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2015년 8월

석사학위논문

Nationalistic Appropriation of Globalization and its Cultural Practices

- Foreign English Teachers in Korea -

조선대학교 대학원

신문방송학과

Julia KATONA

Nationalistic Appropriation of Globalization and its Cultural Practices

- Foreign English Teachers in Korea -

전지구화의 민족주의적 전유와 문화실천:
한국 거주 외국인 영어교사의 사례를 중심으로

2015년 8월 25일

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국문초록

전지구화의 민족주의적 전유와 문화 실천

한국 거주 외국인 영어교사의 사례를 중심으로

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전지구화 또는 글로벌화는 한국에서도 뚜렷하게 일어나고 있는 현상이다. 기술적 • 경제적 발전, 또는 미디어, 이주, 민주주의적 변화들을 통해서 한국 역시 다른 나라들과 마찬가지로 글로벌화 되고 있다. 반면, 한국의 역사적 배경에서 초래된 민족주의적 사고와 정책들이 실행되는 과정에서, 전지구화 현상의 흐름을 민족주의적인 가치나 지역적 목표에 맞추어 해석하고 활용하는 경향이 있다. 따라서 한국에서의 전지구화는 삶의 모든 측면에서 균등하게 일어난다고 보기 어렵다. 오히려 한국적 민족주의를 기반으로 하여 전지구화의 복합적인 흐름이 부분적으로 수용되거나 거부되고, 때로는 특정한 방식으로 전유(appropriation)되는 현상으로 나타난다고 볼 수 있다.

이러한 복합적인 전지구화의 양상을 보여주는 대표적인 사례가 한국의 영어교육이다. 한국에서의 영어교육은 원래 1990년대 이후 가속화된 전지구화를 배경으로

본격 시행되기 시작했고, 영어실력을 높이는 것은 결국 개인과 나라의 경쟁력을 높이는 것과 다름없다는 전제 아래 더욱 강화되고 있다. 오늘날 한국에 거주하는 외국인 영어교사들은 대부분 한국에서의 영어교육 발전과 전지구화 사상의 확산을 위해서 고용되고 있다. 따라서 외국인 영어교사들을 초빙하는 정책과 영어교육 프로그램의 설립과 실행은 영어 교육 수준 향상과 전지구화의 확산을 통해서 국제시장에서의 한국의 경쟁력을 높이려고 하는 것이다.

그러나 이처럼 전지구화의 목표 아래 시행되는 영어교육이 한국의 상황이나 문화와 맞물려 갈등을 빚는 경우가 적지 않다. 한국에서의 전지구화에 대한 특수한 해석과 민족을 중심으로 한 목표들, 그리고 외국의 영향을 받아들이는 방식 등은 한국에서 거주하는 외국인들과 한국인들 간에 갈등과 오해 등을 초래하기도 한다. 본 연구는 한국에 거주하는 외국인 영어교사들이 한국에서의 전지구화와 이와 관련된 문화적 실천을 어떻게 경험하는가를 살펴봄으로써, 한국적 전지구화의 특수한 의미와 과정을 탐색하고자 했다.

구체적인 연구는 외국인 영어교사들과의 서면 조사와 면대면 인터뷰를 통한 질적 문화연구 방법을 취했다. 한국에서의 전지구화의 해석과 실천을 외국인 영어교사들이 어떻게 경험하고 영향을 받고 있는가를 살펴보고자 했다. 인터뷰와 조사 결과를 심층 인터뷰 연구방법을 통해서 해석하고 외국인 영어교사들의 응답에서 나타나는 문화적 현상들을 설명했다.

연구 결과, 한국에 거주하는 외국인 영어교사들은 한국을 반 글로벌화 된 (semi-globalized) 나라로 보고 있으며 기술적이고 경제적인 측면에서 전지구화 되었지만 문화적인 측면에서는 아직까지 전지구화 되지 못했다는 의견을 가진 것으로 나타났다. 이러한 ‘반 전지구화 현상’은 과거의 역사적 배경과 현재의 강한 신자유주의적 환경에 의해 발생한다고 볼 수 있으며, 한국에 거주하는 외국인

들의 문화적 적응을 방해하는 경향이 있다.

