THE POLITICS OF TEACHING ENGLISH IN SOUTH KOREAN SCHOOLS:

LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES AND LANGUAGE POLICY

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ABSTRACT

THE POLITICS OF TEACHING ENGLISH IN SOUTH KOREAN SCHOOLS:

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Around the world, English proficiency is perceived to bring about class mobility and better employment prospects. South Korea is no exception to this belief where English test scores and speaking ability often serve as gate-keeping criteria for university admission, white-collar employment, and promotion. Within the past 30 years, the proliferation of private English-language institutes, the record numbers of Koreans studying in English-speaking countries, and language policies regarding English-language study enacted by the Ministry of Education (MOE) collectively point to the increasing hegemony of English in the lives of Koreans. In this dissertation, I examine an aggressive effort launched by the Ministry of Education (MOE) to improve English instruction called the "Teaching English in English" (TEE) policy. In 2001, the MOE enacted the TEE policy to improve the English proficiency of Korean students mainly through English instruction, with the implicit acknowledgement that over 40 years of teaching English through Korean had not produced competent English users. To make sense of this policy's overt and covert agendas, I spent five months conducting ethnographic participant observations and interviews at a government-sponsored, residential training center where a cohort of 40 teachers participated in an intensive English course designed to improve language instruction. After the completion of the course, I continued observing and interviewing three focal English teachers at elementary schools in Seoul to understand how they interpreted and implemented the TEE policy on a daily basis. Approaching this research from a language

ideological framework, I pay particular attention to how language ideologies interact with the

current policy to account for the motivations behind the policy and the language choices and

pedagogical practices by practitioners. Moreover, I focus on metalinguistic and written policy

discourse to uncover how these ideologies contribute to the prominent role that English plays in

Korean education. Analysis of the findings reveals that even though teachers supported the

policy, their practices did not always lead to English-medium instruction due to contextual factors

and teachers' beliefs. Moreover, teachers reproduced dominant language ideologies that

prevented viewing themselves as legitimate English teachers. The findings of this dissertation

illustrate the importance of paying attention to the social and language practices of the local

community when designing a well-informed language policy that can effectively transform

language education.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 *Yeongeo Yeolpung*[1] (*English Fever*)

"What is the best way to learn English?" was the most challenging question my students

consistently asked while I was an English instructor ten years ago at a university in South Korea

(hereafter Korea). My students always seemed unsatisfied by my response of "It depends."

Rather than reflecting a lack of expertise, my vague reply stemmed from my conflicting attitudes

toward *yeongeo yeolpung* or *English Fever*, a locally coined term characterizing the frenzy where

Koreans of all ages strive to learn English (Jeong, 2004). While obviously the English education

industry had kept me gainfully employed, I still wrestled with how my students were forced to

study English because of institutional requirements regardless of their academic interests,

struggled to attain high test scores on mandatory English exams for employment, and often spent

precious time and money on private English education while frequently being told their English

was not adequate. The unfairness of the system simultaneously disheartened my Korean

students and pressured them to study English even more intensively. This reality left me

wondering whether English education in Korea could be accompanied by more positive outcomes

such as a joy for language learning rather than being viewed as a necessary evil.

However, economic indicators and curricular reforms suggest that learning English is

anything but an optional and leisurely past time. Nationwide, there is no shortage of English-

learning opportunities ranging from tongue surgery for improving pronunciation, to language

lessons via telephone and weeklong domestic camps in government-sponsored "English

Villages." Within the past 30 years, the proliferation of private English-language institutes in

Korea, the record numbers of Koreans studying abroad in English-speaking countries, and the

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[1] Throughout this dissertation, I follow the Romanization system established by The National Institute of the Korean Language (http://www.korean.go.kr/eng/roman/roman.jsp) to transliterate Korean words to English.

curricular revisions regarding English-language study enacted by the Ministry of Education (MOE) collectively point to the increasing hegemony of English in the lives of Koreans. Data from the Samsung Economic Research Institute (2006) also corroborate Korea's *English Fever* noting that students spent roughly USD$12 billion per year on English study-related activities, including study abroad, private lessons, and fees for standardized English tests such as the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL). This expenditure would account for almost 2% of Korea's GDP for the year 2005 or almost 50% of the state budget. Compared to Japan, which has a population two and a half times larger, Korea's total expenses for English study are almost three times greater. The lofty goals for English proficiency set by educational institutions and employers has serious implications for language policies and how English is being promoted and sought after in Korea.

The goal to learn English is obviously not exclusive to Koreans. By 2050, Graddol (1999) estimates, the number of native speakers of English will reach 443 million while the number of speakers who use English as an additional language will approach 668 million. It is undisputed that English has become an international language due to its widespread presence in academic, business, and mass media circles. Worldwide, non-Anglophones tend to equate proficiency in English with social and class mobility. Korea is no exception to subscribing to this belief. Given the high degree of social status conferred on English by Korean universities and employers, the MOE has paid considerable attention to the role of English in each revision of the National Curriculum since the 1960s in hopes of bolstering Korea's international competitiveness through English competency. As a result, the curriculum has undergone major changes with English as a formal subject beginning earlier and earlier, increases in instructional hours, and greater emphasis on oral communication skills. In this climate, it is especially urgent to investigate the consequences of language policies regarding English education.

As the worldwide growth of English speakers continues to rise dramatically, local policy makers must decide how to answer questions regarding the status and acquisition of English through language policies. Szulc-Kurpaska (1996) notes that ministries of education around the world are implementing English-language education policies that are perceived to improve students' English skills without thoroughly considering the consequences of such policies on the lives of the teachers and students affected. Understanding the policy implications of global English has also been a central question that continues to challenge scholars in applied linguistics researching language planning and policy (LPP) due to the social, cultural, economic, and political factors involved in the learning of English (Tsui & Tollefson, 2007). Other critical concerns regarding English's worldwide spread include "how to reconceive English as a pluralized global language informed by local norms, functions, and pedagogies…going beyond traditional distinctions like standard and local English, native and non-native speaker teacher, and English as a foreign language" (Canagarajah, 2005, p. xxi). These issues are of major relevance since largely monolingual contexts such as Korea have historically looked to Anglophone countries as the norm providers for English education, resulting in a unilateral transfer of knowledge that does not necessarily match the needs of the local community.

My research aims to foreground these important concerns as I examine one particular language policy currently implemented in Korea called the "Teaching English in English" (TEE) policy. The TEE policy enacted by the MOE in 2001 is an amendment to the 1997 Seventh National Curriculum. Prompted by the assumption that teaching English class in English is most effective and desirable, the TEE policy marks a radical shift in language teaching since previous methods focused on teaching English through the medium of Korean. Additionally, this recent policy views the positive contributions of local Korean teachers in English teaching rather than relying on native English speakers, a practice that began in 1995.

On the surface, the TEE policy offers potential for rethinking who is a legitimate English teacher by assigning Koreans the primary role of teaching English through English, as opposed to native English speakers.   However, whether Korean English teachers view themselves as legitimate teachers depends on how they view their relationship to English, how they ascribe meaning to English, and how they appropriate English for themselves in a way that is compatible with the local context to maximize effective learning (McKay, 2002).   To investigate the policy's implications for teachers, I approach this macro-level policy from a micro-level perspective, as the classroom is an important, yet often overlooked, site for policy making (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Menken & García, 2010).   Moreover, I focus on metalinguistic discourse and the written discourse of policy documents to understand how local language ideologies contribute to the prominent role that English plays in Korean education (J.S. Park, 2009).   My decision to focus on language ideologies reflects the significance of local and social linguistic processes interacting with global forces, which in turn influence how teachers negotiate the meaning of English. Moreover, language ideologies constitute insightful tools for understanding how English is being taken up, learned, resisted, and/or appropriated in Korea.   Through an analysis of language ideologies as conveyed through spoken and written discourse, it is possible to shed light on how English is being constructed discursively in the lives of Koreans and how these responses are manifested in the implementation and interpretation of the TEE policy.

1.2 Research Questions

To undertake this research, I conducted an ethnographic, discourse analytic study of teachers' participation in a government-sponsored, residential, intensive English program, as well as educational practices in the classrooms of three focal Korean teachers, with these questions to guide my research:

1) How do Korean teachers conceptualize English?

2) How do policy documents discursively construct English?

3) What language ideologies support and/or resist the study of English as envisioned by the TEE policy?

4) How do Korean teachers characterize their relationship with English?

5) How do classroom practices interact with the TEE policy?

1.3 Overview of the Chapters

In the next chapter, I present relevant research from scholars who study the phenomenon of global English, highlighting themes to guide my approach in examining the TEE policy. One salient finding common to many of these studies is that the learning of English as a global language is indeed not a neutral undertaking that will automatically lead to social and material benefits for its learners. Furthermore, this body of research uncovers an array of sociopolitical and economic constraints, revealing unequal relations of power implicated in the study of English. Research in Korea also supports these claims by linking proficiency in English to economic wealth and social status and illuminating ideologies that prize native English speakers. While those who do not speak English proficiently often experience marginalization, we must not conclude that these individuals are completely powerless; instead, we are reminded to acknowledge the agency of local actors in resisting the hegemony of English and appropriating English for their own needs.

With the understanding that the pursuit of English is a multifaceted process, not merely a natural consequence of globalization that benefits all learners, in Chapter 3 I craft a theoretical framework to inform my study of the TEE policy. I adopt a model of language policy proposed by Spolsky (2004) and Shohamy (2006) complemented by a language ideological framework to

examine the overt and covert agendas motivating the TEE policy. Because the study of a given language policy is inherently convoluted given the constant interaction of actors, ideologies, and social processes, I applied research methodologies that take into account the complexity of studying language policies. In Chapter 4, I describe and rationalize my decisions to employ ethnographic and discourse analytic methods given the specific research context, a long-term, residential English training facility sponsored by the Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education (SMOE) and the classrooms of three focal teachers. Additionally, I provide background information about the three focal teachers who provided me with great insight into the realities that Korean English teachers face.

The subsequent three chapters comprise the main findings of my dissertation research. I begin Chapter 5 with an overview of the history of English education policies in Korea leading up to the TEE policy, that taken together illustrate the progressive importance of English conferred by the MOE. This chapter also includes a discourse analysis of relevant official policy documents elucidating the language ideologies that promote the study of English and the overt and covert agendas behind the TEE policy. The analysis is further supplemented by interview data and fieldnotes from participants that identify the tensions between the teachers' beliefs and the goals of the policy.

I follow the policy analysis with Chapter 6 where I narrow the focus of the TEE policy to examine the classroom practices of the three focal teachers. Although the three teachers among many others were in agreement with the need to implement the policy, how each teacher carried out the policy reflected their specific contexts giving rise to different interpretations. Issues such as broad gaps in students' proficiency, students' demographic backgrounds, behavior management, and teachers' own proficiency are among the factors that influenced each teacher's decision to use English or Korean during instruction. Through this ethnographic account, we gain

a better understanding of the challenges that English teachers face demonstrating that the TEE policy is not simply a matter of teaching English in English.

Chapter 7 presents a deeper exploration of the TEE policy by examining the metalinguistic discourse of the participants. Here I identify specific language ideologies that feature prominently in the discourse of Korean English teachers and present a substantial barrier to viewing themselves as legitimate English teachers. Then I discuss how the reproduction of these ideologies creates serious consequences as it fuels the motivation for aggressive language policies like TEE, impels teachers to study English more intensively, while also alienating teachers in their relationship with English. In this way, the potential for the TEE policy to disrupt traditionally held notions of who qualifies as an English teacher is undermined by dominant language ideologies, where teachers construct negative images of themselves as English teachers.

Although the findings from this study as summarized in Chapter 8 present a less than desirable vision of English education in Korea, I conclude the dissertation with implications for the empowerment of Korean English teachers. By grounding my recommendations in critical applied linguistics scholarship, I offer ways for teachers to move forward to counteract language ideologies that oppress and ultimately to transform English education through language policies that thoroughly address the needs of the local community.

Chapter 2: The Question of Global English and Korea

2.1 Overview

To provide a solid foundation for understanding the highly contentious role that English

plays in language education policies in Korea, I begin this chapter by reviewing contributions from

scholars that analyze the global spread of English. Understanding the educational policy

implications of global English has been a central question that continues to challenge scholars in

language planning and policy (Canagarajah, 2005; Nunan, 2003; Tsui & Tollefson, 2007). With

regard to the actual teaching and learning of English, there has been a perception in the TESOL

community of English teaching as a value-free, objective discipline, free from power differentials

such as those linked to colonialism and global capitalism. In the following sections, I present

research that problematizes this notion by critically analyzing the sociopolitical, institutional, and

ideological forces that contribute to the dominance of English. I then supplement this analysis

with examples from the Korean context that reveal the practice of learning English is indeed not a

neutral undertaking. Given these circumstances, it evident that language policies addressing

English learning in Korea such as the TEE policy cannot be interpreted without considering the

global hegemony of English.

2.2 "English for All"

As a starting point for uncovering the complexity of global English, it is worthwhile to

begin with the common conceptualization of English as an egalitarian language for anyone's

benefit that co-exists with other languages, a view popularized by Crystal (1997). In this light,

English is perceived as being adopted freely by people internationally as a resourceful tool for

gaining access to information and educational and employment opportunities. Although Crystal

acknowledges English's links to colonialism, his characterization purports that English is now a

neutral by-product of the inevitable forces of globalization and thus available for the non-Anglophone masses to acquire according to their desires. Moreover, the early years of English teaching as a discipline also projected the learning of English as a value-free undertaking in an effort to mask its colonial past and economic motivations for promoting its spread (Pennycook, 1994). Regarding the status of other languages, Crystal (1997) holds that English need not supplant local languages, but can be used in domains such as business and science, while non-Anglophone communities can use their mother tongues for maintaining their cultural traditions and identities. While Crystal's designation for English may seem to reflect linguistic realities in certain contexts, this arrangement fixes English at the top of the language hierarchy while other languages are rendered marginal.

Due to English's instrumental value, it makes sense that it would be a desirable language of study for individuals worldwide seeking social mobility and career advancement. The case of Korea also demonstrates this trend, where the gravitation toward English may appear natural given its societal popularity. However, such a simplistic account overlooks political and social factors such as the dominance of Anglophone countries, the subordinance of non-English languages, and imbalances of power in what Pennycook (2000) terms *laissez-faire liberalism*. In laissez-faire liberalism, speakers naturally accept the place of English in academic and specialized fields while local languages maintain their place in the home. This celebratory optimism ultimately obscures the class and educational inequalities associated with the learning of English (which is discussed below). Given English's imperialist history, critics of laissez-faire liberalism argue that colonial discourses that privileged monolingual speakers of English through strict inclusion and exclusion practices have contributed to the stigmatization of non-Anglo languages and cultures (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996).

Another source of contention concerns Crystal's claim that people can freely choose to

study and use English according to their needs. However, as Bamgbose (2006, p. 648) makes

clear in the following excerpt, learning English is not necessarily voluntary.

> It would appear that because of the enormous advantages which knowledge of English confers, people deliberately demand and opt for it. For example, there are prospects of better jobs and upward social mobility, particularly in countries where English is an official language. On the face of it, this argument makes sense in light of investments that people make sending their children to English-medium schools, hiring private English tutors, going abroad for special courses in English, etc. A closer examination, however, reveals that it is not so much *wanting* to learn English because of the advantages it confers (though there is undoubtedly an element of this) as *needing* to learn it, because not learning English is not really a choice (emphasis in original).

Here we see how individuals' "choice" to learn English is constrained. Turning to the situation in

Korea, although the Korean government does not accord English official status (despite

unsuccessful campaigns to adopt English as an official language; see Bok, 1998 for discussion

and J.S. Park, 2009 for critique), the example above from Bamgbose mirrors many aspects of

English learning in Korea despite lacking a history of Anglo colonialism. On the one hand,

institutional requirements for high English test scores for higher education and white-collar

employment demand that Koreans learn English, especially in a small country marked by intense

academic competition (Seth, 2002). On the other hand, Koreans are lured by the symbolic capital

that English indexes, which can also amount to material benefits. What perhaps differentiate

Korea from other contexts are the radical measures that Koreans will take for English mastery,

and consequently, shouldering the exorbitant costs associated with English learning. For

instance, perhaps the most extreme phenomenon of the *gireogi gajok* (*goose family*), where

typically the father remains in Korea to financially support his wife and young children being

educated in an English-speaking country for an extended period, illustrates the economic and

emotional sacrifices that families make to ensure that their children learn English natively (see

Juyoung Song, 2010 for further discussion on the goose family). Such efforts reveal that the

learning of English is intertwined with issues of socioeconomic class and status since most Koreans do not have access to privileges like goose families do. The strong correlation between wealth and English skills suggests the need for language policies designed to foster more equality in English language learning (Tollefson, 1991).

In the history of Korea's educational policy development, the MOE has attempted to offer more egalitarian provisions for all Koreans including introducing English as a required subject from the third grade in elementary school beginning in 1997 and a national television channel specializing in the learning of English in 2007 to satiate parents' desires for their children's English development and to reduce private education expenditures. The government has also supported the creation of several costly "English Villages," with the first village established in 2004. These short-term residential settings, complete with Western restaurants and stores, are intended to provide students from lower socio-economic classes with affordable opportunities to use English with native English-speaking staff without the expense of going abroad. However, given the public's lack of interest in attending English Villages, D. Shim and J.S. Park (2008) infer that Koreans appear to be motivated more by symbolic capital and a form of Bourdieu's *distinction* afforded by English learned abroad than by the desire for a high-level of language proficiency. S.J. Park and Abelmann (2004) indicate that even in economically difficult times such as the years following the devastating Asian financial crisis in 1997, enrollment in private English education or *yeongeo sagyoyuk* remained steady. In their study of Korean mothers, S.J. Park and Abelmann (2004) attribute cosmopolitan strivings or engaging in a "wider world" as well as desires for upward mobility that drive women of all socioeconomic classes to diligently manage their children's English study. For mothers with lesser means, their children may enroll in affordable *hakseubji* or English worksheet programs, while those with the resources can provide one-on-one English tutoring, pricier afterschool private English institutes or *yeongeo hagwon* and

study abroad.   Between the years 2006 to 2011, over 16,000 students from elementary to secondary schools studied overseas each of those years, indicating that study abroad is still popular for those who can afford it (Statistics Korea, 2012a).   This range of English-learning options differentiated by price caters to parents of all incomes with the overarching goal of obtaining a competitive edge for their children's future.

However, the disparity in wealth translates to gaps in opportunities and quality of English education and subsequently can result in class reproduction.   For example, Statistics Korea (2012b) reports that students in the top 10% of academic performers spent a monthly average of 3,070,000 won (USD $2700) on private education of various school subjects, while those in the bottom 20% spent a monthly average of 1,610,000 won (USD $1400).   Hence, it is possible to speculate that those positioned with access to better English education such as elite private institutes or study abroad will most likely secure more prestigious jobs and higher social standing. As Bourdieu and Passeron (1977/1990) posit, unequal distribution of wealth is self-perpetuating, and systems of education can maintain and exacerbate class differences behind a façade of meritocracy.   Research on the Korea tends to support class and social reproduction through the education system (S. Lee & Brinton, 1996; Seth, 2002; Sorenson, 1994).   In S. Lee and Brinton's (1996) statistical analysis of Korean university graduates, graduating from a top-tier Korean university correlates with higher income and social status.   Seth (2002) and Sorenson (1994) note the degree to which Korean parents invest in their children's extracurricular private education to gain admission in a prestigious university, even relocating to a neighborhood with reputable private institutes or selling their homes to pay for private institute tuition, suggesting that affluence and cultural capital facilitates elite educational attainment.   With regard to English, J.J. Song (2011) asserts that English competence operates as a *mechanism of elimination* (cf. Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977/1990) that works in conjunction with social reproduction, leading to a rigid

socioeconomic hierarchy. According to J.J. Song (2011), English is a mechanism of elimination that serves as a gatekeeper for institutions and employers to seek out other elites to maintain the status quo under the guise of globalization and international competitiveness. As such, J.J. Song (2011, p. 36) contends that Korea's obsession with English is a social malady and explains,

> English language education must be recognized as part and parcel of the primary 'mechanism of elimination' designed, under cover of meritocracy, to conserve the established social order in South Korea. Thus, English has been 'conveniently' recruited, in the name of globalization, to reproduce and rationalize the 'hierarchy of power relations'.

While J.J. Song highlights important points about power differentials, the process described portrays English as monolithic and power as unilaterally exerted. As critics of social reproduction theory have argued, these processes are complex, and individuals can and do exercise agency to counteract prevailing forces of power to suit their needs.

Offering a more nuanced and discourse analytic account of the hegemony of English, J.S. Park (2010) maintains that Korean conservative media outlets are also responsible for downplaying the divisions in wealth associated with English-language learning by promoting neoliberal values such as hard work and continuous self-improvement. By analyzing the genre of English success stories prevalent in right-wing Korean newspapers, J.S. Park (2010) draws attention to how these newspapers deploy semiotic processes such as *highlighting* and *erasure* to discursively construct "successful" English language learners. In these instances, journalists highlight a learner's industriousness as extraordinary while simultaneously erasing the learner's privileged background that would have undoubtedly enabled such dedication and access to learning English. J.S. Park (2010, p. 33) argues that highlighting and erasure "and the significantly strengthened essential tie between the successful learner and her competence work to resolve the contradiction between the neoliberal discourse of English and widespread

ideologies of class and English." What is unsettling about these newspapers' construction of

success is the implication that anyone can achieve high levels of English proficiency simply

through a commitment to hard work, thereby presenting Koreans' class anxiety about learning

English as unfounded. In these scenarios, the consequence for English language education

policy is significant, since policy makers are mostly likely members of the elite and seek to

maintain their dominance through policies that protect and promote their interests. Nevertheless,

the privileges of the affluent, especially those related to English education, do not go undetected

in Korean society. Since the beginning of the post-war era, when the Korean education system

became universalized, Korean parents have consistently voiced their dissatisfaction with state-

imposed policies, especially as they relate to class differences, leading to changes such as the

elimination of secondary school entrance exams and the high school equalization policy (Seth,

2002). However, J.S. Park (2009, p. 46) argues that awareness of the current "English divide"

ironically spurs Koreans to become aggressive about supporting their children's English learning

despite the uneven playing field and describes the situation where "both parents and children are

locked in a vicious cycle of the pursuit of English." Consequently, examining the complex,

everyday practices of individuals and understanding how they make sense of the dominance of

English, which is at the core of this dissertation, are essential for those designing language

policies.

2.3 Which English?

As individuals all around the globe learn English, the question of "which English" is

frequently a concern that is invariably linked to sociopolitical factors. Research in the field known

as World Englishes (WE) is instructive in this regard. Proposed by Kachru (1989), WE is based

on three concentric circles, composed of the Inner Circle where English is commonly spoken as a

native language (e.g., the U.S., England, Canada) and is the norm provider for the other circles;

the Outer Circle where English holds official status in multilingual nations mainly in post-colonial

settings (e.g., India, Singapore, Nigeria); and the Expanding Circle where English is learned as a

foreign language (e.g., Korea, Norway, Indonesia). This model highlights how English developed

whether it is through migration of English speakers (Inner Circle), colonization by English

speakers (Outer Circle), or foreign-language learning (Expanding Circle). Instead of accepting

Inner Circle speakers as the custodians of English, advocates of WE demand equality among all

varieties of English. Specifically, this school of thought declares,

> 'Englishes' symbolizes the functional and formal variation in the language, and its
> international acculturation…The language now belongs to those who use it as their first
> language, and to those who use it as an additional language, whether in its standard form
> or in its localized forms (Kachru & Smith, 1985, p. 210).

Scholarship in WE typically focuses on validating the formal or structural features of a specific

variety of English and the process of nativization, often as an attempt to gain recognition as a

legitimate form of English. However, the three circles model and the research agenda in WE

have also been subject to criticism. Concerning the three circles, Pennycook (2003) has pointed

out that political boundaries are becoming less distinct given increased movement and settlement

across borders, which creates linguistic, cultural, and ethnic diversity that cannot be captured by

the labels of the three circles. Moreover, by fixing speakers' identities along national lines, WE

overlooks varieties that do not follow a "standard" such as basilects, and the "standard" is limited

to mainly codified domains (Canagarajah, 1999). Also worrisome is WE's stance on the native-

nonnative speaker dichotomy (Pennycook, 2003). Although scholars in WE claim to challenge

ideologies that support the superiority of the native speaker and claim legitimacy of all Englishes,

the organizational representation of three circles model paradoxically reinforces the privilege of

native speakers of English and the Inner Circle, which again, is nationally defined. In addition,

while studies in WE offer insight into how English is creatively adapted, issues of power and inequality deserve more inquiry. For example, how and why some varieties such as American or British English are prized over varieties such as Indian English illustrates an important research area for WE. A notable example is represented in Rubdy's (2001) study of Singapore's "Speak Good English" campaign that attempts to eradicate a local variety of English known as *Singlish* based on perceptions that it is deficient and unintelligible to non-Singaporeans. These kinds of value judgments leveled at non-Inner Circle varieties cannot seem to overcome the stigma of being substandard even though researchers in World Englishes would argue otherwise.

Although limited in number, a few studies investigating varieties of English in Korean contexts revealed a range of attitudes that both rejected and showed openness toward non-Inner Circle Englishes. Owing to Korea's continued dependence on the U.S. after the Korean War, as well as the U.S.'s political and economic dominance, English education in Korea has favored mainstream American English as a model for learning, as evidenced by English textbooks and listening materials used in Korean public schools (Sungwon Yim, 2007). R.J. Shim (2002) contends that university and graduates students' attitudes toward WE are changing, albeit conservatively, according to surveys conducted in from 1995 to 1998. The results indicate a shift from viewing American English as the model for English learners to demonstrating more openness to teachers who use WE, which R.J. Shim (2002) attributes to hearing and interacting more with English speakers of different varieties. However, another methodologically similar study from W. Jung (2005) offers results that conflict with R.J. Shim's findings. This study reveals that pre-university and university students preferred American English over British English as their model for their target language because they perceived American English as easier to understand. W. Jung (2005) suggests that students' overwhelming familiarity with American English throughout secondary school and more interactions with American English speakers

colored their preference for this variety and recommends that more exposure to British English in English curricula is necessary. Proponents of WE like R.J. Shim would most likely argue for more non-Inner Circle varieties to be represented in English classrooms, not just prestigious American or British English, as well as course content for English learners on WE.

In related research from K. Choi (2007), two groups of university students were surveyed to measure their perceptions of different varieties of English, one group of advanced English proficiency who took a course on WE and one group of lower-level students that was unfamiliar with the concept. As might be predicted, the students who had learned about WE did not view American or British English as the standard for learning English. Nevertheless, these students still indicated that they preferred native English-speaking teachers. The other group of students demonstrated the opposite results. K. Choi (2007) suspects that the advanced-level students who preferred native English-speaking teachers who could supposedly challenge them more and offer more expertise. For students who preferred nonnative English-speaking teachers (presumably local Korean-English bilingual teachers), K. Choi (2007) attributes this preference to their low English proficiency and need for Korean-English bilingual instruction. Interestingly, neither group of students was receptive to the idea of "Korea English" expressed in the statements "I am proud of my Korean accent when I speak English" and "Korea English (My local variety of English) should be recognized and stand alongside British or American English" to which both groups indicated disagreement (K. Choi, 2007, p. 59). Regarding these findings, K. Choi (2007) suggests that their negative responses to the statements might stem from the fact that Korea English has not been fully recognized or analyzed. However, these statements, as well as the conflicting findings from R.J. Shim (2002) and W. Jung (2005) could also signal that personal and broadly circulating language ideologies and individuals' subjective experiences are responsible for learners' unfavorable assessments of different varieties of English, in addition to

their own. To probe further into this matter and expose the sociopolitical factors that may also

account for the varying attitudes will require more than survey methods or descriptive research on

structural differences among English varieties. For this reason, the paradigm of WE faces

difficulty in finding ways to contest the hegemony of Inner Circle Englishes and effecting change

in language education policy.

Operating in a similar vein as WE, the study of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) also

values pluralism in how English is being used and is opposed to the notion of English under the

ownership of the Inner Circle. Based on the assumption that the majority of communicative

interactions in English occur between nonnative speakers from the Expanding Circle since

nonnative speakers outnumber native speakers by three to one (Crystal, 2003), ELF proposes

that new norms are emerging in these interactions, and these norms can guide pedagogy in

English language teaching (Jenkins, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2004). With English as a contact language

typically occurring between nonnative speakers of English (although interactions between native

speakers and nonnative speakers are acknowledged), research in ELF has identified core

features of ELF based on extensive corpora examining phonology, grammar, and pragmatics, so

that these features can be adopted to promote mutual intelligibility and success in communication.

For example, based on the corpora, the omission of third person singular present tense –s does

not result in miscommunication among speakers; and is thus designated a core feature of ELF

and prioritized in ELF pedagogy. Therefore, ELF attempts to maximize efficiency by

concentrating on core features to enhance communication rather than trying to acquire native-like

proficiency. By offering practical implications for English learning based on empirical research,

ELF holds promise for valuing nonnative varieties of English and influencing how English is

taught. Nevertheless, J.S. Park and Wee (2012) shed light on several shortcomings of ELF.

Among their criticisms, J.S. Park and Wee (2012) take issue with the kinds of nonnative speakers

who have been recruited to supply data for the ELF corpora. Thus far, research in ELF has

been interested in speakers with a high proficiency of English, namely those employed in

multinational companies, academia, and the English-teaching industry. Needless to say, ELF is

targeting an educated, elite group and consequently marginalizing lower-status nonnative

speakers. J.S. Park and Wee (2012, p. 46) further caution,

> Associating 'elite' speakers of ELF with the 'emerging ELF' norms is problematic, as it
> introduces a hierarchy among nonnative speakers while it is precisely such linguistic
> hierarchies that research on ELF aims to eradicate…it simply replaces the English of
> native speakers with that of the elite nonnative speakers, leaving the less-privileged
> nonnative speakers in the same position of having to struggle to acquire norms defined
> by someone else.

While scholars in ELF admit that teaching ELF remains on hold until more

comprehensive research is conducted, it is questionable whether teaching ELF is a viable option

for contexts like Korea. Although ELF claims that native speaker norms hold little relevance for

ELF users, the findings from the aforementioned studies (K. Choi, 2007; W. Jung, 2005) confirm

that English language learners do express deference to native speaker norms. How to resist

viewing the native English speaker as a model for language learners represents a formidable

challenge for language policies aiming to promote equality among varieties of English and

English speakers.

2.4 Challenging Hegemony: Linguistic Imperialism, Resistance, and Appropriation

One strand of research that scrutinizes the inequalities surrounding the dominance of

English is found in the work on linguistic imperialism from Phillipson (1992; 2008). Phillipson

(1992, p. 47) defines linguistic imperialism where "the dominance of English is asserted and

maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural

inequalities between English and other languages." Through his historical and political account of

the global spread of English, Phillipson (1992) uncovers the hidden agendas in official policy documents of Anglophone authoritarian groups such as the British Council and the United States Information Agency that promoted English around the world to support their political and economic aims and supremacy over developing countries. In an analysis of Phillipson's claims regarding English's hegemony, Canagarajah (1999, p. 41) cautions that the English language itself is not responsible for the inequalities rendered by powerful Anglophone countries, but rather the "ideologies, structures and practices" encompassed by the language that bring about these inequalities and sustain the dominance of English. In other words, it is the power wielded by language ideologies related to English, not the state or other institutions (cf. Gramsci, 1971), that exerts domination over subjects in their everyday practices and lived experiences. Consequently, when studying global English more attention needs to be paid to individual speakers as they mediate language policies and ideologies driven by majority groups to offer a more accurate account of how power is negotiated.

A related concern of the dominance of English is the potential loss and devaluation of languages other English. Termed linguistic human rights, this offshoot of the linguistic imperialism paradigm predicts linguistic homogeneity, language shift, and language loss of indigenous and minority languages, as English and other powerful languages continue to spread (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1994). In light of these factors, Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1994) declare linguistic diversity should be allowed to flourish and legal action is needed to guarantee these rights. While these claims are valid and injustices inevitably arise when one language is valued more than others, the framework of linguistic human rights suffers from serious limitations according to critics. In analyzing the study of linguistic human rights, Blommaert (2001) is concerned that its theoretical foundations are based on a traditionally and overly simplistic view of language that does not take into consideration language varieties. In this

conceptualization, Blommaert (2001) argues it is the language varieties of a given language such as the prestigious literate or standard variety that need to be distributed and made accessible for all to gain equal rights. Therefore, the mere coexistence of languages that Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1994) advocate for cannot guarantee equality, especially when there is no institutional or financial support for education or media in minority languages, which inarguably contributes to a language's status. Moreover, Blommaert (2001) proposes rigorous ethnographic study to explore the complexity of individuals' linguistic practices to support the study of linguistic human rights. Like linguistic imperialism, this perspective presents a shallow understanding of dominance where powerful entities exert their power on minority groups who then comply.

