachers. Experienced ESL teachers who are aware of the implications of teaching in TW. High level professional</p> <p>8.Foreign teachers who don't like children Teachers who read horror stories on tealit, forumosa, or other expat community forums Teachers with actual teaching certification who can teach in public schools</p> <p>9.Those people who are content or happy with their lives currently outside of Taiwan. People in technical fields with technical skills who either have no interest or talent for language acquisition. People who have little patience with children or just in general would not be suited for the job in my opinion</p> <p>10.People concerned with getting caught and deported. People not willing to wake up early in the morning. People who dislike working with small</p>

	<p>children. People who have had negative prior experiences working in a poorly run kindergarten. People working more than 30 hrs per week teaching in the afternoons and evenings.</p> <p>11.Males over 40. Too much energy required</p> <p>12.People with little patience</p>
Question	<p>Please list any factors or circumstances that would make it easy or enable you to teach English in a kindergarten in Taiwan</p>
9	<p>1.Having housing or living expenses paid for. Vacation time beyond the typical "no paid time off" model that most schools use.</p> <p>2.Better pay. More say in what I teach.</p> <p>3.Honestly the health system is amazing and the cost of living is wonderfully low. The country as a whole is so welcoming in most regards too, and so accessible to speakers of english.</p> <p>4.Paid flights. Set curriculum. Supportive co-workers. Good pay.</p> <p>5. Surplus of jobs Lax immigration laws Lange network of Taiwanese/expat friends Good people skills High pay</p> <p>6.Visa access. Stricter control over individuals interested in being instructors. Acceptance from local. A more structured pay system</p> <p>7.Native English speaker White, male or female From one of the native speaking countries Naive about local laws</p> <p>8.Contracts in English and a medium through which parties other than the English teacher (i.e. the employer/ management) could be held to account on the contract. A resource through which potential teachers could access accurate and up to date information on employees' rights, average rate of pay, job expectations..etc...</p> <p>9.Made formally legal.</p> <p>10.Some schools provide a few days training, but most don't. I guess a company that provides a two day guidance course would give a lot of first time teachers more direction and at least show them the level that is required. Also some sort of union that helps sort out disputes between teacher and boss would be nice</p> <p>11.An organized school</p>
Question	<p>Please list any factors or circumstances that would make it difficult for you to teach English in a kindergarten in Taiwan</p>
10	<p>1.An inability to learn Chinese or adapt to a culture completely different from your own</p> <p>2.Lack of respect. Too many meetings for such a simple job</p> <p>3.The climate is difficult for those of us from temperate regions, and it is a</p>

	<p>big culture shock at first. Personally, I'd be restricted by owning a cat, as she couldn't come to a rabies-free island (even though it was her birthplace!)</p> <p>4.Low pay. Higher Degree requirements (masters in education or teofl)</p> <p>Government restrictions or difficulty applying for an ARC.</p> <p>5.Shyness Strict immigration laws Low pay</p> <p>6.Lack of clear regulations. Basic or no help with settling into the environment. No pensions available to foreign workers</p> <p>7. Dark-skinned, specifically from SE Asia Non-native speaker Not good with kids</p> <p>8.Any kind of increase in nativist sentiment wouldn't help. Higher taxes or lower average pay. The cost of living rising disproportionately to a corresponding rise in income. If the government actually decided to enforce the laws on the books, then many if not most of the kindergartens in Taiwan would be fu***d</p> <p>9.Harsher policing and more frequent deportations. Being in a new city in Taiwan and not having any connections or knowledge of the available kindergarten opportunities. Kindergarten work is not advertised as frequently as afternoon and evening bushiban work. Presumably due to both having fewer kindergarten schools than bushibans and the higher level of discretion due to the legality issue.</p> <p>10.It's a blatantly racist world out there. It's no secret that being young, white and good looking trumps teaching experience every time. Being of another race or having a strong accent apart from the American one is gonna make life difficult.</p> <p>11.Poor communication skills in a school.</p>
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Appendix B Primary Questionnaire

Survey of Kindergarten Teaching in Taiwan

Thank you for taking the time to answer this anonymous survey. Before we begin there are a few things you should consider.

First kindergarten in this survey refers to the teaching of children older than the age of two and before the commencement of elementary school. While the ROC Ministry of Education defines this age as "young children" this survey chooses to use the term kindergarten.

Second depending on context, this survey uses the term schools and kindergarten to refer to privately owned schools in Taiwan, whether they are kindergartens, nurseries, cram schools, buxibans, or kindergartens.

Instructions:

This survey measures generalities and is subject to your own perceptions. Although you may be given the choice between true and false; your feelings regarding the question may fall somewhere in the middle. Please answer accordingly.

Please answer every question in this survey.

Your contribution will ideally help to remedy the precarious legal situations many ESL teachers find themselves in. Thanks again!

