International Journal of Research Studies in Education
2023 Volume 12 Number 1, 41-56

The motivations of foreign teachers in Taiwan's private preschool institutions

Thomas, Bryn ✉
National Cheng-Chi University, Taiwan (bryn.thomas.1987@gmail.com)
Chou, Chuing Prudence
National Cheng-Chi University, Taiwan (iaezcpc@nccu.edu.tw)

ISSN: 2243-7703
Online ISSN: 2243-7711

OPEN ACCESS

Received: 9 January 2023 **Revised**: 2 February 2023 **Accepted**: 8 February 2023
Available Online: 9 February 2023 **DOI**: 10.5861/ijrse.2023.6

Abstract

The government of Taiwan seeks to create a population of "internationalized life-long learners" through English as a Second Language (ESL) education. To facilitate this education, the Taiwanese authorities permit the hiring of native English speaking teachers (NESTs) in public and private schools. Regulations forbidding the institutionalized teaching of English to children prior to the first year of elementary education conflict with the expectations of Taiwanese parents who agree with the 'earlier is better' theory of language learning. This gap between parental aspiration and government regulation is frequently filled by Buxibans which provide English education at the kindergarten and preschool levels. These institutions manifest themselves in numerous ways, are often licensed as 'supplementary education', and when recruiting NESTs, commonly do so regardless of their qualifications and the government regulations forbidding English learning at the preschool level. This paper explores why NESTs seek employment at the private preschool institutions in Taiwan despite legal prohibition, the threat of deportation, and endemic labor abuses. The research employed quantitative and qualitative sources triangulated through the theory of planned behavior. The study analyzed 10 interviews and 80 questionnaire responses. Findings suggested that NESTs perceive work in private preschools as rewarding because of the lifestyle it creates. Further, NESTs perceive the practice as commonplace, acceptable and having positive impacts on young children despite possible legal violation. The study concludes with some policy implications such as improving NESTs' work conditions with more policy transparency and legal clarity.

Keywords: ESL, expatriate, shadow education, theory of planned behavior, Taiwan

The motivations of foreign teachers in Taiwan's private preschool institutions

1. Introduction

In an increasingly globalized environment, the Taiwanese government has adapted measures to internationalize its education provision. 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 non-native language taught in public schools. English language proficiency is also tested in Taiwan's university entrance exams, and subject to a myriad of regulations created the Ministry of Education (MOE). Regulations such as the Early Childhood and Care Act (2013), and the Supplementary Education Act (2013) create circumstances in which English cannot be legally taught in either private or public schools at the kindergarten and preschool level or to what the Ministry of Education refers to as 'young children' (Strong, 2018). Young children are defined as being "older than two and prior to entering elementary school" (Early Childhood Education and Care Act, 2013 "Article 2: Terms used in the act," Para. 2).

These regulations often conflict with the expectations of Taiwanese parents who agree with the 'earlier is better' theory of language learning (Oladejo, 2006; Chang, 2008). This sentiment is buttressed by the competitive nature of Taiwan's education program, and concerns of non-standardized English instruction and text in Taiwan's public schools. A situation exists in which the societal norms and expectations of parents do not align with legal regulations of the Taiwanese government (Oladejo, 2006). Private tutoring institutions in Taiwan, commonly referred to as Buxibans, address parental expectations, exam anxiety, and group pressure towards learning (Chou, 2011). In the present environment, these institutions fill the gap between parental expectation and legal prohibition in the form of what this study terms as Private Preschool Institutions or PPIs (Oladejo, 2006; Chang, 2008).

The term PPI refers to all privately owned institutions teaching 'young children'. These institutions are licensed as either private kindergartens or Buxibans. Unlike Buxibans, which typically offer after-school supplementary programs on a range of topics, PPIs cater to 'young children'. Because of this, PPIs operate in a haze of legal ambiguity or what this study refers to as a 'legal gray area' (Table 1). PPIs manifest themselves in several ways. First as Buxibans providing illegal services to 'young children' in the form of English classes taught by NESTs (Bill Seeks to Protect Young, 2009; MOE Clarifies English Learning, 2004). This practice ranges between the provision of English as a Second Language (ESL) classes, to using a Buxiban as a shell for an unlicensed kindergarten or preschool (Bill Seeks to Protect Young, 2009).

PPIs also entify as legally registered private kindergartens that provide services prohibited by their licenses. These services range between abacus, mental arithmetic, and English classes (Oladejo, 2006; Chou & Ching, 2012, pg. 120;). This practice allows the PPI's clientele to apply for a government kindergarten voucher (Ho, 2006) while still meeting parental demands regarding language learning. In an effort to further meet parental demand, PPIs frequently hire native English speaking teachers (NESTs) with little regard for qualification to enhance the authenticity of the English spoken in their classes (Chou & Ching, 2012, pg. 121). This practices comes with inherent risks for both the PPIs' students and NESTs.

NESTs operating in this 'legal gray area' risk legal sanction and deportation due to working illegally. A legal violation occurs through the act of working at a place not specified on the NESTs' work permit (Employment Service Act, 2006), and is not due to teaching young children specifically. 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) and its corresponding open work permit they will no longer risk deportation. This is because their visa is no longer dependent upon their employment. Similarly, if a NEST's work permit is correctly registered at the buxiban operating the PPI, they can avoid deportation. In all

cases, the institution is subject to fines.