Despite linguistic imperialism and linguistics human rights' heavy-handed focus on macro-level practices of powerful English-speaking institutions and nations, both strands of research are in influential in promoting scholarly attention to the need for greater linguistic and social equality and disabusing practitioners and researchers of the notion that English teaching is apolitical, neutral, and beneficial. Nevertheless, other scholars criticize linguistic imperialism as too deterministic and overlooking speakers' agency to resist dominant ideologies (Bisong, 1995; Canagarajah, 1999). Reporting on English learning in Nigeria, Bisong (1995) describes parents who deliberately enroll their children in English-medium schools specifically because of English's instrumental value in gaining social mobility and are confident that English will not threaten their native language. Bisong (1995, p. 131) disputes the strength of linguistic imperialism and portrays English-language learners in Nigeria as "sophisticated enough to know what is in their interest, and that their interest includes the ability to operate in two or more linguistic codes in a multilingual situation." Similarly, in a study of secondary school English teachers in Korea, H. Shin (2007, p. 81) finds that teachers actively resisted dominant language ideologies that

projected native speakers of English as ideal English teachers believing that "localized pedagogical expertise" was a more important feature of English teaching than English-speaking ability in the Korean secondary-level English class. These teachers also rejected policies that endorsed English-only in classroom instruction and found empowerment through interactions with other teachers in a local teacher development group. Students also preferred Korean English teachers to native English-speaking teachers because of their skills as mentors and their teaching ability.

Other forms of resistance can be found in Canagarajah's (1999) critical ethnographic research on English classroom experiences in a Sri Lankan university. By analyzing students' written reactions (e.g., glosses, comments, scribbles, graffiti) to their U.S.-published English textbook, Canagarajah (1999) reveals the tensions that arise when students interact with an alien textbook premised on mainstream U.S. values. Canagarajah (1999, p. 91) suggests that their writings "symbolize the counter-discourses the students use to detach themselves from the ideologies of the textbook, forestall cultural reproduction, and construct for themselves more favorable subjectivities and identities." However, Canagarajah (1999, p. 98) cautions against glorifying marginalized students' resistance to English as liberating or consciousness raising, as he states, "although at one level the grammatical approach enables students to resist the ideological thrusts of the curriculum and textbook, it is doubtful whether we can interpret the students' behavior as a form of radical resistance." As the previous studies indicate, learners of English are not helpless against dominant language ideologies of English because the forces do not operate unilaterally as linguistic imperialism would suggest. Instead, students and teachers of English in various contexts negotiate and mediate these language ideologies as they appropriate English in ways that meet their needs.

Also with the intention to offer a richer understanding of how English is being taken up

and appropriated, Pennycook (2003; 2007) delves deeper into the micro-level practices of English

users while also paying heed to macro-level relations of power. By researching the language use

of global rap artists, Pennycook (2003) illustrates how the use of English can no longer be viewed

from the perspective of static identities or essentializing dichotomies. Pennycook (2003, p. 515)

criticizes past studies of global English such as WE in the following:

> the weight of earlier sociolinguistic theorizing still holds sway in a great deal of work on global English, which is still caught between arguments about homogeneity and heterogeneity, between arguments based on liberal accommodationism, linguistic imperialism or linguistic hybridity that do not allow for sufficiently complex understandings of what is currently happening with global Englishes.

Instead of establishing one-to-one correspondences between English and social constructs such

as gender, culture, or nation, Pennycook (2003) argues that speakers use English and other

languages to fashion and refashion multiple identities across diverse contexts based on the

concept of performativity (cf. J. Butler, 1990). According to Pennycook (2003, p. 528),

performativity "can be understood as the way in which we perform acts of identity as an ongoing

series of social and cultural performances rather than as the expression of a prior identity." In this

manner, identity is not pre-existing but constantly evolving especially under the conditions of

globalization where sites such as popular culture are subject to transcultural global flows or

movement of cultural forms across time and space (cf. Appadurai, 1996). In analyzing the song

lyrics of Japanese rap artists Rip Slyme, Pennycook (2003) claims that their use of different

varieties of English is an act of appropriation, both localized and globalized, that forms part of

their identity repertoire; this indexical use of English is a complex part of identity formation that

cannot be reduced to mimicking African American rap or translating Japanese culture into English.

By focusing on the intricacies of global English use in popular culture, Pennycook (2007) also

recommends that English practitioners stay attuned to the diversity of linguistic practices of their

students and to use hip-hop and rap as a form of pedagogy. Canagarajah (1999) also

supports the use of popular culture and other culturally relevant materials in the English

classroom to inform students' learning, so they strategically negotiate with English and

appropriate meaningful discourses.

In a similar manner as Canagarajah (1999) and Pennycook (2003; 2007), J.S. Park and

Wee (2012) also approach language as a social practice; they challenge the widely held notion

that a language is an entity with fixed boundaries that can be enumerated and commodified. In

this ideological construction of language as an entity, English can be manipulated through

standardization, codification, ownership, and institutionalization; in these processes English

becomes separated from its speakers. However, if language is viewed as a social practice,

speakers can use their agentive power to appropriate English and interrogate the inequalities that

emerge from global English. In discussing the need to critically question the powerful role that

English plays worldwide and interrupt language ideologies that marginalize certain speakers, J.S.

Park and Wee (2012, p. 173) maintain,

> This interruption may be momentary, for it may not be possible to immediately abandon
> our practices as they are deeply rooted in the routines, habits, and constraints of our daily
> material lives. Nonetheless, this shows us that it is important to recognize the power of
> critical reflection in transforming and reconfiguring the linguistic market. In fact, it is
> *absolutely necessary* that transformation of the linguistic market be grounded on critical
> reflection, because without such a perspective, any intervention into the market through
> policy would simply reintroduce new forms of hierarchical and oppressive structures
> (emphasis in original).

The critical stance that the scholars above advocate allows for forms of accommodation and

resistance depending on the speaker's needs and values. Consequently, speakers can acquire

English on their own terms.

In terms of practical applications for the language classroom, perhaps Canagarajah,

Pennycook, and J.S. Park and Wee envision praxis akin to Alim's (2010) research on critical

language awareness (CLA) that can develop consciousness-raising and resistance to dominant discourses. For Alim (2010), simply becoming aware of the language ideologies that well-intentioned individuals harbor toward language minorities is not enough to challenge the status quo. By building on the main tenets of critical pedagogy, CLA "educates linguistically profiled and marginalized students about how language is used and, importantly, how language can be used against them" (Alim, 2010, p. 214). To heighten CLA, Alim (2010) recommends engaging with and analyzing local language usage in students' communities to develop awareness of sociolinguistic variation and ethnographic training. In Alim's study (2010), students were motivated to explore language when examining discourse from a local hip-hop artist, a linguistically relevant cultural form for the students. As a transformative pedagogy, these exercises can serve to validate students' language varieties, expose the power differentials among languages and varieties, and promote reflexive thinking about one's own linguistic practices. One might question whether critical pedagogy and related practices such as CLA are appropriate in Asian settings where classrooms are perceived to be authoritarian and hierarchically organized (Kubota, 1999). However, H. Shin and Crookes (2005) find in their experimental study with two classes of Korean secondary-school students learning English that critical pedagogy is indeed a viable and fruitful tool to question taken-for-granted assumptions about power and social relations. Students in this study engaged in critical discussions through English and valued the opportunities to share and listen to their peers, in contrast to their standard teacher-centered lectures. Because these classes were offered as extracurricular and elective opportunities, both students and teachers exercised more freedom in deviating away from the national English curriculum and university entrance exam preparation. Incorporating critical pedagogy and critical reflection in classes for Korean students learning English offers promise for rethinking global English, however, institutional and curricular constraints still present

a significant challenge for practitioners. Nevertheless, as the research in this section has illustrated, individuals are not powerless and do indeed contest dominant language ideologies, and this resistance emerges in many forms.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have synthesized recent studies that problematize the sociopolitical dimensions of global English and offer researchers with multifaceted ways to approach the study of English education language policies. The studies discussed also highlight the methodological richness of examining micro-level linguistic and social practices to examine how English is discursively constructed locally in the midst of macro-level factors since as Pennycook (1994, p. 299) reminds us that the learning of English cannot be extracted from its "social, cultural and educational contexts." As the significance of English education increases around the world, policy makers face difficult decisions in crafting a language policy that strikes a balance between social mobility and equality. However, as this research in the chapter demonstrates, even in the face of authoritative policies and dominant ideologies, educators and students can develop a range of innovative strategies to take ownership of English. For this study, it will be imperative to explore how individuals in English classrooms negotiate these practices and mediate language ideologies to understand the full complexity of the TEE policy.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Foundations

3.1 Overview

In this chapter, I provide a brief introduction to the field of language policy and planning (LPP), its theoretical orientations, and the role of teachers in the LPP process. Then I explain the theoretical foundations that guide this dissertation. By drawing on research in linguistic anthropology on language ideologies, one can uncover the agendas behind the TEE policy. Both local and broadly circulating language ideologies are particularly useful for analyzing how teachers interpret and implement the policy. Since English is not solely a linguistic issue but implicated in politics, economics, society, and culture, I draw on interdisciplinary studies to examine language ideologies that shed light on how the globalization of English is taken up in local contexts. As such, exploring the connections among language ideologies and the TEE policy can explain how teachers interpret, implement, and/or resist the language policy.

3.2 A Brief History of the Foundations of Language Policy and Planning

When considering definitions of LPP, Cooper (1989, p. 31) raised the question of "who plans what for whom and how" and Haarmann (1990, p. 123, emphasis in original) added "*who* is engaged in planning *what* language for *whom* and *why*?" These questions mark a starting point for understanding the complexity of a given language policy. LPP's origins as a linguistic discipline can be traced to early pioneering research from Uriel Weinrich in the 1950s, who studied language contact in immigrant communities in New York and coined the term *language planning* (LoBianco, 2010). Other sociolinguists followed suit, such as Einar Haugen with research on formal policies in Norway designed to "purify" the Norwegian language from Danish influence upon gaining independence from Denmark. As noted by Wiley (1996), although the formal study of LPP is a 20th century phenomenon, LPP has occurred throughout world history

under the authority of nation states and other sovereignties, as well as various individuals

ranging from influential writers to those engaged in business.

As LPP research developed in the 1960s, considerable attention was paid to nation-

building efforts that resulted from decolonization in parts of Africa, the Middle East, and Asia. In

these contexts, policy makers and linguists adopted a pragmatic, problem-solving approach since

a common language was viewed as necessary for fostering nationalism, democracy, and

modernization. Tollefson (1991) terms this approach as *neoclassical* given its focus on efficiency

and neutrality.   Under the neoclassical approach, important decisions were made regarding

status and *corpus planning*. Kloss (1969) referred to *status planning* as the designation of certain

languages to serve special functions, such as selecting an official language for government or

medium of instruction.   *Corpus planning* addresses the graphization and standardization of a

given language. Linguists often played a major role corpus planning by developing or modifying

writing systems and grammars for official languages (LoBianco, 2010). In both corpus and status

planning under the neoclassical approach, the formal and structural properties of language are

emphasized while the sociopolitical and historical contexts in which language policies are enacted

are downplayed; consequently, LPP is projected as ideologically neutral (Ricento, 2000).

Contrasting with the neoclassical approach is the *historical-structural approach*, which

pushed the sociopolitical and historical contexts of linguistic communities into the foreground

(Tollefson, 1991). Ricento (2000, p. 16, emphasis in the original) characterizes LPP in the 1970s

and 1980s as undergoing a critical turn due to the lack of democracy and modernization under

post-colonial rule and describes this phase of LPP in the following:

> The de facto privileging of certain languages and varieties in national language planning
> had the effect of limiting the utility and, hence, influence of thousands of indigenous
> languages and their speakers in national (re)construction. Further, it became apparent
> that language choices could not be engineered to conform to 'enlightened' models of
> modernity; linguistic behavior was *social* behavior, motivated and influenced by attitudes

and beliefs of speakers and speech communities, as well as by macro economic and political forces.

In these nation states, social inequalities and heavy dependency on former colonies created disillusionment with the notion of LPP as objective and apolitical. Reacting to the limitations of the neoclassical approach, historical-structural LPP scholarship at this time began to examine the social, political, historical, and economic factors that influenced language use and status (Wiley, 1996).

As a result of unprecedented social and economic transformations such as new migration patterns and globalization of capitalism, another phase in LPP research emerged in the mid-1980s building on the foundations of the historical-structural approach (Ricento, 2000). Postmodern and critical social theory influenced scholars to reject the notion of language policies as politically neutral. Tollefson (2006) cites the influence of critical theorists as essential for understanding how LPP can solidify the dominance of majority groups while suppressing the interests of linguistic minorities. This strand of LPP research is what Tollefson (2006) characterizes as critical language policy (CLP), scholarship that supports social change by attempting to eradicate inequalities that discriminate against speakers based on the languages they speak. Another aspect of the term *critical* that guides CLP research is the careful examination of "ideological processes that make inequality seem to be the natural condition of human social systems" (Tollefson, 2006, p. 43). Because these ideological processes are perceived as invisible or common sense, they tend to go unnoticed when dominant groups exploit those in positions of less power. Practices of exploitation often occur in institutional settings where policies are enacted based on the interests of those in power.

3.3 Toward a Deeper Understanding of Language Policy

With new theoretical advances guiding the study of LPP, it becomes evident that a language policy "cannot be understood or analyzed as free-standing documents or practices" (Ricento, 2000, p. 7). For an expanded view of LPP, Spolsky (2004) proposes a model of language policy that consists of 1) language practices, 2) language beliefs or ideologies, and 3) language management or planning. To fully understand what is involved in a particular language policy, one must examine these three components. First, language practices represent the language(s) or language varieties that members of a community use for communicative interaction depending on the context and often, in spite of what a language policy aims to achieve. The language beliefs or ideologies reflect what a particular community thinks about the language(s) and language use. Lastly, language management or intervention and planning are the actions taken to influence or modify the language practices. Spolsky (2004, p. 222) specifies that

> the real language policy of a community is more likely to be found in its practices than in management. Unless the management is consistent with the language practices and beliefs, and with the other contextual forces that are in play, the explicit policy… is likely to have no more effect on how people speak than the activities of generations of school teachers vainly urging the choice of correct language

Thus, examining these three elements together can offer a richer explanation of how a language policy is interpreted and implemented, as well as its consequences.

To supplement Spolsky's model of language policy, Shohamy (2006, p. 54) introduces the concept of *mechanisms* or policy devices that "represent overt and covert devices that are used as the means for affecting, creating and perpetuating de facto language policies". These mechanisms are situated between the language ideologies and language practices of Spolsky's model. See Figure 3.1 below for a graphic representation. Additionally, Shohamy (2006) notes that mechanisms serve as vehicles for ideologies to influence language practices and vice versa.

Examples of these mechanisms include language tests for university admissions or citizenship

and language education policies.
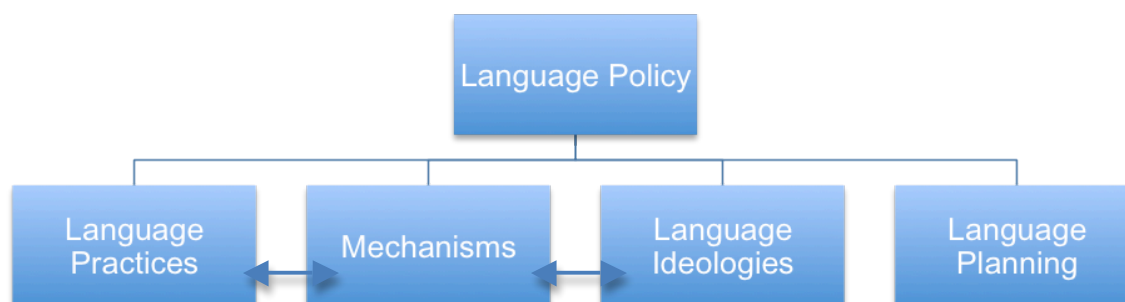
Figure 3.1: Model of Language Policy (adapted from Shohamy, 2006 and Spolsky, 2004)

In the case of language education policies, authoritarian groups such as ministries of

education typically have more direct access to use mechanisms to exercise their power and

manipulate language policies, which can also place teachers and students in a disadvantageous

position, as they are the ones largely affected by language education policy decisions. In many

contexts, these groups in power decide which languages are to be taught and learned at what

age and for how long. Typically, language education policies result from top-down decision-

making with schools required to carry out the policy. To support the policy, textbooks,

supplemental teaching materials, and tests are often provided. In the case of the TEE policy,

SMOE has instituted a foreign-language education policy as a mechanism to influence the

language practices of English teachers in Seoul to use English as the medium of instruction

during English classes. As is common in other parts of the world, instituting a foreign language

education policy that prioritizes English over other languages is not a simple decision but reveals an entity's strategic political, economic, and social concerns. To uncover the agendas behind a language education policy, it is worthwhile to investigate further into the language ideologies that interact with the mechanisms of a particular policy.

3.4 Focusing in on Language Ideologies

Of direct relevance to this dissertation is the focus on language ideology in LPP as an area of inquiry. In the Korean context, it is useful to shed light on how language ideologies fuel the aggressive pursuit of English in Korea and interact with the current language education policy regarding English mandated by SMOE. To understand how policy makers and language users make decisions about language use and acquisition, language ideologies, which are defined as "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests," constitute useful tools for studying LPP (Irvine, 1989, p. 255). Wortham (2008) also characterizes language ideologies as reflections of certain linguistic features with typifications of certain people that can magnify social and power relations in a particular context.

Research on language ideology spearheaded by Silverstein (1979) in linguistic anthropology represents a new paradigm in approaching the study of language. While previous studies in sociolinguistics conducted language attitude surveys to study how speakers evaluate language(s) and language varieties, scholarship in language ideologies reveals how language ideologies exert influence on the structure and use of language. Instead of focusing on a language's discrete components as was common in traditional structural linguistics, this strand of linguistics is conceptually more abstract and puts speakers' interpretations about the relationship between language and society to the forefront. The role that language ideologies play in the

connection that speakers draw between linguistic form and social meaning cannot be understated.

Early studies in sociolinguistics attempted to theorize language usage whereby linguistic variables such as phonemes, word choice, or grammatical structure could be correlated directly to social variables such as gender, age, or social class. However, these studies could not account for why speakers would make such connections. As articulated by Woolard (1998), speakers' own interpretations contribute to how they attach social meaning to a particular linguistic form. As opposed to viewing language ideologies or beliefs as mere folk theories, language ideologies came to be acknowledged as powerfully influencing how speakers assign meaning to language and the ways in which speakers identify and differentiate themselves from others (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). As mentioned earlier in the discussion regarding early LPP scholarship, post-colonial nation-building often entailed the designation of a single language to construct a unified, national identity. Thus, dominant groups benefitted from the language ideology of "one language, one nation" as a tool to mark social and political boundaries, as well as reinforce language policies (Joseph, 2004).

Further complicating the study of language ideologies is the observation by McGroarty (2010, p. 3) that

> actual language behavior may not always be consistent with explicitly proclaimed language ideologies, for many reasons. One is that ideologies can include elements that are internally contradictory. Another is that ideologies related to language and language use do not exist in a vacuum, conceptually or temporally; they overlap and continually share social and conceptual territory with other core beliefs and related agendas that influence decisions regarding appropriate alternatives in education, work, government policies and so on in an ever-dynamic policy stream.

Thus, researchers studying language ideologies of a given community must keep in mind that language ideologies are not monolithic or static even when investigating a seemingly homogeneous ethnic, cultural, or social group. Kroskrity (2004) highlights the plurality of

language ideologies that can exist in a speech community due to differences in lived

experiences and social positions. While cautioning against assuming uniformity in language

ideologies, Kroskrity (2004) also recognizes that dominant language ideologies may persist.

Specific to the classroom context when examining language ideologies, Ramanathan (2005, p.

50) reminds us,

> the exercise of attempting to connect classroom practice with ideological currents
> undertaken here is interpretive. A direct one-to-one mapping between ideological
> currents and actual practice is just as (im)possible as a direct mapping between thought
> and language: There is always an element of fuzziness built into the enterprise

While studying language ideologies remains complex, it is still fruitful to investigate why English is

accorded considerable value in the TEE policy and in Korean society; exploring language

ideologies about English is one effective approach in addressing this question.

3.5 Language Ideologies Related to Global English

Recent applied linguistics research on language ideologies has documented the diversity

of language practices and ideologies that thrive in various linguistic communities. In particular,

investigations have flourished that examine ideologies tied to the status of English around the

world demonstrating that language policies frequently advance the political agendas of particular

groups (Canagarajah, 2005; De Costa, 2010; Kubota & McKay, 2009; J.S. Park, 2010;

Ramanathan, 2005; Ricento, 2000; Seargeant, 2009). On a broad level, these critical studies on

the consequences of global English reveal how different groups in power promote English,

frequently at the expense of marginalizing other languages thus enacting political, social, or

economic ideologies as a form of control.

In the Korean context, research on global English has uncovered language ideologies,

though at times contradictory, that support the study and use of English. One ideology that is not

unique to Korea but found in many parts of the world is the ideology of necessitation (J.S. Park, 2009). Necessitation stems from a neoliberal and instrumentalist perspective where English is seen as essential for surviving in the new global order. Without mastery of English, one's ability to compete in a knowledge-based economy is considered to be limited.

Intimately tied to the ideology of necessitation is the ideology of neoliberalism. Block, Gray, and Holborow (2012) raise concerns about neoliberalism, where capitalist practices enforced by authoritarian groups that control the world's wealth are routinely perceived as self-evident and natural, and how it prevails in discourses about English-language education. Typically, neoliberalism is characterized by minimal state intervention, deregulation, privatization of social services, and labor flexibility to ensure economic expansion (Harvey, 2005). Under these conditions, acute problems such as income disparities and social ills are interpreted as individual faults and lack of work ethic; ultimately, neoliberal ideologies veil the inequalities embedded in institutional structures by creating the illusion of choices based on one's skills and knowledge (Macedo, 2003). Studies investigating language and education in Korea indicate the intensification of neoliberal ideology as practiced in daily life and its impact on obscuring social inequalities. S.J. Park (2011) examines the new role of educational manager mothers (*maenijeo eomma*), who are responsible for ensuring that their children's academic success, especially in English, leads to entrance in elite universities, specifically through private afterschool institutes. Mothers, typically from the upper-middle class, are afforded the time and resources to navigate special networks and devote themselves to shaping their children into creative, competitive citizens.

At the university level, lifelong projects of self-improvement figure prominently in the lives of Korean university students. Abelmann, S.J. Park, and H.J. Kim (2009) observe how university students from top- and middle-tier schools undertake projects of self-improvement in line with

neoliberal ideology. For students at middle-tier universities that lack "brand capital," self-improvement requires more intensive efforts from the individual to better oneself. Instead of assigning blame to Korea's highly stratified education system where graduating from one of the elite universities confers prestige and respectable employment, middle-tier university students accept the burden of developing marketable skills such as proficiency in English for individual upward mobility.

Research from Piller and Cho (2013) on Korean universities' efforts to elevate their international rankings also reveals the link between language policy and neoliberalism. Operating under capitalist business models, Korean universities opt to institute English-as-medium-of-instruction language policies to raise their international rankings, attract international students, and enhance their reputations as competitive institutions. Such policies legitimize the need for extreme competition and the use of English as common sense. Within the university, neoliberal standards premised on productivity, another hallmark of neoliberalism, undergird the assessment measures imposed on Korean professors. H. Lee and K. Lee (2013) discuss how neoliberal ideology is enacted in university publishing requirements for professors in Korea. Yearly evaluations require internationally indexed journal publications (i.e., SCI(E), SSCI, and A&HCI) for promotion, which typically means English-language publications. In this context, neoliberal ideology masks the institutional discrimination against non-English scholarship in the name of competition while reinforcing the ideological dominance of English-language publications.

In seemingly direct opposition to the ideology of necessitation, the ideology of externalization presents English as a language that runs counter to Koreans' own national and linguistic identity. This position is often favored by those who attempt to resist the encroachment of English especially in fields such as language policy or language purity. Historically, Korea's monolingualism has served to create a sense of nationalism that was threatened during the

Japanese occupation. Independence from Japan in addition to pride in the Korean language

and script, known as *Hangul*, could account for the feelings of nationalism (Yoo, 2005). Before

Hangul was invented in 1443, Korean did not have a written form and depended on Chinese

characters. As a result, literacy was only available to the elite classes. After the establishment of

Hangul, Koreans of all classes gained literacy and developed pride in the language, which also

symbolized resistance to Japanese imperialism. The history of the Korean language provides

Koreans with a source of linguistic nationalism and reluctance to fully accept English. Following

subsequent nation-building efforts and campaigns to rid Korean of Japanese loanwords, the

Korean language became and continues to be an emblem of national and linguistic pride (Kaplan

& Baldauf, 2002).

Another instance of the ideology of externalization can be found in S. Jung and Norton's

(2002) study of English curricular reforms, where Korean English teachers reported discomfort

that students will become more Westernized at the expense of their Korean culture. These

teachers expressed concern that preference for English "undermines their commitment to the

Korean language and cultural practices" (S. Jung & Norton, 2002, p. 263). From the student

perspective, S.G. Collins (2005, p. 426) notes university students who scorn those students who

study English abroad and "go too far" and thus cannot identify with Korean culture. These

students appear to reject those who cross boundaries and adopt a Western cultural identity. In

these instances, English is associated with an ideology of anti-Koreanism. Participants in the

aforementioned studies identify English not only with language skills but also Western culture.

According to J.S. Park (2009, p. 27), these ideologies are not to be treated separately but work

collectively "as the locus for the tensions and ambiguities about English that are manifest in

various domains in Korean society".

A provocative ideology that paradoxically supports learning English is the self-deprecation ideology or "Koreans as bad speakers of English" (J.S. Park, 2009, p. 80). By examining discourse in media and natural interactions, J.S. Park (2009) finds that Koreans often portray themselves as incompetent English users. This ideology appears to drive Koreans to aggressively study English while simultaneously reinforcing the social capital accorded by English. By ignoring the various levels of proficiency in English attained by Koreans, a semiotic process called erasure occurs (Gal & Irvine, 1995). As Gal and Irvine (1995) suggest, erasure results in an ideology that simplifies real-life sociolinguistic complexity, making some patterns invisible while others are not. J.S. Park (2009) attributes this ideology to a long-standing perception that grammar-based instruction in English led to poor mastery of the language. Yet, in various discourses, Koreans point to some generalizable trait in Koreans themselves that is responsible for below-average English skills. Moreover, J.S. Park (2009) observes that Koreans' construction of incompetence in English might create obstacles in challenging the hegemony of English and lead to accepting incompetence as the norm for Korean learners of English.

While these ideologies may run counter to each other and to popular conceptions of why one would want to learn a foreign language, J.S. Park (2009) contends that the ideologies are intertwined with each other in addition to broadly circulating ideologies about English in Korean society at large. J.S. Park (2009, p. 27, emphasis in original) argues that these ideologies are "part of the *habitus* that forms Koreans' dispositions that determine how they are supposed to act and respond in dealing with and making sense of English in their everyday lives, a state of body and mind that is inculcated through social conditions and relations". As a result, J.S. Park's (2009) main claim is that depending on the social codes of any given context, language ideologies emerge in varying forms that contribute to English's hegemony in Korean society.

Other studies also shed light on language ideologies regarding English in Korea. S.J.

Park and Abelmann (2004) discuss the ideology of cosmopolitanism that is also connected to

the ideology of necessitation whereby English provides practical and symbolic value while also

serving as a marker of social class for Koreans. They conceptualize cosmopolitanism as a

worldview that moves beyond national boundaries yet remains acutely aware of the local context.

Research from J.S. Lee (2006) reveals cosmopolitan attitudes toward English by examining

television commercials that mix English and Korean and argues that using English is associated

with forward thinking and modernity. Similarly, K. Jung's (2001) investigation of English in print

advertisements also signals that English is steadily replacing Chinese characters that previously

indexed high quality, reliability, and traditional values.   In addition, these recent print

advertisements also omit Korean translations for English words whereas earlier uses of English

were accompanied by Korean translations. Another mass-mediated source of English occurs in

Korean hip hop music (J.S. Lee, 2007). J.S. Lee (2007) found that when Korean hip hop artists

used English in their songs, it was frequently to express ideas about taboo subjects such as

sexual activity and a rejection of traditional values. These instances of English indicate that the

language is serving more than strictly educational and communicative purposes, but instead are

expanding their use in different domains of language.

As illustrated in the above discussion of language ideologies concerning English, the

ideologies are multifaceted, explicit, implicit, and at times contradictory. However, they interact at

various levels of society and reveal how Koreans conceptualize English. For this reason, I

choose to examine language ideologies related to English in Korea to illuminate the motivations

and intentions behind the TEE policy, as the ideologies circulating in a community are also

embedded in its language policies.

3.6 Agency and Resistance

Undertaking this research reflects my concern as well as that of other scholars (Canagarajah, 2005; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996) that language policy decisions must take into consideration the needs and the resources of the language users and language teachers who are directly affected by language policies. Related to this aim is the argument that top-down policy making cannot yield success without bottom-up support; policy makers must consider the realities and needs of the communities being affected (Corson, 1999; Hornberger, 1988). In light of the status conferred on English and the pressure exerted on Korean educators and students with the TEE policy, it is necessary to examine the role of these stakeholders, as they are the ones charged with the task of learning and using English. Although the TEE policy represents a top-down language policy, it is still possible to find "implementational spaces" for local perspectives and initiatives even within a top-down policy (Hornberger, 2002, p. 30). Although policy makers wield considerable authority in enacting language policies, as Hornberger and Johnson (2007, p. 528) remind us, "local educators are not helplessly caught in the ebb and flow of shifting ideologies in language policies—they help develop, maintain, and change that flow".

Rather than accept processes of globalization such as the spread of English as natural, it is useful to consider the concept of creative, discursive agency by viewing teachers and students as agents capable of resisting dominant ideologies and developing their own pedagogies and learning styles (J. Collins, 1993). For numerous reasons, overt and explicit language policies do not guarantee that the affected population will follow the policy, especially when local ideologies may not be in alignment with dominant language ideologies (Baldauf, 1994; Shohamy, 2006). Practitioners interpret language policies and use their agency in a multitude of ways according to their contexts, as well as their personal language ideological stances (Canagarajah, 2005). In a study of English classes in Korea after the 1997 reform, H. Shin (2007) contends that teachers

exercised their agency to teach English in unique ways responsive to students' needs that did

not follow the prescribed English curriculum. These teachers also rejected the notion that native

English-speaking teachers were superior to Korean English teachers. As noted by J.S. Park

(2009, p. 11), sociopolitical pressures that influence language policies are often accompanied by

"appropriative, alternative, or resistant discourses, demonstrating that the question of global

English, while emerging in similar forms across different contexts, is always deeply embedded in

local social relations". Findings from an ethnographic study of an immigrant student from China

studying in Singapore also illustrate how this student was able make use of local linguistic

resources to support her learning of Singaporean English in spite of dominant ideologies

supporting standard English (De Costa, 2010). Such responses that reflect circulating language

ideologies, agency, and resistance are important to share with policy makers as these responses

can influence future bottom-up supported LPP practices that are more effective and relevant to

the classroom context.

3.7 Conclusion

The field of LPP has made considerable strides in gaining a deeper and critical

understanding of language policies and their impact on all parties involved. My research also

contributes to this scholarship by uncovering the overt and covert agendas behind the TEE policy.

I adapt Spolsky's (2004) model of language policy and Shohamy's (2006) concept of mechanisms

to account for the motivations for the policy, and language choices and pedagogical practices by

practitioners implementing the TEE policy in their classrooms. Additionally, I employ language

ideology as a framework of inquiry to better expose the complexities inherent in a language policy

since a policy needs to be understood by examining the local context in which it is enacted.

Moreover, one cannot assume that a formal, written language policy will result its proposed

outcomes. With this observation in mind, language ideologies can be useful in exposing the

gap between policy and practice to better assess the consequences of the language policy for

teachers and students.