Population measures:

1. What is the nationality stated on your passport?
2. How many years have you lived in Taiwan?
3. Do you have any teaching accreditation? If so specify
4. What is your age?
5. What is your sex?
6. Ethnicity origin (or race) please specify
7. How many years have you taught or did you teach kindergarten in Taiwan?

1-7 Point Likert Scale direct measures:

1. Teaching kindergarten in Taiwan is (Pleasant/ Unpleasant)
2. or me to find kindergarten work in Taiwan is (Extremely Easy/ Extremely Difficult)
3. How enjoyable is teaching kindergarten in Taiwan? (Very Enjoyable / Not at all Enjoyable)
4. Most people whose opinions I value support me teaching kindergarten in Taiwan (True/ False)
5. There is social pressure to teach kindergarten in Taiwan (True/ False)
6. There is a large local demand for English teachers in Kindergartens in Taiwan (True/ False)
7. or me to teach English In kindergartens in Taiwan is (Extremely Rewarding/ Not Rewarding)

1-7 Point Likert Scale Behavioral Outcomes:

1. My teaching English in kindergartens in Taiwan will result in a higher pay (when compared with other ESL work) (Likely/ Unlikely)
2. Teaching English in kindergartens in Taiwan allows me to work in the mornings (Likely/ Unlikely)

3. Teaching in kindergartens will give me a feeling of impact on children's lives and development (Likely/ Unlikely)
4. Teaching English In a kindergarten in Taiwan will allow me to experience different cultures and travel (Likely/ Unlikely)
5. Teaching kindergarten will allow for a greater personal connection to my students (Likely/ Unlikely)
6. Taiwanese Kindergarten management tends to be bad (True/ False)
7. Teaching English in Taiwanese kindergartens will expose me to labor abuses (True /False)
8. Child abuse is common in Taiwanese kindergartens (Very Common / Very Rare)

1-7 Likert Scale Normative Beliefs:

1. My family approves of me teaching English in kindergartens in Taiwan (Approves/ Disapproves)
2. Taiwanese people think you should or should not teach English in kindergartens (Should/Should not)
3. Qualified/Certified teachers are more or less likely to teach Kindergarten in Taiwan (Likely/ Unlikely)
4. Taiwanese parents think I should or should not teach kindergarten (Should/ Should Not)
5. Taiwanese public school teachers and education officials think I should or should not teach Kindergarten (Should / Should not)
6. Most of my friends in Taiwan have taught or presently teach kindergarten in Taiwan (True/ False)
7. Native English speaking expatriates think I should Teach English in kindergartens (Strongly Agree/ Strongly Disagree)

1-7 Likert Scale Control Beliefs

1. Teaching English in a kindergarten may cause me to break the law (Likely / Unlikely)
2. Teaching children requires a lot of energy (Strongly Agree / Strongly Disagree)
3. Being white (Caucasian) would enable me to teach English in a kindergarten in Taiwan (True/ False)
4. Having teaching experience is necessary for me to find teaching work in kindergartens in Taiwan (Agree/ Disagree)
5. Being good with children is necessary to find a job teaching in a kindergarten in Taiwan (True / False)
6. My race is factor considered when being hired by a kindergarten in Taiwan (Strongly Considered / Not a Consideration) *

* Due, regrettably, to an oversight in the survey creation phase, this question is based on a 1-5 Likert scale

Appendix C Interview Notes

#	Interview	Summarized Transcription and notes	Time and date
1	<p>Teacher Rachel</p> <p>Master of Fine Arts/ Master in Education</p> <p>Age 28</p> <p>Female</p> <p>Canadian</p> <p>2 years kindergarten Experience in Taiwan</p>	<p>Moved to Taiwan when 22 looking specifically to teaching English and travel</p> <p>Found first kindergarten & Buxiban job in Zhubei through a “shady” website that no longer exists.</p> <p>Found Second job through a recruiter in Sanchong. Recruiter recommended to her through friend. Didn't realize it was illegal until she arrived. She needed a job and everyone else in her situation seemed to do it. You can make enough money doing just kindergarten.</p> <p>Always wanted to take both Buxiban and Kindergarten. Although she enjoys kindergarten because the teaching is more effective. She prefers teaching older kids AE. middle school and above as she feels she can joke around with them. No particular preference for kindergarten.</p> <p>Advantages of kindergarten: Buxibans force you to work in the evenings or on Saturdays... I need my evenings</p> <p>Disadvantages: Powerless when implementing discipline.</p> <p>Rachel had Huge problems with the way school was run.</p> <p>Child abuse problems. Children getting beaten.</p> <p>Taiwanese parents had different opinions. They were not interested in English... rather they viewed it as babysitting.</p> <p>But some were supportive.</p> <p>Co teachers were also supportive depending on co teacher</p> <p>Recruiter pushed her into taking certain kindergarten jobs and did not provide other options even though they were likely available.</p> <p>People seek jobs in kindergarten as they are easy. You just have to show up, everything is laid out.</p> <p>Finding jobs was easy. Only Took a few interviews.</p> <p>Always had choices. Everyone looks out for everyone else in ESL community. “Go to revolver on a Friday night and someone will recommend you a job”</p> <p>Personally prefers job in morning, buxibans perceived as having to work evenings and often on Saturday.</p>	<p>12/15/16</p> <p>7:00am</p> <p>Skype.</p>