Table 1

The "Legal Gray Area"

Types of School	NESTs	Young Children	Consequence to NEST without an APRC
Nurseries / Preschools	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	deportation
Buxibans	Foreign Teachers and English curriculum allowed	Forbidden but common practice	deportation/ case by case

Work in a PPI is typified by labor abuses, a high turnover rate, and perceived as futureless (Lan, 2011; Peterson, 2014). Despite this, NESTs working in PPIs frequently appear in the Taiwanese media (e.g. Lin & Chen, 2015) and academic studies (e.g. Chang, 2008; Chen, 2013), indicating that the practice is common. In sum, NESTs continue tutoring English at the 'young children' level in Taiwan despite legal prohibition, questions regarding qualification, and the threat of legal sanction. This study had two goals: first, to help clarify the convoluted circumstances surrounding English learning at the kindergarten level in Taiwan via a survey of the available literature. And second, to investigate why NESTs seek employment at the private preschool institutions despite the risk of legal sanction and deportation. To this end, in-depth interviews and survey questionnaires with foreign teachers at PPIs were conducted and analyzed through the behavioral science framework of the theory of planned behavior (Fishbein & Azjen 1975).

This study specifically addresses NESTs operating in the myriad of institutions that manifest at the preschool level, be they private kindergartens or Buxibans. For the sake of streamlining, this study refers to these schools as: Private Preschool Institutions (PPIs). The study seeks to contribute to the literature surrounding tutoring in Asia by discussing the ways in which private tutoring licenses via Buxibans are used to fill the gaps between government regulation and parental expectation.

2. Literature Review

Taiwan is a popular destination for expatriates seeking ESL employment due to its sizable market. NESTs in Taiwan are a non-permanent migrant population, coming from a myriad of backgrounds, and few comprehensive studies have focused specifically on them. 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 due to a high turnover rate, a lack of understanding of local labors laws, and the extralegal nature of their work NESTs fall victim to unethical business practices, including withheld wages and denied benefits (Lan, 2011; Peterson, 2014). This extralegal work is facilitated by private recruiters who introduce NESTs to PPIs, who in turn provide works permit through registered Buxiban (Lan,2011; Jeon & Lee, 2006). In this way NESTS can formally work at one institution while accumulating untaxed hours at another. This work is illegal and can result in the deportation of NESTs (Employment Service Act, 2006), but provides PPIs with an avenue for securing visas and employees.

Jeon and Lee (2006) conducted a comparative review of the ESL hiring practices of schools in Taiwan, Hong Kong, South Korea, and Mainland China which concluded that Taiwanese schools recruit ESL teachers through private agents, and not through a centralized government bureau (Jeon & Lee, 2006). This study is confined to public school teachers who do not teach English in PPIs. Wang & Lin's (2013) study indicated that, despite regulations mandating a minimum Bachelor in Education or TESOL equivalent certification, schools in Taiwan often recruit those with a minimum of a Bachelor's degree. Recruiting practices for PPIs (buxiban and

PPI work) have only been addressed peripherally. Lan (2011) demonstrates that prospective NESTs are introduced to a school via an agent whose pseudonym is "Mr. Chen". The school, which is often a PPI, then provides work documents through a buxiban (Lan, 2011). Oladejo (2006) suggests that the main qualifier for teaching English is based on one's skin color, with white being preferred.

This argument echoes a 2000 Taipei Times article in which private schools blame parental preference on race-based hiring practices (Jan, 2000). The procurement of wages, and the conflicts they create have also been discussed. Public schools offer a wage in the range 50,000-70,000 NT a month (1,600-2,300 USD) per month; around (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 (l9 to 25 USD) 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 non-native 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.

While issues regarding labor abuses (Lan, 2011; Peterson, 2014) and teacher perceptions of language policy (Su, 2006), and the difficulties of expatriation in Taiwan (Chu, 2017) have been discussed, the actual motivations of foreign teachers to choose work at the kindergarten level remains unaddressed. The effect of market forces in Taiwanese private education, the convoluted circumstances surrounding kindergarten licensing, and the intersection between private tutoring and kindergarten education can expand our understanding of the desire for NESTs in PPIs. It is with this in mind that this study sought to address the literature surrounding the market in which NESTs operate.

2.1 Private Tutoring and Market Forces in Taiwan

Taiwan's supplementary tutoring market has yielded a boom in buxibans adapted to address parental expectations, exam anxiety, and group pressure towards learning (Chou, 2011). As private tutoring in Taiwan is often determined by social pressure (Chou & Ching, 2012) these institutions frequently adapt their curricula to address changes in parental demand. In sum, private institutions are incentivized by market forces to accommodate parental demands that conflict with government regulation. The expectations of parents have been addressed by both scholars and the news media. Oladejo (2006) surveyed 1,060 Taiwanese parents seeking to determine which foreign languages were preferred in public schools, 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 (2008) indicated that 94.7% of 489 surveyed parents in four Taiwanese cities considered English to be important. All the respondents started their children in English classes before the second grade (before the government mandated period) with 67.3% starting in kindergarten (i.e. at the preschool level), indicating a clear disparity between government policy and parent's desires (Chang, 2008). Another study establishes that parents see potential career and self-confidence value in learning English at progressively lower ages (Ingebritson, Tseng, & Shang, 2007). Parents expect English language learning to begin at an age earlier than government regulation. Likewise, despite government regulation, English language learning is occurring, and therefore creating a market for NESTs.