Chapter 4: Methodology and Data Collection

4.1 Overview

In recent times, LPP researchers have urged scholars to approach language policy research ethnographically to uncover the multitude of layers, especially at the micro level, that represent the interests and actions of all the stakeholders involved (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Johnson, 2009; Menken & García, 2010; Ramanathan & Morgan, 2007; Ricento, 2006; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). In its earlier days, LPP research relied on a problem-solving approach that typically dealt with top-down language policies with an emphasis on macro-level decision-making. While this orientation has led to the development of corpus, acquisition, and status planning, particularly in nation-building attempts, one major oversight is the lack of attention paid to how the local community responds to a given language policy (Kaplan, 1989). However, more recent scholarship demonstrates the importance of understanding the local context of the actors involved, in an effort to examine how policies are interpreted and implemented. My research follows in this direction with a focus on how English teachers take up and carry out SMOE's TEE policy in their classrooms in light of dominant language ideologies, as well as the unintended or unplanned consequences of the policy.

In this chapter, I discuss the rationale for employing ethnography and discourse analysis to answer my research questions. In detail, I explain that ethnographic methods are appropriate tools for examining the ways that language ideologies interact with the TEE policy and how this interaction shapes language and pedagogical practices in the classroom. I then describe the research setting and participants where I conducted fieldwork and data collection. After presenting this information, I explain my reasoning for using discourse analysis to interpret the data. Finally, I follow with a positionality statement that explains how I situate myself within my research since a researcher's stance and presence inevitably impacts the research context.

4.2 Ethnography

The onion metaphor proposed by Ricento and Hornberger (1996) depicts the multiple layers that compose LPP. Included in these layers are interactions and language ideologies among the policy makers, educators, and curricula that simultaneously affect and are affected by each other at the micro and macro levels. The interdisciplinary field of LPP accommodates a wide range of methodological tools to explore the processes surrounding a particular language policy. In order to address the complexity of these processes, this dissertation employs ethnographic methods to examine the many layers of TEE policy and in particular how teachers interpret and articulate the policy in their classrooms. Since the subject of this dissertation is LPP in an educational setting, ethnography is most appropriate for investigating the TEE policy; as Canagarajah (2006, p. 153) notes, "LPP is about 'what should be', but ethnography is about 'what is'". The guiding principle of the ethnographic method is that the observer should be part of the setting being studied for a sustained period of time (Saville-Troike, 1982). Blommaert and Dong (2010, p. 17, emphasis in original) further describe ethnography as

> interpretive research in a situated, real environment, based on interaction between the researcher and the subject(s), hence, fundamentally *subjective* in nature, aimed at demonstrating complexity, and yielding hypotheses that can be replicated and tested in *similar*, not identical, circumstances. Ethnography produces theoretical statements, not 'facts' nor 'laws.'

In my research, ethnography captures the richness of the day-to-day practices of the teachers carrying out the TEE policy and of the underlying language ideologies in the localized context.

To aid in the ethnographic process, data collection methods include participant observation, fieldnotes, recorded interviews, and collection of artifacts. For this research, participant observation is the main vehicle for understanding what happens in the educational context under the TEE policy. Observing in various contexts at different times and different

angles for extended periods of time facilitates what Blommaert and Dong (2010) term

contextualisation, making connections among observations and pieces of information gathered

across time and spaces. By contextualizing these data, it is possible to generate hypotheses and

analyze what is taking place in the field site. In order to archive observations, ethnographers

must record detailed fieldnotes that provide accounts of what was observed. During the course of

fieldwork, fieldnotes need to be reread to begin preliminary analyses and guide hypothesis-

building. Data analysis is an ongoing process both during fieldwork and after fieldwork. This

reflexive process "should inform data collection, writing, further data collection, and so forth"

(Coffey & Atkinson, 1996, p. 6).

Another fruitful source of data, recorded interviews, can complement participant

observation to yield a more vivid picture of the actions and behaviors that occur on a daily basis

in the field site. After developing considerable rapport with participants, interviews can offer

deeper insights into the participants' daily practices and lived experiences. Interviewing requires

conversational skills so that participants feel as if they are engaged in a conversation, as opposed

to a formal interview. Blommaert and Dong (2010) caution that interviewing should not present

itself as an interrogation, nor should one expect interviewees to have an opinion about every topic

of conversation introduced. As an alternative to interrogatory statements, Blommaert and Dong

(2010, p. 47) advise developing topics with statements like "I'm interested in..." or "I've seen that

you…" By shifting away from direct questioning, interviews that feel like everyday conversations

can result in more naturalistic data since interviewees feel less intimidated and more comfortable

providing responses.

An additional part of the observation process is the collection of artifacts. These artifacts

serve as pieces of evidence that support a researcher's claims. These data may represent

different perspectives in the beginning stages of fieldwork than in later stages, as the research

becomes more focused on specific areas. In LPP research, the content in policy documents,

textbooks, curriculum guides, and classroom materials represent important archival information

that offers vital evidence for how policies are interpreted and implemented. In conjunction with

the aforementioned data collection methods, these materials also provide "*everything you need to*

reconstruct your itinerary from being an outsider to being a knowing member of the community",

which is integral in ongoing data analysis and data representation (Blommaert & Dong, 2010, p.

32, emphasis in original).

4.3 Ethnography of Language Policy

In direct connection with this dissertation is a relatively new methodological direction

emerging in LPP research referred to as ethnography of language policy (Hornberger & Johnson,

2007; Johnson, 2009). As Johnson (2009) indicates, previous empirical studies of LPP have

oftentimes lacked a critical component in understanding the covert agendas that underscore

language policies, whereas critically driven research has tended to downplay the agency of

individuals given the hegemonic language ideologies that tend to guide language policies. To

address these limitations, ethnography of language policy marries the main principles of

ethnography and critical discourse analysis to examine the multi-layeredness of language policy

with a critical stance. Approaching LPP in this manner foregrounds a commitment to social

justice that advocates for language minorities and gives voice to their agency. In this way, the

advantages of ethnography of language policy become apparent not only to researchers but also

to local communities and policy makers. Researchers gain a more enriched perspective of how

micro- and macro-level processes impact each other. As a result, communities' local knowledge

is recognized and valued. In addition, local actors can play a major role in bottom-up language

planning, which is essential in ensuring success under top-down policymaking (Corson, 1999;

Hornberger, 1988).   Finally, the ideal outcome is for authorities to develop language policies that are informed by local perspectives, experiences, and knowledge through ethnography of language policy (Levinson & Cade, 2002).   It is with this aim, albeit lofty, that this dissertation sets forth.

To conduct an ethnography of language policy, Johnson (2009) identifies five key features of research that serve as entry points to examine a particular policy: 1) agents; 2) goals; 3) processes; 4) discourses; and 5) social and historical contexts.   Agents include both the authority figures at the institutional level who develop the policy and the communities that are responsible for carrying out the policy (e.g., educators, community leaders) or those for whom the policy is intended (e.g., students).   The goals of a policy state the explicit objectives, typically in a policy document.   The processes and discourses in tandem encompass the actions of the agents and the covert and overt agendas that operate among circulating language ideologies and power dynamics locally and in society at large.   Understanding the social and historical contexts within which a language policy is situated brings into relief other contributing factors that may account for why a policy is enacted, why actors respond and in certain ways, and how and why the goals are or are not achieved.   While not meant to be exhaustive, these five features offer productive ways to research the TEE policy.

4.4 Fieldwork

Preliminary Fieldwork

My entrée into my field sites could not have happened without the assistance of a family friend.   During preliminary fieldwork in 2009, I initially asked a few friends who were elementary school teachers in Seoul to introduce me to English teachers at their schools for possible classroom observations.   My attempts proved unsuccessful as my friends replied that an outsider

observing classes was not welcome without official invitation, but more importantly the

teachers did not feel comfortable conducting class in front of a native English speaker. As I

talked with family members and friends about my predicament, everyone unanimously agreed

that I needed to have contact with some education authority figure with clout since favors in

Korean society frequently depend on connections with those in positions of power. Fortunately,

one of my father's university friends, Professor Baek[2], who attended graduate school near my

hometown in North Carolina, worked as a professor at Seoul National University of Education,

one of the leading teachers' universities for elementary school teachers, and was also a board

member of the Seoul Ministry of Education (SMOE). During a conversation with Professor Baek,

he mentioned how indebted he was to my father when he was adjusting to life in the U.S. with his

wife and young children while a graduate student in North Carolina. Thankfully, he eagerly

helped me with my research plans. During the summer of 2009, Professor Baek invited me to go

with him to the Seoul English Education Center (SEEC), a residential, English-training facility for

Seoul teachers and students located outside of Seoul. Professor Baek had been planning an

official visit for several months, but due to time constraints he had delayed the visit. To my

benefit, I joined Professor Baek and toured SEEC for two hours and met with the staff to discuss

informally my dissertation research. The director of SEEC at the time, Director Park, extended

her support and agreed that it would be mutually beneficial to conduct my project at their facility.

Without Professor Baek's assistance, I would not have even been able to physically enter SEEC,

as I found out later through conversations with staff members and teacher trainees, that having

an outsider/researcher formally observe in any kind of school setting was an extremely rare

occurrence. My rationale for choosing SEEC as my first research site was twofold. First, I

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[2] All names of people are pseudonyms.

wanted to gain insight about the teacher-training program at SEEC that was designed to support the TEE policy. Second, I planned to build rapport with trainees with the intention of finding three focal teachers who would allow me to observe their classrooms after the training program. By observing their English classes, I could then examine how teachers interpreted, implemented, and perceived the TEE policy.

Logistics

In August 2010, after an introduction from Professor Baek to SEEC's Supervisor Ma who had taken over interim duties since Director Park was assigned to a new position in Seoul, I contacted SEEC about my arrival to begin my research. Supervisor Ma made special arrangements for me to use desk space in the staff office and take meals in the cafeteria. In different ways, my mere presence at SEEC was tenuous, especially in my early days of fieldwork. Since I gained access to SEEC through Professor Baek, the staff at SEEC treated me like a guest, and I was even given the title of "special researcher" on my desk plate. During my first two weeks, I resided at a local motel in town since there were no extra dorm rooms at SEEC. However, as I became close with one of the coordinators, Hana, who worked at the desk next to mine, she offered to share her dorm room with me. Since I was a single woman staying in a motel and commuting to SEEC with limited public transportation options, Hana felt sympathy for me. She worried about me traveling to SEEC everyday especially during the brutal winter months. This new arrangement proved to be ideal not only in terms of convenience, but also because I could observe evening events after the public buses stopped running. Hana's outgoing personality, curiosity about English, and our similar ages made interactions with her comfortable and enjoyable. Additionally, spending time with Hana was also valuable since she was previously an elementary English teacher in Seoul who had been assigned to work at SEEC for the past two

years. Through my conversations with her, I became aware of many of the realities confronting

English teachers in Seoul.

My time in the staff office also provided opportunities for observation. When I was in the

office writing fieldnotes, I readily made myself available to the staff if they needed my help as a

gesture of gratitude. Oftentimes, I was asked to assist with Korean-to-English translations since

SEEC employed foreign native English-speaking instructors and needed to provide official

documents or notifications to them in English. Moreover, the staff often consulted me about how

to handle difficult situations with the foreign instructors such as termination of contract or

probation. They felt that my Korean American background could help bridge the cultural

differences and miscommunications that frequently occurred during interactions with the

instructors. Throughout my time, I was grateful to be able to help out since SEEC offered me an

extraordinary research opportunity.

Research Site #1: Seoul English Education Center (SEEC)

The first component of my research began at SEEC with the fall 2010 entering cohort of

new teacher trainees. To facilitate the TEE policy, SMOE provides an optional "Teacher Trainee

Program" through SEEC for Seoul English teachers, focusing on intensive English instruction and

teaching methodology to improve their proficiency and instruction in English. In 2007, SMOE

established an intensive five-month, in-residence training program for up to 44 elementary and

secondary English teachers at SEEC. Additionally, SEEC offers five-day, four-night English

programs for elementary and middle school students in the same facilities. The student programs

are similar to the camps at the numerous private English Villages held across Korea, where

Korean students interact with native speakers of English through content-based English

instruction (Faiola, 2004).

SEEC is located in the idyllic town of Gapyeong, famous for its pine nuts, approximately two hours east of Seoul. The facilities are set high in the Bulgi Mountains two kilometers from the main road that leads to downtown Gapyeong. SMOE operates a few off-site centers in the provinces like SEEC for training Seoul teachers and students in areas such as English, physical education, and Korean traditional music. The rationale behind these remote locations is for participants to focus on their training without outside distractions such as family or local entertainment. SEEC contains two main buildings: the Future Building and the World Building. The Future Building houses the administrative offices, dormitory for trainees and instructors, instructor offices, and trainee computer labs. The World Building contains the classrooms, cafeteria, dormitory for students and staff, and student program facilities. (See Appendix A for a map of the facilities.) The facilities offered for the teacher trainees include individual computers with Internet access and printing, photocopying, a well-stocked Korean and English professional library, and a fitness center. The classrooms are equipped with multimedia technology including SMART boards and conventional whiteboards. Professor Baek referred to the spending for English education as the "*don meogneun hama*" ("*money-eating hippo*"), a parody of the *mul meogneun hama* (*moisture-eating hippo*), a popular Korean household device that absorbs moisture to prevent clothing damage, to describe the exorbitant expenses for English education (FN: 09.07.07)[3].

Elementary and secondary school English teachers in Seoul can apply to attend the program at SEEC where they participate in English classes, teaching workshops, and informal social activities all conducted in English. To apply for this program, teachers must have three years of English classroom teaching experience, as well as permission from their school principal

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[3] When citing examples from fieldnotes and interviews, in parentheses I use the initials FN to indicate fieldnotes and IN to signal interview, and then I follow with the year, month, and day of the occurrence.

for professional leave. However, since the inception of the program, enforcement of the three-year teaching requirement has been lenient in light of the difficulties to recruit enough teachers for the program. Supervisor Ma indicated that despite receiving full salary and an expense-free month of study abroad, attracting teachers for the five-month residential program has proved challenging due to work responsibilities and familial obligations (FN: 10.09.16). He also cited principals who were reluctant to allow teachers to attend SEEC because hiring a temporary teacher to substitute for the English teacher would be too troublesome for the school and disruptive to the students. Additionally, Supervisor Ma indicated that many English teachers did not or could not attend SEEC because they needed to manage their household. Consequently, the majority of trainees that I observed in 2010 to 2011 fell into two groups, young females without children and older males and females with children attending secondary school and university. Tables 1 and 2 show the demographic breakdown of elementary and secondary trainees in 2010 to 2011. See Appendix B for more detailed information.

Table 1. Demographics of Elementary Teacher Trainees at SEEC

Total Number of Male Teachers	Total Number of Female Teachers	Average Years of Teaching Experience	Average Years of English Teaching Experience
2	21	9.5	2.4

Table 2. Demographics of Secondary Teacher Trainees at SEEC[4]

Total Number of Male Teachers	Total Number of Female Teachers	Average Years of English Teaching Experience
11	4	19.6

The Teacher Trainee Program at SEEC is held weekdays from 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., except for Monday and Friday. On Monday, trainees meet in southeastern Seoul at 9:00 a.m. to board the chartered bus to SEEC. After a two-hour trip, trainees eat lunch at SEEC and begin classes at 1:00 p.m. On Friday, classes begin at 9:00 a.m. and end at 12:00 p.m., with trainees eating lunch at SEEC and then returning to Seoul by bus for the weekend. Trainees are divided into four homeroom groups according to teaching level (i.e., elementary, secondary) and English proficiency level (i.e., intermediate, advanced) determined by a placement test. These four groups known as E1, E2, S1, and S2 attend all classes as a group, except for the methodology and technology classes, which bring E1 and E2 together and S1 and S2 together. Generally, the younger teachers belonged to E1 and S1, the advanced levels, while E2 and S2 were made up of older teachers. Each week trainees attend reading, listening, conversation, pronunciation, writing, methodology, and technology classes taught by five native English-speaking instructors, all from the U.S. Every other Friday, in lieu of classes, trainees are required to carry out 15-minute micro-teaching lessons in front of a small group of trainees and one instructor. Micro-teaching lessons are designed for trainees to practice TEE, share teaching ideas with each other, and to receive constructive feedback on their lesson. In the first year of the Teacher Trainee

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[4] All secondary English teachers majored in English and continue to teach English for the rest of their teaching career. Only in rare cases can teachers instruct a subject different from their majors. For example, a teacher at SEEC who majored in German transitioned to English after the elimination of German classes at his school.

Program in 2007, every Wednesday and Friday was devoted to 30-minute micro-teaching

lessons, however, trainees vehemently complained that micro-teaching was exhausting and

stressful. Since trainees' complaints carry considerable weight at SEEC, the micro-teaching was

progressively scaled down to its current state (FN: 10.10.07).

In addition to classes and micro-teaching lessons, there are several other activities

planned for the trainees. Every Wednesday evening, trainees participate in Club Activities, where

they choose from singing, drama, comics, psychology, or movie club, each led by one of the

instructors. In the last three months of the course, weekly guest lectures delivered by various

English teachers and administrators in Seoul schools were held for the trainees. While the quality

of the lectures varied according to the trainees, a wide variety of topics were presented including

classroom management, assessment, music integration, sociolinguistics, and vocabulary

development (FN: 11.01.11). A few of the lecturers were former trainees themselves and often

offered advice to the current trainees, especially related to their month abroad. Twice during the

term, SEEC arranged two field trips, one to nearby Nami Island and another to an outdoor ropes

course facility. These trips functioned as a much-needed diversion for the trainees and

instructors, who often experienced monotony, stress, and cabin fever during the five-month

program, especially during the colder months (FN: 11.01.11).

Despite the packed daily schedule, the trainees spent a few hours of the day for studying

or leisure. If trainees were not studying in their computer labs or dorm rooms, they could often be

found working out in the gym, playing sports outside, or hiking on the numerous trails.

Nevertheless, trainees often felt overworked and drained from thinking and speaking in English all

day; some thought that more free time to study individually was needed to improve their English

skills instead of class time or guest lectures (FN: 11.01.11). Every couple of weeks, the different

homerooms held a small gathering with food and drinks as a way to relax. It was during these

times that I heard the trainees speaking largely in Korean since SEEC highly recommended

that trainees speak in English all day even during meals and class breaks (FN: 10.10.25). When

trainees came down with a cold or other ailment, they blamed the stress at SEEC but were quick

to say that they were happier at SEEC than at their schools (FN: 11.01.11). Many viewed the

training program as a "vacation" from school duties, especially since they had the opportunity to

study abroad (FN: 10.10.22). Some of SEEC administrative staff were unsympathetic to the

trainees' stress because they were still receiving their monthly salary without working and could

travel abroad for free (FN: 10.12.16).

Data Collection Part 1: SEEC

On my first day at SEEC, Supervisor Ma introduced me to the instructors and I discussed

my dissertation research. I explained that I would like to observe their classes and made it clear

that I was not planning to evaluate their teaching but was focusing on the trainees' interactions.

All of the five instructors agreed for me to observe their classes. Three of them welcomed me to

observe anytime without asking, while I always asked the other two instructors in advance for

permission. Overall, all instructors were very gracious and open to me observing their classes.

Every week I observed two to three classes a day from the back of the classroom with my

notebook. Most of the time, I remained silent, but on occasion the instructor would ask me a

question in front of the class or ask me to pair up with a trainee for a group activity when there

were odd numbers of students. In an effort not to limit the possibility of forging relationships, I

also made myself available during informal activities such as class breaks, meals, and recreation

times, so that my presence became more familiar both to the trainees and staff members. Based

on Jaffe's (1999) experience researching in Corsica, Jaffe's acceptance in the community was

often dependent on her showing sympathy for the Corsican language. I found myself in a similar

situation by sharing my difficulties learning Korean, as well as Spanish. I also observed a variety of Club Activities and guest lectures, and I attended field trips.

Early on, I observed a variety of subjects and different homerooms. However, as time progressed, I focused on the elementary levels. I arrived at this decision as I learned that teachers' use of TEE at the secondary level was nonexistent, except for special foreign language schools. Secondary school teachers indicated that excessive pressure to prepare students for exams, especially in high school, rendered TEE useless in the classroom (FN: 10.10.14). These teachers reasoned that if schools wanted high test scores, the best method for test preparation would be to teach in Korean, not English. (This issue is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.) While I still observed S1 and S2 classes and interviewed secondary teachers, I concentrated my class observations on E1 and E2.

Additionally, I offered to hold bi-weekly one-hour tutoring for four trainees, whom instructors felt needed extra support in English, after having observed them struggle in classes. After receiving permission from Supervisor Ma to hold the tutoring sessions, I asked if they were interested in tutoring and if so, what they wanted to learn. All four were enthusiastic about extra help and unanimously wanted to focus on listening, which they felt was their most immediate need. As Freeman (1998) and Wolfram (1998) indicate, researchers have a responsibility to give back to the communities under study. Offering a small part of my time coupled with my interest and experience in teaching was one way I wanted to reciprocate considering the trainees' infinite generosity.

After over four months at SEEC, I felt comfortable approaching trainees and SEEC staff about participating in interviews. In January of 2011 toward the end of the program, I conducted 30-minute to one-hour interviews with 37 of the 38 of the trainees and all five of the instructors. In addition, I interviewed Supervisor Ma and three SEEC coordinators including my roommate

Hana. All four are also former English teachers in Seoul and have now returned to teach

English in Seoul schools, except for Supervisor Ma who is now a supervisor in a Seoul district

education office. At a time of their convenience, I held interviews in a workroom at SEEC. While

the Institutional Review Board (IRB) consent form was an unfamiliar experience, interviewees

seemed comfortable and forthcoming during the interviews. To minimize interviewees' anxiety

and maximize naturalistic data, I made it clear at the outset of the interview that I could speak in

Korean and that they could choose to speak in English or Korean depending on their preference.

Thirty-two of the trainees spoke mostly in English with a few Korean words and phrases. Some

interviewees explicitly stated that by virtue of being at SEEC, they should speak in English.

Others seemed visibly thrilled by the chance to speak at length about themselves in English.

Finally, there were five trainees who spoke in Korean from start to finish.

In addition to being able to hold interviews with trainees after developing a strong rapport

with them, I also felt comfortable enough to ask three teachers for permission to observe in their

classrooms in Seoul. Researching in classrooms was a vital part of my study since I wanted to

investigate how teachers interpreted and implemented the TEE policy in their classroom

practices. Furthermore, Spolsky (2009) contends that the school is the primary agency of

organized language management since it aims to change students' language behaviors.

Examining this process as it relates to the TEE policy sheds light on teachers' agency and the

associated processes and discourses. I approached three teachers, Hilda, Brenda, and Nicole[5],

who belonged to E2. (Teachers are introduced in detail in the following section.) Because of our

interpersonal dynamics, we shared many interactions during meals and break times both one-on-

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[5] Many of the trainees, including my three focal teachers, chose to use English names while at SEEC and at their schools. Therefore, I assigned them English pseudonyms. For those that used their Korean names, I changed their names to Korean pseudonyms.

one and as a group. After I explained my research plans, all three teachers permitted me to observe their classes without reservation. Supervisor Ma also helped me contact their schools' principals to receive official authorization after I sent them a letter of intent. All three principals were amenable to my research, which would begin at the start of the school year in March 2011.

After completing the five-month program at the end of January 2011, the trainees left SEEC and spent one month studying in an English-speaking country before returning to teach in March 2011. The trainees lived with a host family, studied English at a local university, and visited elementary and secondary schools and tourist attractions. The secondary teachers traveled to Brisbane, Australia and the elementary teachers were split between Palmerston North, New Zealand and Tasmania, Australia for their study abroad program. SMOE chose the destinations based on cost and relationships with the host universities. While I did not accompany the trainees abroad due to logistical and financial reasons, I kept in contact with my focal teachers and several others via email during their time abroad. In March of 2011, the trainees returned to their schools in Seoul.

Focal Teacher #1: Hilda, Hanhwa Elementary School[6]

Hilda taught as an English subject teacher for the first time in 2009 at Hanhwa Elementary School. Prior to 2009, she taught English as a homeroom teacher for two years when the English subject was introduced in elementary schools in 1997 under the Seventh National Curriculum. At that time, Hilda was not comfortable teaching English, however, she says that SMOE provided a CD and other materials to facilitate English class for novice English teachers. After those two years, SMOE designated English subject teachers to teach English.

[6] All names of schools are pseudonyms.

However, depending on the number of homerooms and English teachers at a given school, the number of English subject teachers varies. In some Seoul elementary schools, homeroom teachers teach English instead of the English subject teacher if resources are limited.

Hilda's school is located in an affluent area in northeastern Seoul. Hanhwa is located in a desirable area for families due to the high concentration of private institutes for school-aged children. According to Hilda, many of the students at Hanhwa have experience studying English abroad either in summer camps or long-term stays of over one year. Consequently, many of the students use English with ease and their proficiency levels exceed what is expected in the school curriculum. When I asked Hilda about volunteering to teach an afterschool English class as a way to repay the school for their kindness, she responded that afterschool programs at Hanhwa are not popular with students since their parents prefer enrolling them in private institutes. Even recruiting students for vacation English camps is challenging because parents send their children to study abroad. Thus, I was not able to hold afterschool classes at Hanhwa.

Because of the students' high English skills, Hanhwa teachers are intimidated and reluctant to work as an English subject teacher because they do not want to be perceived as inferior to the students. Under these circumstances, usually the principal drafts the youngest teacher to teach English if no one is willing. However, Hilda wanted a change from being a homeroom teacher and volunteered to teach English. As someone with over twenty years of teaching experience, her choice to work as the English teacher shocked many of her co-workers. Teachers in their fifties tend to opt for teaching what is comfortable and easiest, usually first to third grade since those students leave school earlier than the upper grades. However, Hilda was inspired by her daughter, Jinhee, who is majoring in English at an elite Korean university. When Hilda's daughter was younger, she did not enroll her in English private institutes, as many parents tend to do. Later, she allowed Jinhee to spend the summer with relatives in Canada during high

school. When Hilda visited Jinhee in Canada that summer, she was terrified about speaking English as she went through airport immigration. After that trip, Hilda began to study English at home, as well as in a private institute, for her personal benefit. Since she started teaching English in 2009, Hilda continues to attend a private institute in the morning before going to school and attends professional development workshops for English teaching. Although she admits that her students speak English better than she does, Hilda is confident in her teaching skills and in designing engaging lessons.

Like most elementary schools in Seoul, Hanhwa has an "English Zone", a classroom dedicated for English classes primarily for fifth and sixth graders. Most schools receive a substantial budget from SMOE to build the space and furnish it with classroom materials, multimedia technology, and English posters and books. The English Zone at Hanhwa is located next to the English teachers' office. However, Hilda taught English in the students' homeroom, since the English Zone was reserved for the native English-speaking teaching assistant (NESTA) co-teaching with the English subject teacher.

Focal Teacher #2: Brenda, Shindong Elementary School

About a twenty-minute walk from Hanhwa is Shindong Elementary School, where Brenda teaches. In sharp contrast to Hanhwa, Shindong's student population is considerably disadvantaged. A majority of the students, although born in South Korea, come from North Korean refugee (*saeteomin)* families. While an outsider would not perceive them as high-poverty students based on their clean, middle-class appearance, an overwhelming majority of the students receive government aid for lunch and district-sponsored afterschool programs. Shindong is also one of three schools in the district that provides special, video-conference, English classes taught by Filipino English teachers. When I met Shindong's principal to discuss

volunteering for an afterschool program, the principal readily accepted my offer citing the need

to help students as much as possible.   Due to the sizeable amount of government aid that

Shindong students receive, teachers are often burdened with excessive bureaucratic paperwork.

Another challenge that Brenda and other Shindong teachers face is handling students' behavior.

Initially, Brenda thought that my research might suffer because she does not consider her school

to be a "typical" Korean school.   When she first began teaching at Shindong, she said that she

had never encountered such undisciplined students in her ten years of teaching.   Brenda

acknowledged that classroom management is not her strength, but in her experience she never

taught students who blatantly disrespected her or undermined her authority.

Like Hilda, Brenda also volunteered to teach English because she wanted a change from

being the homeroom teacher.   Brenda had also been exploring other opportunities in education

such as being promoted to administration.   In addition to passing the competitive administrators'

exam, candidates must have strong English skills and English test scores.   Consequently, Brenda

believed that gaining English teaching experience would help her improve her English skills.

Brenda had progressed in strengthening her professional qualifications since she attended

SEEC.   SMOE funded her research project at the beginning of the 2011 semester on using

graphic organizers to learn English, and she earned her TEE Ace certification. (More on the TEE

certification is presented in Chapter 5.)

This year, as the third- and fourth-grade English teacher, Brenda was allowed to use a

former storage room as an English classroom instead of teaching in the students' homerooms

because the homeroom teachers wanted to be able to plan in their classrooms while their

students attended English class. Unlike Shindong's English Zone, Brenda's classroom contained

old desks and chairs and a whiteboard but was equipped with a large screen television and

computer.   At the beginning of the semester, Brenda envisioned creating a reading area with

carpet, pillows, and books, like the ones she saw while visiting elementary schools in New Zealand. However, the class space did not allow for it and after getting to know her students, she thought offering them free time in the reading area would be abused.

Focal Teacher #3: Nicole, Daewon Elementary School

Part of the same district as Shindong and Hanhwa but over 15 kilometers away, Daewon Elementary School is located in a lower-middle class neighborhood. While the students are socioeconomically better off than Shindong's, roughly half of the students receive some form of government aid. Two of Nicole's major concerns were disciplining students and apathy toward learning. Nicole described many of the students in her classes as coming from single-parent homes and/or taking medication for ADHD. Since Nicole teaches fifth- and sixth-grade students, she often witnesses outbursts and academic underachievement that she attributes to parental neglect, ADHD, and puberty. Both Nicole and her principal were enthusiastic about me holding an afterschool English class but emphasized that I create fun lessons and play games regularly. Given the student population, they wanted to engage the students and create a positive experience about learning English by having fun.

When Nicole began working as the English teacher three years ago, she looked forward to the change since she desired a new experience like Brenda and Hilda. However, after her second year, Nicole tried to change teaching positions because of the extra work required such as organizing English contests and managing the NESTA. Nicole tried to convince the music teacher, who was studying to be a simultaneous English-Korean interpreter, to teach English, but this teacher was content teaching music due to the manageable workload. Nicole also attributes the lack of interest in teaching English to the English teacher's lower pay grade (approximately USD $100 less than a homeroom teacher). As an undergraduate science major, Nicole said she

does not have a head for languages despite having studied Japanese for several years during her leisure. She has spent the last ten years equally as a homeroom teacher and a science teacher. The main reason for teaching English was to improve her English skills because she likes to travel. During her trips abroad, Nicole met many foreigners but felt frustrated because she could not communicate her thoughts clearly. She admired her older sister who taught computer classes in English in Sri Lanka, as part of a Korean government program similar to the U.S. Peace Corps. Nicole said she envied her sister's outgoing ability to engage with strangers in English even though her English skills were not perfect.

Data Collection Part 2: Seoul Elementary Schools

At the beginning of the school year in March 2011, I began observing at the three schools one day a week each until the end of the semester in July 2011. I arranged my schedule according to days where the teachers taught by themselves. In Seoul, each grade attends three days of English classes per week, with one or two days co-taught with the NESTA and one or two days taught only by the Korean English teacher depending on the school's policy. Since the TEE policy focuses on the Korean teachers, I wanted to observe how they taught alone in their classrooms. SMOE has stated for several years that as soon as there are enough capable English teachers, hiring NESTAs will end. In the past, SMOE set 2012 as the last year for employing NESTAs; however, the end date has been postponed indefinitely. Consequently, since Korean teachers are intended to be the future English teachers according to SMOE, I concentrated on these classes but also had opportunities to observe co-teaching with the NESTAs.

On Tuesdays, I went to Hanhwa to observe three of Hilda's fifth grade classes and ate lunch with her and her co-workers. Afterwards, I went to Shindong to teach an afterschool class

at Brenda's school for one hour. In the evenings, Nicole, Hilda, and I met for dinner and had

informal English study sessions per their request. On Wednesdays, I went to Daewon to observe

three of Nicole's sixth grade classes, as well as eat lunch in the staff room. After lunch, I held a

one-hour English class. Lastly, on Thursdays, I traveled to Brenda's school to observe three of

her third-grade classes. In addition to these observations, I also attended special events like

English singing and speech contests. As required by each school, teachers must hold an "open

class" each semester, where other teachers and parents are invited to sit in on classes. Twice

during the semester, I conducted recorded interviews with each teacher. Throughout this

semester and the fall 2011 semester, SEEC trainees and the focal teachers would invite me to

special events related to English. Maintaining contact with the teachers after my fieldwork was

beneficial because I could also engage in member checking, a clarification process where I

discuss with my participants any information that may be unclear or require further elaboration, in

order to obtain valid results.