		<p>Perceived barriers- discipline inconsistent.</p> <p>Labor abuses- moved out of ESL because of labor abuses... too expensive to go home Jennifer (her boss) “put up a b**** stink” when she took time off even though she found a sub</p> <p>Never denied wages but it wasn't unheard of. Same as Korea but not as common.</p> <p>Family was supportive, didn't approve of her dealing with abuse</p> <p>Worried about illegality when school was raided. A few close calls. Did not feel like job would protect her. They wouldn't provide any legal defense, just find a new teacher. no loyalty with boss.</p> <p>Perceived idea that kids retain more at younger age encourages parents.</p> <p>Teaching English in kindergarten inspired her to get a teaching degree while in Taiwan</p>	
2	<p>Teacher Kyle Degree in English Lit</p> <p>Age 32</p> <p>USA</p> <p>5 years of kindergarten</p>	<p>Learns Chinese on his free time. Travels often. Came to Taiwan with intention of teaching. College roommate was living in Taiwan. Found a job before he came at k***n. At the time it was ok, but in retrospect was quite a bad job.</p> <p>First job was in 1st 2nd and third grade while substituting in kindergarten.</p> <p>Originally no intention to teach any particular age group. A Friend deterred him from doing it, stating it's too much trouble.</p> <p>Presently teaches kindy and likes it. He's done 6 years at different schools 5th year at current school. Taught every age group age 2-high school university age and adults. Stopped teaching kindy for a year and came back as he prefers to teach kindy as it started later (work) than High School. High school also unable to provide him with a work visa. Kindergarten yields Stable hours in the morning. Kindergartens allow for a routine. Kindy doesn't pay better per hours but provides more hours and this pays better.</p> <p>Kindergarten pays hourly. Kindergarten exists in a legal gray area.</p> <p>Knows of case where people were photographed teaching but never deported.</p> <p>Advantages- More hours and consistent hours.</p> <p>Disadvantages- Teaching younger children Teaching kids who can't even speak their native languages</p> <p>Management is Ok but their expectations are unrealistic.</p> <p>Finish a lot of book work, but managements complains its not creative enough. Management Asks a lot but</p>	