한국에서는 ‘외국인’이라는 개념 자체가 ‘백인 서양인’이라는 특정 집단을 의미하는 방식으로 사용되는 경우가 많으며, 이 때문에 일상 속에서 ‘외국인’이라는 말은 ‘백인’ 또는 ‘서양인’과 동일시되기도 한다. 한국인은 외국인의 개념에 맞지 않는 아시아인 혹은 외국인에 대한 고정관념에 맞지 않는 외국인을 이상해하거나 ‘진짜’ 외국인이라고 생각하지 않는 경향이 있다. 따라서 ‘외국인’이라는 호칭 속에는 타자의 개인적 특성과 여러 문화의 다양성을 무시하고 모호하게 만드는 한국의 문화적 관념이 담겨 있다고 할 수 있다.

한국인에게 외국인은 백인 서양인을 의미하며, 실제로 한국에 고용되는 외국인 영어교사들은 대부분 백인이거나 서구의 영어권 국가에서 온다. 외국인들이 한국에 영어교사로 고용될 때도 영어를 모국어로 하는 서구권 국가의 백인인가의 여부가 중요하게 고려된다. 이들에게 부여된 교사로서의 역할은 ‘영어를 하는 외국인의 모습을 보일 것’, 그리고 학생들이 외국인을 만나고 영어를 직접 듣게 되는 것을 부모에게 보여주기 위한 것이다. 결국 ‘우리 학교에 외국인이 있다’는 것은 학교의 이미지를 ‘글로벌’한 것으로 만들어 경쟁력을 향상시키는 것이다. 이는 일종의 ‘토크니즘(tokenism)’, 즉 ‘명목적 생색내기’라고 할 수 있으며, 외국인이라는 소수자를 상징적으로 고용하고 활용하는 것이다. 현재 외국인 영어교사의 고용과 관련된 정책 및 사회적 실천도 외국인의 국적과 역할을 제한하고 있다. 따라서 영어 교육의 영어 실력 개선 효과가 이루어지지 못하게 된다.

앞에서 보듯이, 외국인의 개념이 제한돼 있고 외국인이라는 속성이 상징이 되며 한국에 거주하는 외국인들의 다양성이 제한된다. 또는 외국인 영어교사의 국적이 통제되며 영어와 영어권 나라들, 그리고 영어를 사용하는 나라들의 다양성에 접근할 수 없게 된다. 미디어에서도 유사하게 다양성이 제한되며 다양한 문화에 접근

하지 못하기 때문에 외국에 대한 이미지, 개념, 고정관념 등은 그대로 있다. 따라서 영어 교육의 전지구화 확산 목표는 이루어지기 힘들다.

현재 한국에서의 영어교육은 외국인 영어교사를 고용하여 얻을 수 있는 목표를 제대로 달성하기 못했다. 영어실력을 높이기 위해서 외국인 영어교사를 초빙했지만 한국의 교육 제도, 또는 영어교육제도가 외국인 교사를 고용하기에 아직 제대로 준비되지 않는 상태다. 외국인을 상징으로 고용하는 것도 영어교육의 질과 수준을 위태롭게 한다. 또는 외국인 영어교사의 다양성을 제한하며 문화 간의 이해와 전지구화의 확산이라는 목표를 달성하기 힘들게 만들고 있다.

마지막으로, 외국인 영어교사 고용과 관련된 정책과 문화적 실천을 개선하기 위해서 몇 가지 제안을 하겠다. 외국인 영어교사들을 영어교육에 투입함으로써 얻고자 했던 목표가 제대로 달성되지 못하고 있는 것으로 보이기 때문에, 영어교사 고용 프로그램을 재평가할 필요가 있다. 단순히 전지구화의 명목만을 위한 영어교사 고용 프로그램을 중단하고, 무조건 외국인 영어교사를 고용하기보다 전반적인 영어교육 수준의 향상과 한국인 영어교사의 실력 개선에 노력에 장기적인 투자를 하는 것이 더욱 좋을 것이다.