4.5 Data Analysis

Through sustained observations and interviews at SEEC and the three elementary

schools, I gained insight into how teachers perceived the TEE policy, especially through their

spoken discourse, in and out of the classroom. In addition to spoken discourse, I drew on official

language policy documents, textbooks, classroom materials, and curriculum guides for discourse

analysis to aid in answering my research questions, which I list here as a reminder:

1) How do Korean teachers conceptualize English?

2) How do policy documents discursively construct English?

3) What language ideologies support and/or resist the study of English as envisioned by

the TEE policy?

4) How do Korean teachers characterize their relationship with English?

5) How do classroom practices interact with the TEE policy?

Previous studies (S. Jung & Norton, 2002; H. Shin, 2007) did not include the analysis of official policy documents or other written artifacts, but I see these macro-level data as essential for understanding the micro-level classroom practices. In the Japanese education system, Kubota (2002) analyzed reports on the educational reform of foreign language education to examine the discursive construction of English, which was associated with internationalization, logical thinking, and self-expression. I also use the written artifacts with other data sources to triangulate findings.

A central component of the data analysis entails discourse analysis of interviews and classroom discourse. I adopt Johnstone's (2002) conceptualization of discourse analysis that focuses on examining aspects of the structure and function in language use to develop an account that moves beyond description toward a social critique. For example, I analyze participants' choices about the representations of actions, actors, and events. Recently, scholars in sociolinguistics have explored the relationships between policy and discourse in education to deepen understanding of a policy's impact (Canagarajah, 1999; Ramanathan, 2005). To uncover the language ideologies surrounding English in this context I was attuned to the metalinguistic discourse, or the talk about language, that occurs. Consistent with the ethnography of language policy, I argue that metalinguistic discourse provides a window into the interpretation and implementation of a language policy. Silverstein (1981/2001) cautions that what speakers say they believe does not necessarily represent their underlying beliefs about language. Additionally, Silverstein (1981/2001) notes that speakers' responses do not necessarily reflect the social processes that may have shaped their attitudes toward language. Consequently, rather than directly asking participants about their beliefs, exploring how participants metalinguistically talk

about English illuminates how English is constructed and how the TEE policy is taken up. After

data collection, I attended to the language ideologies, explicit or implicit, that can be inferred from

interviews, classroom discourse, and fieldnotes. Uncovering language ideologies is essential for

understanding how English is conceptualized, learned, resisted, and appropriated in the school

context on the part of teachers and students. In her study of LPP in Corsica, Jaffe (1999)

observed how LPP and language ideologies were situated in Corsicans' language usage resulting

in a language shift away from Corsican. I approach my dissertation concerning the TEE policy in

a similar vein as Jaffe through ethnographic study paying special attention to "everyday, largely

unconscious patterns of speaking and relatively self-conscious discourses about language"

(Jaffe, 1999, p. 2). Upon further analysis, I consider the possible discursive consequences of

such ideologies and their impact in the classroom and on the teachers' interpretation of the TEE

policy.

As mentioned in previous sections, data analysis of ethnographic research is an ongoing

process during fieldwork and after fieldwork. During fieldwork, I transcribed interviews and

reviewed them to ensure a detailed linguistic examination of the discourse, analyzed fieldnotes to

discover patterns and inconsistencies, and coded data with the qualitative data software program

Atlas.ti as a way to organize large quantities of data and rethink my hypotheses. After completing

fieldwork, I engaged in more focused coding and analysis, and in-depth triangulation of the

interview data, observations, and fieldnotes to ensure validity, solidify interpretation, and raise

questions when inconsistencies arose (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). My data analysis

followed the ethnographic analysis put forth by Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (1995) that relies on

extracting major themes and patterns from fieldnotes, documents, and transcribed interviews.

Finally, it is duly noted that my research is a qualitative, interpretive study with a limited

sample size that may call into question issues about generalizability. However, I reiterate that the

analysis and findings of the study can nonetheless offer valuable insight into how a particular community interprets and implements a given language policy that can potentially guide future language policies in ways that better address the needs of the community to improve language education.

4.6 My Positionality/Researcher Status

As Canagarajah (2008, p. 149) notes, when conducting qualitative research in local communities, "any insider status is only relative". While I may be ethnically Korean, my status as a researcher born and educated in the U.S. and English-dominant speaker, positions me in a different light to my participants. I think that my previous teaching experiences in the U.S. and Korea also lent a hand to my insider status. When Supervisor Ma introduced me to the trainees at the beginning of the term, I briefly explained that I worked as an elementary ESOL teacher in the U.S. and a university-level English instructor in Korea. While the fact that I was pursuing a doctoral degree might have been alienating for some trainees, I think my teaching experiences provided some common ground for the trainees. Through my earlier work experience in Korea, I became acutely aware of the linguistic privilege afforded by my English skills that I previously had taken for granted. I approached the beginning stages of my fieldwork with the anticipation that the trainees would be guarded in their interactions with me since they might assume that I am evaluating their teaching or learning of English. However, as time progressed, I think the trainees viewed me a resource they could depend on if they had questions about English, teaching or Western culture, especially if they wanted to ask me questions in Korean. In this way, I may have been more approachable, unlike the native English-speaking instructors, who regularly evaluated their English skills and did not speak Korean.

As a heritage speaker of Korean, I am comfortable in most social situations using the Korean language. However, I am still developing my competency in academic Korean, which puts me in a similar situation with my participants in that they are still mastering English, although the power imbalance is evident as English is perceived as the more powerful language. When I interacted with trainees, typically our conversations would be in English since SEEC insisted on using English even outside of the classroom. Naturally, using a foreign language for trainees for five months for the majority of the day was cognitively and physically taxing. Therefore, when trainees spoke in Korean, I also conversed with them in Korean. Upon my arrival at SEEC, some trainees wanted to test my Korean (or "Koreanness") by asking me to speak to them in Korean. Others would praise my speaking ability, especially when they compared me to other overseas Koreans who they claimed spoke Korean with a "strong" accent.

My positionality as a Korean American researcher is a strength that I bring to this study. I identify as a Korean American transnational given my sustained contact between the U.S. and Korea. As Said (1993) and Bhabha (1994) argue, transnationals capitalize on their "in-betweenness" to view the home and host community critically. As a child, I witnessed how my parents, as immigrants in the U.S. struggled with English, and I experienced firsthand substantial obstacles applying for English-teaching positions in Korea with a "Korean face." These experiences shaped my subjectivities and subsequently my research, and I feel confident that I have the cache to be critical about sociocultural and educational issues plaguing the U.S. and Korea. After becoming more comfortable at SEEC among the trainees, I gradually shared my own political views regarding language learning and language ideologies toward English on different occasions. For example, when a few trainees found out that they would study in Australia and New Zealand, some worried that they would acquire "a funny English accent"; instead, their first preference was to go to North America and England was second, where they

felt the English "was better" (FN: 10.12.22). While trying not to be heavy-handed in imparting a

pluralistic and egalitarian view of Englishes, I shared my disagreement with the trainees.

Nevertheless, they still expressed disappointment about studying in New Zealand and Australia.

My status as a researcher spans my outspokenness regarding issues of linguistic dominance, as

well as my silent observations in the back of the classroom, and cumulatively affects my

research. As this dissertation is research that aims to be methodologically and theoretically

sound, it is still an interpretive endeavor filled with subjectivity.

Chapter 5: An Analysis of Past and Present English Education Policies in Korea

5.1 Overview

Korea's English language policies both past and present have addressed the acquisition of English as a foreign or additional language. This kind of language planning, known as acquisition planning, concerns how the language users will acquire the language (Cooper, 1989). This chapter begins with a brief overview of the history of English education in Korea and then progresses to the current time period with an in-depth analysis of SMOE's TEE policy. The final sections examine teachers' perspectives on the TEE policy and certification process. The analysis focuses on the ideologies related to English, the discursive construction of English, and the assumptions made regarding language education, namely how those in authority perceive English and manage the language behaviors of students and teachers. I examine the policy documents and further support them with interview data and ethnographic fieldnotes. My aim is to make explicit the language ideologies related to English which structure the past language policies and the TEE policy.

5.2 The Introduction of English Education in Korea

As Pennycook (2000) suggests, language policies cannot be fully understood without explaining the history and current sociocultural context. Therefore, before analyzing the current TEE policy, this section provides historical background information on the introduction of English learning and how English education developed in Korea.

As the last of the East Asian countries to have relations with the Western world, Korea was initially skeptical of Western intentions (Seth, 2006). During the era of Western imperialism in East Asia in the 19th century, the court of the ruling Joseon dynasty punished Koreans associated with Western learning, especially those who converted to Catholicism; the English

language was not held in high regard and was typically perceived as imperialistic (S.G. Collins,

2005). With Japan's increasing economic and military strength toward the end of the 19th century,

Korea felt compelled to develop diplomatic ties with the U.S. In 1882, Korea entered into the

Shufeldt Treaty with the U.S., which led to American advisors, teachers and Protestant

missionaries arriving in Korea (S.G. Collins, 2005). In 1883, English language learning in Korea

began with the founding of an English school for interpreters called *Dongmoonhak* (*School of

Western Languages)* (Jeong, 2004). George von Mollendorf, a German advisor to the Korean

royal court, aided in the school's establishment. Thomas Edward Halifax, a British teacher, ran

and taught classes at Dongmoonhak. Thus, English language education was first accessible to

government officials training to become interpreters. Three years later American missionaries

started opening up schools in Korea and also taught English (Jeong, 2004). Teachers first

instructed English through the direct method since they did not know Korean, but later grammar-

translation methods favoring test-taking became prevalent in the 1920s (Jeong, 2004).

In 1905, the Japanese began their formal occupation of Korea. From the outset, the

Japanese discouraged the teaching of English and began shutting down the missionary schools.

The study of Japanese was introduced as a required subject in schools. Five years later in 1910,

Japan formally annexed Korea and began colonial rule, establishing Japanese as the national

language in attempts to assimilate Koreans. This period marked the deterioration of foreign

language education in English (Kim-Rivera, 2002), as well as an emergence of Korean cultural

and linguistic nationalism (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2002).

Toward the end of World War I, colonies worldwide, including Korea, participated in

independence movements.   Korea's desire for independence prompted the Japanese

government to resort to more lenient policies in all areas of rule, including education. In 1919, the

Ministry of Education (MOE) revised the educational curriculum and placed more emphasis on

foreign language education. The ruling Japanese felt that their previously restrictive attitudes toward English and other foreign languages were causing them to lag behind other countries economically. As a result, more opportunities to study foreign languages such as English and German were available to students at the secondary and post-secondary levels. English teacher training was also offered in Korea for the first time (Kim-Rivera, 2002).

By 1936, a new era of militaristic rule by the Japanese took hold under the campaign of "Japan and Korea are One Entity" (Kim-Rivera, 2002). The Japanese-only language policy went into effect in 1937. At this time, the Japanese-run government prohibited the Korean language in daily life through fines and vigorously promoted the use of Japanese, even requiring all Koreans to adopt Japanese names. Despite strict efforts to require Koreans to speak Japanese, the percentage of the population that understood Japanese was less than 20% (Kim-Rivera, 2002). As Japanese anti-American sentiment resulting from World War II mounted, the U.S. State Department withdrew all U.S. citizens from Korea in 1940, resulting in the end of missionary schools and English learning. The Japanese government prohibited English-language activities in universities and even burned English textbooks (Kim-Rivera, 2002). By 1945, the Japanese surrendered to the Allied Forces and withdrew from Korea. For a brief period from 1945 to 1949 English was the official language of government since U.S. troops used English to conduct government business and reorganize the war-torn country. This period marked the only time when English was recognized officially by the Korean government. The Korean War beginning in 1950 and ending in 1953 also brought English back to Korea through the U.S. Army. The aftermath of the Korean War solidified South Korea's continued dependence on the U.S. both economically and politically. Reliance on the U.S. confirmed the importance of the English language to the Korean government, as well as to the rest of society through Korea's highly centralized education system (Kwon, 2000).

5.3 English Education during Industrialization and Modernization (1953-1992)

After the post-war period, Korea's formal education system underwent intense development that was characterized by "long hours of study, strict discipline, educational advancement contingent on success in competitive entrance exams, and a high level of competency among teachers, whose education followed a rigorous and rigorously enforced course of training" (Seth, 2002, p. 3). Even during a time of political and economic instability, parents of all socioeconomic levels and geographic regions contributed to the fervor for education and believed that class mobility for their children, both boys and girls, was possible through education. American advisors aided in developing the Korean education system, most notably by providing universal education, but pedagogically classes revolved around teacher-centered and textbook-centered instruction to manage overcrowded classrooms rather than promoting individual expression, a suggestion touted by the Americans (Seth, 2002). The high levels of education attained by students correlated with industrial expansion yielding a highly educated workforce in a just half a century (Seth, 2002).

Since the 1960s, the Korean government has made concerted efforts to develop the education system to cultivate nationalism, eradicate elitism, and promote anti-communism. With these major goals on the agenda, the nation state sought to legitimize its control over its people through its centralized education system. Another indispensable component of the education system was to cater to economic needs by promoting vocational and technical secondary schools and junior colleges to advance modernization; however, Koreans typically shunned these schools and viewed academic high schools and four-year liberal arts colleges as the exclusive gateway to non-blue-collar employment and prestige. During President Park Chung Hee's regime beginning in 1961, Korea underwent a period of revitalization to encourage international trade and economic

development. The MOE at the time enacted policies promoting English education in schools,

which were perceived as instrumental for Korea's burgeoning export industries. The government

wanted to focus educational efforts on a mastery of skills, as well as cultural exchange, which

sharply contrasted with the previous grammar-translation practices instituted by the Japanese

colonial government (S.G. Collins, 2005). Nevertheless, the lack of trained English teachers

largely prevented these goals from being achieved. During this period, S.G. Collins (2005)

reports that it was not unusual for entire classes of English to pass by without any spoken English

being used.

After the assassination of President Park Chung Hee in 1979, Korea's civilian

government moved gradually toward democratization. However, later that year Major General

Chun Doo Hwan declared martial law to suppress student and civilian protests opposing

authoritarian and militaristic rule. Even with the change in leadership with Chun, education still

focused on meeting the nation's economic needs through the promotion of vocational and

technical education despite public resistance. Educational reform also brought about more

emphasis on oral communication in English education. Nevertheless, similar to the previous

reform, the lack of teachers capable of instructing oral skills in English still remained a challenge,

and most continued with grammar translation and rote memorization. Years later, the first

democratically elected Korean president Roh Tae-woo in 1987 represented a turning point for the

Korean people in terms of democratic reforms. The Roh administration promoted *gukjehwa*

(*internationalization*) as a precursor to Korea's hosting of the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988

Summer Olympics to present Korea as an international player. These major events, where

English was used as a lingua franca, served as a symbolic reminder of the connection between

globalization and English (D. Shim & J.S. Park, 2008). J.S. Park (2009) notes how the Korean

government's television campaigns prior to the 1988 Summer Olympics attempted to encourage

the public to create a positive impression on foreign visitors by acting friendly and speaking

English. These campaigns and international events worked to construct the importance of

interacting with the global world, namely through the medium of English. Consequently, many

Koreans began to associate English as the language of globalization and modernization (which is

discussed in more detail in the next sections). Also during this time, the Korean export economy

began broadening from manufacturing to knowledge-based and technological industries creating

highly coveted white-collar employment opportunities. Due to the surplus of university graduates

and limited number of positions, knowledge of English served as a marker of qualified candidates.

With the white-collar sector beginning to place a premium on oral English skills, subsequent

educational reforms reflected the importance of global communication, as evidenced by the

changes in the Fifth National Curriculum that prioritized oral skills in English over other

competencies.

5.4 Major Reforms in English Education (1992-2001)

Following Roh's term in office, President Kim Young-Sam administration's (1993-1998)

championed the *segyehwa* (*globalization*) movement in 1994 to increase Korea's national

competiveness, a strategy designed to develop human resources for global survival. Buttressed

by Korea's new membership in the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

(OECD) in 1996, the *segyehwa* movement yielded radical educational reforms improving

education standards and placing greater emphasis on English learning. Under the Sixth National

Curriculum in 1995, oral communication continued to remain a priority as English education

policies intensified by increasing the instructional time for English classes in secondary schools

and the offering of elective English conversation and reading courses in high schools. Kwon

(2000) specifies four major changes to English education under the Sixth National Curriculum.

These changes included 1) a shift to a communicative functional syllabus as opposed to a

traditional grammar-based syllabus; 2) an emphasis on comprehension before production; 3) an

emphasis on communicative competence; and 4) prioritizing fluency over accuracy. While the

MOE promoted communicative competence through its revised curriculum, R.J. Shim (1999)

argues that the content of secondary school textbooks (until the Sixth National Curriculum) still

supported grammar translation since they were adapted from Japanese English textbooks and

translated to Korean. R.J. Shim (1999) attributes the changes to the National Curriculum as

reflecting the communicative language teaching (CLT) trends in foreign language teaching

methodology from the West but contends that teaching practices in the classroom still heavily

relied on grammar instruction. This disconnect between policy and practice demonstrates that

even in cases of an explicit written policy or curriculum, the students and the teachers will not

necessarily follow suit, especially when inadequate resources such as unsuitable textbooks and

lack of teachers trained in CLT methodology are present (Spolsky, 2004).

The Sixth National Curriculum also coincided with a change in the content of the national

college entrance exam or College Scholastic Ability Test (CSAT). The English portion of the new

CSAT would contain a listening component that would require more than grammar-translation

skills. Kwon (2000) also notes the influence of the Sixth National Curriculum on the CSAT citing

the elimination of phonological, lexical, and grammatical questions in favor of reading

comprehension and other communicative-type questions. Due to the high level of competition to

gain admission into universities, the *washback effect* (i.e., the impact of a test on teaching

practices) of the CSAT was far-reaching considering the instructional and textbook reforms that

would be required. Additionally, it is worth mentioning the time and resources that Korean

students and their families invest in test preparation and shadow education (i.e., tutoring or

private institutes) to gain entrance into an elite university, which positively affects one's

employment and marriage prospects and social status (S. Lee & Brinton, 1996; Seth, 2002; Sorenson, 1994). As a result, the changes on the English portion of the CSAT reinforced the importance of English for students and their families. These changes in the CSAT also revealed a perception that Korean students lacked advanced English proficiency in other skill areas besides grammar, despite having studied English for several years. Criticism was leveled at the incompetence of teachers, as well as education colleges' curricula that emphasized English linguistics and literature classes at the expense of teaching English language skills and language teaching methodology (Kwon, 2000). To aid in carrying out these English curricular reforms, in 1996 the MOE required that colleges of education certifying secondary-level English teachers adjust their curricula to prepare pre-service teachers to teach more communicative English classes (Kwon, 2000).

5.5 Focus on the Seventh National Curriculum

In 1997 under the Seventh National Curriculum, English was introduced as a regular subject in elementary school beginning in the third grade for one hour a week, a move to begin English study four years earlier as opposed to an extracurricular subject that had been offered in elementary schools mainly in urban areas (Kwon, 2000). The assumptions underlying this change presumed that earlier introduction of English would result in more effective language learning although second language acquisition theories still remain divided about these beliefs. Initially, instituting English as a compulsory subject in the third grade was controversial and did not receive unanimous support among researchers and teachers. J. Lee (2004) discusses Korean research examining the introduction of English at early ages. The majority of Korean researchers supported early learning of English, citing reasons such as increased competence in the native and additional language, in addition to cultivating more interest in foreign languages

and cultures. Other researchers opposed the new policy due to the acute shortage of qualified

English teachers, lack of funding for English study, and challenges to one's cultural identity and

native language acquisition during elementary school students' formative years.

In spite of these legitimate concerns and considerable resistance from elementary school

teachers, the MOE launched the early English curriculum (Kwon, 2000). The decision to

implement early English education stemmed from the research of the MOE's "Globalization

Steering Committee" that had piloted the early elementary English program at four different

schools across Korea during the period from 1995 to 1997 (MOE, 1997). To address the human

and material resources needed to implement early English education, the Committee provided

120 hours of teacher training and multimedia equipment to use in English classes. Schools could

also choose from one of four pre-selected textbook options. Lastly, 700 teachers were selected

for a month-long overseas training program during the two-year pilot period from 1995-1997.

After the completion of the pilot period, the MOE solicited feedback from parents and education

specialists to gauge their satisfaction with the program. Overall, since the programs received

favorable support from parents and teachers, the government implemented early English

education in schools throughout the country in March of 1997.

To ensure the success of the early English program, the MOE again offered 120 hours of

intensive English training for elementary school teachers beginning in 1997. In addition, the MOE

increased the number of pre-service teachers at the national teacher universities[7] who can major

in English, as well as the number of required English classes in the curriculum. Even for those

who do not specialize in English, pre-service teachers are required to take 12 credits of English

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[7] In addition to elementary education, pre-service elementary school teachers must choose another major in which to specialize at one of the nine national teaching universities in Korea. Each major requires certain test scores and are limited to a certain number of students. After completing their studies from the teaching university, graduates must pass the competitive National Teacher Selection Test (NTST) to obtain a teaching license for elementary school employment.

classes, whereas prior to 1997 the requirement was six credits (Kwon, 2000). Finally, as part of the teacher employment test, pre-service teachers must pass an interview and micro-teaching lesson in English regardless of whether they major in English or not (MOE, 1997).

Despite these efforts, elementary school teachers who received the 120 hours of training still faced challenges in the classroom as reported in various studies. Teachers surveyed in the Seoul area by S. Jung and Norton (2002) revealed a range of attitudes toward implementing the new English policy. Their attitudes depended largely on their level of enthusiasm for the early English classes and the degree of support they received from their school administration. One common response was that most teachers did not feel confident or prepared to teach English, even after receiving the in-service training with native English-speaking teachers that included conversation classes, teaching methodology, and materials development. A teacher from S. Jung and Norton's (2002, p. 258) study indicated in a questionnaire response, "Even with the materials, it is so hard to teach English. There are totally new methods, it is difficult to lead the class in English, it is difficult to talk to students in English, and it is difficult to prepare the materials (classroom teacher, School B)."

In another study from Y. Butler (2004, p. 268) surveying elementary school English teachers, the results indicated that training beyond the 120 hours might be required since teachers' perceptions of their English proficiency may negatively affect the "teachers' confidence, pedagogical skills, the content of their teaching, student motivation, and ultimately, students' success in acquiring English". Although Nunan (2003) maintains that elementary-level EFL teachers may not need native-level proficiency to be an effective English teacher, the studies from S. Jung and Norton (2002) and Y. Butler (2004) demonstrate that the goal of students developing communicative competence, especially oral proficiency, may be out of reach if teachers themselves lack confidence in their own English-speaking abilities.

5.6 Discourse Analysis of the Seventh Curriculum Reform Policy Document

In addition to the obstacles faced by elementary school teachers charged with English instruction, a close examination of the MOE's written policy highlights problematic areas of the Seventh National Curriculum's early English education policy. The MOE (1997, p. 73; original in English) issued the following statement regarding foreign language education indicating the overt rationale behind the new English curriculum and implicit ideological forces guiding the new changes:

> As we are in the midst of globalization, it is necessary for us to acquire cross-cultural understanding and leadership qualities. Additionally, we have to be open-minded toward the world and behave in a globally acceptable manner. Also communicative ability in an international language is required for every citizen in order to become a member in the global society.   To achieve this end, all the citizens are expected to be able to communicate in at least one foreign language.   Therefore, more emphasis has been placed on foreign language education.

As revealed in the above statement, globalization discourse lies at the heart of the MOE's plan for foreign language education.   In the neoliberal marketplace, communication skills constitute what Bourdieu (1991) refers to as *linguistic capital* or commodities for upward social mobility that often rely on English (Block & Cameron, 2002).   The traditional ties that have coupled language with identity become more flexible in favor of treating language as a marketable commodity under the global economy (Heller, 2003).   Wee (2003, p. 211) refers to this reinterpretation of language as *linguistic instrumentalism*, "a view of language that justifies its existence in a community in terms of its usefulness in achieving specific utilitarian goals, such as access to economic development or social mobility".   The concept of linguistic instrumentalism is highly compatible with the Korean neoliberal order espoused by the state through its education system.   Jesook Song (2009; p. x) characterizes neoliberalism as not only an economic principle but also a social ethos, which is "an advanced liberal mode of social governing that idealizes

efficiency and productivity by promoting people's free will and self sufficiency."

In the case of Korea, the government is motivated to enhance Korea's growing economic status and efforts in international relations and predicts that communication skills in a non-Korean language are necessary to meet those needs. However, the rhetoric of the policy document veils the needs of the state and projects membership in "global society" as in the best interests of the individual to develop marketable skills or "communicative ability in an international language." Unspecified in this statement, but easily deduced from the school curriculum is the intention for English to be the *only* target language of foreign language education or the *de facto* foreign language. English is a compulsory subject for elementary and secondary students. In middle and high school, students can select an additional foreign language or coursework in Chinese characters depending on the schools' available resources, but since 2009 the study of additional foreign languages is no longer a curricular requirement. These languages are dubiously referred to in the secondary school curriculum as "second foreign languages." This designation simultaneously conveys the subordinate status of non-English languages and the hegemony of English as the preferred language of global society.

The lack of choice to learn English and the value conferred on English according to the MOE frame the study of English as common sense. The 1997 curricular reform reflects the growing concern to prepare Korean students to play a more active role globally, which would presumably occur through English. To employ a term by Grin (2006), the *counterfactual* of this policy would be to not enact a language policy for English education in Korea. Thus, according to the MOE's statement, the counterfactual would be to act irresponsibly, neglect Korean students' potential for success, and consequently result in Korea's failure to compete internationally. In this way, neoliberal ideology is activated and English is presented as a logical choice.

One major impetus that bolstered support for early English education was the Asian

financial crisis of 1997 that left Korea and other Asian countries economically dependent on the

International Monetary Fund (R.J. Shim, 2002). During this time, unprecedented layoffs and lack

of full-time employment opportunities with benefits were major sources of anxiety as the middle

class began to shrink, and consequently Koreans pursued new ways of developing marketable

skills including English study (Koo, 2007). This major financial setback was often blamed on

Korea's incompetence, including lack of English proficiency, on the global stage as opposed to

inherent problems in the economic marketplace, an attribution that naturalized the belief that

English is a necessity for Koreans (J.S. Park, 2009). The sharp economic decline motivated the

Korean government to intensify their educational efforts to be able to survive in competitive

international markets, thereby requiring a higher mastery of English.

Companies and universities also reinforced the ideology of English as a necessity by

requiring high scores on internationally recognized standardized English tests such as the Test of

English for International Communication (TOEIC). Regardless of whether one's position requires

the use of English, Korean companies regularly used and continue to use TOEIC scores to make

hiring and promotion decisions (S.A. Choi, 2002). Similarly, universities usually set specific

TOEIC scores as graduation requirements for all students irrespective of major (Kwon, 2000).

With English skills used as a gatekeeper in various domains of Korean society, the significance of

English and the reasons to learn it are presented as self-evident although the actual economic

returns associated with English mastery are debatable. For example, research on linguistic

instrumentalism in Japan by Kubota (2011) indicates that investment in learning English did not

necessarily result in economic gains but rather, material benefits were constrained by gender,

geography, and ideological factors. Nevertheless, the ideology of English as necessity and

neoliberalism obscure these realities by attributing lack of economic success to an individual's

shortcomings or, more specifically, inability to develop linguistic capital.

Another common feature in globalization discourse related to foreign language learning is the goal for cross-cultural understanding. The MOE's assumption that language learning will engender "cross-cultural understanding" is questionable given the curricular resources available. In Sungwon Yim's (2007) study of Korean middle school English textbooks published under the Seventh National Curriculum, the presentation of non-Korean cultures was mainly represented by the White, middle class living in major U.S. cities partaking in activities such as windsurfing and surprise parties. Similar to Kubota's (2002) investigation of English textbooks for Japanese students, these images present a narrow and embellished view of the imagined "global society" in which Koreans are expected to interact. Furthermore, the MOE in 1995 established the English Program in Korea (EPIK) to employ university-educated, native English speakers to co-teach English in Korean schools and "promote cultural awareness" (EPIK, 2012). However, under EPIK, "cultural awareness" is limited to interactions with native speakers from Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, South Africa, the U.K., or the U.S. With the exception of South Africa, applicants from the so-called Outer Circle countries such as the Philippines or Nigeria, or skilled non-native English speakers for that matter, are not eligible to teach in EPIK. (More on the EPIK program and "the native speaker as superior to the non-native speaker" ideology is discussed in later sections.)

Additionally, English textbooks also devote significant attention to Korean culture and how to introduce it to foreigners. Each of the English textbooks examined by Sungwon Yim (2007) presented an ethnocentric and nationalistic view that hailed the achievements of local Koreans and the Korean diaspora in an attempt to build national pride with chapter titles such as *We are Proud of our Culture.* Sungwon Yim (2007) also reports of dialogues where speakers express their preference for Korean artifacts such as kimchi over hamburgers. While the histories and achievements of other countries are also mentioned, they are often juxtaposed with the

superiority of Korea accomplishments. Ultimately, the content of the English textbooks and

employment policy of EPIK pose formidable challenges to MOE's objectives of cultivating "open-

minded" students who comport themselves "in a globally acceptable manner" when essentialized

and culturally biased content is presented to students.

As the analysis of the written policy has shown, the discourse of globalization undergirds

the motivation for the early English education in the Seventh National Curriculum. Guided by

linguistic instrumentalism and neoliberal ideals, the MOE's promotion of foreign language

learning, specifically English, frames foreign language not merely as a tool for communication but

an economically valuable and desirable commodity that will facilitate an individual's engagement

with the global world, which is believed to contribute to Korea's global competitiveness. However,

the government's goal of promoting cross-cultural understanding raises concerns because of

limitations of the prescribed English textbooks and interactions with certain types of English

speakers. In the end, Korea is actively responding to the perceived needs of the global and

neoliberal marketplace by pursuing a language policy that attempts to change the language

behaviors of students to support the state's interests and restore the public's confidence in

English education.

5.7 The Introduction of TEE

In light of the undisputed status of English as the global language and the ideology of

English as a necessity for Koreans, parents desired more opportunities for their children's English

study to ensure a competitive edge for their future, especially in a time of economic uncertainty

caused by the Asian financial crisis. In 1997, half of all elementary school students enrolled in

English-language private institutes compared to 4% in 1990, leading to households spending

almost 10% of their earnings on private education (Seth, 2002). Historically, families of all

income levels have entrusted private institutes with providing their children extra education in

all subject areas for entrance exam preparation, a service that is considered to be lacking in

public schooling due to large class sizes and a uniform curriculum. In spite of curricular reforms

designed to improve academic standards, the general public doubted the effectiveness of the

public education system given the intense competition to enter an elite university (J.S. Park,

2009). Consequently, many parents resorted to English preschools and private institutes, while

the most affluent sent their children for an overseas education in an English-speaking country

hoping to provide better opportunities for educational success. Government authorities since the

post-war era have always been sensitive to the expenditures for private education that burden

families, and presidential administrations have built their political platforms around reducing these

expenditures since Korean parents have consistently voiced their dissatisfaction with the Korean

education system and costs of private education (Koo, 2007).

An attempt to improve the quality of English education and reduce the exorbitant

expenses to families for supplemental English study both domestically and internationally

occurred when the MOE implemented an amendment to the Seventh National Curriculum in 2001

to improve the quality of English education and called, "Teaching English in English" (TEE). As

its name suggests, the TEE policy requires that English classes in elementary and secondary

schools be conducted through English by Korean teachers. At first glance, TEE seems

reasonable; when learning a foreign language, why wouldn't exposure to the target language,

English, be desirable, especially when students are not likely to encounter English outside of

class? However, careful scrutiny of the aforementioned historical and sociopolitical factors of

English education in Korea reveals that implementing TEE is not a simple matter.

Upon announcement of the TEE policy, strong resistance from English teachers came at

all grade levels. Recent research from S.-K Shin (2012) reveals that secondary-level English

teachers found the policy incompatible with their classroom practices because of the administrative and parental pressure to prepare students for the English portion of the CSAT, which does not include an English-speaking component. While high school teachers are at the frontlines readying students for the CSAT, middle school teachers also feel obligated to gear their instruction for the CSAT because of the high stakes involved. The washback effect of the CSAT precludes most secondary English teachers from using TEE largely because "teaching to the test" is more effective and efficient in the students' L1 than in English. The CSAT's exam format, especially those focused on grammar, dictate the teaching methods used, namely explanations in Korean (S.-K. Shin, 2012).