At present, the conflict between the expectations of parents and government policy is derived not only from the question of age. Parents are also concerned with perceived inequalities at the education policy level. Taiwan

has an extremely rigorous standardized testing regimen (Chou & Yuan, 2011; Oladejo, 2006). The competitive nature of this education system encourages parents to seek the best-performing schools. The Taiwanese government has decentralized its school system in an attempt to localize its curriculum, and this has had some unexpected consequences (Chou & Ching, 2012). As Oladejo (2006, p. 151) has established, "all education policies are made by the central government, while local governments are primarily responsible for implementation" 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 supplementary education 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). Another study suggests that 50% of these schools were teaching English before the government mandated age (Oladejo, 2006).

2.2 Understanding How Supplementary Tutoring Programs act as Preschools

Understanding the role of private tutoring in meeting parental expectations through the hiring of NESTs requires an in-depth explanation of the rules and regulations surrounding the 'Young Children' age group in Taiwan. Three types of institution cater to the preschool or 'young children's' level in Taiwan. They are licensed kindergartens and nurseries, which the Taiwanese government refers to as "educare institutions" (Early Childhood Education and Care Act, 2013), and licensed buxibans. Kindergartens and nurseries can be subdivided into private and public institutions, whereas buxibans are invariably privately owned. As of 2014, over half the preschools in Taiwan were privately owned (MOE, 2014). 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 (Chinese Mandarin), cognition, aesthetic emotional, and interpersonal development (Early Childhood Education and Care Act, 2013). 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, whereas educators in preschools are referred to as nurses (Hsieh, 2008; Early Childhood Education and Care Act, 2013). In an attempt to curtail the financial burden of paying tuition, government vouchers are granted to parents who enroll their children in licensed private kindergartens (Ho, 2006).

Private nurseries are distinguished from private kindergartens by larger class sizes (Early Childhood Education and Care Act, 2013 "Article 18: The class size in preschools," Para. 1) and a focus on care rather than education (Hsieh, 2008). Nurseries employ those with two-year college degrees and children in nurseries cover a larger age range than those in kindergartens (ages 2-5) (Hsieh, 2008; Early Childhood Education and Care Act, 2013 "Article 21", Para. 1-2).

Owing to greater government control, NESTs are unable to seek employment in public kindergartens and nurseries. Therefore, it is private kindergartens and buxibans which are hiring NESTs and tutoring English before the government mandated age. Buxibans are demonstrated as providing English education at the preschool age and are less regulated than nurseries and kindergartens (Chou & Ching, 2012; Hsieh, 2006; Supplementary Education Act, 2013). Looser regulations are exhibited in terms of classroom sizes, school spaces, teacher qualifications, age of students and curriculum. Although it is forbidden for 'young children' to attend buxibans (Supplementary Education Act, 2013), the practice is common. Schools registered as buxibans commonly 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 kindergartens, providing meals, sleeping

areas, outdoor play time, English instruction, and of course NESTs, which are 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 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.

3. Research Framework and Methodology

This study applies the theory of planned behavior to the question of "*why do foreigners tutor English at the preschool level in Taiwan?"* In particular, how were the theory of the planned behavior variables — attitude, subjective norms, and perceived behavior control — present 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 behaviors (Ajzen, 1991). Behavior intentions are formed by a combination of attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control. All three theory of planned behavior variables consist of different Salient Beliefs.

Understanding Salient Beliefs, is key to understanding the theory of planned behavior. Salient Beliefs fall into three categories: outcome beliefs, normative beliefs, and control beliefs (Sutton et al. 2003). 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 smoking cessation, 'healthy' 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 attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control, are formed by varying Salient Beliefs about the positive and negative outcomes of a chosen 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.

Attitude, in regards to the theory of planned behavior, 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' refer to the perceived social pressure towards performing a certain action (Ajzen, 1985). 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. However, not all behaviors are within complete volitional control of an individual. The theory of planned behavior was developed to address behavior intentions, while considering an actor's perceived behavioral control (Ajzen, 1988; Madden, Ellen, & Ajzen, 1991).

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 feel that they. individual possesses (financial, physical, social, etc.), the greater the perceived control of a behavior. Typically, intentions to perform actions, such as quitting smoking, 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).

This research employed mixed methods drawing from quantitative and qualitative sources triangulated through the theory of planned behavior (figure 1). 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. As the designated research sample have demonstrated the behavioral intention towards teaching at the preschool level in Taiwan, this study is retroactive in nature. The behavior intention is always assumed to be positive, as the entire sample has taught in a PPI.

Instead of determining which variables formed the behavior intentions to teach English in Taiwan, this study filtered NESTs' responses through theory of planned behavior variables in an effort to discover what these consist of. 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. Data for this research were collected using two methods; through a primary questionnaire addressing the attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control of NESTs from differing nationalities, and secondly through interviews with current and former NESTs in Taiwan.