		<p>doesn't provide much time to do work.</p> <p>What kind of person most likely to teach English male 25-35 not fresh college graduates. Usually ESL at kindy level starts on second year.</p> <p>Enablers- Being white American, like being a tall flight attendant. You do not need to be qualified. Do not need experience. Things you learn in teaching college don't translate to Taiwan. Experience not needed but it helps.</p> <p>Barriers-No vacation days. No paid leave. Vast majority don't give benefits. Had a previous employer shaft him 19,000 when he left to deal with family issues. Only a portion of wages.</p> <p>Child abuse- at a previous school a child had learning disorder, repeatedly dragged out of classroom by both arms. Rough house treatment. Bouncer or police officer dragging kid out of bar. Abuses occurs on a school by school basis. Heard stories of kids kneeling in stress positions. Schools motivated by profit. Geared to making money. School he works at now requires kids to buy textbooks, but textbooks are terrible. Or texts aren't age appropriate</p> <p>Additional: Parents take is seriously, and are always very kinds. Present coworker used to teacher formers mayors kid</p>	
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3	<p>Teacher John</p> <p>Bachelor Degree in Early Childhood education</p> <p>Age 32</p> <p>USA</p> <p>3 years of kindergarten</p>	<p>Came to travel and heard they have good pay for preschool teacher. First job in private school ages 2.5-6 worked there for 6 months. Job promised him a bonus and management position and apartment. They didn't give apartment. They accused him of being a liar and he quit.</p> <p>Heard Taiwan had preschool work from college classmates. Originally working with H**s, who changed his training after he bought a ticket. Didn't have a passport. So he came without them.</p> <p>Day after arrival sent an email to school he saw on TEALIT had a job in 40 minutes</p> <p>Advantages of kindergarten- Didn't know what buxiban was. Second job in a buxiban. He dislikes buxiban, poor work and teaching practices, not developmentally appropriate. Felt it was bad for children. Kindergartens a little better for children. Kindergartens have Archaic practices 30-40-60 years behind modern teaching practices</p> <p>He prefers working in morning. Older kids are too much pressure. Little kids a lot more fun. Teaching Buxiban kindergarten is easier. But full day kindergartens like K*****o are difficult. Lifting things, play time, exercise etc.</p> <p>Realizes there is a difference between kindergarten in buxibans and actual kindergartens.</p> <p>Prefers actual kindergartens. Couldn't define why</p> <p>Legality "Absolutely not ever did anyone ever tell me it was illegal" "I did my own research" " i knew what i was walking into" figured it out when he got here. "Its blasé, Taiwan laws not enforced unless there's a complaint"</p> <p>School managed illegality: At School we had tea time. K*****o would bribe someone. Or they'd Suddenly have a day off.</p> <p>Hiding everything even pencils and books</p> <p>Once he had to run to the roof.</p> <p>Buxiban often comes with kindergarten. I applied for kindergarten and they forced me to do buxiban. The other way around.</p> <p>Working with kids was my vocation, two degrees in Early Childhood education</p> <p>No longer teaching in Taiwan because of the bad practices.</p> <p>Has APRC. and was never concerned about legality. Divided time 50/50 teaching in kindergarten and Buxiban.</p> <p>Foreigners don't have a bad attitude about it.</p> <p>Taiwanese women won't date you if you they know you're an english teacher because of a preconception that they are assholes, just looking for hookup,</p>	<p>12/16/16 2 pm</p> <p>Slyders Restaurant</p>
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		<p>immature, losers in their home country</p> <p>Most likely to teach kindergarten- most people take any jobs they can. Some professionals at better schools, some people come for work or money or to study Chinese. Not worried about their teaching. Its an occupation not a profession.</p> <p>It's a good way to travel.</p> <p>Bad management- Schools take passports. H**s does that. Gives out loans. Gives NEST a loan for housing. Almost a forced loan. You have to take 5 thousand. And they Hold onto passport until loan is repaid</p> <p>"Have you heard of labor abuses?" "The whole thing is a labor abuses" " oh you gotta check books, You gotta work extra hours" " you gotta check books (on your free time)" Not payed for some hours, forced to work through breaks."</p> <p>First school misreported everyone's taxes. Filed an anonymous charge against them. K*****o provided vacation days and benefits. Left because of problems with manager (incompetence) corner cutting, business first, money before education.</p> <p>Race Based Hiring: 100% race based hiring practices. Asian women got it the worst. Parents want a white person in the classroom.</p> <p>At k*****o the teachers had a motto "Did we show up on time? Are We white?" Argues: absolutely do not need experience. Teaching degree made no difference. School was happy to show it off. There is not natural barrier. If i shave i can get any preschool job i want. Age becomes a barrier after 50 if you look old, if you look professional your fine.</p> <p>Abuses- force feeding children, drinking too much water. Weird ideas coming from parents. Giving kids cold water. No respect from parents only concerned with appearance.</p> <p>Will not teach kindergarten again unless he has children.</p> <p>Additional: "parents always supported me doing it as i had done it in the states"</p>	
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4	<p>Teacher Nelson</p> <p>Bachelor of Arts</p> <p>South Africa</p> <p>Age 26</p> <p>3 years kindergarten</p>	<p>Came to Taiwan to travel work and chill out. Knew about Taiwan as a work location before he came from friends. Just a matter of seeking location. Had friends teaching in Taiwan and studying Chinese. Upon arrival he was just looking for teaching work, not kindergarten in particular. Found his first kindergarten/ buxiban job through an Agent. Was not given a choice, if he wanted one he had to take the other. Payed recruiter 20% of salary at 70-80,000 a month. Maybe more. Realized that kindergarten is illegal when his boss told him not to come in. Slowly people told him. It was not made clear to him and his coworkers. Recruiter also said nothing. Feels it's illegal because of kids not learning Chinese. Feels it's not clear cut illegal, its loopholes. Never felt it was an actual crime.</p> <p>3 Coworkers. Average teacher at school 5-10 years. Teacher's south African and American.</p> <p>Attitude- originally afraid of working with children oh no i have to work with children, didn't know how to teach kids, first phases scary, a lot of pressure, no support or training, just manager observations followed by negative criticism. How many kids in their class? 15-11-6. Had a few co teachers. Felt in his early stages of teaching he had a bad attitude towards co teachers, school, and culture. He wasn't friendly and scared of environment. He was fearful of what was being said about him in Chinese at work. Management is "chaotic" "disorganized" "command based"</p> <p>Worked on one year contract</p> <p>60-70% of people do it. Doesn't know anybody who only teaches Kindergarten. Has considered only doing buxiban but prefers to work in mornings.</p> <p>Other expatriates don't praise it ... it's not surprising it's a regular sort of thing. "Oh yeah me too" His attitude is positive about it. Never had anyone tell him to stop doing it.</p> <p>Jobs looking for people who look young and look nice. Younger people are more appealing. Schools tend to prefer women. Generally speaking. But not really too picky. If they could choose they'd choose a woman. Yes they hire people because of color of skin. Its apparent that the practice is common. In some cases look is more important that teaching ability.</p> <p>If you come at right season you can find a job in about a month</p> <p>Both jobs found through recruiter. Recruiter is motivated by profit, only cares about money.</p> <p>Present school better than previous. Warmer, friendlier helpful attitude. Greeted at work, with hello and good mornings. Help is available.</p>	<p>11/15/16</p> <p>5pm</p> <p>Coffee shop</p>
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		<p>Present school doesn't have surveillance CCTV cameras at previous schools. Lack of freedom. Management doesn't breathe down ones neck. At first school recruiter insisted he lied about experience, but school knew he was lying and hired him anyways. Current school had him wear a mask when they went out trick or treating. Schools notified before a check. Not aware of the type of school it was.</p> <p>Barriers- not being good looking. Qualification and work experience not a barrier in most cases. Easier to find jobs outside city. The further out the less they care. Central Taipei is where the best jobs are.</p> <p>Negatives- you can't save money teaching (just) kindy. Doesn't open up a lot of doors. Can be perceived negatively. Parents originally ok with it but increasingly don't like him doing it. schools are more interested making a profit.</p> <p>Taiwanese culture Taiwanese culture doesn't value kids learning English. It's something they have to do but don't care about. Parents value kindergarten teachers more than buxiban teachers. At younger stages Taiwanese parents more concerned with child's development. Takes kindergarten parents more serious at kindergarten level.</p> <p>Child abuse... Schools don't treat kids with care and love. Seems abusive behavior. One school placed tape on a kids mouth at request of parents</p> <p>Labor abuses. No benefits. Schools lenient on taking time off. Small things. Work not always compensated, but not often. Suspects his first paychecks docked illegally. Doesn't want to continue to teach kindy.</p>	
5	<p>Teacher Jim No teaching degree / Degree in English Lit.</p> <p>Age 28</p> <p>USA</p>	<p>Has been teaching English In Taiwan for 6 years in two stints. Started teaching English as a way to supplement his income while studying Chinese. First job was at a buxiban. After arriving in Taiwan he met a recruiter who had been introduced him to a friend in by a friend .Payment was 20% of first pay check... around 13,000 nt. Found a job in three days and started work one week after arrival in a kindergarten. Boss didn't expressed that it was illegal. Took the job as he was not in job hunting season. Didn't know how to work with kids at first. Made to observe other co teachers. Other foreigners were welcoming to him, but Chinese co teachers treated him awfully "I'd come into work and there was always something wrong." Tax evasion was the norm, had to check every pay check, often found discrepancies but Tax law not made clear to him. After two years of working he switched to a new company which was much better. "People trusted me,</p>	<p>Oct. 17th Minshe ng Park</p>