Another other major factor identified in various studies evaluating CLT methods and English usage in classrooms is the speaking proficiency of Korean English teachers (S. Choi, 2000; I.-J. Jeon, 2008; S.-A. Kim, 2002). However, in S.-K. Shin's (2012) research, even teachers with high levels of oral proficiency felt compelled to reduce the amount of English citing time constraints, rigid curriculum, classroom management issues, and students' lack of English comprehension.

At the elementary level, teachers' English proficiency figures more prominently in implementing TEE in the classroom since not all elementary teachers specialized in English education, in contrast to secondary English teachers who by law are required to have majored in English. Furthermore, while secondary English education is ostensibly more "test heavy" as well as "text heavy," elementary English instruction focuses more intently on communicative competence through the use of games, songs, chants, and role-plays as dictated by the National Curriculum (Kwon, 2000). In third grade, the first year of English study, only oral skills are emphasized while the alphabet is not introduced until the second semester of third grade. Reading at the word and sentence level and writing begin in the fifth grade. Additionally, there

are strict limits on the number of vocabulary words that students are required to learn; no more than 100 words each in the third and fourth grade and a limit of 150 words each in the fifth and sixth grade (English achievement standards for elementary school students are presented in Appendix C). Given the restrictions of the elementary curriculum and the lack of high-stakes testing, presumably not to overburden young students, TEE with its emphasis on communicative competence is in some ways more conducive to elementary English classrooms than secondary ones. Yet, the issue of teachers' English proficiency remains a major concern.

5.8 SMOE's TEE Policy

The preceding sections have focused on the MOE's national projects for English education. Although Korea's education system is highly centralized through its uniform national curriculum and top-down policies, each province exercises some autonomy in deciding how TEE will be carried out. Now I focus on Seoul's interpretation and implementation of TEE, whose actions often serve as models for other provinces. I introduce the formal, written document of the TEE policy as a starting point to uncover the intentions, motivations, and agendas behind the policy, keeping in mind Spolsky's (2004, p. 39) observation that "an explicit written policy may not be implemented". Figure 1 below is SMOE's official statement on TEE for elementary and secondary teachers (original in Korean is available in Appendix D; English translations are my own). The analysis that follows addresses the elementary level, the main focus of this dissertation.

What is TEE?

TEE = Teaching English in English

- The teacher uses English with students and students use English with each other in class activities to create meaningful interactions.
- Generally, teachers will provide the maximum number of opportunities for students to use English, except for explaining difficult grammar explanations, etc.
- Depending on the students' level and degree of understanding, the teacher can flexibly adjust the amount of English used during the first session of the lesson unit.

Objective

- To improve the English teacher's TEE ability in order to increase the students' communication skills.
- To ensure that the best English teachers continue to teach.
- To provide fun, exciting, and student-centered English classes.

Figure 5.1 SMOE's official statement on TEE (from www.sen.go.kr)

As indicated in the description and objective of TEE, the policy is motivated by the main tenets of CLT, that is, meaningful interactions, maximum input and output in English, and student-centered instruction (Larsen-Freeman, 1986). Like the reforms of the previous fifth and sixth national curricula that tried to promote CLT, the success of TEE is contingent upon teachers who are trained in CLT methodologies that are relevant to their classroom context; simply requiring teachers use English as the medium of instruction cannot guarantee that students will develop communicative competence in English. Additionally, CLT comprises a multitude of definitions and interpretations that can lead to misconceptions in its implementation, which can be overwhelming for practitioners (Spada, 2007).

Past research in Korean contexts illustrates that despite teachers' positive support of CLT methods, classroom practices did not necessarily reflect CLT and were constrained by teachers' English proficiency, large class sizes, and broad gaps in students' English proficiency (S. Choi,

2000; Li, 1998). Based on the document, SMOE appears to assume that if teachers are capable of using English in the classroom, then they will be employing CLT methods. While SMOE offers voluntary TEE training for English teachers such as SEEC, other short-term workshops that often focus on teaching methodologies, and access to Educational Broadcasting System (EBS) online English courses, it remains to be seen if and how English teachers implement CLT in their instruction under the TEE policy.

Although the name, TEE, may imply that English classes be taught exclusively through English, SMOE recognizes that Korean still has a place, albeit somewhat vague, in the English classroom. Incidentally, some English teachers in S.-A. Kim's (2002) study assumed that TEE required 100% English only. The confusion surrounding what TEE actually entails may require more active dissemination of the policy in order for teachers to implement TEE. While the use of Korean is not explicitly endorsed, it is implicitly acceptable in instances such as "grammar explanations, etc." In such cases, the teacher can be judicious about when Korean can be more useful than English. In addition, the statement, "Depending on the students' level and degree of understanding, the teacher can flexibly adjust the amount of English used during the first session of the lesson unit" also suggests that using Korean can be useful for introducing new content when presenting the first session of a new lesson unit. These considerations of the role of Korean in English classrooms correspond with research that supports the use of the L1 in foreign or second language instruction to facilitate target language intake (Auerbach, 1993; Cook, 1999). Turnbull (2001) also supports use of the L1 in addition to maximum use of the target language but urges policy makers and curriculum developers to make explicit guidelines based on empirical research and language acquisition theories on what "maximum use" should entail according to the teaching context. Therefore, the question of how much exposure to the target language is

required for TEE is still up for debate, and recommendations for when it is appropriate to use

Korean in a systematic and beneficial way for improving language proficiency are still needed.

5.9 The TEE Certificate

With the acknowledgment of the use of Korean under the TEE policy, the bilingual ability

of the Korean English teacher is viewed as an asset compared to the (usually) monolingual native

English speakers of the EPIK program. In this respect, TEE heralds an ideological shift from

projecting native speakers as the ideal teacher to conferring legitimacy on local teachers. One

mechanism that further validates English teachers' competency in carrying out TEE is the TEE

certificate program established in 2009. This scheme developed by SMOE certifies teachers as

TEE Ace or Master level.

To qualify as a candidate for the TEE Ace certificate, teachers must have at least three

years of teaching experience including one year or more as an English subject teacher and a

minimum of 12 professional development points (where 15 hours of training equals one point)

earned in SMOE-authorized English training programs. Eligible candidates must first take a 30-

hour online course from EBS that covers second language acquisition theories and teaching

methodologies and then pass the TEE Test of Knowledge (TKT), an online, multiple-choice exam

based on the 30-hour course. After passing the TKT, candidates take the TEE Practice Test

(TPT) where they can choose to send in a video recording of an actual English class or invite

evaluators (i.e., SMOE administrators in the English division and TEE Master certificate holders)

to a live class. The TPT is based on the quality of teacher-student interactions, student-student

interactions, and promotion of students' communication skills. The benefits of passing the TKT

and TPT to earn the TEE Ace certificate include tuition remission for three months of English

study at an SMOE-approved private institute, paid registration fees for professional

conferences, and a stipend for buying English-related materials for the classroom or professional

development.

TEE Ace-certified teachers can then apply for the TEE Master certificate if they have

seven years or more teaching experience, at least 28 professional development points, and a

recommendation from their principal. Candidates must submit a portfolio that demonstrates their

activities related to English education and professional development experience, as well as

participate in an interview conducted in English. Upon successful evaluation of the portfolio and

interview, teachers become TEE Master-certified and are required to participate in Trainer of

Teachers (TOT) training sessions during school vacations. This two-week course conducted by

university professors and supervisors in SMOE's English division provide TEE Master recipients

with training to be mentors, TEE Ace evaluators, and English lesson consultants. These

opportunities offer TEE Master teachers with financial incentives, in addition to the material

benefits available to TEE Ace teachers. As of February 2013, 1,324 teachers had earned the

TEE certificate, but this number was not disaggregated to indicate how many Ace and Master

teachers there were (SMOE, 2013).

5.10 Teachers' Reactions

Previously, TEE Master teachers could participate in a one-month study abroad course

after earning the certificate; however, this benefit was eliminated due to budget cuts in 2011.

During my interviews with elementary and secondary teachers at SEEC, teachers expressed

great disappointment about the downgrading of benefits for the TEE Master certificate. Among

the teachers with over 15 years of teaching experience, many said that they were not interested

in attaining the TEE certificates. With the cancelation of the study abroad benefit, they suspected

that few would be motivated to make the extra effort to apply for the TEE certificate. For

secondary teachers, many felt that the certificate was meaningless since they could not use TEE

in their classroom and thus did not regard the certification as an indication of an effective English

teacher. However, one secondary teacher, Richard, mentioned that the process of preparing for

the TEE certification would be valuable because he could challenge himself while reflecting on his

teaching, lesson planning, and knowledge of language acquisition theories (INT: 11.01.13).

A few teachers speculated that the TEE certificate program would be eliminated because

of the political tendencies of the newly elected superintendent of SMOE, Kwak No-hyun[8]. Since

his election to office in fall of 2010, Kwak has reduced the budget for English education in support

of universal free lunch programs and afterschool programs for underprivileged students.

Consequently, the TEE Master study abroad course was cut while the six-month program at

SEEC for March 2012 was converted to a one-month program with no study-abroad component.

Another deterrence to attaining the TEE certificate was the fear that teachers would be given

extra responsibilities if they were identified as TEE Ace or Master even if they were financially

compensated. With teachers already overwhelmed by the demands of administrative work in

addition to teaching duties, many teachers doubted the feasibility to prepare effectively for the

TEE tests and were discouraged about the prospects of more work if they earned the certificates.

For the teachers that demonstrated enthusiasm for the TEE certificate, they cited a boost

in their confidence as an English teacher, as well as the accumulation of credentials that might be

useful for promotion to administrator in the future and for applying to certain professional

development programs. Some elementary teachers noted that earning a TEE certificate would

serve as leverage for securing a position as an English teacher when applying for teaching

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[8] This person's real name is used because he is a public figure.

assignments each year. Other teachers cited recognition from peers, principals, and parents, especially when the credibility of Korean English teachers is often doubted. Supervisor Ma from SEEC acknowledges the distrust from parents toward Korean English teachers and the importance of the TEE certificate as he states in the following:

> I think that for the teachers themselves they have some confidence because they passed. The certificate means they, their level language level and teaching levels are high in the, by the approval of SMOE. Yeah, so if they have that, get that certificate it means they passed the test, or TKT Knowledge and Pra- Practice Test. So it makes the English teachers confident, confident to teach English. Yes, to the kids, to the students and then the others, parents or parents or students, especially parents, if the teachers, English teachers has a TEE A Ace or M Master certificate then the parents trust, can trust their English teachers. (INT: 11.01.21)[9]

As described by Supervisor Ma and other teachers, the TEE certification serves as a tool to gain the parents' confidence in public school English education. Kelly, an elementary-school teacher, also noted the negative image of school teachers as *cheol bab tong*, literally meaning "steel rice container," but figuratively meaning indestructible or unable to be fired regardless of their quality of teaching (INT: 11.01.17). But with TEE certification, Kelly reasoned that parents and fellow co-workers would be less likely to have misgivings about teachers' English-teaching ability. Kelly also suspected that the uncertain job conditions might require TEE, as she explains,

> Every job is changing. Also, so teacher will be not the *cheol bab tong* anymore in the future. I think. So I have to prepare something. So TEE is one of them. ((laughing)). Yeah and m- most parents and students and teachers, everyone think English is very important compared with other subjects. ((laughing)). So maybe getting TEE certification is very good. (INT:11.01.17)

This observation from Kelly, as well as other younger teachers, reflects the perception of changing conditions in the neoliberal labor market, even in the public service sector where jobs

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[9] All interviews reported in this study occurred in English, as most participants wanted the opportunity to practice English. In cases where Korean words and phrases were used, they were transliterated into English. Also the interviews are transcribed exactly as they were spoken. I refrain from using *sic* to indicate errors in English, so as not to detract from the substance of the data.

are typically full-time and guaranteed for life. Seen in this light, the process to earn TEE

certification is an example of the continuous self-development and self-improvement that the

individual must undertake to meet the demands of a competitive workplace. Although TEE

certification is presented as a choice, some teachers worried that in the future they would be

negatively evaluated and ineligible for career advancement if many obtained TEE certification and

they did not.

As critics have argued, neoliberalism frequently foregrounds individual talent and

downplays the inequalities embedded in institutional structures (Harvey, 2005; Macedo, 2003).

Indeed, TEE certification is premised on the illusion of choices, where it is promoted as up to

teachers to decide whether to take the test. The stiff requirements to be eligible for the TEE Ace

entail passing a 30-hour online course and completing at least 180 hours of professional

development training and 420 hours of training for the TEE Master on top of the TPT.

To participate in long-term professional training, teachers must make sacrifices to attend,

which can be difficult for teachers with school-related administrative duties and familial

obligations. For programs like SEEC, which can be used to satisfy the professional development

points, teachers must negotiate with their principals, who are often reluctant to allow teachers to

attend long-term programs because of the difficulties in finding a substitute teacher. As

mentioned in Chapter 4, SEEC since its inception consistently had difficulty attracting teachers

because of uncooperative principals and teachers who had families to look after. Consequently,

only teachers who have the resources and can make the extra effort to participate in long-term

professional development required for TEE certification can gain recognition as a competent

English teacher.

However, the current system is not necessarily effective for identifying capable English

teachers. In a conversation about TEE certification, Hilda mentions the case of one of her co-

workers named Teacher Jang, who wanted to take the TEE test (FN: 11.04.19). Because of

her extensive experience and reputation as an excellent English teacher, Teacher Jang was

frequently asked by SMOE to lead afterschool workshops for English teachers, co-author

elementary school English textbooks, and hold TEE demonstration classes for English teachers

in her district. Due to her extracurricular responsibilities and childcare obligations, Teacher Jang

did not have time to attend professional development courses and thus was unable to apply for

the TEE certificate. Hilda lamented the onerous requirements for TEE certification and that an

effective teacher like Teacher Jang could not qualify for the certificate.

The case of Teacher Jang illustrates the shortcomings of the TEE certification process,

and reciprocally even if one is TEE Ace or Master, it does not guarantee that TEE will be used in

the classroom. While teachers are required to hold two or three open classes a year for parents,

teachers, and administrators, SMOE has no way of policing the TEE policy in the classroom.

Another complicating factor is that even elementary teachers with TEE certificates are not always

working as English subject teachers. Such was the case for Jisoo who became a TEE Ace

Teacher but was not able to teach English because the principal at her school chose to fill the

English positions with more senior teachers who wanted to teach English even though they did

not have TEE certificates (FN: 11.05.26). In this instance, the principal prioritized teacher

seniority over credentials. Presumably, the TEE certificate program was designed to support the

use of TEE in the classroom, but the reality does not always reflect this assumption.

With the uneven implementation of TEE and TEE certification, critical scrutiny of the TEE

policy reveals broader political and economic agendas. Hilda and Nicole noted, in a conversation

with me, their suspicion that an increase in the number of TEE certifications would be used to

justify discontinuing the costly practice of employing native English-speaking teaching assistants

(NESTAs) (FN: 12.07.28). In 2012, SMOE aimed to reduce 4.4 billion won (USD $3.9 million) of

the budget by letting go 255 NESTAs employed at Seoul high schools, except for 20 teaching

at special foreign language schools (Seung-hye Yim, 2011). By February 2013, middle school

positions would also be eliminated leaving approximately 1,000 NESTAs only at elementary

schools (S. Kim, 2012). Hilda reasoned that the decision to eliminate secondary school positions

was perhaps due to the fact that secondary school teachers majored in English and also there is

an extreme focus on test preparation, thus making NESTAs expendable since they were hired to

teach conversation.

Nevertheless, both Hilda and Nicole felt that cutting NESTAs at the elementary level was

imminent once SMOE had certified a substantial number of TEE Ace and Master teachers. A few

other teachers at SEEC and Supervisor Ma also thought that if there were enough talented

elementary English teachers, SMOE would not continue to hire NESTAs, and the certification

would serve as evidence for letting them go. Elementary-school teacher, Dana, also believed

that one objective of TEE certification was a cost-cutting measure to "send native speakers home"

explaining that, "some native speaker are not trained. They are not teacher. I think. I can feel

when I teach English in English camp, also I know that their English is better than me. But

teaching is different, right?" (INT: 11.01.05). While Dana and other teachers acknowledged that

there were some effective NESTAs, many teachers I interviewed felt that the cost of recruiting

and hiring them did not yield the returns they expected, citing lack of teaching expertise and

practical training.

The current teaching assistant, Chris, at Hilda's school was an example of what she

called "wasteful spending" (FN: 11.06.21). Although Hilda enjoyed and valued co-teaching with

her two past teaching assistants, she complained that Chris did not prepare thoroughly for the

lessons and lacked professionalism in the workplace, often playing video games or napping at his

desk. She recounted with disbelief how he qualified for the second highest level on the teaching

assistant pay scale (approximately USD $2,600 per month) because of his experiences at a middle school in Japan for three years and one year at a middle school outside of Seoul. Clearly, expenditures and quality of teaching are major factors to consider in the sustainability of hiring NESTAs.

In an apparent move to gauge the satisfaction of NESTAs prior to the 2012 budget cuts, SMOE conducted a survey in 2011 among 11,980 parents, 2,406 Korean English teachers, 595 NESTAs and 28,761 students (Yun, 2011). Regarding whether NESTAs were needed in elementary and secondary schools, 62.4% of parents agreed and felt that NESTAs helped improve communication skills and reduced fear of speaking English with foreigners. However, 62.2% of parents and 53.7% of students believed that the ideal English teacher is a Korean proficient in English and skilled in teaching. Even though the majority of parents felt that NESTAs were necessary, the majority also believed that the ideal English teacher was a Korean teacher not a native speaker. Although the survey participants represent a fraction of the Seoul school community, SMOE seems to have the justification needed to continue scaling back the numbers of NESTAs and possibly eliminating them altogether without facing a backlash from parents. To SMOE's benefit, the survey results from the parents coupled with the TEE certification program may also have the effect of invigorating public sentiment in English education, in addition to reducing spending. Nevertheless, how the TEE policy unfolds in the classroom is an important issue that is addressed in the next chapter.

5.11 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have progressed from the macro to the micro level by providing a brief history of English education in Korea and then focusing in on the TEE policy and certification process. As noted by J. Lee (2004), policies addressing the learning of English in Korea reflect

the interests of the administration in power and significant political events of the time.

Beginning in the 1980s, the discourse of globalization projected the importance of English in the curriculum as integral to raising Korea's expanding global status and competitiveness. With the aftermath of the 1997 Asian financial crisis, English became a more explicit priority in curricular reforms and the public began to associate English as a vehicle for social mobility. The neoliberal restructuring of the economic system and unstable employment aided in creating a national obsession with English leading many families to seek a competitive edge through private English education and study abroad. Since private education incurred sizable expenses for families, the MOE attempted to appease the public by implementing early English education, the hiring of NESTAs, and the TEE policy and TEE certificate to improve the quality of English teaching and reduce expenditures for families. Here the language ideologies of English as necessity and English as the language of globalization figure prominently and contribute to the valorization of English in Korean society. However, the hegemony that English wields is not without consequences, especially in the context of neoliberalism. As these policies attempt to manage the language behavior of teachers and students, tensions arise in how English is being promoted in curricular materials, the implementation of the TEE policy, and the TEE certification process as documented in the analysis. The next chapter discusses how teachers, who are the primary agents in carrying out SMOE's policies, negotiate these tensions in the classroom.

Chapter 6: The TEE Policy Overlooks Classroom Realities

6.1 Overview

In the previous chapter, I attended to the TEE policy and certification as directed by the

official policy documents. This chapter presents an ethnographic account of the TEE policy in the

classroom and how teachers interpreted and implemented the policy on a daily basis. I describe

and analyze what the classroom practices looked like based on my observations in the classes of

Brenda, Hilda, and Nicole and complement these interpretations with interview data and

fieldnotes from teacher trainees from SEEC. For my observations, I focus on the classes taught

exclusively by the Korean English teacher, not the classes co-taught with the native English-

speaking teaching assistant (NESTA).[10] Prior to observing their classes, all three teachers

indicated that when co-teaching they played the secondary role of translator or disciplinarian with

the NESTA primarily leading the lesson. The handful of classes co-taught with the NESTA that I

observed confirmed this arrangement, which is also corroborated by research from S.-W Park

and Manning (2012) on co-teaching among Korean teachers and NESTAs. Furthermore, since

the TEE policy is directed toward Korean English teachers, observing their classes without the

NESTA provides better opportunities to see how teachers individually interpret, uphold, or modify

the policy.

Based on semester-long participant observations, follow-up interviews, and regular

fieldnotes, the data reveal that despite the teachers' support of and belief in the TEE policy,

classroom realities such as large class sizes, behavioral problems, and a wide range of students'

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[10] Each school has the authority to decide based on the number of students and English teachers how many times each class will meet with the NESTA and how many times the Korean English teacher will teach alone. For example, at Hilda and Nicole's schools, only the fifth and sixth grades hold classes co-taught with the NESTA. Some schools justify this arrangement because they reason that younger students (i.e., third and fourth graders do not have the proficiency to understand the NESTA). On the other hand, schools like Brenda's provide all grades with the opportunity to interact with the NESTA. However, in all schools, a Korean English teacher will at least teach one English class per week alone.

proficiency levels presented significant challenges to carrying out English instruction. Although teachers' usage of Korean was not explicitly proscribed by the policy, the practice of using Korean was still aligned with the TEE policy's overarching goals of building students' English proficiency. After presenting each teacher's classroom contexts and practices, I discuss the tensions teachers experience in trying to uphold the TEE policy and the strategies they used to try to resolve these tensions. These analyses are further supplemented by comments and observations from other elementary school teachers.

6.2 Brenda's Class: Teaching a Special Population

In this section, I begin with a detailed excerpt from a fieldnote from my first observation in Brenda's third-grade English class. This description highlights the practices that occurred in the beginning of the term but also foreshadows practices that continued throughout the rest of the year and were also common in the classes of Hilda and Nicole.

> Today is the first day of my observations at Brenda's school. I will be conducting participant observations in three third-grade classes that each meet twice a week. One of each of the third-grade English classes involves Brenda co-teaching with the NESTA, Olivia, and the second class of the week is exclusively taught by Brenda. At 8:30 a.m., I meet Brenda in the lobby of the school and she is pulling a wheeled, carry-on suitcase to tote her class materials from homeroom to homeroom. (One month later, Brenda was allowed to use a former storage room as her English classroom, so she did not have to move every class period.) Because of her suitcase Brenda says that we will take the elevator to the second floor of the school. Before we enter the classroom, Brenda warns me not to speak in Korean to the students, otherwise they will lose the opportunity to speak to me in English. Brenda tells me to sit at an empty desk in the back of the classroom. As I sit down, many boys and girls are staring at me, and the students sitting in front of me ask me in Korean who I am and what I am doing there. But as directed by Brenda, I say "hi" and pretend not to understand their questions. Students in the front of the room also ask Brenda in Korean who I am, but Brenda ignores their questions and unpacks her suitcase.
> After setting up her speakers and attaching her cordless microphone to her lapel, which is a common practice for school teachers so that they do not strain their voice in front of thirty or more students, Brenda addresses the students in Korean and asks how many did not understand what Olivia the NESTA was saying during their previous class. Many students respond in Korean that they did not understand Olivia and that it was too

fast and difficult to follow. Then Brenda asks the class if it was exciting meeting a foreigner for the first time. Silence follows until one male student proudly replies that he has already met a foreigner at his afterschool private English institute.

Brenda tells the students in Korean to take out their textbook and they will glue their sticker chart to the front cover in the book. She passes out photocopies of the chart and explains her directions in Korean for gluing the paper and how the students can receive stickers. Like many English teachers, Brenda relies on the sticker chart as a reward system to encourage homework completion and appropriate classroom behavior. After accumulating a set amount of stickers, students receive some kind of prize, usually candy or school supplies.

Then Brenda introduces students to the characters in the English textbook. The third grade textbook is colorful and full of pictures of cartoon characters. There is no English writing except for the names of the characters. The exercises in the book all contain instructions written in Korean. The absence of English script follows the National Curriculum that stipulates that the alphabet is introduced in the second semester of third grade. After providing a short introduction to the characters in Korean, Brenda puts on the textbook CD-Rom that is projected on a 40-inch, flat-screen television hanging in the front corner of the room. The students' gaze is fixed on the television that plays a short clip of four animated characters, both human and animals, introducing themselves with simple phrases such as "Hi, my name is…", "Nice to meet you", and "Good-bye" speaking in North American English. Brenda explains when to say hi and when to say good-bye in Korean. Some of the students say that they already know hi and good-bye. Brenda asks for volunteers who will recite some of the characters' introductions. One boy and one girl bravely volunteer and effortlessly repeat what the characters said.

They watch the CD-Rom again and Brenda checks their comprehension in Korean. In their textbook, Brenda tells the students to arrange the pictures of the characters' greeting, the same ones used on the CD-Rom, in order from one to three according to what they watched. Some students seem to understand what to do and write the numbers beside the pictures. Other students chat with their neighbors. A boy in the middle of the room is showing his neighbors pictures of a boy and girl in the back of the textbook wearing only underwear with stickers of clothes at the bottom of the page, presumably to dress the boy and girl. Some of the students around him are trying to contain their laughter while Brenda writes the dialogue on the whiteboard in English and provides the answers to the exercises in Korean. They listen to the dialogue again and repeat chorally with Brenda. Less than half of the class is focused on Brenda. She asks the difference between hi and hello waiting for a reply. One student finally raises his hand and says that hello is formal and hi is informal, but Brenda says in Korean that there's no difference and both words mean the same. The bell rings signaling that class is over. Brenda tells them to listen to the first lesson of the CD-Rom for homework. At this point several boys are already running around the classroom making it difficult to hear what she is saying.

As I approach Brenda at the front of the classroom, she grins at me sheepishly. She's trying to pack up while students are touching her microphone, speakers, and other materials in her suitcase. I look at her sympathetically and above the din of the classroom she says to me, "this is a real classroom." She says it again in an unflinching tone. During the ten-minute break between classes, I ask Brenda what she means by "this is a real classroom." Brenda clarifies that the TEE micro-teaching that I observed at

SEEC were artificial and easy because they were only 15-minutes long and did not have real students; the other teacher trainees acted as students. During micro-teaching at SEEC, the evaluating instructors consistently praised Brenda for her creative lessons and fluency in using English. Brenda adds that real classrooms have thirty students with a broad range of proficiency levels, misbehave, and lack motivation because of family problems or mental issues such as ADHD. Since many students did not understand the first class with Olivia, Brenda felt that speaking Korean is necessary at least in the beginning of the semester. (FN: 11.03.10)

As the semester progressed, Brenda gradually introduced more English and usually followed it with Korean translations, especially in cases where students did not respond or looked puzzled by what Brenda was saying in English. Due to the socio-economic level of the students' families, with roughly half of the students from North Korean refugee families, Brenda's school was designated as a *gyoyuk bokji tuja jiwon haggyo* (*school receiving welfare subsidies*) and thus qualified for more government support such as free afterschool classes and internet-based English video classes. Brenda likened her school's overall academic achievement level (including English proficiency) to the shape of a pyramid with very few above-average students at the top, slightly more average students in the middle, and the majority of students in the below-average range (INT: 11.01.19). For Brenda who had started teaching at this school two years prior, this school's student population presented her with many new challenges in terms of low academic achievement, lack of motivation, and behavior problems.

Since she was teaching third graders, many of whom are considered at risk and learning English for the first time, Brenda said that she wanted to ensure that her students have a positive experience learning a new language (FN: 11.04.21). Akin to many of the elementary teachers at SEEC, Brenda suffered from painfully boring English classes as a secondary student that left an unpleasant memory and did not inspire her to continue studying English after completing two mandatory English classes in her university (INT: 11.01.19). As a result, Brenda was particularly sensitive to providing her students with engaging English classes even if she did not adhere to

the TEE policy.

During an interview, Brenda recounted how her last semester's sixth graders would become frustrated and tell the NESTA "*hanguk mal lo hae, hanguk ya*" ("*speak in Korean, this is Korea*") because they could not understand the English of the NESTA (INT: 11.01.19). Brenda also recalled how the sixth graders eventually would only look at Brenda waiting for her to translate what the NESTA said (INT: 11.01.19).

I also witnessed a similar situation when I observed an internet-based English video class with a class of Brenda's third graders (FN: 11.03.24). In the computer lab, students used an English workbook called *Roller Coaster* and sat in front of individual computers with headphones for a personalized English lesson according to their English proficiency with a teacher in the Philippines, whose face was projected on the screen. Students with some experience learning English participated in short conversations, as well as reading and writing activities in the workbook. However, at least five students in the class could not understand what the English teacher, who was remotely located in the Philippines, was saying. At different times, I could hear students asking questions in Korean to the video teachers asking what to do or what the teachers were saying. Some students walked over to their homeroom teacher or one of the three teacher aides for help. It appeared that the video teachers did or could not speak Korean. One female student sitting close to me repeatedly told her video teacher in an exasperated tone, "*mola, molan da go*" ("*I don't know, I said I don't know*") (FN: 11.03.24). Although I could not hear what the teacher was saying, I could see the teacher on the screen holding up the workbook to a page with the alphabet and pointing to different letters. The girl was on the same page but did not seem to know what to do. She eventually retreated to doodling in the workbook until one of the Korean teacher aides came along to provide guidance. According to Brenda, students said they look forward to the video English classes. However, Brenda suspected that the students simply enjoy

being able to use a computer, not necessarily the content of the classes (FN: 11.04.28).

To prevent students from feeling alienated by English, Brenda encouraged student participation by fostering a safe and fun learning environment. She often incorporated songs, games, and storytelling that were separate from the textbook. Her students particularly enjoyed her storytelling activities that were not prescribed by the National Curriculum but complemented the content they were learning. When she previewed English-language books with students, Brenda used both Korean and English with the students to help them make predictions about what would happen in the story and learn new vocabulary. It was during these times that most students were indeed more attentive to the task at hand. When calling on students to participate and answer questions, Brenda consistently provided students with wait time, translation of phrases to Korean, or encouragement to speak in Korean. Periodically, throughout the semester, Brenda reminded students that learning English is difficult and they should not be afraid of making mistakes (FN: 11.04.21).

Although Brenda tried to use as much English as possible, she frequently ended up translating her questions and statements to Korean when students did not respond, a regular practice that continued until the end of the semester. By presenting information in Korean, Brenda scaffolded learning and engaged students by making input more comprehensible. Elementary-level teachers at SEEC expressed concern about continuously providing Korean translations for students believing that students tuned out what was said in English and waited for the teacher to speak in Korean; some teachers believed that having a student translate what the teacher said in English was a better alternative to the teacher always providing translations (FN: 10.10.28). Although Brenda could have relied on one or two of her top students in each class to translate, she felt that using Korean was essential not only for her students' comprehension but also to build rapport, lower their affective filter, and encourage participation, which she believed to

be important for young learners of English (INT: 11.07.07). After becoming more comfortable

with English, Brenda reasoned that students would not need to rely on her Korean translations as

much, and she would reduce the amount of Korean spoken to follow the TEE policy more closely.

While the TEE policy allows accommodations to use some Korean, Brenda's use of Korean is

probably more generous than the policy intended.   However, Brenda's school represents a

special population with needs that the TEE policy fails to consider.

6.3 Hilda's Classes: Teaching Students who Speak Better English than the Teacher

In sharp contrast to Brenda's school, Hilda's students' academic level reflected the shape

of an inverted pyramid, with very few below-average students. Although within walking distance

of Brenda's school, the neighborhood around Hilda's school is nicknamed "the Gangnam in *buk*

bu" ("*the Gangnam of the north district*"), due to its affluence and high-achieving students that is

characteristic of the prestigious Gangnam area in southern Seoul (FN: 11.03.09). As mentioned

in Chapter 4, the majority of Hilda's fifth graders had studied English abroad and at private

institutes and was considered above average in terms of English proficiency, as well as in most

academic subjects. Before I began observing her classes, Hilda readily acknowledged that her

students speak English better than she did (INT: 11.01.11). Yet, compared to the elementary

teachers from SEEC who taught in Gangnam, Hilda did not publicly express discomfort or

embarrassment as an English teacher whose students have better oral proficiency in English,

perhaps due to her twenty-five years of teaching experience. Moreover, teaching English to high-

level students did not seem to be as anxiety inducing for Hilda since she volunteered to teach

English when no other teacher wanted the position.   Hilda viewed teaching English as a

challenge, a change from being a homeroom teacher, and an opportunity to improve her English.

If she does not continue to enjoy teaching English, Hilda said that she would happily go back to being a homeroom teacher because as she said in her own words, "I think actually I'm a really good homeroom teacher" (INT: 11.01.11). Throughout the semester, Hilda's former homeroom students would continually visit her and ask her if she would return to being a homeroom teacher (FN: 11.05.03).