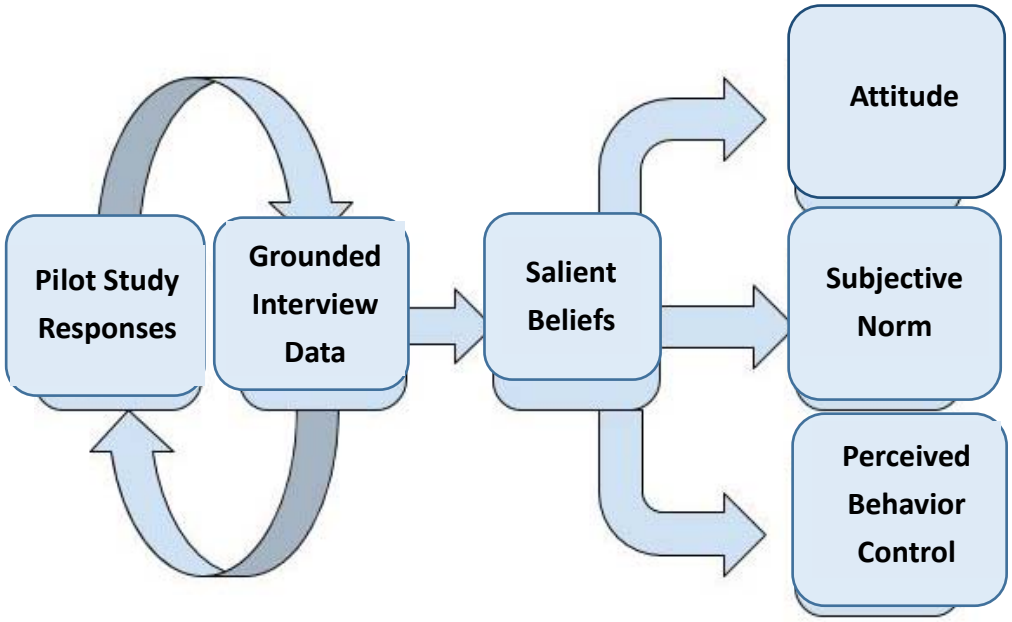

Figure 1. Research Framework

Source: Authors. Based on Ajzen, 2006.

3.1 Formative Research, Pilot Study Construction and Distribution

As recommended by Ajzen (2006) this study proceeded with a pilot survey, distributed in November 2016 via purposive sampling. The pilot survey's results were used to formulate both interview and primary questionnaire questions through establishing Salient Beliefs. The survey featured open response questions related to each of the TPB variables. Interview questions were further 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.

3.2 Interviews

Ten interviews were conducted in December 2016 and January 2017. Interviews are useful in the collection of qualitative data as they allow the researcher to probe and discover details. Interviews were 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. The interviewed population ranged between 25 and 33 years of age. There were two females, and eight male respondents, with differing levels of experience. Three respondents had quit teaching in PPIs, while two respondents had taught less than one year. Respondents, Kyle, Hugo, Jim, Michelle, Nelson were teaching at a

PPI at the time of interview with 6, 5, 5, 1, and 3 years of experience respectively (See Table 1).

Table 2

Interviewee Demographics

#	Name	Gender	Age	Country	Course
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

Note: CELTA- Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults. TESOL- Teaching English as a Second Language

One interviewee, Hugo, was a racial minority (Hispanic) in his home country. Other interviewees were clearly Caucasian. Rachel was Canadian, Gregory Scottish, and Nelson South African. The other respondents were all American. 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).

3.3 Primary Questionnaire

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 a larger population of NESTs in Taiwan. Primary questionnaire construction took place under the guidelines recommended by Ajzen (2002). Questions were devised from a pilot survey distributed early in the research. 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).

Pilot survey respondents came from a small portion of the proposed population (twelve individuals), and were asked open ended questions eliciting Salient Beliefs. Surveys were distributed through purposive sampling to ESL teachers and then snowballed to one other teacher. The questionnaire was based on unipolar 1-7 point Likert Scales seeking to identify the prevalence of salient beliefs related to attitude, subjective norms, behavioral control and intention. The questionnaire utilized the TACT (target action context and time) (Ajzen, 2002) in its display of questions. In regards to the time element, this study is given a high degree of generality, meaning the period for exhibiting a behavior (in this case tutoring in a PPI) was assumed to be a year. This is because PPIs typically sign NESTs on yearly contracts (in accordance with the Taiwanese school year, taxation requirements, and visa regulations). In addition, NESTs' work visas, known as Alien Resident Cards (ARCs) require filing 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.

3.4 Methods of Analysis

Both data collections methods: the interviews and primary questionnaire, were subject to complementary analytical approaches. 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 is mind, during the interview process, when new ideas arose they appeared in the following interview questionnaire. 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 pulled into teaching a PPI by a recruiter, others revealed that they found their jobs through their social networks. Following the completion of interviews, results were organized and analyzed according to the respective TPB variables.

3.5 Primary Questionnaire Analysis

Eighty responses were received for the primary 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.

3.6 Data Coding

Quantitative and qualitative data were coded according to their qualifications 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.