		<p>and you were left to your own devices. This job was solely kindergarten, work in mornings. Later on he was forced to work in a buxiban as well. He was given a choice as to leave or to take the buxiban job. 40+ teaching hours a week. Exhausting, but made a lot of money. Summers off was a definite perk.</p> <p>Barriers- Tolerance for nonsense. "There's a lot of times in which you have to grin and bare it." Also no benefits and low opportunity for advancements. Being white and tall helped him find a lot. Recruiter once told him "they just love your look!"</p> <p>Enablers- its easy work "I'm paid to play with small children" It's all Legos and playdough. Likes the fact that he has a lot of down time taking kids to bathroom and feeding them lunch. Feels the management is disorganized and poor, but not poor enough to be a deterrent.</p> <p>Has seen minor abuses towards children especially at previous job. Kids taped to chairs, and struck with fly swatters.</p>	
6	<p>Teacher Michelle</p> <p>4 year liberal arts</p> <p>no qualification</p> <p>Age 31</p> <p>USA</p> <p>2 years of kindergarten</p>	<p>Worked as a yoga teacher in home country. Mother lives in Vietnam and Hawaii. Came from a lot of money and thus did not do it for financial gain. Wanted to live with teacher Jim who was her college friend. Worked buxiban for one year. Taught adults and kindergarten presently. Prefers kindergarten because of low stress atmosphere and proximity to children.</p> <p>She didn't use a recruiter to find her job. Her job was recommended to her by a friend. Job did not interview her or tell her it was illegal. Found out from Jim who told her "It's no big deal"</p> <p>Barriers- consider Taiwanese people to be rude. Dislikes local men and thinks expatriate men are "scum bags". Feels very lonely in Taiwan. Enjoys luxury of being in a foreign country, Easy to travel and save money.</p> <p>Not encountered child abuse. Not concerned with labor abuses.</p>	<p>Ming quan park oct 1</p>
7	<p>Teacher Anton</p> <p>Liberal arts Degree,</p> <p>No other qualification</p>	<p>Teaching in Taiwan since March 2016 25 years old</p> <p>Came to Taiwan because his brother was here working (non ESL) wanted to travel more in Asia after living in Korea. Didn't know what to do after graduation, panicked and brother told him to come out here.</p> <p>Came out here to teach... but not expressly kindergarten. "only thing available to non-Chinese speaking English speaker" exchange student in south Korea, where he taught at university to middle aged</p>	<p>Louisa Coffee Heping rd.</p>