When I observed Hilda on her first day of classes, Hilda was forthcoming to her students about how she was taking English classes at a private institute and was still in the process of learning English because learning a new language required time and effort (FN: 11.03.08). The students expressed amazement that she woke up at 5:30 a.m. to attend English classes before school at SDA (Seventh-day Adventist) Language Institute, well known in Korea for inexpensive classes taught by Christian missionaries from English-speaking countries. She later said to me during lunch that this admission resonates with the three or four below-average students in each of her fifth grade classes who truly struggle with English and have not mastered the alphabet. Hilda identified these students as the ones who appreciate her speaking in Korean, not English (FN: 11.03.08).

When I asked her how she handles these students who have trouble with English, Hilda did not seem to have an answer (FN: 11.03.15). Although free and low-cost afterschool English classes are offered at her school, she said that the weak students often enroll but end up quitting because they become frustrated or are too ashamed of their poor English skills, even though they could benefit from extra assistance. Sometimes she said she let them slip by not doing homework and participating in class or allowed them to work with partners when they should be working individually (FN: 11.03.15).

During the semester, I observed Hilda publicly reprimanding weak students for low scores or not being able to answer simple questions. In one class, she called three students to

the front and asked them why they scored poorly on a vocabulary test that other students

aced (FN: 11.03.29). None of them offered an answer and gazed at their shoes while the other

students gawked. Hilda made them promise to listen to the CD-Rom at home and if they did well

on the next exam, she would give them a reward. While we walked back to her office, Hilda said

she suspected that the three students had not listened to the CD-Rom even once, probably did

not have parental support at home, and most likely did not do well in other subjects (FN:

11.03.29). During lunch that day, she told another English teacher named Teacher Bae about

these students and how it was important to shame them so that they would make a stronger effort

the next time. Teacher Bae responded that she was worried about damaging students' self-

esteem if she embarrassed them. However, Hilda disagreed saying that their self-esteem is

already low, so she has to push them even more (FN: 11.03.29).

For students having trouble in English, Hilda's use of Korean was the most frequently

used accommodation. Compared to Brenda and Nicole, Hilda did not follow the TEE policy as

strictly, using significantly more Korean even though most of her students were highly skilled in

English. On two occasions, Hilda closely adhered to the TEE policy in her open-demonstration

classes, which were required for all teachers twice a semester, once provided for school staff for

official evaluation and once for parents to see their children's progress. Both times, Hilda asked

me to look over the script she wrote in English for her open-demonstration classes.   In

preparation for these days, Hilda practiced giving these lessons in English to her other fifth grade

classes so that she could rehearse what she planned to say in English and adjust her lessons as

needed. To a certain degree, Hilda's own English level may have hindered her from teaching in

English through English more regularly.

While Hilda acknowledged that the TEE policy is worthwhile in theory, she claimed that

using Korean is more time efficient and simply easier, especially since one class lasts only 40

minutes (FN: 11.06.28). Hilda explained that she could cover twice the amount of course material in Korean, especially in cases where English classes were canceled and uncovered lessons needed to be made up in one class period. Over the course of the semester, Hilda often had to compress two or three lessons into one because the homeroom teacher canceled English classes due to field trips or special events.

Despite the students' high proficiency in English, Hilda's use of English paled in comparison to Brenda and Nicole as mentioned earlier. In the same fashion as other elementary-level English teachers, Hilda began her lessons with five to eight minutes of small talk in English asking students about the weather or what they did over the weekend. Most students were able to answer questions in English using complete sentences and sophisticated vocabulary. For those who could not, Hilda would encourage students to speak in Korean or she would provide English for the Korean.

Unlike some of the teachers at SEEC who taught high-level students, Hilda closely followed the textbook and CD-Rom activities. The four teachers from SEEC who taught in Gangnam reported that they could not use the government-authorized textbooks because students would be bored given their advanced English proficiency. One elementary school teacher Dana described her experience teaching in Gangnam in the following:

> Actually, my school area is very rich area. Cheongdam, Samsung dong [names of affluent neighborhoods in Seoul], like that, so they're really good at speaking English. And so in that case, actually, I can't teach according to National Curriculum because they are high level, so I have to revise every time. Every period. So that means I usually gave them opportunity to express their feeling or opinion freely because they can do that. Even some people, some students are higher than me. So in that case, I can feel that when they have opportunity to express their feeling or they have a kind of role-play, they can do, they can write all their own script, and then they can act professionally. So in that case, they really love it because they can show their talent in front of many students, that case I did do, I did well ((laughing)) because I gave them opportunity to using their English in class. (INT: 11.01.05)

Like Dana, the majority of elementary teachers at SEEC including Hilda concurred that the TEE policy and having a NESTA co-teach English classes largely benefits advanced-level students since they are the students who can actually understand lessons taught mostly in English (FN: 11.06.14).

Although Hilda claimed her use of Korean supported her low-level students, she seemed to use Korean for her own convenience and to maintain authority over her students. Even though she had been diligently studying English for the past two years including the six-month training program at SEEC, Hilda had only taught English as a subject teacher for one year prior to this semester. At times, her students would complain that the class was too boring and easy.

In one particular class, Hilda called on students to come to the computer at the front of the class to type their answers for an activity on the CD-Rom. Afterwards, she praised the boy and girl who typed their answers quickly and accurately in English. The girl responded that typing is easy because they attend Chungdaum Institute, a well-known private institute targeting elementary students who studied English abroad, and they have to turn in their homework by computer. While addressing the class, Hilda acknowledged in Korean that Chungdaum Institute is one of the best private English institutes and sarcastically apologized because she did not attend such a prestigious institute (FN: 11.03.29).

In a different class when Hilda was packing up her teaching materials, a female student voiced a complaint claiming that the activities and games were boring and too easy, to which Hilda responded jokingly, "Why did you learn English so early?" (FN: 11.04.05). With her students frequently boasting about their English skills, Hilda may have resorted to using Korean as a way to compensate for her English ability and save face in front of her students.

Both secondary and elementary teachers at SEEC, especially those with weaker oral proficiency, commonly cited the need to use Korean in English classes when they felt their

students spoke better English, in an effort to make students take their classes seriously (FN

10.12.02). As past research on the TEE policy and CLT in Korean classrooms has indicated (see

Chapter 2), teachers' English proficiency clearly plays an important role in terms of how English is

being used in instruction. For a teacher of Hilda's English level, using English regularly in classes

seemed to be a substantial challenge. Only when she taught the open-demonstration classes did

Hilda exert a concerted effort to follow the TEE policy. Since preparing for such classes required

a tremendous amount of planning and practice, it is understandable why Hilda may not have used

English more intensively in her regular English lessons.

During an interview at the end of the semester, I asked Hilda how she carried out the

TEE policy. While Hilda admitted that she could not use exclusively use English, she felt that she

used English the majority of the time. This admission contrasted with what I observed in her

classes, especially in comparison with Brenda and Nicole's classes. Although I felt that her use

of English was minimal, Hilda still managed to facilitate the learning of English through Korean.

Her high-energy lessons encouraged students' oral and written production in English, and her

weaker students could also participate in some capacity.

Due to Hilda's frequent use of Korean, it is arguable whether her students perceived her

as a role model of English. When students asked her questions about the lesson or content, they

consistently spoke to her in Korean even though many were capable of addressing her in English,

unlike Nicole's students who, as we will see in the next section, routinely asked questions in

English though they were of a lower English proficiency.

Sometimes Hilda's students challenged her regarding the grading of their tests. On one

writing test, the correct answer to a question should have been "We have math class every day."

(FN: 11.04.05). However, some students had written "everyday" without a space, which Hilda

marked as incorrect. A few students protested and one male student claimed that the teacher at

his private institute told them that "everyday" is one word. Without explaining specifics, Hilda simply pointed to an example sentence in their textbook and responded that they were wrong. Even though the class bell had already rung, the boy persisted in telling Hilda that he had learned "everyday" as one word in the private institute.

Hilda finally turned to me and asked in Korean who was right, her or the boy's private institute teacher. The class showed a keen interest in my response partially to see who was right and also because they were not accustomed to me speaking in class. In English, I explained how "everyday" is used as an adjective and "every day" is used as a time expression meaning each day; therefore Hilda had marked the tests correctly. A few students mocked the boy for being wrong and told him to listen to the teacher. Hilda looked at the boy smugly, and the boy seemed crestfallen and somewhat in disbelief as he stared at his test.

As we walked back to the office together, Hilda told me about other students who often second-guessed her answers to their questions about grammar or spelling, which they would often confirm with the NESTA. Hilda described the self-satisfaction she felt when the students find out that she was originally correct but wished that they would trust her judgment more (FN: 11.04.05). Similarly, during the semester, there were a handful of incidents where students negatively evaluated Hilda's English skills both publicly and privately. Even though Hilda frankly conceded to her classes that she was still learning English at the beginning of the semester, Hilda did not take their comments lightly. (More on this topic is presented in Chapter 7.) Despite most students having the ability to understand English-mediated classes, contexts like Hilda's illustrate the complexities of implementing the TEE policy when the teachers' command of English may be inadequate for providing the majority of instruction in English and when students doubt the competence of the teacher.

6.4 Nicole's Classes: "Teaching to the Middle"

If Hilda's and Brenda's students represent opposite ends of an English-proficiency spectrum, Nicole's students would fall in the middle, with her students' profile following a bell-curve shape. Although Nicole said that she encountered difficulties because of the gaps among students' English levels, Nicole characterized her instruction as "teaching to the middle level" (INT: 11.01.10).

Other elementary teachers at SEEC with similar student populations as Nicole also claimed that their teaching was geared toward the average despite wide variation in students' English proficiency. Elementary school teacher Tanya explained a common situation she experienced as a student and also as a teacher,

> Because in school, teachers, of course teachers have great skills, but still they have to focus on the average, lower than average level. So I couldn't learn more than average because there is no time. So I had to learn the higher level of contents at the *hagwon* (*private institute*). So I totally understand the higher-level students how they feel in my classes. I feel really sorry. But I couldn't, I cannot teach them (INT: 11.01.04).

Due to large-class sizes and a government-dictated National Curriculum, many parents seek out private institutes to provide the education that they feel public schools are lacking (Seth, 2002). Nicole expressed a similar feeling of regret when thinking about her top students being bored while those at the bottom floundered.

Paradoxically, she privately criticized her NESTA, Nina, for being too concerned about the low-achieving students. While Nicole acknowledged that it was noble to think of them, she did not think that the class as a whole could progress if too much time were spent trying to cater to these students (FN: 11.05.17). Nicole confessed that she too often worried about how to help slow learners in the early days of her teaching but later arrived at the realization that there was no simple way to help these students because of lack of time and students' low motivation levels (FN: 11.06.14). Similar to Hilda's struggling students, the students at Nicole's school also faced

bleak prospects in terms of receiving differentiated instruction that matched their level of English. Some elementary teachers from SEEC including Brenda mentioned informal, afterschool English tutoring that they offered a few of their students, particularly those who did not know the alphabet or could not read. However, these teachers felt guilty because as soon as they became busy as the semester progressed, they could not continue to hold the tutoring regularly. Despite schools like Brenda's and Hilda's where free afterschool English classes are offered, it is questionable how much low-achieving students actually benefit and if they can even progress to the average level.

As stated in Chapter 4, when I volunteered to teach an afterschool English class at Nicole's school, the principal wanted me to teach fifth and sixth grade students having trouble in English as identified by the school-administered diagnostic English test. During a meeting I had with the principal and Nicole, he explicitly stated that my class is not intended to bridge the gap between high- and low-level students, but to provide them with a fun and stress-free class that would leave a favorable impression of English (FN: 11.03.09). He added that the students are not from wealthy families and probably cannot afford private institutes, so they could benefit from a class taught by a native speaker. Nicole also suggested that games and storytelling would probably be the best activities for these students since most of them had a cursory knowledge of the alphabet and did not participate actively in regular English classes. In some ways, the principal's and Nicole's suggestions projected the notion that low-level students would not be able to progress to average level even with extra help. Consequently, time would be better spent enjoying English rather than creating stress and trying to bring the students up to grade level.

The wide gap in English proficiency among students was the most commonly cited challenge among all English teachers, both elementary and secondary, that I interviewed at SEEC. During a special lecture at SEEC led by an experienced, elementary-level English

teacher on best practices for the classroom, the topic of *yeongeo gyeokcha* (*the English Divide*) sparked considerable discussion. Teachers described students who think English is meaningless for them because they will never use it, or students who are too nervous or ashamed to participate, as frequent problems in their classes (FN: 10.12.08). After the lecture during dinner, I asked a few of the teachers what they learned, and they shrugged explaining that the teacher did not offer any new advice. Nicole and two others identified problems beyond a teacher's control such as large classes, students' unstable family environments, and their mental and behavioral problems as insurmountable hurdles to helping these students and increasing their motivation (FN: 10.12.08). As a result, many teachers felt resigned to "teaching to the middle."

In Nicole's classes in particular, students' behavioral problems often hindered the momentum of the lessons. In these situations, Nicole as well as Hilda and Brenda, resorted to using Korean when reprimanding the class or individual students for being disruptive, a pattern that many English teachers I interviewed at SEEC reported. Many including the three focal teachers, attributed their status as subject teachers as the reason for the constant need to discipline students, which was perceived to be most effective through Korean than in English. As opposed to homeroom teachers, elementary subject teachers (i.e., science, art, music, physical education, home economics, ethics, and English teachers) frequently lack authority and respect in the classroom since they only teach students a few times a week and are hence not viewed as "real" teachers. Due to their subordinate status, elementary school teacher Kira from expressed the need to build rapport with students through Korean, a language they can understand, in order to command students' respect (INT: 11.01.12).

Over half of the elementary teachers I interviewed at SEEC desired to teach English as a homeroom teacher to their own class since they would already be familiar with their own

students, encounter less discipline problems, and make cross-curricular connections with English, despite the extra administrative demands of being a homeroom teacher. Depending on a school's context, some elementary schools allow homeroom teachers to teach their homeroom English coupled with a stipend, usually in cases where there are not enough English subject teachers for the entire school. However, this kind of situation is rare; only two teachers I interviewed reported having taught English as a homeroom teacher, but both teachers enjoyed this arrangement and hoped they could continue teaching English this way.

Combined with her role as a subject teacher, Nicole also faced the hardship of teaching sixth-grade students. Several elementary school teachers at SEEC claimed that teaching sixth graders was the least desirable position because students at that age are undergoing puberty and more inclined to challenge authority figures; hence many novice teachers without seniority are typically assigned as sixth-grade homeroom teachers (FN: 11.03.31). Despite handling more serious and frequent disciplinary problems than Hilda and Brenda including outbursts of swearing and verbal threats from openly defiant students, Nicole followed the TEE policy more closely.

It is possible that because Nicole's students were older and more experienced with English, Nicole could use more English as directed by the TEE policy. Nicole herself described her approach to classroom management as "hands off" (FN: 11.05.17). For example, when Nicole and her NESTA Nina organized the seating arrangement for their classes, Nicole purposely placed students known to misbehave on the periphery of the classroom despite Nina's preference to seat them in the front so that they would be engaged and less likely to cause problems (FN: 11.05.17). However, Nicole's rationale was to prevent these students from distracting the class and causing her unwanted stress, even if they were not on task. Whenever a serious disruption did occur, usually one per class, Nicole briefly scolded the student, forced him/her to kneel in the back corner, and reprimanded the student in Korean after class.

Otherwise, Nicole appeared to turn a blind eye to students who were chatting and engaging in activities unrelated to English, as long as they did not interrupt lesson. Consequently, on any given day it seemed as if only two-thirds of the 30-plus students in each class were actually paying attention and participating; the others carried on off task.

In contrast, teachers interviewed from SEEC who also taught sixth graders indicated that due to disciplinary problems they used more Korean than English with that grade level in order to control the classroom (INT: 11.01.04). Perhaps Nicole's classroom management approach was more conducive to using more English since she tended to overlook misbehaving students unless absolutely necessary. Like Brenda and Hilda, Nicole used Korean for explaining complex instructions for activities, games, and grammatical concepts, but spoke mostly in simple English sentences with gestures for introducing content and activities, engaging in small talk with students, and praising students. Nicole also regularly used and adapted materials from the *Indischool* website, a popular resource for Korean elementary school teachers. All of her lessons that I observed contained either videos from YouTube or PowerPoint presentations that incorporated vivid graphics and Korean celebrities with the curriculum content, which captured the attention of even her most distracted and unmotivated students. Although Nicole was self-conscious about her English ability and regularly asked me during class breaks and lunchtime what speaking mistakes she made while teaching, she continued to uphold the TEE policy.

When she attended an open-demonstration class for how to use TEE in the classroom for teachers in her district, Nicole acknowledged the teacher's fluent English but found fault with the fact that the teacher did more talking than the students (FN: 11.05.11). In her view, Nicole felt that the demonstrating teacher was more interested in showing off her English than providing her students with opportunities to participate. Similarly, when I talked with her the following semester, she shared the same critique of her new NESTA (FN: 11.10.18). Because the teaching assistant

dominated the lessons with her own talking, Nicole wished that her NESTA would speak less

and allow the students more opportunities to speak in English.

However, again it is worth mentioning that roughly ten students in each of her classes

appeared to be focused in activities completely unrelated to the lesson or staring blankly into the

air. When I asked Nicole about the these students, she attributed their apathy to several factors

including puberty, short attention spans, learning disabilities complicated by high doses of

medication, unstable family lives, and low academic levels including English skills (INT: 11.06.29).

She expressed remorse because she could not reach out to these students and did not make an

effort because she concentrated on mid-level students. Additionally, Nicole mentioned that she

knew for certain that a few of the students displayed the same behavior in their homeroom

classes. In cases such as Nicole's, it is difficult to speculate whether or not her use of TEE

caused these students to disengage from the lesson or even exacerbated the situation.

Nevertheless, it is clear that the TEE policy may not be the best approach for students with

special needs since they cannot access the content in a language they can easily understand.

6.5 Discussion

As the data from the classroom observations have demonstrated, the implementation of

the TEE policy is fraught with significant challenges. On the one hand, the three focal teachers,

as well as the majority of elementary teachers interviewed at SEEC, believed that the TEE policy

was a step in the right direction for elementary English education. There was a general

agreement among teachers that in the past English classes had been conducted in Korean and

did not provide students with production opportunities; as a result, students had been unable to

communicate orally in English. Consequently, the TEE policy has begun to serve as a reminder

that speaking more English in class is required to improve English education, which in turn is

perceived to encourage better acquisition of speaking proficiency. Representative of many elementary teachers is this comment from Inkyeong who stated, "[T]eaching English in English gives good impression on students because they think that teachers try to speak in English. So they think that 'oh, we have to speak in English'" (INT: 11.01.11).

Another teacher Lina also cited other benefits from using mostly English as she said, "When I do TEE, I feel myself improve cause I always speak English and keep thinking in English. First of all, it helps me. And children get used to it. So they acquire sometimes and their listening skill will improve even though they don't speak" (INT: 11.01.04). In these ways, teachers who carry out the TEE policy can serve as role models for students, encourage student participation in English, and improve their own language skills. Moreover, on a symbolic level, the TEE policy also challenges dominant ideologies that contend native English speakers are the ideal English teachers. (More detailed discussion on language ideologies related to native English speakers is presented in Chapter 7.) By enacting the TEE policy and the TEE certificate program, local Koreans can be validated as English teachers. As discussed in Chapter 5, although NESTAs are still teaching in elementary schools in Seoul, their numbers have been drastically reduced and are expected to decrease further as more teachers attain TEE certification. In this respect, the mere existence of the TEE policy holds potential for rethinking how English should be taught at the elementary level and who qualifies as an English teacher.

Teachers' Resistance to Using English

Despite believing in the positive intentions of the policy, the three focal teachers and other English teachers from SEEC faced significant difficulties in using English for the majority of their instruction. For students with weak English skills, teachers felt that speaking Korean was

the best way to make content accessible, as illustrated in the following statement from an

elementary school teacher named Kelly who taught in an impoverished district:

> Their level was so low. So low, so I had to teach English with Korean. Korean, I used
> Korean more than English because if, if I say, 'point to the window', and I meant I'd like to
> have them to point the window but they just repeat after me. 'Point to the window' [in
> students' voice]. 'No, point to the window.' [Kelly points with her finger]. 'Point to the
> window' [in students' voice]. Their level, fifth graders' level was like that. So I, I couldn't
> teach English with only English. (INT: 11.01.17)

Kelly's use of Korean resonates with other teachers' rationales for using more Korean than

English with low-level students. Depending on their particular contexts, Brenda, Hilda, and Nicole

resisted carrying out the TEE policy to avoid neglecting students who could not understand

instruction provided in English, increase students' participation, and build rapport with students.

Moreover, the teachers' use of Korean is not the kind of radical resistance that

challenges the hegemony of English (Canagarajah, 1999) but nonetheless contests the

shortsightedness of a one-size-fits-all English education policy. As the official document

concerning the TEE policy stipulates (see Chapter 5 for more detail), use of Korean is permitted

for difficult grammar explanations and introducing new content at the beginning of a unit.

However, the policy omits provisions for using Korean for students who have not acquired basic

English skills and require special attention. In spite of this restrictive language policy, teachers

have cleaved "implementational spaces" for designing contextually appropriate pedagogies that

ultimately enable meaningful language learning (Hornberger, 2002; 2005). Speaking in the

students' native language is a strategy that many researchers contend can enhance second

language acquisition and should not necessarily be interpreted as a weakness of the teacher

(Auerbach, 1993; Cook, 1999, Polio & Duff, 1994; Turnbull, 2001).

In addition, teachers' use of Korean and allowing students to speak Korean override

widely prescribed methods that advocate exclusive use of the target language and underlie

language policies like TEE. Cummins (2007) refers to adherence to monolingual instruction as the "direct method" assumption where interference from the students' first language is believed to impede acquisition of the target language. Language teachers have and continue to utilize popular methods such as the direct method and communicative language teaching (CLT) based on this "commonsense" assumption despite the lack of empirical evidence supporting monolingualism in the second- or foreign-language classroom (Cummins, 2007). However, more researchers are turning attention to the value of plurilingual practices such as translanguaging (García, 2009) and heteroglossia (Bailey, 2007) that reveal a deeper understanding of how languages are learned and used (see Lin, 2013 for an overview). With validation of diverse linguistic practices, teachers can avail themselves to teaching methods and pedagogies that are appropriate for their students and contexts. What is sorely needed are empirically based guidelines that offer teachers systematic approaches for when and how much of the target language and first language should be used.

Finally, I address Hilda's use of Korean that appeared atypically motivated compared to Brenda and Nicole. While all three teachers used Korean to improve students' English comprehension, engage students, and foster rapport, Hilda's steadfast use of Korean could be interpreted in a different light. As described in the previous sections, the vast majority of students in Hilda's classes would have been ideal recipients of English-medium instruction due to their high proficiency. However, Hilda conducted her lesson mostly through Korean, which I argue helped to reinforce her position as an authority. Due to the social capital that her students wielded over her by virtue of their English skills, I contend that Hilda attempted to reverse the imbalance of power by speaking in Korean. As the classroom observations indicated, students often contested her judgments about English and complained that her class was boring because it was too easy. To offset students' negative perceptions of her English ability, Hilda resorted to

instructing her classes in Korean. While this strategy disregarded the instructional practices advocated by TEE policy, it allowed Hilda to assume authority as a teacher. Despite her limited use of English, Hilda still consistently provided her students' with ample production opportunities and engaging activities. Nevertheless, the TEE policy assumes that teachers possess enough English proficiency to carry out English-medium instruction. However, cases like Hilda's do not reflect this assumption. In Chapter 7, when I examine participants' metalinguistic discourse, I posit that the ideology of self-deprecation also played a part in why Hilda was reluctant to use more English in front of her students.

Challenging or Maintaining Social Reproduction?

As previously discussed, teachers encountered significant difficulties in their classes due to the broad range of English proficiency levels, the most commonly cited dilemma facing English teachers. Many teachers expressed that advanced students were the real beneficiaries of the TEE policy, precisely because they could understand what was being communicated through English. A common response for teachers like Nicole who had a heterogeneous group of students was to focus on the average level, which typically resulted in boring top-level students and alienating bottom-level students.

Another approach, albeit rare, reported by Ellen, an elementary school teacher from SEEC, was to divide English classes according to students' proficiency. The administration at her school believed that it was better to offer leveled classes to match instruction to students' ability, with the NESTA teaching the advanced group and the Korean English teacher in charge of the beginner group. However, Ellen reported that she did not support the tracking of students, as she said,

It's not that good because, it's very, only good for high-level students. So low-level students they hurt, they hurt, their feeling. And really the atmosphere is not that good. Whole room. One semester very not good. Gloomy. Gloomy atmosphere. We are like losers. They know, we, we didn't directly say 'you are not, you are, you are low-level' but they feel it. They can feel it. So it's not good (INT: 11.01.12)

As indicated in her interview, Ellen noticed the negative effects of segregating the weaker students, and she worried about damage to the students' self-esteem at an early age.

Likewise, when the superintendent of SMOE, Kwak No-hyun visited SEEC, he did not endorse the leveled English classes for elementary students (FN: 10.10.15). During his meeting with teacher trainees at SEEC, Superintendent Kwak expressed his support for mixed classes where students can learn from each other. Although not explicitly stated, Kwak hinted at the threat of social reproduction if classes were leveled when he discussed the class divide between Gangnam (south of Seoul's Han River) and Gangbuk (north of Seoul's Han River) students. As several teachers at SEEC noted, the correlation between wealth and English ability among students is almost perfect, which suggests that the issue of social reproduction is impossible to ignore as it relates to English education (FN: 10.12.08). If students from affluent families continue to have access to study abroad and private institutes and teachers continue to "teach to the middle" or carry out the TEE policy without support in Korean, one wonders how students with low levels of English proficiency will advance academically, especially when English ability is often used as a gatekeeping measure in white-collar employment and university admission.

Consequently, using the students' first language can be a viable and egalitarian strategy for making English accessible to all students. Many scholars have noted the myth of meritocracy and the power of schools to play a role in social reproduction leading to socioeconomic stratification (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977/1990; Delpit, 1995/2006; Martin-Jones & Heller, 1996). However, teachers' capacity to use their agency to counteract social reproduction should not be underestimated. Lin (1999, p. 410), who examined English classes for Cantonese-speaking

adolescents in Hong Kong, contends that

> although the prescription to use only the target language in teaching the target language is common…what matters is not whether a teacher uses the L1 or the L2 but rather how a teacher uses either language to connect with students and help them transform their attitudes, dispositions, skills, and self-image—their habitus or social world.

Although my participants may not have articulated their use of Korean in English classes as socially transformative, their practice of providing culturally and linguistically appropriate pedagogy were nonetheless attempts at reducing rather than exacerbating existing inequalities among students with varying English-proficiency levels.

Another common way to ensure the engagement of students with wide-ranging English skills was through the use of games. Playing at least one game was an indispensable feature of all English lessons I observed from the three focal teachers and even the mini-lessons taught by the teacher trainees at SEEC. The CD-Rom and the textbook provided a plethora of game ideas, and Brenda and Nicole often used games from the *Indischool* website. All of the games required some knowledge of the curriculum content and would use a variety of formats such as group, whole class, and individual. Most of the games required oral production, but for the upper grades writing was often used in addition to speaking. In the three focal teachers' classes, weaker students could actively participate in games using Korean or English in a more relaxed environment, thus developing their language skills in English and building their confidence.

Hilda explained that the presence of games in the curriculum was to cultivate students' interest in English, so they would be motivated to learn English (FN: 11.04.12). Yet, Hilda and other teachers worried students were conditioned to expect games and did not take English seriously. In Brenda's class, the third graders who were learning English in school for the first time seemed to associate English class with playing games and would repeatedly ask during the lesson when and what game would they play that day.

Although games stimulated most students to participate, even those having difficulty

with English, teachers such as Nicole who taught sixth graders expressed concern about their

students when they entered middle school since English classes at the secondary level focus

more on test preparation (INT: 11.06.29). One middle school teacher Ingrid I interviewed at

SEEC explained that her first-year students experienced a rocky transition in her class because

they expected fun and games and were not accustomed to lectures and taking notes (INT:

11.01.19). Casting blame on elementary school English teachers for new middle school students'

expectation for games and their short attention spans was a typical reaction from middle school

teachers according to Ingrid. However, when elementary English teachers are confronted with

classes of multiple proficiency levels, playing games appears to be a suitable, albeit temporary,

solution for engaging all students and valuing their participation, whether it be in English or

Korean. The degree to which teachers can transform the status quo through games is

questionable, nevertheless, they are still exercising their agency and challenging the limitations of

a monolingual language class that underscores the TEE policy.

6.6 Conclusion

As this chapter has indicated, the TEE policy is open to wide interpretation subject to

teachers' own proficiency in English, students' English proficiency level, characteristics of the

students, and teachers' own teaching philosophies. Simply because teachers follow the TEE

policy does not necessarily translate to high-quality instruction unless classroom contexts are

compatible with English-mediated instruction. In the classrooms of the three teachers, the data

testify to the pedagogical value of using Korean, as well as English. In spite of a top-down

language policy, teachers demonstrate instances of resisting practices and ideologies that

valorize monolingual English instruction and potentially maintain social reproduction. The

following chapter delves deeper into language ideologies responsible for how teachers view

English and in turn how they interpret the TEE policy.

Chapter 7: Koreans as Illegitimate English Teachers

7.1 Overview

To gain a more complete understanding of the TEE policy, this chapter probes deeper

into the ethnographic data by examining the micro level of the participants' metalinguistic talk

about English. As argued in Chapter 2, exploring metalinguistic discourse about English (i.e., talk

in natural interactions focused on the English language) provides a unique vantage point to

understand how what speakers say is often the result of accepting, rejecting, or appropriating

circulating language ideologies (Silverstein, 1981/2001). Moreover, the discursive construction of

a language (in this case, English) is of particular importance in uncovering the tensions that exist

among languages and language ideologies under a given language policy (Hornberger, 1998).

In the case of TEE policy, the data indicate that mainstream language ideologies,

particularly the ideology of self-deprecation or Koreans as incompetent English speakers (J.S.

Park, 2009), ironically lend credence to the notion that teaching English through English is most

effective. Additionally, the ideologies externalization (i.e., English as external to the Korean

identity) and necessitation (i.e., English as necessity for Koreans in the neoliberal economy,

discussed in Chapter 5) also interact with the ideology of self-deprecation (i.e., Koreans as

incompetent English speakers). J.S. Park (2009, p. 27) refers to the interaction of these

ideologies as an "ideological complex of English", which is "circulated across various sites" and

"emerges in different configurations according to the social and metapragmatic constraints of

each site". As a result, English becomes interpreted as a hegemonic language through complex

micro- and macro-level social processes where these language ideologies are articulated and

reproduced. The persistence of these language ideologies and construction of the hegemony of

English present significant challenges for English-language educators in Korea.

In the following sections, I discuss the everyday feelings of anxiety and shame that teachers experienced given the extreme degree of criticism they confronted as English teachers. The constant questioning of their English-teaching abilities resulted in linguistic practices through which they implicitly and explicitly denied their competence as English professionals and distanced themselves from English, closing off any possibility to view themselves as legitimate English teachers.

7.2 Anxiety and Shame among English Teachers

Throughout my research, participants regularly shared their beliefs and attitudes towards English and language education policies when they interacted with me as well as each other during the SEEC training program and when they taught in their schools. By focusing on spoken discourse, I attend to the language ideologies about English and how speakers are positioned when using English. One salient theme that emerged from the data was the feeling of shame that arose from being an English teacher and simply using English in everyday interactions.

By virtue of working as an English teacher, many participants expressed that their school community including colleagues, parents, and students imposed high standards on them of speaking English well. Teachers even reported that their friends would prod them to speak English with random foreigners they encountered during various social gatherings (FN: 10.10.26). Consequently, whenever teachers spoke English publicly they experienced intense scrutiny, thus increasing the risk of humiliation and social censure. Richard, a high school teacher, described an eye-opening predicament for Korean English teachers in secondary schools (INT: 11.01.13),

> Maybe a lot of English teachers get really nervous about their English ability and get pressure. So actually these days I didn't see many English teachers retire at their retirement age because they think they are behind. Because the new young English teachers are so fluent, native-like English pronunciation and ability to communicate with native speakers. So the society requires those kind of abilities from the, all English

teachers. So the old, old English teachers are very stressed because the students also look at the old teacher, "You, you are not fluent, you're not good at English." So they, many, many old English teachers are thinking of retiring at an early age because of those kinds of pressure. But the other teachers don't feel like that. The other subject [e.g., math, Korean language, science, or history] teachers. So these days I rarely see over sixty-years old English teachers. Fifty-eight, fifty-seven. They retire because of the pressure I think.