3.7 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 in PPIs were sourced, vetted, and interviewed. In the event that interviews met a predetermined standard, the interviewee was asked to introduce the researcher to a NEST who also taught English in a PPI in Taiwan. 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). 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: they had to be holding an ARC, be from a native speaking country, and needed to demonstrate 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.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

Although Taiwan does not require an ethics review in such studies, the researcher chose to take ethical precautions during the data collection for and writing of this article. These ethical measures were necessary because the behaviors discussed in the study have the potential to incur legal and financial consequences for the interviewee or the hiring institution. Accordingly, the following precautions were taken to protect the respondents and institutions involved.

First, respondents were clearly informed of the intention of the interview — to collect information on their employment in kindergarten-level institutions for analysis and eventual publication — and its potential consequences. Second, respondents were told that their names and the names of their hiring institutions would be replaced with pseudonyms or anonymized accordingly. Likewise, revealing details, including the location of the school, ARC numbers, specific places of residence, or cities of origin (e.g. Manchester, UK) would be removed or generalized. Accordingly, terms like "a well-known private school" would replace the actual name of the institution, which may otherwise be recognizable. Likewise, random names were assigned to the respondents to disguise their identities.

3.9 Limitations

The author and researcher, worked in ESL industry in Taiwan, South Korea, Vietnam, and the United States for over a decade. Likewise, the coauthor, has worked alongside the Taiwan MOE for the majority of her academic and professional career. Accordingly, they acknowledge a possible bias. As a result, the findings are, to the best of their ability, derived from the collected data.

Several other limitations apply to this study. First, the population of NESTs in PPIs in Taiwan is unknown. This is due largely to the legal confusion discussed above. 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 ⅓ of the native English speaking population in Taiwan is female, they do not necessarily make up ⅓ 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). 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. 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. 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.

4. Research Findings and Discussion

4.1 Attitudes

Primary questionnaire results indicate that the sample had positive overall attitudes towards teaching in PPIs. Of the 80 primary survey respondents, 70.0% claimed that tutoring in a PPI was enjoyable. Likewise, 67.6% described the work as pleasant and 58.7% described the work as rewarding. This positive perception was influenced by several behavior outcomes: the placement of hours, the age group being taught, teacher efficacy, and the likely hood of enduring labor abuses.

Results suggest that NESTs frequently choose to tutor in a PPI as it allows them to develop a closer relationship with their students. The sample population perceived teaching in a PPI as resulting in an easier workload and a greater connection to the children when compared to tutoring in a non PPI buxiban. The majority of respondents, 77.5%, stated that teaching at the preschool age yielded an impact on children's lives and development. Measures also indicated that 72.5% of respondents felt teaching preschool allowed for a greater connection to the students. Half of the ten interviewees claimed that PPI work allows them develop closer relationships with the children when compared to afterschool buxiban programs. The same interviewees claimed that this sentiment extends to teacher efficacy. Interviewees perceived their tutoring as more effective with 'young children', because of the prolonged exposure to smaller classes. Or conversely, the interviewees argued that kids in Taiwan's afterschool Buxibans were too tired.

Eight of the Interviewees perceived the placement and density of hours as being a major advantage of teaching in a PPI. Tutoring work with 'Young Children' was seen as a way to guarantee a dense block of hours in the morning and maintain a normal "nine to five" work schedule when compared to a traditional, afterschool program. One interviewee, Gregory, claimed that PPI hours were, "less 'anti-social' as traditional buxibans force you to work in the evenings and on the weekends.

The unregulated nature of working in a PPI has some notable drawbacks. In particular, NESTs feel they have few legal protections. All but one interviewee claimed labor abuses were a likely outcome of teaching in a PPI. Interviewees stated abuses ran the gamut between withheld wages, to being denied vacation time and paid sick leave. One interviewee, John, claimed a former employer confiscated his passport as collateral. Another, Jim, claimed a former employer failed to pay him 19,000 on his final month. Abuses, in the guise of this study, are benefits or protections provisioned by the Employment Service Act (2006) that are perceived as not being received. None of the NESTs interviewed received sick leave, payed vacation time, or labor insurance as they were all registered as part time labor despite working over 30 hours a week. Interviewees stated that these abuses were a normal occurrence among members of their peer group.

4.2 Subjective Norm

Respondents suggested that normative forces were not highly important in the creation of the behavior intention. Although the literature demonstrates that market mechanisms drive the private education market (Chou, 2014), respondents indicate market actors: Taiwanese parents, society, and authority figures did not play a significant role in the decisions of NESTs to teach in PPIs. The influence of NESTs' family and friends is likely more salient. While most of the 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). 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. Interviewee's consistently claimed conditional familial support. This support was usually extended to the decision to expatriate and not to teaching English in a PPI specifically. Interviewees claimed their parents did not fully understand what teaching in a PPI entailed. NEST's friend groups in Taiwan were likely more salient in normalizing the practice. Interviewed NESTs all had friends who were teaching 'young children' and believed it was a common practice. Half the interviewees claimed the practice was common. According to Rachel "everyone was doing it" and that, in Hugo's words, it was an "everyday sort of thing". Interviewees knew their actions were illegal but could only cite a remote examples of deportations (two of the interviewees referred to a notable case involving a popular, if somewhat naïve African whose boss forced him to work illegally).