1. Introduction

Globalization is a more and more apparent phenomenon in today' s world. Businesses, different industries, financial institutions, politics, and culture are becoming increasingly interconnected, interdependent, and globalized through technological development such as the development of transportation and media. Although these globalizing processes tend to be thought of as homogenizing or uniting the world, nations, ethnic groups, and cultures retain their own characteristic features. Globalization seems to strengthen nationalistic attitudes through resistance to globalizing flows. Nations and states retain their agency in selecting, interpreting, and appropriating flows of globalization for their own purposes.

Globalization inevitably brings with itself growing levels of mobility of people, goods, and ideas. Even though states can reject globalization and/or appropriate it for their own purposes, international migration forces them to face the reality of cultural clash, cultural mixing, blending, or hybridization. How a state handles the issues of cultural change, cultural conflict, racism, tokenism, and multiculturalism can affect other flows of globalization.

Globalizing processes in South Korea became more apparent in the 1990s, when globalizing policies were pursued to enhance the competitiveness of Korea in the global market. While globalizing forces made it inevitable to create these policies, there have been strong nationalistic sentiments

expressed, that are based on Korea's history of Japanese colonialism and the Korean War. Globalization seemed both to be a tool to support the development of Korea and a threat to national identity. Therefore, Korean policymakers chose to appropriate globalizing flows in order to achieve the state's nationalistic goals of strengthening the economy by enhancing competitiveness locally and globally. One of the policies implemented in the 1990s was the reform of English education and the establishment of English teaching programs that invite foreign English teachers (mostly native speakers of English) to Korea.

Nowadays, English has become a global language; however, English is considered to be a foreign language in Korea. Furthermore, it is considered to be a tool and a cultural capital to enhance both individual and national competitiveness. Through the nationalistic appropriation of English education and of English as a global language, English teaching programs have been established to both improve the English skills of Korean people and advance globalization through personal experiences with foreigners. Yet only certain varieties of English and people with certain citizenships are accepted to be 'English authorities' in the classroom. Visa policies restrict the citizenship of instructors of English as a foreign language to seven countries: the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. In recent years, the number of foreign English teachers working in Korea has come close to 20,000 people. Through government programs and other employment opportunities, it is

possible to say that almost all school-aged children in Korea have or have had personal contact with foreign English teachers in some context.

The presence of this particular migrant group has raised several questions about globalization and globalizing policies in Korea. First, the influx of foreign English teachers has been supported by globalizing government policies, whose goals and implementation are explicitly nationalistic. Second, cultural clashes with foreign English teachers reveal that Korea might not be ready for such globalizing efforts, making everyday life harder for foreigners.

Unfortunately, there is a lack of research regarding the cultural practices surrounding the appropriation of globalization for nationalistic and local purposes through the experiences of foreigners. This thesis aims to examine how a certain group of foreigners, namely foreign English teachers have experienced policies and cultural practices that reflect Korean-style globalization. In addition, it aspires to evaluate whether the employment of foreign English teachers has achieved its globalizing goals.

To explore this in detail, foreign English teachers have been asked about their experiences in Korea through written and personal in-depth interviews. Based on the responses to the interview questions, this thesis aims to explore two issues: how foreign English teachers experience Korean cultural practices of appropriating globalization for nationalistic purposes; and whether the invitation of foreign teachers has produced the changes expected by policy makers. Also, the idea that foreign teachers are necessary for

Korea's globalization and the improvement of the English language skills of Korean people will be challenged shortly. Lastly, some recommendations for policy changes will be made.

2. Literature review

2.1 Globalization and global culture

A. Globalization theories

Globalization is a phenomenon that has affected almost everyone on the globe. Whether it is the food we eat, the clothes we buy, or the car we drive, it is hard to find goods whose production is not dependent on other countries in at least some degree. The same is true for people: we travel, learn languages, get to know people from other countries, and some even have relatives living in different parts of the world. Information, ideas, and ideology are also spreading across states through media such as television, newspapers, and the internet.