As noted by Richard, societal pressure on English teachers is one factor that can force them into early retirement, unlike the cases of other subject teachers who typically retire at the government-mandated age of 62 years old. Under these circumstances, a teacher is expected to possess a high-level of expertise in English, especially oral fluency. However, when a teacher's English ability is not perceived to meet those standards, the social consequences can be severe enough to lead to early retirement.

Another challenge that Korean English teachers face is students and parents questioning their English competence when tests are graded. In Chapter 6, I discussed how Hilda's students readily challenged her grading of English tests and often turned to the NESTA for answers regarding questions about English grammar or spelling. Danielle, one of the SEEC coordinators who taught high school English, also explained that she dreaded mid-term and final exams because she and her fellow English teachers inevitably received complaints from parents and students about the grading of the exams (INT: 11.01.18). She explained differences between Korean-language teachers and English teachers (INT: 11.01.18),

> It is like Korean language, if it is a language subject they [the teachers] receive questions from students. However, the competence of the teachers are different. In that case, Korean teachers have a meeting, decide, and announce, "This is the right answer." For English teachers, we have a meeting but we have to contact someone, professors or native [English] teachers and search the Internet or whatever, then we let the answers out. But still students challenge that.

In contrast to Korean teachers, who were able to consult among themselves and simply announce results without further complaints, English teachers have to seek outside expertise and

still face the likelihood that their decisions will still be challenged. Danielle indicated that

parents personally called her and asserted their authority as professors or professionals who

lived and studied in English-speaking countries when they objected to the grading of an English

test. Since Danielle worked in an affluent district in Seoul, the teachers at her school were

accustomed to aggressive parents who wanted high scores for their children to be admitted to

top-tier universities. When Danielle previously taught at a vocational high school, she did not

encounter such complaints from parents.

However, at her current school, Danielle mentioned that she frequently second-guesses

her abilities as an English teacher, as she explained (INT: 11.01.18),

> The big challenge teaching English is constantly I question myself, "Am I qualified to teach English?" And in some subjects as the teacher grow older the depth or experience of the teacher toward your subject become deeper and wider. However, the language especially foreign languages, it's another story, I think. No matter, doesn't matter you are a teacher or student, it's more like how early or how long you been exposed to that language. That really, that's the important issue and in that sense, and considering that more kids are exposed to English at earlier age and more teachers are capable about the language English, I think my competence as a teacher, I, I, many times I doubt it.

Danielle and other Korean English teachers I interviewed at SEEC expressed self-criticism of

their English abilities and often blamed their perceived lack of competence on not having learned

English early enough or long enough, comparing themselves to their students and younger

generations of teachers who were considered fortunate to have begun English study or even

study abroad as children. These findings mirror the comments from participants in Yook's (2010)

study of Korean elementary- and secondary-level English teachers' perceptions of English

education and educational reforms. These participants, as well as the teachers from SEEC,

discussed the need for continuous English study and practice to keep up with their students and

fellow teachers.

Other teachers also expressed similar concerns as Danielle because of the criticism leveled at them from students while teaching in class. With the increasing number of students studying abroad and/or enrolling in afterschool private English institutes, teachers were confronted with students whose English speaking was superior to their own, a constant source of shame. As mentioned in Chapter 6, Hilda and other teachers, particularly those in wealthy school districts, encountered students who were native English speakers or had native-like oral proficiency. Since Hilda's students were particularly advanced in English, many felt that they had license to criticize others' English. Several times throughout the semester students in Hilda's class questioned the pronunciation of the characters featured in the CD-Rom of their textbook. The CD-Rom presented video excerpts of Koreans and non-Koreans holding English conversations, and students often reacted by saying that the Koreans spoke English too slowly with substandard pronunciation. In one video, where Nami, a Korean girl is talking about the weather with Ann, a white girl who speaks North Amercian English, one of Hilda's students commented, "*Bareum chaiga mani naneundea*" ("*There's a big difference between their pronunciations*") (FN: 11.04.19). The students' frank comments about pronunciation were not limited to the CD-Rom characters, but also addressed Hilda's use of English. During vocabulary dictation tests, students often asked Hilda to repeat the English words she said because they were unsure of what she was saying. Sometimes, Hilda indicated her frustration with their comments and asked rhetorically if her pronunciation was so strange. At other times, she just repeated the words that they had trouble understanding without any comment. Students also impersonated Hilda's English by speaking mock Korean-inflected English under their breath, such as "*next-uh pat-uh*" (for "*next part*") inserting an extra syllable after each word to denote a Koreanized pronunciation (FN: 11.05.31).

Regardless of whether Hilda heard the students mocking her in class, she was aware

of their attitudes toward her English. Hilda mentioned that the previous year her students

submitted their class evaluations, and many students complained that they could not understand

her pronunciation but enjoyed the games that they played in class (FN: 11.10.11). On another

occasion, after Hilda reprimanded two students for not studying enough for the vocabulary test, a

female student remarked loud enough for Hilda to hear, "*Ssaemdo yeongeoreul mot haneundae*"

("*Teacher also doesn't know English*") (FN: 11.05.24). At that moment, Hilda's face turned stern

and asked the student to repeat what she said. Then Hilda locked eyes with the student and

spoke in a firm voice explaining in Korean that she knows that some students speak English

better than her, but she studies regularly to improve her English. The student quickly apologized

and began crying realizing the severity of her comment to Hilda. When we walked back to her

office together, Hilda said that it was not the first time a student had insulted her English. She

said that some of her students think they are so great because they went abroad and can speak

some English. Hilda mentioned that even her teenaged daughter had described Hilda's English

pronunciation as difficult to understand when they were traveling to Canada together.   At

moments like these, Hilda questioned why she volunteered to teach English and thought about

returning to being a homeroom teacher.

7.3 Endless Criticism

Critical evaluation of English teachers was not limited to parents and students. Even

when other teachers lacked the expertise to judge a teacher's competency in English, they

unfailingly criticized a teacher's English ability. For example, Brenda recalled a time during lunch

when the PE teacher overheard Brenda and her NESTA conversing in English, and the PE

teacher later remarked to Brenda that her English pronunciation sounded strange compared to

the NESTA. The PE teacher also indicated that for someone who spent five months learning English at SEEC and one month abroad in New Zealand, Brenda's English should sound more native like (FN 11.04.15). To a similar effect, another SEEC coordinator, Hana, also recounted her first year as an English teacher. After one of Hana's open-demonstration classes, an older music teacher at her school commented to Hana that even though he did not know English, what Hana was saying did not sound like English (FN: 10.10.07). These instances reveal the stinging criticism that can result from using English and holding the title of English teacher. During my time at SEEC, Brenda as well as other teachers, feared returning to their schools to a certain degree because their colleagues and students would expect their English to improve dramatically given the intensiveness of SEEC's English program (FN: 11.01.05).

As the incidents involving Brenda and Hana illustrate, other teachers, regardless of their own English competence, were quick to judge another's English skills. Expressing a similar sentiment, Nicole explained in an interview how sensitive the issue of being an English teacher was when she discussed the difficulty in finding teachers to teach English at her school (INT: 11.01.10),

> K: But how come English is not popular?
> N: Because most Korean teachers aren't satisfied with their English ability. I think, if they, someone has very high level, so they say, "Oh, I'm just middle. My, my English ability is not good"
> K: Why do they say that?
> N: Because we don't want judgment from other people. Someone talks in English and judgment. Ah, "Is it correct, is the grammar correct and expression correct?" Yes, we have a bad habit. So that's why I don't want, I don't want to speak English in front of Koreans. So in my school, most teachers, when I speak English, they judge me. They judge, "Uhhh, she's good or she's not good"

As Nicole mentioned, being subject to social evaluation is a source of anxiety for many Korean English teachers although using English is part of the job description. This anxiety leads teachers

to deliberately downgrade their English ability in front of others to offset a potentially negative assessment.

For elementary teachers at SEEC, the majority of whom did not major in English and had not taught English for more than five years, their concerns about their English ability are readily understandable due to their lack of experience teaching and learning English. Therefore, one would expect secondary teachers at SEEC, who majored in English and averaged over nineteen years of English-teaching experience, to be less apprehensive about their English competency. However, as indicated by Richard and Danielle, the shame and anxiety associated with teaching English are deep-rooted concerns for many secondary teachers. Danielle also confessed that she and her co-workers hid their identity as high school English teachers when they took English classes for enrichment at a private institute (FN: 10.11.02). Danielle explained that they did not want others in the class looking down on them and create the impression that public school English teachers were deficient.

Additionally, in the beginning of the training course at SEEC, many teachers were visibly uncomfortable speaking in English in class discussions with their faces flushed from embarrassment or excessively apologizing for their "bad English" (FN: 10.09.10). On the night before the first micro-teaching lessons using TEE, where each teacher needed to present a 15-minute sample lesson in front of small groups of fellow English teachers, one secondary-level teacher pleaded with Supervisor Ma to be exempt from delivering the lesson (FN: 10.09.16). This teacher reasoned that even after twenty-plus years of experience he had never taught a full lesson in English before and using English in front of his colleagues would be painfully embarrassing. Supervisor Ma denied the teacher's request and emphasized that the micro-teaching lessons were precisely an opportunity to improve one's English. Each term Supervisor Ma explained to me that there were always one or two teachers who were vehemently opposed

to the lessons because they were extremely nervous about teaching in English in front of others. However, after several weeks of practice and taking English-medium classes at SEEC, the fear among teachers subsided at least while they were in the training program.

Given the precariousness around using English publicly, one would assume that Korean English teachers would be more sensitive about others' use of English, especially if they experienced harsh criticism themselves. However, other incidents reveal that they were just as critical of others, thus supporting Nicole's previous observation that "we have a bad habit" of judging others' English (INT: 11.01.10). During one of the TEE micro-teaching lessons, an elementary teacher began her lesson with a video clip featuring former Major League Korean baseball player Park Chan Ho giving an interview in English. Their objective was to find out why Park is sick and to find out why he and his teammates are laughing. After watching the video, one teacher commented boldly in English that Park's "pronunciation sucks" with other teachers nodding, laughing, and voicing their agreement (FN: 11.01.07). Since Park spent several years in the U.S. as a professional baseball player, the teachers appeared to have expected a more fluent English speaker.

However, even when Koreans who are expected to have expertise, such as English teachers, speak English fluently, others react with disbelief or surprise upon hearing another Korean's high level of English proficiency. For instance, in the last three months of the SEEC program, weekly guest speakers provided special lectures, one for the elementary teachers and a separate one for the secondary group. The majority of guest speakers were current English teachers in Seoul although there were a few former English teachers who were employed as administrators. Since the lectures for the elementary and secondary level occurred simultaneously, I could only attend one of the two talks each week. Therefore, I usually asked the teachers who attended the other lecture, "How was the lecture?" when we ate dinner

together. Anytime I posed this question to a teacher, he or she would automatically assume

that I was inquiring about the lecturer's English proficiency rather than the actual content of the

lecture. By assuming that I was interested in the lecturer's English ability, the teachers prioritized

one's oral competence in English over the significance of the content. Additionally, whenever

teachers responded positively about the lecturer's English ability with comments such as he or

she "spoke English really well" or he or she "was a very good English speaker", they spoke

emphatically with rising intonation indicating their surprise. On the contrary, in instances where

the speaker's English was negatively evaluated, teachers did not speak emphatically, but rather

matter-of-factly with comments such as his or her "English wasn't that good." This contrast

between positive and negative evaluations suggests that teachers did not expect guest lecturers

to speak English fluently, even though the speakers were purposely chosen because of their

English expertise. More specifically, because they exhibited a sense of surprise when the

lecturer spoke English well, teachers seemed to subscribe to the language ideology of self

deprecation or "Koreans as bad English speakers" (J.S. Park, 2009). Under this ideology, if the

guest speakers spoke English well, it was considered an anomaly, while Koreans speaking

English poorly was understood as the norm.

Clearly, highly proficient Korean English speakers exist, so why should encountering one

come as surprise, especially in the English-teaching field? J.S. Park (2009) identifies the

pervasive language ideology of self-deprecation that projects a collective incompetence in

Koreans' English and conveniently explains why Koreans fail to speak English well. By tracing

this ideology across various discursive sites (e.g., print, television, and internet media and face-

to-face interactions) in speakers' implicit and overt statements about English, J.S. Park (2009)

contends that the ideology of Koreans as incompetent in English is reproduced and constructs

Koreans as illegitimate English speakers, thereby leading to more intense efforts to acquire

English, especially as neoliberal discourses portray English as indispensible for participation

in the global economy. Even when there are exceptions to this ideological construction of

Koreans as bad English speakers, such as the guest lecturers at SEEC who spoke English well,

the process of *erasure* occurs where sociolinguistic phenomena that do not follow mainstream

tendencies are rendered invisible, and dominant constructions prevail (Irvine & Gal, 2000).

Hence, the image of Koreans who struggle to speak English has become naturalized while the

reality that highly proficient Korean English speakers do exist is erased. This ideological

construction is readily apparent in the participants' metalinguistic discourse about English and

how they perceived themselves as English teachers.

7.4 Disclaiming English

In spite of the entrenched image of Koreans hopelessly struggling with English, there

were several teachers whose English skills were the subject of envy by their peers and

considered "class role models" by the SEEC instructors. These teachers were assigned to the

advanced classes according to placement tests in both the secondary and elementary class

sections and asked to demonstrate exemplary TEE micro-teaching lessons in front of all the

teacher trainees at different points during the semester. However, on several occasions, when

given compliments on their English ability, these teachers unfailingly engaged in the act of what

J.S. Park (2009) refers to as "disclaiming English", or distancing oneself from English and instead

highlighting one's incompetence in using English. While the casual observer might think the act

of disclaiming English points to a generalized trait of Koreans' modesty in accepting compliments,

the data suggest a more complex process where the language ideology of self-deprecation

materializes in social interactions.

For example, at the beginning of one of the special lectures I observed, the guest

speaker, Tim, introduced himself and acknowledged that he had studied with Quentin, one of

the secondary teachers, at a teacher training course hosted by Korea University a few years

back. Tim referred to Quentin as a "walking dictionary" because of Quentin's use of high-level

vocabulary in class, a characteristic well known by Quentin's classmates and instructors at SEEC

(FN 11.01.12). Instead of expressing gratitude for Tim's compliment, Quentin deflected the

praise and commented that there are other teachers in the classroom who are also walking

dictionaries and specifically identified Richard, a fellow secondary teacher. However, Richard

resisted the label of "walking dictionary" and conversely referred to himself as "a dictionary that

nobody wants to buy" drawing laughter from the other teachers. In both instances, Quentin and

Richard downplayed their English abilities even though their language proficiency was readily

acknowledged by their classmates. Moreover, Richard went further by assuming a humorous

stance to construct his incompetence by describing himself as an unworthy dictionary.

    Similar instances occurred at SEEC where teachers almost instinctively downplayed their

English ability when their English was positively evaluated. At the beginning of the program

during one of the break times, I had a conversation about Korean movies with Tanya, an

elementary teacher who eventually received the English prize for best elementary-level teacher

awarded at the end of the semester by the SEEC instructors (FN 10.09.14). As we conversed,

Tanya asked me how easy it was for me to understand Korean movies. I responded that movies

with simple plots are fine, but historical dramas and characters speaking regional dialects are

difficult for me to understand, to which Tanya exclaimed, "Wow, you're bilingual!" In response, I

said, "So are you!" leading to Tanya laughing and shaking her head no vigorously. During

another break time, I listened to a group of secondary teachers talking about the ideal English

teacher (FN 10.10.07). One of the teachers, Kate, said the best foreign language teacher is one

who is a bilingual, one who understands the nuances of both languages. I attempted to say that

all the SEEC teacher trainees are ideal teachers because they are bilingual. However, Yoon, another secondary teacher, laughed it off and said that he is not "bilingual but a little more than monolingual, maybe half lingual" (FN 10.10.07). Like Tanya, Yoon also received the English prize for best secondary-level teacher. Yet despite these accolades and confirmation that their English ability was recognized as superior, Tanya and Yoon explicitly negated the positive evaluations of their English and downgraded their competence with laughter and humor, in turn rejecting the notion that they were bilingual or legitimate English speakers.

Why are Korean English teachers so reluctant to see themselves as bilingual or successful users of English? The aforementioned types of incidents where the majority of teachers denied positive assessments of their English skills are abundantly represented in my fieldnotes. From explicit rejections of compliments from instructors or fellow teachers to attributing their successful displays of English knowledge to good guesses or mere accidents, teachers seemed unwilling to accept favorable assessments of their ability, indicating that positively acknowledging one's English competence is socially dispreferred. I argue that this is so because to acknowledge one's English competence would contest the widely circulating ideology of Koreans as bad English speakers.

During interviews held close to the end of the course at SEEC, teachers consistently expressed regret that their English had not improved despite five months of training. Linda, an elementary school teacher, was among several teachers who invoked the common scenario of Koreans who have learned English for over ten years but still cannot speak English well (J.S. Park, 2009). During our interview, Linda explained teachers' failure to improve their English at SEEC (INT: 11.01.05),

> But this course isn't enough to improve our English. We have learned English almost ten years. We cannot speak English very well. Our English ability is very limited. But how can we improve our English ability within six months? It's not logical. I mean, so, but

before we came here, we have many expectations but after we are almost finished.
But some of them have improved their English ability, that's true. But I mean, that's not
enough. It's just a little bit. So, we will continue to study more after finishing this course, I
mean. So it's a kind of, give an opportunity to, give a chance to think about English, it will
give some information how you can study English or prepare your class for teaching
English in English. And we, we have many useful information here. That's a good thing.
To improve our English ability is not that much.

In this excerpt, Linda provided a sweeping generalization about Koreans' lack of success

in acquiring English even after ten years of formal education and participation in the SEEC

program. As J.S. Park (2009) explains, the image of Koreans who cannot speak English well

after studying for so many years is commonly used in a variety of discourses but not

substantiated by concrete evidence. Moreover, it serves to erase the existence of successful

Korean English speakers. While Linda acknowledged that some teachers have improved their

English, her description of Koreans' failure to speak English successfully points again to the

ideology of Koreans' incompetence in English. According to Linda and other teachers, improving

one's English abilities will require drastic measures such as more extensive studying or several

years spent abroad, suggesting that English is unattainable.

In some ways, I may have served as a reminder to the teachers that English was out of

reach. Since teachers were all aware of my upbringing and educational background from

Supervisor Ma's introduction of me at the beginning of the semester, my presence may have

suggested that only if one were born and educated in an English-speaking country for an

extended period of time can one be a legitimate English speaker or considered bilingual. By

constantly disclaiming English and referencing their "bad English" or "broken English", teachers

were not willing to see themselves as competent English teachers and held themselves to

unrealistic standards.

Moreover, the act of disclaiming English among my participants seems to provide a kind

of social safety net to avoid criticism for not speaking English well enough. As we saw in the last

chapter, Hilda candidly told her students about attending a private institute every morning to learn English and how she was still in the process of learning English. While she hoped that this admission would inspire her lower-level students to keep studying English, she also disclaimed English, an effort to perhaps forestall negative evaluations from students. However, based on my observations, this attempt proved unsuccessful given students' complaints and reactions to her English, which in the end may have led Hilda to seek shelter by using more Korean than English.

Nicole also engaged in disclaiming English when she described her teaching practices. After attending a workshop presented by SMOE for English teachers on creating student-centered learning environments with less "teacher talk", Nicole believed that she indirectly fostered student-centered learning because she forced students to participate in class activities. (FN: 11.05.18). While not necessarily subscribing to the practice, Nicole justified her approach by reasoning that she did not want to expose her students to too much of her "bad English" and instead wanted them to do most of the talking (FN: 11.05.18). Again, the ideology of self-deprecation surfaces and is manifested in Nicole's teaching practices. While student-centered learning in English-classes is advocated by the TEE policy, Nicole's reasoning is not exactly pedagogically motivated, but ideologically influenced.

In addition to disclaiming English, teachers did not want to be seen as bragging by speaking English fluently to the point where they are accused of putting on airs. A few teachers used the term "*hyeoreul gulinda*", which means "*to roll the tongue*" (FN: 10.09.30). Discussion of rolling the tongue arose when teachers talked about using the [r] sound, a sound that does not exist in the Korean phonetic inventory, and difficulty differentiating the [r] and [l] sounds was considered a weakness noted by many teachers. When I asked Hana, one of the SEEC coordinators about "*hyeoreul gulinda*", Hana responded that to roll one's tongue to produce the [r] sound in American English is not characteristic of a Korean's English (FN: 11.10.25). As an

example, Hana gave the Korean pronunciation of broccoli [bɯrokoli] and contrasted it with the

American pronunciation [brakʌli], where she heavily enunciated the [r] sound. Hana believed that

only Koreans who spent extended time abroad in an English-speaking country would roll their

tongue and for someone like her, whose experience learning English was limited to domestic

study, rolling the [r] sound would be considered arrogant.

Similarly, Gary, a secondary teacher, coined the English phrase "oily or buttered

pronunciation" to scornfully describe Koreans who over-enunciate English words and ultimately

try to flaunt their pronunciation (FN: 10.09.30). Similar to "*hyeoreul gulinda*", the use of "oily or

buttered pronunciation" was socially stigmatized among Koreans speaking English, according to

several teachers at SEEC. Under these circumstances, Korean English teachers are caught in a

linguistic quandary, where interactional practices dictate that they must disclaim English and

foreground their incompetence. Additionally, they must speak Korean-accented English to avoid

censure, even though they are required to show their English proficiency as teachers.

7. 5 English is External to the Korean Identity

Although teachers frequently voiced their desire to speak like a native English speaker,

the practice of rolling the tongue or using "oily or buttered pronunciation" in front of other Koreans

was considered socially risky and riddled with ideological implications. An essentialist view of

language and identity features prominently, as teachers such as Hana expressed that if one is

Korean, one should speak Korean-accented English, not American English (FN: 11.10.25). In

this respect, speaking like an American is pretentious, potentially demonstrates alignment with

English or Western values, and additionally denies one's Korean identity (J.S. Park, 2009). S.G.

Collins (2005) describes a similar situation in which Korean students who returned from studying

abroad in English-speaking countries are ridiculed by their peers because of their fluent use of

English and perceived inability to identify with Korean culture. Consequently, language serves to mark in-group and out-group boundaries, as well as to construct identities (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004; Irvine & Gal, 2000).

Through the practice of disclaiming English, the identity that teachers create for themselves also reflects their relationship to English, where English is positioned as the language of the Other (J.S. Park, 2009). By distancing themselves from English, teachers in turn relinquished ownership of English to native speakers, which often emerged through both implicit and explicit statements. For example, throughout the training course, teachers regularly approached me about English grammar, word usage, and intercultural communication issues during breaks. Most of the time they just asked me questions directly, but at other times, they would preface their questions with statements such as "I need a native speaker to help me" or "I need a foreigner's help." By specifying a "native speaker" or a "foreigner", teachers subordinated themselves to native English speakers and devalued their own competence.

Nevertheless, teachers, all of whom had experience co-teaching with NESTAs at some point in their teaching career, did not blindly accept native English speakers as the ideal English teacher. Some teachers revealed Koreans' perceptions of NESTAs in Korea as "losers" who could not get a job in their home country and therefore had to come to Korea for easy employment (FN: 10.10.21). SEEC Director Byeon also corroborated this view when he addressed teacher trainees at a town hall-style meeting where teachers aired their complaints about different issues. In response to teachers' concerns about one instructor who continually showed YouTube videos during class, Director Byeon claimed that elite teachers do not come to Korea, but stay in their home countries, implying that the quality of foreign teachers was lacking (FN: 10.11.22). Interview data also indicated that only if the NESTA was hardworking, culturally sensitive, had teaching experience, and could engage students, did teachers feel that the cost of

hiring an NESTA was worthwhile. Otherwise, co-teaching with an NESTA was considered

burdensome, and teachers would rather teach alone. Only when comparing themselves to

NESTAs did teachers actually acknowledge their competence positively when teaching English.

For example, Hilda believed that she was a better teacher for her students than her NESTA,

Chris, who did not thoroughly prepare for lessons or know how to challenge bright students (FN:

11.06.14). (See Chapter 5 for more discussion on this topic.) While other teachers admitted that

their NESTAs spoke better English than they did, they did not feel that their students benefitted

from classes taught by NESTAs because of lack of lesson planning and teaching expertise.

Except for when comparing themselves to incapable NESTAs, however, teachers

reluctantly exhibited confidence in their own English ability. In one of the pronunciation classes

required for teachers at SEEC, I observed Quentin asking the instructor, "As foreigners, can we

say *wanna* instead of *want to* like people do in fast speech?" (FN 10.12.16). While the instructor

discussed the use of *wanna* as informal speech, there was no effort to problematize Quentin's

use of "As foreigners" or the notion of English as the language of the Other. In any case, "the

walking dictionary" Quentin with over thirty years of teaching experience did not appear to see

himself as a legitimate user of English, instead referring to himself and the other teachers as

"foreigners" and asking for permission to use a speech pattern common among English speakers,

not necessarily only native speakers of English. Again, Quentin like the other teachers yielded

ownership of the language to native English speakers. If a teacher of Quentin's stature is still

unaccustomed to trusting his own judgment on issues related to English, it is reasonable to

imagine that less experienced teachers would also be less confident about their English

competence. In two guest lectures, teachers were exposed to the sociopolitical dimensions of

English that challenged the notion that English belongs to the western world. One guest speaker

Kyeong Won specifically urged teachers that "English belongs to everyone" and not to be

ashamed of "our Korean-accented English" (FN 11.01.05). These two lectures were particularly noteworthy in pointing out Koreans' relationship to English; however, teachers still seemed ambivalent about appropriating English.

The illegitimate status of Koreans as English teachers was also indirectly reinforced by the director of SMOE's English Education Division, Director Yim during a visit to SEEC. While speaking with teachers about the challenges of English education in Korea, Director Yim generalized that only native English-speaking teachers can teach writing and speaking, whereas Korean teachers can only teach grammar and reading effectively (FN: 10.10.01). Although Director Yim acknowledged that there are growing numbers of Korean teachers that are skilled in teaching writing and speaking, he stated that they will need to keep costly NESTAs in Seoul schools for a few more years despite the shrinking budget for English education. Even though some teachers would probably agree with Director Yim's assessment of Korean teachers' weak writing and speaking skills, the evaluation is somewhat unfair since the National Curriculum and the high-stakes CSAT prioritize the teaching of reading and grammar in the classroom. Naturally, one would expect Korean teachers to be more proficient in those areas and less comfortable in speaking and writing. In the end, Director Yim's observation relegated both Korean and native English-speaking teachers to secondary status, limiting their competence to only two areas.

At other times, teachers overtly indicated that English was external to their identity, thus creating barriers for appropriation. One example occurred while at SEEC when Brenda asked me to look over an essay she wrote for her online EFL certification class. After I read her essay and explained the difference between third-person plural and singular verbs in the present tense, I told her she needed to check for errors in verb conjugation. Initially, Brenda coyly pleaded with me to tell her where the mistakes were. However, I told her if she reads the essay out loud she could find the errors by herself. To my surprise, she raised her voice and said, "English is your

language not my language, so I can't find them" (FN: 10.12.28). I tried to explain my teaching

philosophy about checking other people's work, but Brenda repeatedly insisted, "English is not

my language. It's your language." It is difficult to speculate whether Brenda indeed felt that

English was just a foreign language or whether she just wanted to persuade me to tell her the

answers by distancing herself from English.

However, on other occasions when she talked with me, Brenda continued to refer to

English as "your language" such as "How to do you say "*bae*" ("*pear apple*") in your language?"

(FN: 11.03.24). When Brenda taught her classes, she used "*woori mal*" ("*our language*") to mean

Korean, as in "*woori malehneun, joheundwen maleul sseugo yeongeoneun eobseoyo*" ("*in our

language, we use honorific language but English does not*") (FN: 11.04.21). Using the deictic

construction, *woori mal* (*our language*), presupposes that the speaker is Korean, and the speaker

highlights either the sameness or difference between the speaker and the hearer. The usage of

woori mal (*our language*) contrasts with simply saying *hangukmal* (*the Korean language*), which

does not foreground the relationship between the speaker and hearer. Given the period of

Japanese colonization where use of Korean was prohibited, pride in Koreanness including the

Korean language served to unite post-war Korea. These nationalistic sentiments were regularly

invoked during the English as an Official Language Debates in Korea during the late 1990s.

Opponents of English as an official language frequently positioned English as diametrically

opposed to the Korean language and identity and thus characterized supporters of English as

betrayers to Korea. (J.S. Park, 2009).

This essentialist view of language and identity was also expressed among elementary

school students. While waiting for the students in my afterschool program at Nicole's school to

arrive, I talked with a fifth grader Jun Ho in English about his family. As Jun Ho spoke to me in

English, another student Cheol Min made fun of Jun Ho by saying, "*yeongeoneun migukmalya,*

woori mal anya" "*English is for Americans, it is not our language*" (FN: 11.05.11). After I told

Jun Ho and Cheol Min in both English and Korean that, "English is for everyone, no matter who

you are," Cheol Min laughed it off. In fact, during the course of the afterschool program, Cheol

Min often resorted to the ideology of externalization and asserting his Koreanness or indexing his

essence as a Korean to rationalize why he had problems learning and using English words.

Moreover, within the schools, visual cues also signaled that English was external to

Koreans. In the English Zone classrooms at Nicole and Hilda's schools, the walls were decorated

with posters and murals of famous British and American landmarks and icons such as Big Ben,

double-decker buses, and the White House. At the front of Nicole's English Zone classroom,

there were three clocks showing the time zones of Seoul, New York, and London. By presenting

images of tourism outside of Korea, students were supposedly transported to an imagined

English-speaking classroom. Here, English was presented as a language of travel, to be used in

a non-Korean context. In this way, students cannot help but view English as far removed from

their lives and their identity. With English viewed as the language of the Other, acts of

appropriation will not be welcomed, but treated as traitorous to the Korean identity (J.S. Park &

Wee, 2012). For this reason, those who roll their tongue or use "oily pronunciation" are subject to

social sanctions because of their perceived embrace of English and rejection of Korean.

7.6 Conclusion

By analyzing metalinguistic discourse about English, this chapter has made explicit how

dominant the language ideologies of self-deprecation and externalization position teachers in

their relationship to English. The prevalence of the self-deprecation and externalization ideology

has been well documented in Korean society by J.S. Park (2009). In my research, I have

uncovered how these ideologies play out in Korean English teachers' daily interactions and

professional life. In this chapter, we have witnessed the daunting level of anxiety, shame, and stress that result from working as an English teacher and being the constant subject of criticism from the surrounding educational community. Consequently, teachers deny their competence and distance themselves from English in order to avoid scrutiny, which further naturalizes and reproduces ideologies that advance the hegemony of English in Korean society.

With dominant ideologies in constant circulation at the macro-level and being articulated at the micro-level by teachers themselves, it seems impossible for teachers to be satisfied with their English ability because English is constructed as unattainable for Koreans. Ultimately, among teachers there are deep ambivalences in their relationship to English. However, ironically, the confluence of these ideologies leads teachers to perceive more intensive efforts to acquire English are necessary, including support for the TEE policy, at least among elementary-school teachers. (Refer to Chapter 6 for a detailed discussion). As predicated by dominant ideologies, it is only through extreme measures such as English-medium instruction, like the TEE policy, that Koreans can overcome the image of incompetent English speakers. As mentioned in Chapter 6, the TEE policy allows for reconsidering Koreans as legitimate English teachers. In this chapter, we also saw how Korean teachers have resisted the dominance of native English-speaking teachers as ideal English teachers. In this way, the TEE policy offers "implementational spaces" for subverting taken-for-granted notions even within a top-down policy partly premised on the ideology of Koreans as incompetent English speakers (Hornberger, 2002; 2005).

Despite contesting the native English speaker ideology, teachers in my research frequently succumbed to the ideologies of self-deprecation and externalization making it difficult to imagine Koreans appropriating English to the degree they can feel confident using it in the classroom and beyond. Clearly, language ideologies are powerful but not deterministic, so what can be done to interrupt these processes? As Canagarajah (1999) contends, harnessing

speakers' agency can play a major role in challenging ideologies that marginalize linguistic

minorities. For example, providing more concerted efforts akin to the guest lectures at SEEC that

allowed teachers to reflect on the sociopolitical aspects of English can be instrumental in raising

consciousness about oppressive language ideologies that go undetected in Korean society. How

Korean English teachers can specifically overcome these destructive ideologies will be explored

in greater detail in Chapter 8.