	<p>Age: 25</p> <p>USA</p> <p>Less than 1 year of kindergarten</p>	<p>women. tutoring. Undergrad in international security and conflict resolution. Never worked with children in the past. not looking for a particular age group to teach... took what he got. Prefers to teach older kids or adults. Found job through brothers friends who worked at company. Interview was not stringent. never specifically asked to teach younger than 5.</p> <p>Was not aware that teaching kindergarten is illegal... didn't find out until after he signed his contract and during training. Didn't hear from his boss, heard from central office. Did zero research before coming to Taiwan.</p> <p>Advantages- First job so no comparison to other countries. As a foreigner you're treated with "kid gloves" "bosses don't expect a lot from you" visa taken care of for you. Wage is high for standard of living</p> <p>"I got a job in a field I have no experience in, and am still able to afford an apartment and save money... id say its pretty good"</p> <p>"Management initially foreign but now Taiwanese. Been pretty good... some cultural difference...if anything they treat me better than Taiwanese employees"</p> <p>Management a little disorganized and approaches problems.. if you make a mistake they won't tell you until much later.</p> <p>Disadvantages- Depends on what your goals in life are...if you don't plan to live here long term... job becomes easy but if you don't intend to stay it can "suck you in" Futureless. Brother doesn't teach... got a job in USA which relocated him.</p> <p>Job provides a lot of free time. Initially when he was learning to do it ... he spent a lot of time doing prep. Has coworker who study Chinese and work full time. Enough time to pursue hobbies. "Big advantage of job is.. it's not demanding so you can build towards something else while teaching English"</p> <p>Labor abuses- no paid vacation... but never had wages withheld... sometimes made to work when he isn't payed... but not common.</p> <p>Child abuse- Never encountered "if anything I'm disappointed with the lack of discipline...feels like the inmates are running the asylum sometimes"</p> <p>they take it easy on the kids because its a business... the parents pay but the kids are the customers...</p> <p>Doesn't know what kind of issues are discussed with parents... parents are dismissive of discipline issues Kids don't spend much time with parents... sometimes feel like a baby sitter... content isn't difficult... it's more so kids have something to do all day..they are however willing to pay a lot...</p>	
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		<p>Received some training from HESS ... They have ways that your supposed to do things... but after a trickle down... not much is applicable.</p> <p>Has a co teacher in some classes. Sometimes good and helpful sometimes he feels like he is getting in the way other times... they are detriments.</p> <p>Some co teachers doing as part time job while in university</p> <p>Taiwanese people don't express their thoughts... so he doesn't know how they feel. Parents have to be aware that he is not a credentialed student... "I'd be really surprised if parents were totally ignorant" "this is just a 25 year old kid from the us who came from Taiwan"</p> <p>"they must assume I'm partying here and looking to meet Taiwanese girls... probably a safe assumption"</p> <p>"i don't socialize with a ton of Taiwanese"</p> <p>other expatriates resent him more same pay without having to work harder for it (students)</p> <p>Americans vary... two categories... burnouts... who just want an easy life... A lot of the people who use it to better themselves... try to move forward... learn the language... "I've met people from both camps"</p> <p>"its not so much that I'm teaching English, as where I'm teaching English... the company I work for excepts people through skype"</p> <p>plans to stay at least one more year ... depends on whether or not he feels like he's moving forward, although he'd like to make it work.</p> <p>"his brother leaving wouldn't cause him to leave"</p> <p>Barriers and enablers-</p> <p>Was not hard to find a job... took what came his way..</p> <p>Wasn't searching aggressively ... wasn't really looking but still found one. Thinks talking to foreigners is the easiest way to find a job.</p> <p>Hess is one of the only schools that hires blacks... do not sure if he was hired for race... a lot of ABC coworkers. Payed on the same scale.</p> <p>"skin color does 100% matter at other schools"</p> <p>Teaching in America ... you're not payed well.. have to deal with a lot of bureaucracy...People with teaching certificate stay in how country "part of the appeal of teaching in Taiwan is it doesn't require any credentials"</p> <p>Did Not come specifically travel. Never thought "oh i can live in Taiwan and easily travel to Thailand." more interested in long term stay... soaking culture</p> <p>Wouldn't worry about legality factor of kindergarten.</p> <p>Doesn't know why it's illegal. Has not researched the issues... laws in Taiwan are very flexible...</p>	
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8	<p>Teacher Gregory</p> <p>Celta certified</p> <p>Age 28 Scotland</p> <p>9 months of kindergarten</p>	<p>From Scotland been teaching for 9 months. Been to Taiwan for holiday. Teaching kindergarten and buxiban level at HESS...</p> <p>Found job through a Canadian friend... someone he met travelling. Why Taiwan? Wanted to take a gap year before doctorate... Went her because he wanted to learn Chinese. Found Job easily... They didn't interview him... he just showed up... was living in china at the time. Had taught in China 18 months. No one in interview process knew it was illegal. Did his own research and knew it was illegal... he even needled the guy and he didn't tell him. Know a lot of other people who are doing it ...doesn't know if law is serious... Has Taiwanese friends with kids at kindergarten Age... most of them put their kids in a kindergarten. ARC licensed through Buxiban... kindergarten is licensed as a Buxiban</p> <p>ADVANTAGES- "The hours are Much less antisocial than buxiban hours" which are typically at night or on weekends. "If you wanna do freelance or take private lessons, kindergartens are much better "Was a part of his process. Buxiban and kindergarten pay the same.</p> <p>LABOR ABUSE- Company has a policy where people who break contract are asked to pay for training. No paid vacation, and Asked to do some unpaid work. He cares... but not enough to stop. "Im aware of the laws and i speak Chinese... so i am in a stronger bargaining position"</p> <p>Child Abuse- Never seen kids struck but kids verbally abused. Would be called emotional abuses in the uk. "Nothing that really concerns me, but nothing i'd want happening to my child...kids are not endanger" likely a cultural difference. Hess has a high turnover... so he feels he has a strong bargaining position. Moderately happy at school... If he knew the working conditions when he took the job he might not have taken this job"</p> <p>Subjective Norm- Parents are fine with him doing it as long as he pursues graduate studies eventually.. Has a strong relationship with some of his student's parents.... Very supportive.. Not a daycare center... pretty serious teaching going on.</p> <p>Taiwanese society- "Many of them are perceived as losers.." take a pretty dim view of foreigners in general" Knows nothing about policy... not sure why its illegally. Long term expats don't like h***... early wage is low...and its the biggest employer... it drives the wage down.. Couple people say it 'sucks' but not a zeitgeist. Seems common Its normal. No stigma. Feels being white was more important than qualification and teaching skills. Hired for being white... although again</p>	<p>PMA brazillia n Jiu jitsu</p>
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		<p>Hess and Kojen have a reputation for hiring blacks... No teaching experience or qualification needed... curriculum was designed for inexperienced teachers... "found it very easy ... just to walk in" Parents are not away... "Parents are lied to, both outright and indirectly" about his qualifications "When i speak to my parents it's pretty clear that they have been misled" "thinks qualified teachers are less likely to teach... because of legal implications. Ceiling for kindergarten pay is lower than other jobs... Buxibans pay higher. After completing this year's contract he will not continue teacher... will move on and start PHD.</p>	
9	<p>Teacher Hugo</p> <p>No certification</p> <p>Liberal Arts Degree</p> <p>Age 31</p> <p>USA</p> <p>6 years of kindergarten</p>	<p>Came because he had friends and interested in studying Chinese. Came to study and learn Chinese. Could make a decent living, pay off student loans, learn Chinese. Had done a volunteer thing at an elementary... Found first job... was horrible... strung him along... lied to him about a promotion and more hours. Quit after several months. Found it through tealit... first 2-3 jobs this way... 5 jobs in ESL... 3 kindergarten Jobs. All classes in the morning. How long to find a new job... didn't take long... A week. Not difficult at all. Come in do an interview ... often no demo. First job at Hess but only Buxiban. Buxiban jobs start midafternoon... stopped learning Chinese... so decided to fill his mornings with teaching. Only jobs in the morning are preschool age jobs. Prefers to teach preschool... He has more energy in the morning. For a while he just taught Buxiban... was fine with it... Enjoys teaching preschool... kids are cute... surprising... higher learning curve. Very next week exhibiting results. Rewarding.</p> <p>You have to have a certain degree of responsibility ... Not a demanding job... pays far more ... "you can get far more out than you can get it." "standards are low and a cultural difference means " you can put in very little effort and get away with it" "a lot of teachers do bare minimum..." "it's very hard to get fired from a job " Why are standards low" Island country small population Parents do care... Parents care as much as anyone else... attitude comes from unrealistic expectation as to how much parents should care. They do care ... they come to PTA. Every parents speaking to administration... maybe not speaking to foreign teacher because of language barrier. Parents being soothed and placated. Most schools the standard varies... but the parents care sufficiently. Has a lot of contact with some parents... not much with others.. Co Teacher</p>	<p>Quiznos Misne ng East rd.</p>