In sum, while members of the NESTs peer group did have a role in mitigating fears of deportation, the subjective norm was likely not important in creating the behavior intention amongst the sample. It is more likely that the subjective norm was significant only in normalizing the behaviors of the sample.

4.3 Perceived Behavioral Control

Perceived behavioral control is likely significant in the decision of the sample to teach in a PPI. Primary questionnaire results indicate that finding work in PPIs in Taiwan is perceived as being exceptionally easy. A full 91.3% stated that finding PPI work in Taiwan was extremely easy, with only 2.6% claiming it was difficult. Likewise, 92.6% of respondents said they were extremely confident they could find PPI work if they wanted. This trend is starkly demonstrated by the interviewees. Every NEST interviewed stated they found a job within weeks of commencing a job hunt in Taiwan, most within days. Interviewees stated that neither pedagogical skills nor teaching experience are required to find employment. Only 57.5% of the primary questionnaire respondents stated it was necessary to be good with children to find employment. Tellingly, 58.75% said that teaching experience was not necessary to teach preschool in Taiwan. This is likely due to the perception that race is the soul qualifier for employment in a PPI, and idea reiterated in the literature (Lan, 2011). One interviewee, Anton, stated "it's no secret that being white trumps teaching experience".

Tellingly, 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). Furthermore, 86.25% stated that being white would enable them to teach in a kindergarten in Taiwan. Interviewees argued that being white was more important than being qualified or experienced. This is a notion frequently reiterated in the literature (Lan, 2011) and in news articles surrounding the subject (Jan, 2000; Everington, 2018). Every one of the interviewees pointed to the importance of race. Five interviewee respondents argued that being white was more important than being qualified or experienced. Hugo, a Hispanic, claimed he was lucky he looked white. John, an interviewed teacher, mused on the situation by sharing a joke which floated around his PPI: "Did we show up on time? Yes. Are we white? Yes. Ok let's go teach!"

Ease of access and low hiring standards contributed meaningfully to the decision to teach English at the kindergarten level in Taiwan. Interviewees demonstrated that such employment is easily accessible and not subject to high standards. The work is perceived as being easy, not physically demanding, and not serious. While all three theory of planned behavior variables were present in a NESTs decision to tutor at the 'young children' age group in a PPI, it is the variables attitude and perceived behavioral control that are likely significant. The researched sample of NESTs perceive the work as having positive outcomes which are distinct to working in a correctly registered legal afterschool tutoring program. Likewise, respondents indicated that the work was easily acquired.

5. Conclusion

Previous research has largely discussed parental perceptions and the age at which English language should

commence, the nature and hazards of private and supplementary education, and hiring practices in Taiwan. This study aimed to contribute to this understanding by addressing the NESTs who navigate the void between parental expectation and government regulation in Taiwan's private and supplementary education market. As this study is the first to address this issue specifically, it is hoped that its results open new avenues for research.

When asking the question: "Why do foreigners tutor English to young children?" 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. These institutions are licensed as private kindergartens, or as supplementary education in the form of buxibans. Through filtering NESTs experiences through the theory of planned behavior variables, this study attempted to identify which variables were significant in creating the behavior intention to teach in a PPI. This frame work was buttressed by ten interviews which granted the researcher an in-depth look at specific issues related to each identified TPB variable. This mixed methodology was also useful in interpreting larger trends through individual experience.

This study posits that NESTs choose to participate in this industry as it is perceived as yielding several positive outcomes. That teaching at this level has a visible impact on the lives of young children. That it is an environment with normal working hours. And finally, that endemic race based hiring and low standards make PPI work easily acquirable. Due to a roaring demand and a lack of oversight NESTs perceive employment in PPIs to be simultaneously profitable, enjoyable, and easily accessible. Conversely the NESTs surveyed here and the corresponding literature suggest that the same lack of regulation creates and environment ripe for exploitation. NESTs frequently encounter a labor abuses in a field typified by a high turnover rates (Lan, 2011).

Government policies have created a market for ESL learning at the kindergarten level in Taiwan. This market is catered to by private kindergartens and Buxibans masquerading as kindergartens. NESTs enter this environment because the work is viewed as enjoyable and easily acquirable. The majority of the negative consequences of this work are mitigated by a NESTs normative references. 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.

5.1 Policy Implications

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 or developing professionally. Guaranteeing work benefits to NESTs will address two issues simultaneously; teachers will seek legal work, and stay longer. As both this study's respondents and the literature (Lan, 2011) claimed that incomes were misreported, the authorities in Taiwan should take measures towards closely analyzing the tax practices of all tutoring institutions. As NESTs often used PPI work to supplement earnings from legal buxiban work, increasing the mandatory minimum monthly pay at registered schools could increase the profitability of working legally. NESTs should not necessarily be better compensated per se, but rather that they should be guaranteed more hours in legal institutions. This implies, as suggested by the literature and interviewees, that tax evasion is endemic, and the PPI wages are often misreported (Lan, 2011).