Chapter 8: English Fever or English Fatigue?

8.1 Dissertation Précis

In Chapter 1 of this dissertation, I opened with the commonly asked question of "What is the best way to learn English?" by Korean English language learners. While this dissertation cannot provide a response that would satisfy the average learner, this research provides a more informed commentary and analysis about why this question is undeniably complex and charged with social, cultural, political, and linguistic tensions that prevent a concise, definitive answer. By setting out to investigate the TEE policy as enacted by Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education (SMOE), I captured a local community of teachers' response to this measure and connected it with broader, macro sociopolitical structures. Specifically, I illustrated in a concrete, discourse analytic, and ethnographic manner with my research questions guiding my study, how language ideologies about English inform teachers' classroom and metalinguistic practices, and ultimately affect their relationship with English. What follows in this chapter is a précis of the approach of this dissertation and its main findings to illuminate implications and new directions for practitioners, students, and policy makers.

The Building Blocks

As a foundation to understanding why developing an English-language education policy is such a contentious issue, I introduced critical scholarship that problematizes the notion of English as a value-free enterprise that guarantees universal benefits for its learners. As several researchers have indicated, the learning of a global language is constrained by local, social, political, and economic conditions concomitantly influenced by the varied interests of authoritarian groups (Bamgbose, 2006; Pennycook, 2000; Phillipson, 1992; 2008). I supplemented this review of literature with relevant research on the place of English in Korea that demonstrates why

developing an English-language policy does not necessarily serve the best interests of all stakeholders although English is widely perceived to wield considerable symbolic capital. Because English proficiency is inextricably linked to privilege and material wealth, the decision to enact a language policy must also address issues of equality and social mobility.

These concerns are of extreme importance throughout the world, but in Korea, disparities in educational achievement along socioeconomic lines are especially pronounced given the hyper-competitive academic arena and the use of English test scores as gatekeeping measures (S. Lee & Brinton, 1996; Sorenson, 1994). Acutely aware of this pressure-cooker atmosphere, Korean families of all income levels continue to invest heavily in their children's afterschool private education including study abroad to secure a competitive edge for their children's future (S.J. Park & Abelmann, 2004; Seth, 2002). My synthesis of research sheds light on macro-level forces that promote the hegemony of English and also the importance of examining micro-level linguistic and social practices to examine how English is discursively constructed and how local actors defer to dominant ideologies or exercise their agency or a combination of both (Blommaert, 2001; Canagarajah, 1999; Pennycook, 1994).

Armed with a firm grounding in how to approach the role of English in Korea, I focused in on the TEE policy beginning with a basic yet important premise in LPP research: understanding that a given language policy reflects both overt and covert agendas of groups in power (Tollefson, 2006). In conjunction with Spolsky's (2004) model of language policy and Shohamy's (2006) concept of mechanisms, I applied a language ideological framework to examine the multi-layeredness (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996) of the TEE policy. With the assumption that LPP encompasses a wide array of linguistic practices and processes, actors, and interactions (i.e., layers), the task to uncover the motivations behind the TEE policy inherently requires a comprehensive medley of methodological approaches.

Therefore, I employed qualitative discourse analysis to examine policy documents, participants' spoken discourse, and other written artifacts to extract patterns of how participants make sense of English, discursively construct English, and come to understand their relationship with English as teachers and users. In addition, I relied on ethnographic methods specific to the study of LPP (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Johnson, 2009) as a way to maintain a critical eye on potential issues of unequal power relations, considering that a language policy tends to prioritize one group's strategic interests over another's. With this key tenet in mind, I observed and analyzed how teachers interpreted the TEE policy on a day-to-day basis over an extended period noting language choices, positioning of participants, and pedagogical practices in their classrooms. Finally, I honed in on metalinguistic discourse paying attention to how and why language ideologies, such as necessitation, self-deprecation, and externalization identified by other scholars (Kubota, 2002; J.S. Park, 2009; S.J. Park & Abelmann, 2004; Wee, 2003) emerged and under what conditions.

Given the critical stance of my orientation toward English learning, it is worth reiterating why I showcase language ideologies in this study. As other scholars contend, attending to both the micro and macro level is necessary to understand the phenomena of global English (Blommaert, 2001; Canagarajah, 1999; Pennycook, 1994) as it pertains to a local language policy. Observing domains of everyday life for teachers in contexts such as their classrooms, training programs, and non-school life, while ostensibly mundane provided a unique perspective for understanding how teachers interpreted and assigned meaning to English. Moreover, in this approach, hegemony of English cannot be reduced to unilateral forces exercising power over individuals; it is the individuals who also mediate these forces on the ground.

By orienting to the actions and discourses of local actors, I gained an enriched view of how teachers negotiated recurring language ideologies, as well as glimpses of teachers' agency

and resistance. With a better understanding of how language ideologies about English become naturalized by the teachers themselves, not exclusively imposed by influential institutions such as SMOE, it is too naïve and dangerous to believe that a new language policy or teaching methodology can serve as panacea for Korea's English education. Rather, developing a sensitivity to and deeper awareness of Koreans' relationship with English will offer sharper insight for creating more meaningful language policies. (This topic is further addressed in the Implications section.)

Language Policy in the Local Context

Before examining the TEE policy in detail, I followed Pennycook's (2000) recommendation that a language policy cannot be fully understood without explaining the history and current sociocultural context. The history of Korea's English education demonstrates how emphasis on English education has been mobilized to help Korea compete in the global market. Following the Korean War, dependence on the U.S., including the use of English to communicate with U.S. Army advisors, contributed to sowing the seeds of English's importance in Korea. The new post-war administration viewed English proficiency as essential for promoting growth in Korean export industries and enhancing Korea's international reputation.

From the mid-1980s and beyond, discourses of internationalization and globalization emerged with the hosting of major world events such as the 1988 Summer Olympics and reinforced the hegemony of English throughout Korean society. During this period, reforms in English education also reflected these discourses, the emphasis on oral communication skills, and neoliberal economic restructuring following the 1997 Asian financial crisis. Presented in Chapter 5, the discourse analysis of the most recent curriculum reform, the Seventh National

Curriculum enacted in 1997, uncovered ideologies of English as necessity, linguistic instrumentalism, and neoliberalism.

These ideologies support the MOE's promotion of English over other foreign languages as a tool for communication but most notably an economically valuable commodity needed for engagement in the global world. By framing the study of English as essential for Korea's global competitiveness and a logical choice for students (even though English is a mandatory part of the elementary and secondary school curriculum), these ideologies go undetected, present English as common sense, and place the onus on the individual student to acquire English skills for self-development. Moreover, if one fails to master a high level of English proficiency, the individual is held accountable for his or her shortcomings since neoliberalism tends to veil structural inequalities present in the education system.

In 2001, the MOE added an amendment to the Seventh National Curriculum called the TEE policy. Broadly, the TEE policy was aligned with previous reforms that concentrated on improving English education to develop speaking ability, supported the state's global interests, and attempted to restore the public's confidence in English education and reduce private education expenses for families. I focused on SMOE's interpretation and implementation of the TEE policy since SMOE's actions frequently serve as a model for other provinces.

As indicated by its name, the TEE policy assumes that teaching English in English is the most effective method of instruction. The objectives of the policy prioritize oral skills, maximum output, and student-centered instruction, all key features of communicative language teaching (CLT) methodology. (See Appendix B for SMOE's official statement on TEE.) Earlier research on CLT in Korean contexts has demonstrated that despite teachers' positive support of the methodology, classroom practices did not necessarily constitute CLT and were hindered by teachers' English proficiency, large class sizes, and extreme variation in students' English ability

(S. Choi, 2000; Li, 1998).

Despite the TEE policy's emphasis on English, the policy does not preclude the use of Korean as directed by SMOE's official statement. While SMOE does not explicitly endorse the use of Korean, in instances such as grammar explanations, Korean is permitted. Although more detailed recommendations on when and how much use of Korean would be more helpful for English teachers, SMOE's recognition of Korean in the classroom is substantiated by research in second and foreign language pedagogy that encourages the use of the students' L1 to facilitate comprehension (Auerbach, 1993; Cook, 1999; Turnbull, 2001). By supporting the use of Korean, the TEE policy appears to recognize the positive contribution of bilingual Korean English teachers. In conjunction with SMOE's TEE certificate program that confirms a teacher's ability to teach English in English effectively, the TEE policy also confers a certain degree of legitimacy on local teachers as opposed to valorizing only native speakers of English.

Interrogating the TEE Policy

Many elementary school teachers from SEEC were enthusiastic and in agreement about using TEE in the classroom. Regarding the TEE certificate program, some teachers, as well as Supervisor Ma, cited enhanced recognition of their English-teaching ability from peers, principals, and parents since the school community often second-guesses the competence of Korean English teachers. My fieldnotes and interview data also revealed that the TEE policy and TEE certificate program were nevertheless accompanied by questionable outcomes. Both of my focal teachers, Hilda and Nicole, disputed whether the TEE Certificate was indeed designed to improve the quality of English education (FN: 12.07.28).

Other teachers, particularly those with less teaching experience, felt pressure to obtain the TEE certificate for access to better employment and professional development opportunities

in the future. Even though job security is typically guaranteed as a public servant, some English teachers still felt that added credentials such as the TEE certificate were implicitly required to maintain their career. On the other hand, a few teachers were reticent about obtaining the TEE certificate because of the taxing prerequisites for application and because they suspected there would be additional demanding responsibilities such as open-demonstration classes if they were labeled as TEE Ace or Master.

Regardless of whether teachers earned the certificate, there is still no feasible way to monitor if teachers are in fact following the TEE policy. Except for two or three open-demonstration classes held every semester, teachers exercise full autonomy in how they teach English in their classrooms with little to no accountability. Although all elementary teachers are subject to evaluations from students every semester, the evaluations do not address whether teachers adhered to the TEE policy. As we saw in Chapter 6, teachers like Hilda used a minimal amount of English with her students even though the majority of her students would be the ideal candidates for mostly English instruction given their high-level of English proficiency.   In classrooms like Brenda's, where the students are learning English for the first time in school and also struggling academically in all subjects, the decision to use more Korean than English seemed more effective in engaging students and fostering comprehension in English. Moreover, Nicole's inclination toward "teaching to the middle" and frequently ignoring disengaged students also appeared more conducive to following the TEE policy.

Here we see how an individual teacher's interpretation and implementation of the TEE policy is subject to conditions of the local context and teachers' subjectivities. On the surface, the TEE policy seems like a reasonable response to improve English education in Korea, where previously English was generally taught through the medium of Korean. However, the classroom realities such as teachers' English proficiency, wide gaps in students' English proficiency, time

constraints, and problems in classroom management and building rapport with students prevent a wholesale adoption of TEE. Among these challenges, participants cited the broad range of English skills levels among students as the most common and difficult dilemma facing English teachers.

Policy Oversights: The Power of Language Ideologies and the Potential for Resistance

Given this reality, the issue of social reproduction looms large. Part of the rationale for the TEE policy was to improve English instruction so that families could reduce spending for afterschool private institutes because they would be more confident in the quality of public school education. Expenditures for afterschool English education or studying English abroad are sources of anxiety especially for low-income families who still hope to provide their children with better educational opportunities (S.J. Park & Abelmann, 2004). Yet, as teachers from SEEC contended, the TEE policy largely serves those students with a high-level of English proficiency since they are the ones who can actually understand content delivered in English, while others encounter significant difficulties without support in Korean.

Consequently, if applied in the way SMOE intended with limited instruction in Korean, the TEE policy threatens to exacerbate rather than attenuate the class and academic divide between less proficient and highly proficient students. Past research discussed in Chapter 5 has indicated how English becomes a powerful means of inclusion or exclusion in education and employment in Korea. Although it is beyond the scope of this study to determine how effective the TEE policy is for improving students' English achievement and increasing chances for social mobility, the issue of inequality remains of utmost concern for educators and policy makers in Korea when designing a language education policy.

Surely, policy makers and curriculum developers have been aware of the difficulties

plaguing English education in Korea since before the Seventh National Curriculum. Consideration of the current situation begs the question why would this TEE policy rife with challenges for teachers and students be implemented? Based on the qualitative discourse analysis presented in Chapter 7, I argue that the language ideologies of necessitation, self-deprecation, and externalization collectively sustain support for the TEE policy. With each curricular reform since the post-war period becoming more intensive and English classes being introduced earlier and earlier with an increasing number of instructional hours, the MOE has progressively resorted to more extreme measures.

Thus far, the TEE policy stands at the pinnacle of these extreme measures, which I contend is driven by the dominance of the language ideologies I have identified in this dissertation. By observing how language ideologies were situated and articulated in teachers' metalinguistic discourse, I analyzed how teachers constructed a negative image of themselves as English language users and illegitimate language teachers, consequently leading to continuous dissatisfaction and endless struggle to improve their English ability. Even with deep ambivalences in their relationship to and attitude toward English, these ideologies prompt teachers to pursue more intensive efforts to acquire English and support efforts like the TEE policy.

The resulting picture of English education in Korea is unfortunately somewhat grim and a testament to the potency of the reproduction of language ideologies. Nevertheless, the TEE policy as an official directive contains potential for reimagining Koreans as legitimate English teachers by recognizing the bilingual Korean English teacher as one who can teach English in English, especially with a formal certification program. However, the degree to which the TEE policy is more a symbolic gesture for legitimizing Korean English teachers or even a cost-cutting measure to reduce the budget for NESTAs also depends on how and whether dominant language

ideologies can be interrupted and English can be appropriated by teachers.

In Chapter 7, we also saw evidence of how local teachers did not succumb to the prevailing ideology of native English speakers as ideal English teachers. Based on their positive, negative, and mediocre experiences co-teaching with NESTAs and taking classes taught by native English speakers at SEEC, many teachers including my three focal teachers concluded that being a native English speaker did not always guarantee effective English instruction. While this instance should not be considered what Canagarajah (1999, p. 98) calls "radical resistance", teachers' stances toward native English speakers demonstrate their agentive power in rejecting taken-for-granted notions about who qualifies as an English teacher. Such acts can serve as a stepping stone for dismantling other powerful language ideologies. I return to this important concern in the Implications section.

Finally, I would like to address an observation brought up by my participants both during interviews and documented in my fieldnotes on other occasions. When I asked how they felt about the future of English education in Korea, many teachers of all ages teaching in both secondary and elementary schools felt hopeful about the progress of English education because of the younger generation of English teachers. Brenda recounted how national teaching universities have recently improved their curricula to require more rigorous English classes and set higher standards for becoming an English major, so that recent graduates have a better command of English (INT: 11.01.19). Likewise, secondary-level teacher Richard mentioned that many younger teachers have studied English abroad and some had been raised in English-speaking countries (INT: 11.01.13). Due to the access of better opportunities available to new generations of teachers, my participants assumed these teachers would improve the quality of English teaching.

This line of thinking, while comforting, is also somewhat misguided because it overlooks

the role of privilege and class in securing better resources to learn English. As seen in Chapters 2 and 5, linguistic stratification and class reproduction historically remained and continue to remain a barrier for the majority of Koreans to reap English's material and social benefits. Therefore, we cannot conclude that English learners of all socioeconomic classes in Korea will have access to the same opportunities to become proficient English speakers. Moreover, the assumption that recent changes in language teaching methodologies such as CLT instead of the antiquated methods of grammar translation or rote memorization will result in better English skills is also flawed. The evidence presented in Chapter 7 revealed teachers' strong adherence to the ideology of necessitation, self-deprecation, and externalization, where even experienced teachers continued to view themselves as illegitimate English speakers unauthorized to use and make judgments about English.

Given the extreme degree to which participants distance themselves from English, we cannot help but interpret these feelings as ideological constructions that negatively affect their relationship with English. While previous studies (S. Choi, 2000; S. Jung & Norton, 2002; Li, 1998; Y. Butler, 2004) have already documented the lack of confidence among Korean English teachers, based on the evidence in this dissertation we cannot continue to view problems in English education as exclusively due to teachers' lack of English skills or confidence. As this research has illustrated, paying attention to the metalinguistic discourses of the local community reveals how teachers interpret and reproduce language ideologies that deny their competence in English. Ultimately, a more informed approach to developing effective English language education policies should address challenging ideologies that view Koreans as poor English speakers as normative or English as a language of the Other. The following section provides recommendations for how to tackle these urgent issues.

8.2 Implications and New Directions

Taking into consideration the evidence and analysis presented in this dissertation, I contend that for the TEE policy to have an empowering effect on teachers, changes in language ideologies must occur. With the understanding that language is a dynamic social practice, language users can be seen as agents who can negotiate and reshape language ideologies and contest those that oppress and marginalize them. Therefore, I return to the critical scholarship of researchers I reviewed in Chapter 2 to propose how teachers and teacher educators can interrogate these entrenched ideologies in a productive way.

Guided by the objectives of critical pedagogy (Freire, 1970/1993), several scholars endorse critical approaches in English language teaching (Alim, 2010; Canagarajah, 1999; Kubota, 2001; J.S. Park & Wee, 2012, H. Shin & Crookes, 2005, among others). These strategies can liberate English users from the imposition of hegemonic ideologies that perpetuate "dominant cultural, linguistic, and educational notions and practices as neutral and unproblematic and, in this way, conceal relations of domination and subordination in the school system and the pedagogy of language teaching" (Lin, 2004, p. 272). Reimagining an alternative order where Korean English teachers confidently use English requires a significant degree of intervention that can be accomplished through consciousness raising or what Freire (1970/1993) called *conscientização* or *conscientization*, a critical understanding of commonly accepted notions. To reiterate the importance of consciousness raising, I refer back to commentary from J.S. Park and Wee (2012, p. 173, emphasis in original) who advocate for the interrupting of common sense as it relates to scrutinizing the status of English both locally and globally:

> This interruption may be momentary, for it may not be possible to immediately abandon our practices as they are deeply rooted in the routines, habits, and constraints of our daily material lives. Nonetheless, this shows us that it is important to recognize the power of critical reflection in transforming and reconfiguring the linguistic market. In fact, it is *absolutely necessary* that transformation of the linguistic market be grounded on critical

reflection, because without such a perspective, any intervention into the market through policy would simply reintroduce new forms of hierarchical and oppressive structures.

Merely telling teachers to abandon language ideologies firmly rooted in Korean society and articulated by teachers themselves is naïve and unproductive. Instead, I envision professional development opportunities that engage teachers in problematizing the study of English to become more cognizant of social, political, linguistic, and economic factors that enable the acceptance and reproduction of dominant language ideologies and other widely held beliefs about English.

As I reported earlier, SMOE provides English teachers in Seoul with a plethora of professional development workshops, more so than for teachers of other subjects due to the English division's larger budget. These workshops typically target practical matters such as applying various teaching methods and activities to the classroom. To complement practical knowledge, SMOE can enhance its professional development offerings to include rarely discussed topics such as "how to reconceive English as a pluralized global language informed by local norms, functions, and pedagogies…going beyond traditional distinctions like standard and local English, native and non-native speaker teacher, and English as a foreign language" (Canagarajah, 2005, p. xxi). With long-term, systematic professional development sessions that involve dialogic instruction, inquiry-based and collaboratively constructed discussions (Freire, 1970/1993), teachers can increase their awareness of highly naturalized ideologies. Why language ideologies such as externalization, necessitation, and self-deprecation work to prevent teachers from viewing themselves as legitimate English teachers and project English and its associated material benefits as accessible to everyone are just a few examples that merit teachers' attention.

During my field research at SEEC, I was asked by Supervisor Ma to give a special lecture to the trainees when one of the guest lecturers canceled. After three months of listening to the trainees constantly describe their English as "bad English" or "broken English" and their desire to speak like me or another native English-speaking instructor, I felt the need to dispel the "native speaker myth" (Amin, 1997; Braine, 1999; Cook, 1999). I used this time to hold conversations with teachers about the ideological construction of familiar terms such *native speaker* and *Standard English*. In my presentation, I also encouraged trainees to question issues such as race and legitimacy in English language teaching in Korea and presented my own experiences of being racialized when trying to find employment as an English teacher in Korea. The lecture provided a forum for teachers to freely discuss their experiences in teaching and learning English both domestically and abroad and engage in lively debates such as why certain Englishes are more esteemed than others. My overall objective was to foster critical dialogues that reshaped unexamined assumptions and to affirm the knowledge and expertise of the teachers. Admittedly, these were lofty goals for a two-hour lecture. Afterwards, I received many compliments about my presentation because I broached subjects of interest but rarely discussed among Korean English teachers. While I recognized that some of the trainees were being polite with their praise, I felt that I did engage others in alternate ways of thinking about meaningful issues that otherwise receive scant attention.

Under ideal circumstances, professional development workshops would provide more concerted efforts for raising consciousness for Korean English teachers, as the advantages of implementing forms of critical pedagogy for practitioners have been noted in various studies in language education (Goldstein, 2004; Hornberger, 1998; Mortimer, 2012; Norton Peirce, 1989). In their study of non-native TESOL graduate students attending a U.S. university, Brutt-Griffler and Samimy (1999) highlight the value of providing opportunities for questioning taken-for-

granted notions in the field of English language teaching. Below is an excerpt from a Korean

student's journal in Brutt-Griffler and Samimy's (1999, p. 425) study that reveals the power of

critical reflection for practitioners,

> One of the first things that I would like to convince Korean teachers of English of is the belief that they are not necessarily inferior (or superior) teachers of EFL. I want learners of English to have a sense of ownership and empowerment over their English learning; I do not want them to feel as if they are second-class people, vis-à-vis the so-called NS [native speaker] of English... As Kachru (1992) argues, it's time the perceptions regarding ownership of English reflect usage in reality. I want "NNSs" [nonnative speakers] to claim their rightful ownership to English.

Research in Korea also demonstrates that critical pedagogy-based efforts, while limited in

number, are beginning to take hold. While most graduate-level TESOL programs in Korea focus

on traditional curricula such as literature, linguistics, and language skills, K. Sung (2007) reports

on critical English language teaching taking place in a new Master's TESOL program offered at

one Korean university.   To avoid alienating practitioners with authoritative and academic

discourses prevalent in critical pedagogy literature (Lin, 2004), K. Sung (2007) and his colleagues

developed courses that incorporated interdisciplinary perspectives in the study of theory,

methods, and research with critical pedagogy according to students' practical needs and

interests. As K. Sung's (2007) research has illustrated, providing teachers a comfortable space

to understand the sociocultural, economic, and political issues intertwined with English-language

teaching allows for reflexivity and the localizing of pedagogical knowledge. Equipped with a

deeper understanding of English and its related ideological constructions, teachers also serve as

agents of change and through their language practices destabilize ideologies that maintain the

status quo.

8.3 Conclusion

Without the opportunity to critically reflect on the role of English in Korean society, practitioners will likely face an uphill battle in the appropriation of English since they will continue to perceive themselves as illegitimate teachers of English. If the past curricular reforms are any indication of the future, we can expect more aggressive English-education language policies if dominant language ideologies continue to propel themselves unchecked. At present, since Korea's pursuit of English or the so-called *English Fever* does not appear to be waning, critical intervention is required before *English Fever* inevitably leads to *English Fatigue*, where teachers and learners helplessly view English as unattainable but necessary. It is my great hope that the findings of this study will help to advance our understanding of the role language ideologies play in shaping language policies not only in Korea but worldwide, so that future policies address the needs of the local community in a way that positively transforms teachers' and students' relationship with English.

Appendix A: Map of the Seoul English Education Center (SEEC)

Facility Guide 시설 안내

Legend:
- 1 Main Entrance
- 2 Mini Playground
- 3 Work Out Area
- 4 World Building
- 5 Future Building
- 6 To the World 1 (Africa, Europe, Asia, Korea)
- 6-1 To the World 2 (Oceania)
- 6-2 To the World 3 (South America, North America)
- 7 Outdoor Stage
- 8 Parking Lot 1
- 8-1 Disabled Parking
- 8-2 Parking Lot 2
- 9 Playground

World Building 본관동	3rd floor 3층	Student's Dormitory 학생숙소 21실, School Teacher's Dormito 인솔교사숙소, Inspector's Office 사감실 Trainee's Dormitory 연수교사숙소 5실, Assistant's Dormitory 교육요원숙소 3실, Storage 린넨실
	2nd floor 2층	Situational Experience Room 체험학습실 21실, Auditorium 강당
	1st floor 1층	Situational Experience Room 체험학습 2실, Trainee's Classroom 연수교사 강의실 6실 Cafeteria & Amenities 식당 및 부대시설, Lounge 라운지, Preparation Room 자료준비실 Clinic 보건실, Administration Staff Dormitory 지원팀 숙소 2실, Night Duty Room 숙직실
	Basement 지하 1층	Electrical Room 전기실, Micellaneous 기타활동실, Carpenter's Room 목공실 Boiler Room 보일러실, Storage 창고 2실, Laundry 세탁실
Future Building 관리동	4th floor 4층	Trainee's Dormitory 연수교사 숙소 19실, Laundry 세탁실
	3rd floor 3층	Native Teacher's Dormitory 원어민 교사 숙소 15실 Faculty Member's Dormitory 교육지도팀 숙소 4실, Laundry 세탁실
	2nd floor 2층	Native Teacher's Office 원어민교사 연구실, Elementary Teacher's Research Lab 초등연수교사실 Secondary Teacher's Research Lab 중등연수교사실, Lounge 라운지, Gym 체력단련실
	1st floor 1층	Director's Office 원장실, Faculty Room 지도실, Administration Office 운영지원실 Conference Room 회의실, Server Room 서버실, Printing Room 인쇄실, Lounge 라운지 휴게실

*Note: Areas labeled 6, 6-1, and 6-2 are additional recreational facilities.

Appendix B: SEEC Teacher Trainee Demographics

Table 1. Demographics of Elementary Trainees

Name/Number	Gender	Total Years of Teaching Experience	Total Years of English Teaching Experience	Notes
1	F	10.5	1.5	
2	M	31.5	0	
3	F	4.5	3	
4	F	10.5	1	
5	F	6.5	4	
6	F	9.5	3	
7	F	11.5	3	
8	F	7.5	1.5	
9	F	25	1	
10	F	4.5	.5	
11	F	21.5	3	
12	F	4.5	3.5	
13	F	3.5	2	
14	F	9.5	3	
15	F	6.5	2	
16	F	4	3	
17	F	3.5	2.5	
18	F	5.5	1	
19	M	10.5	0	
20	F	6.5	2.5	

21	F	8.5	8.5	English Major
22	F	8.5	2	
23	F	3.5	3.5	English Major

Appendix B continued: SEEC Teacher Trainee Demographics

Table 2. Demographics of Secondary Trainees

Name/Number	Gender	Total Years of Teaching Experience	Total Years of English Teaching Experience	Notes[11]
1	F	8.5	8.5	
2	F	4.5	4.5	
3	M	24.5	24.5	
4	M	18.5	18.5	
5	M	33.5	24.5	
6	M	28	28	
7	M	18.5	18.5	
8	M	25.5	8.5	Formerly a German teacher
9	M	8	8	
10	M	22.5	22.5	
11	M	23.5	23.5	
12	M	15.5	15.5	
13	F	31.5	31.5	
14	M	25.5	25.5	
15	F	31.5	31.5	

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[11] All secondary teachers are required to be English majors except in rare cases such as Teacher #8 who majored in German but transitioned to English after the elimination of German-language classes.

Appendix C: MOE's English Achievement Standards for Elementary School

(from http://www.moe.go.kr/main.do)

Achievement Standards

< Third grade >
A. Listening
(a) discern the sounds, stresses, rhythm, and intonations of English.
(b) understand vocabulary about familiar objects.
(c) understand commonly used expressions such as greetings.
(d) act according to easy and simple commands of one or two sentences.
(e) listen to one or two sentences and choose the appropriate picture.
(f) listen to and understand easy and simple songs or chants.
(g) listen to and understand simple and easy games.
(h) understand basic conversations about personal daily life.

B. Speaking
(a) correctly pronounce the stresses, rhythm, and intonations of English.
(b) say the names of familiar objects.
(c) use greetings and commonly used expressions.
(d) look at real objects or pictures, and explain them in one sentence.
(e) make simple questions and answers about individuals' daily lives.
(f) sing along with easy and simple chants and song.
(g) participate in simple games.
(i) introduce themselves with one or two sentences.

C. Reading
(a) discern the printed alphabet in capital and small letters.
(b) understand the relationship between sounds and spellings.
(c) read along with easy and simple words.
(d) understand easy and simple words through pictures, objects, and actions.

D. Writing
(a) write the alphabet in capital and small letters.
(b) write orally acquired words.

< Fourth grade >
A. Listening
(a) understand simple conversations about daily life.
(b) understand simple speeches about surrounding objects and people.
(c) follow easy and simple commands.
(d) listen to simple conversations and understand where and when they occur.
(e) listen to and understand easy and simple role plays.
(f) listen to simple, clear instructions, and carry out simple tasks.
(g) listen to and understand simple speeches about the past.

Appendix C continued: MOE's English Achievement Standards for Elementary

School (from http://www.moe.go.kr/main.do)

B. Speaking
(a) ask and answer questions about daily life using easy and simple expressions.
(b) look at objects or pictures and explain them in one or two sentences.
(c) talk about surrounding objects and people in a couple of sentences.
(d) give one- or two-sentence commands.
(e) participate in simple role plays, and act and talk appropriately.
(f) speak briefly about the past.

C. Reading
(a) understand the general relationship between sounds and spellings.
(b) read aloud easy and simple words.
(c) read and understand easy and simple words and phrases.
(d) find and read words and phrases after listening to them.
(e) read along with easy and simple sentences.

D. Writing
(a) listen to and write easy words based on the relationship between sounds and spellings.
(b) write a word that describes an object or a picture.
(c) copy short and easy words.

< Fifth grade >
A. Listening
(a) listen to a simple speech or dialogue and understand the order of events.
(b) listen to and understand the main points of a simple speech or conversation.
(c) listen to a simple speech or dialogue, and understand the situation.
(d) understand simple telephone conversations.
(e) listen to and understand explanations about objects and pictures.
(f) listen to simple instructions and carry out the task.

B. Speaking
(a) make appropriate questions and answers to a situation using simple expressions.
(b) listen to a short speech and dialogue and talk about the main idea.
(c) speak briefly about a simple picture or situation according to the order of events.
(d) make an order or request in two or three consecutive sentences.
(e) carry on a simple telephone conversation.

C. Reading
(a) read aloud easy and simple sentences.
(b) read and understand easy and simple sentences.
(c) read aloud according to English stress, rhythm, and intonation.
(d) read names of familiar objects and signs in the environment.

Appendix C continued: MOE's English Achievement Standards for Elementary

School (from http://www.moe.go.kr/main.do)

D. Writing
(a) write easy words and phrases.
(b) look at objects and pictures and write a sentence, using an example sentence as a guide.
(c) write capital and small letters in print and with punctuation.

< Sixth grade >
A. Listening
(a) listen to simple speeches or conversations, and understand the main idea.
(b) listen to simple speeches or conversations, and understand the details.
(c) listen to simple speeches or conversations and understand the intention or the purpose.
(d) listen to what will happen and understand it.
(e) understand simple conversations in which the speakers ask for reasons and reply.
(f) understand simple speeches or conversations about contrasting objects.
(g) understand a simple telephone conversation and write down requested information.

B. Speaking
(a) listen to simple speeches or conversations about daily life, and ask and answer questions about the details.
(b) carry out a simple telephone conversation.
(c) speak briefly about themselves and familiar objects in the environment.
(d) answer questions related to daily life.
(e) speak briefly about the future.

C. Reading
(a) read a short and easy writing about daily life and understand the main idea.
(b) read and understand a short writing about one's personal life.
(c) read and understand a short writing with a table.
(d) read an easy story and summarize it.

D. Writing
(a) write a sentence about a daily life story with words and phrases.
(b) write a short birthday card and a thank-you card.
(c) write a short and simple text about self and family using an example sentence as a guide.

Appendix D: SMOE's TEE Policy Statement in Korean

(from www.sen.go.kr)

TEE란?

TEE = Teaching English in English

- 영어수업 중 교사-학생 간, 학생-학생 간의 활동을 영어로 진행하는 상황을 의미

- 어려운 문법 설명 등을 제외한 대부분의 내용을 영어로 진행하며 교사는 학생들의 영어 사용기회를 최대한 확대

- 한 차시 수업 진행의 영어 사용 비율은 학습 내용이나 학생 수준 및 이해 정도에 따라 탄력적으로 적용

목적

- 영어교사의 TEE 능력 제고를 통한 학생의 영어의사소통능력 신장

- 초등 우수 영어교과전담교사의 안정적, 지속적 확보

  흥미롭고 재미있는 학생 중심 수업으로 영어 교실수업 방법 개선

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