		<p>handles a lot of it.</p> <p>Parents want him to move to states because they miss him "hurry up and move back"</p> <p>Friends in Taiwan... all my friends are English teachers... Perceived a stigma... less from Taiwanese more from foreigners... Those who don't teach ESL look down on ESL teachers as a profession.</p> <p>Government is made of people. Their kids work in Kindergartens. It's a facade.</p> <p>"Maybe if you venture outside a city attitudes might be more xenophobic.</p> <p>Might not be race based... just a fear of a change.</p> <p>Management- varies from school to school. Thought current schools management was superb... but it's gotten worse. "I don't think its spectacular... not a lot of accountability for management or workers. Emotional consequences... people get berated. Foreign teachers don't get berated.</p> <p>Labor abuses- No paid time off. No sick Leave. Most people realize there is a discrepancy between what should be done and what is done. Feels he does have legal repercussions. Crams schools also don't grant benefits. Previous school tried to Deny him pay when he left. He went to CLA (Chinese labor Association). Gave him a lawyer... Took that information... went to boss and threatened legal repercussion. Boss folded immediately.</p> <p>Child abuse- saw it at previous cram school but not at current school. "I've seen things that made me uncomfortable, but when i tutor kids i see their parents doing same thing, and even as a child i experienced whippings" so it's hard to say. Has seen whippings. Complained to boss.. Mitigated. But they just used verbal abuse. "It went to level 10" "Serious verbal abuse" Never felt like he had no rights or defense. Reports abuse to boss. Hard for him to complain... easier to understand the line for child abuse with young kids.</p> <p>Enablers: Im white. Im 6ft tall. (He's Hispanic but looks white). " The whiter you look the easier it is to obtain employment." lighter skin, lighter hair, lighter eyes. Thinks being white is more important than being qualified.</p> <p>Has seen Asian American people come in and do a very good demo and not get hired over white guys with no experience.</p> <p>Legality is not a deterrent "its happening all around you... it doesn't seem illegal"</p> <p>Has had to run from authorities... "it's demeaning... but its worth it"</p>	
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10	<p>Teacher Mike</p> <p>No certification</p> <p>Liberal Arts degree</p> <p>Age: 29</p> <p>USA</p> <p>Less than one year of kindergarten</p>	<p>Came to Taiwan to study Chinese on government scholarship. Diplomatic scholarship. After Scholarship ran out, didn't want to return home. Found first job through a Facebook post. First job was a Buxiban job. Buxiban job asked him to start teaching kindergarten for 600 nt an hour. Owner of buxibans friends. 9-12 every morning. Unregistered kindergarten... Down an alley.. School not clearly marked. Hidden from view. Not tied in any way to ARC . Giant room separated by glass wall. 60-70 pings. Two classrooms, one for cooking on for teaching and a play room. Knew it was illegal... heard it was illegal from friends. Has friends who are doing it illegally. Boss never told him. No set escape plan. Had a co teacher throughout his tenure. Kids could only say ABCs. Not likely wealthy kids. No licensing or anything. School was under construction the entire time he worked there. Parents would walk by and be like "Hey white face" No abuse at the school. Treated mike very well. No paid leave or vacation. No real labor abuses. Don't like teaching kindergarten because he didn't know what to do. Drained a lot of energy. Not being taxed for his work. Kids seemed happy. Seemed like a nice place.</p> <p>Advantages- no taxes, work in the morning, if the kids like you its a lot of fun. This didn't happen to him, he was ill prepared. Kids like having an adult to play with.</p> <p>Disadvantages- Tiring, stressful, you have to be good at making new content. Kids don't like repetition. Felt like he got better at teaching, but felt like he got better "I</p>	NCCU campus