The government and MOE in Taiwan should avoid policies that encourage a lack of transparency. For example, 2017 was a year which saw Taiwan require criminal background checks on all workers in schools registered as Buxibans in Taiwan (Cram School Background Check; 2017). In spite of these measures, 2017 and 2018 have seen a sensationalized parade of English teachers committing crimes ranging from drug possession and production (American English Teacher, MMA, 2018; American English Teacher Caught, 2018) to murder and dismemberment (Hioe; 2018). Considering that interviewed NESTs with certifications already avoided PPIs because of the legal complications, this policy does little to encourage quality teachers to enter tutoring

institutions at this level. Conversely, as PPIs have already demonstrated a propensity towards skirting legal regulations, it should not be surprising that they find ways to skirt this one as well.

As of 2018 the Taiwanese authorities, yielding to parental demand, are taking measures towards addressing parental demand for English lessons at the preschool and kindergarten level through removing the ban (Strong, 2018). Although this has yet to come to floriation, this measure will do much to increase transparency and improve the lives of NESTs and their students. When implementing these programs, the Taiwanese authorities should be aware of the demand for native English speakers demonstrated by numerous studies (Chang, 2008; Ingebritson, Tseng, & Shang, 2007; Oladejo, 2006). Simply introducing basic English classes taught by nonnative speakers will fail to meet parental demand.

6. References

Addis, K. (2014, October 3). *Salary expectations for teaching English in Taiwan*. Retrieved from https://www.gooverseas.com/blog/teaching-english-in-Taiwan-salary

Ajzen, I. (1985). From intentions to actions: A theory of planned behavior. In J. Kuhl & J. Beckmann (Eds.), *Action-control* (pp.11-39). Heidelberg: Springer.

Ajzen, I. (1988). *Attitudes, personality, and behavior*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press & Chicago Dorsey Press.

Ajzen, I. (1991). The theory of planned behavior. *Organizational behavior and human decision processes*, *50*(2), 179-211.

Ajzen, I. (2002). *Constructing a TPB questionnaire: Conceptual and methodological considerations. University of Massachusetts Amherst, Office of Information Technologies*. Retrieved from: http://chuang.epage.au.edu.tw/ezfiles/168/1168/attach/20/pta_41176_7688352_57138.pdf

Ajzen, I. (2006). *Constructing a theory of planned behavior questionnaire*. Retrieved from http://people.umass.edu/aizen/pdf/tpb.measurement.pdf

Baltar, F., & Brunet, I. (2012). Social research 2.0: virtual snowball sampling method using Facebook. *Internet Research*, *22*(1), 57-74.

Biernacki, P., & Waldorf, D. (1981). Snowball sampling: Problems and techniques of chain referral sampling. *Sociological methods and research*, *10*(2), 141-163.

Bill Seeks to Protect Young Cram School Enrollees. (2009, September 28) *Taiwan Today.* Retrieved from: http://Taiwantoday.tw/news.php?unit=10&post=15832

Cai, Y. B. (2016, April 20) Treehouse Illegally Operating Kindergarten in Taipei. *The Apple Daily* Retrieved from: http://www.appledaily.com.tw/realtimenews/article/new/20160406/832542/

Chen, A. H. (2013). An Evaluation on Primary English Education in Taiwan: From the Perspective of Language Policy. *English Language Teaching*, *6*(10), 158-165.

Chang, Y. (2008). Parents' attitudes toward the English education policy in Taiwan. *Asia Pacific Education Review*, *9*(4), 423-435. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/bf03025660

Chou, C. P., & Yuan, J. K. S. (2011). Buxiban in Taiwan. *International Institute Asian Studies Newsletter*. Retrieved from https://iias.asia/the-newsletter/article/buxiban-taiwan

Chou, C., & Ching, G. (2012). *Taiwan education at the crossroad: When globalization meets localization*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Chou, C. P. (2014). A matter of trust: shadow education in Taiwan. *Revue internationale d'éducation de Sèvres*. Retrieved from http://ries.revues.org/3800

Chu, C. S. (2017). Cultural experiences and successful adjustment: A Case Study of Two Foreign Educators in Taiwan. *Open Cultural Studies*, *1*(1), 75-87.

Early Childhood Education and Care Act. (2013). Ministry of Education (ROC). Retrieved from http://edu.law.moe.gov.tw/EngLawContent.aspx?id=127

Employment Service Act. (2006). Ministry of Labor (ROC). Retrieved from http://laws.mol.gov.tw/Eng/EngContent.aspx?msgid=68

Everington, K. (2017, June 28). Cram school background check reprieve for foreigners. *Taiwan News*. Retrieved from https://www.taiwannews.com.tw/en/news/3220784

Everington, K. (2018, April 23). American English teacher caught smoking marijuana near Taipei 101. *Taiwan News*. Retrieved from https://www.taiwannews.com.tw/en/news/3411968

Everington, K. (2018, June 04). American English teacher MMA fighter arrested for growing marijuana in Taipei. *Taiwan News*. Retrieved from https://www.taiwannews.com.tw/en/news/3447669

Everington, K. (2018, June 12). Taipei kindergarten teacher posts job ad saying 'black or dark skinned' people not wanted. *Taiwan News*. Retrieved from https://www.taiwannews.com.tw/en/news/3454928

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (2009). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. New Brunswick: Transaction publishers.

Gu, J., Lau, J. T., Chen, X., Liu, C., Liu, J., Chen, H., ... & Li, Z. (2009). Using the Theory of Planned Behavior to investigate condom use behaviors among female injecting drug users who are also sex workers in China. *AIDS care, 21*(8), 967-975.