		<p>started from zero, so obviously by default I got better” Major motivator was to continue to live in Taiwan and continue travelling “ I wasn't ready to go home yet” Management- Cram school management was good, owners put heart into work. Foreign owned. School were organized, but lessons plans weren't good ...materials were what the kids need. 90% Chinese speaking classroom. Only foreigner at the kindergarten Parents were “happy to see him” but wasn't a motivator. Parents were accepting. Parents showed no negativity. Although he felt his teaching was very basic or ineffective parents seemed pleased with it When learning Chinese other foreigners stigmatized it. He would lie about it. “ i never wanted to tell people i was an English teacher, because i didn't want to put that dogma on me” I didn't feel proud of being an English teacher” Mike heard people say” mainly we're here to have sex with women, save money, get drunk, whore around, go to clubs, we are the loser from our countries who couldn't get jobs and girlfriends in our home country” Doesn't think its true “the worst are the loudest” feels some people take it seriously Family is indifferent about him doing it. Have no idea or concept of teaching in another country. Has a lot of friends who do it. Does Not look down on them. “ you have the lifer, you have the academic, you have the person who doesn't know what they are doing with their life” Agrees that it's easy to do an pays well “ tough for me” but easy for others. Interviewing process was stringent, didn't think they'd just hire anyone. He was given a hard class. 5 teachers had recently quit. Recons it would take him less than a week to find a job, less than a month to find one he likes. Legality was an issue, made him nervous. Was afraid of cops around work. Doesn't really know why is illegal. LPP reason. Once interviewed at a kindergarten where he was shown places where the CCTV couldn't see him the boss said “ Do you hit kids” mike says “well i do” boss PRIMARY REASON FOR TEACHING WAS MAINTAINING THE ARC. Did not like working with kids, Manager at his school forced him into it. But not a do it or lose your job situation. Quit kindergarten after a year, got into a master's program Presently Teaches High School Buxiban</p>	
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