Ho, M. S. (2006). The politics of preschool education vouchers in Taiwan. *Comparative Education Review*, *50*(1), 66-89.

Hooft, E. A. V., Born, M. P., Taris, T. W., Flier, H. V. D., & Blonk, R. W. (2004). Predictors of job search behavior among employed and unemployed people. *Personnel Psychology*, *57*(1), 25-59.

Hioe, B. (2018, September 4). Murder of Canadian has been sensationalized by irresponsible reporting. *New Bloom Magazine.* Retrieved from https://newbloommag.net/2018/09/04/canadian-teacher-murder-coverage/

Hsieh, C. Y. (2008). *Parental choice of preschool in Taiwan* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Bath). Retrieved from: https://researchportal.bath.ac.uk/en/publications/parental-choice-of-preschool-in-taiwan

Hsieh, M. F. (2006). *"My Mom Makes Me to Learn English": Power, System, Instruction and Quality of Early Childhood English Language Education in Taiwan*. Bloomington: ProQuest. Retrieved from https://iucat.iu.edu/iupui/7033612

Jan, T. (2000, June 04). English teachers wanted: must look western. *The Taipei Times*, pp. 17 Retrieved from: http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/feat/archives/2000/06/04/38772

Jeon, M., & Lee, J. (2006). Hiring native-speaking English teachers in East Asian countries. *English Today*, *22*(04), 53. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0266078406004093

Lan, P. (2011). White privilege, language capital and cultural ghettoisation: Western High-Skilled Migrants in Taiwan. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *37*(10), 1669-1693.

Lin, Y., & Chen, W. (2015, January 26) Happy Marian Child Abuse. *The Apple Daily.* [in Chinese] Retrieved from http://www.appledaily.com.tw/realtimenews/article/new/20150126/548982/

Madden, T. J., Ellen, P. S., & Ajzen, I. (1992). A comparison of the theory of planned behavior and the theory of reasoned action. *Personality and social psychology Bulletin*, *18*(1), 3-9.

Marpsat, M., & Razafindratsima, N. (2010). Survey methods for hard-to-reach populations: introduction to the special issue. *Methodological Innovations Online*, *5*(2), 3-16.

MOE Clarifies English Learning Policy for Preschools. (2004, Feb 11) *The China Post.* Retrieved from: http://www.chinapost.com.tw/Taiwan/detail.asp?ID=45841&GRP=B

Oladejo, J. (2006). Parents' Attitudes Towards Bilingual Education Policy in Taiwan. *Bilingual Research Journal*, *30*(1), 147-170. https://doi.org/10.1080/15235882.2006.10162870

Peterson, K. (2014). *Exploration of turnover rate of expatriate teachers in Taiwan's buxiban* (Doctoral dissertation, National Cheng Kung University). Tainan, Taiwan.

Renzi, S., & Klobas, J. E. (2008). *Using the theory of planned behaviour with qualitative research*. [Working Paper No. 12] Carlo F. Dondena Centre for Research on Social Dynamics, Università Bocconi, Milan, Italy, 1-26.

Shang, F. H., Ingebritson, R., & Tseng, L. (2007). Taiwanese parental perceptions toward English learning in bilingual kindergarten. *Bilingual Research Journal*, *32*(2), 135-148.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Strong, M. (2018, September 28). Taiwan Premier considers English lessons in kindergarten. *Taiwan News*.

Retrieved from https://www.taiwannews.com.tw/en/news/3540223

Su, Y. (2006). EFL teachers' perceptions of English language policy at the elementary level in Taiwan. *Educational Studies*, *32*(3), 265-283. https://doi.org/10.1080/03055690600631218

Supplementary Education Act. (2003) Ministry of Education (ROC). Retrieved from http://law.moj.gov.tw/eng/LawClass/LawHistory.aspx?PCode=H0080002

Sutton, S., French, D. P., Hennings, S. J., Mitchell, J., Wareham, N. J., Griffin, S., ... & Kinmonth, A. L. (2003). Eliciting salient beliefs in research on the theory of planned behaviour: The effect of question wording. *Current Psychology*, *22*(3), 234-251.

Taiwan to Ban Kindergarten English Lessons. (2004, February 14) *South China Morning Post*. Retrieved from http://www.scmp.com/article/444483/Taiwan-ban-kindergarten-english-lessons

Underwood, P. R. (2012). Teacher beliefs and intentions regarding the instruction of English grammar under national curriculum reforms: A Theory of Planned Behaviour perspective. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *28*(6), 911-925.

Wang, L. Y., & Lin, T. B. (2013). The representation of professionalism in native English-speaking teachers recruitment policies: A comparative study of Hong Kong, Japan, Korea and Taiwan. *English Teaching*, *12*(3), 5-22.

What are English teacher salaries in Taiwan? (2016, October 04). Retrieved from https://www.englishinTaiwan.com/english-hub/teach-in-Taiwan/what-are-english-teacher-salaries-in-Taiwan

Yeh, A. (2002). Teaching English in Taiwan: issues of inequality and low motivation. *English Today*, *18*(04). https://doi.org/10.1017/s026607840200408x