What is globalization? Sometimes it is defined as time or space compression, where spatial distances do not matter anymore (see for example Robertson, 1992; Harvey, 1991). Time has been compressed because of the ever accelerating speed of goods, people, and information moving around (Tomlinson, 1999; Held et al., 1999). The annihilation of space is possible

because of technological developments and connections between different parts of the world. In their comparative study of the definitions of globalization, Al-Rodhan and Stoudmann defined globalization as a “process that encompasses the causes, course, and consequences of transnational and transcultural integration of human and non-human activities” (2006, p. 2). Giddens pointed out that events happening far away affect local communities and vice versa (1991, p. 64). In other words, different parts of the world have become interdependent on each other (see Holton, 2005; Held et al., 1999; Guillén, 2001a). These phenomena are then conceptualized in a global consciousness, where people see the world as global and themselves as part of a global world (Robertson, 1992; Holton, 2005).

Appadurai (1996, pp. 33–36) conceptualized globalization as having different flows which are not globalized in the same way. This often causes disjunctures in the general global flow. The five flows of globalization are defined by Appadurai as financescapes, ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, and idioscapes. This conceptualization of globalization is useful here to summarize some key concepts and phenomena of globalization.

The term ‘financescapes’ refers to the movement and distribution of global capital. States are interdependent on each other when it comes to finance, trade, or economic growth. The appearance of multinational companies, the growth of foreign investments, and the spread of capitalism are good examples of this interdependence. In relation to capitalism, neoliberalism has been a hot topic in globalization research, since

globalization is often understood as economic globalization and neoliberal economic globalization (Cox, 1996; Martell, 2010). Capitalism operates under keywords such as free markets, profit orientation, and private ownership; neoliberalism takes this a step further and proposes that any regulation of markets limits their ‘freedom’ and thus limits free competition (Hall, 2011, p. 707). Neoliberalism argues for competition, social Darwinism, and deregulation, where only the fittest, smartest, and richest can survive on the global market.

Another flow of globalization is referred to as ‘ethnoscapes’, meaning the movement and mobility of people. The development of transportation and communication has enabled people to move around the world spatially, socially, and in their imagination more freely than before (Appadurai, 1996). One consequence of this heightening mobility is the growing urbanization of the world; in other words, people are moving into cities in increasing numbers. Deterritorialization, the weakening of borders and controls between states, has proliferated migration as well. Today, migration is considered to be a growing influence on states and cultures migrants enter, as cultures clash, coexist, or mix into new hybrid forms (Martell, 2010).

‘Mediascapes’ encompasses globalized media contents and the distribution of media technologies in the world. The globalization of media is often called Americanization in some contexts and cultural imperialism in other contexts. It is a fact that American cultural products and texts (movies, television series, or music) are exported to many countries around

the world. Although through the Internet, media contents from any part of the world are available in other parts of the world almost instantaneously, American media and ways of creating media still dominate local media in many places. Cultural imperialism is apparent in the fact that English has become a global language that one has to know to gain access to knowledge, information, and social and material goods unavailable in many other languages.

The development and distribution of technology around the world is coined in the term ‘technoscapes’ . Electric appliances, vehicles, manufacturing technology, or advances in computation are all great examples of the development of technology. Today not only personal computers or the internet but smartphones too have become part of our everyday cultural practices - although not in every part of the world. Technological development has made the globalization of finance, trade, and economy possible while it facilitated migration as well.

The last flow of globalization in Appadurai’ s model is called ‘ideoscapes’ . Ideas and ideologies such as democratization, human rights, or freedom are included in this flow. These ideas often reflect western ways of thinking, thus globalization of such ideas and ideologies can be called Westernization as well.

Similarly to Appadurai’ s five flow model, Guillén (2001a) pointed out that globalization is not a unified flow or process; it is neither uniform, nor irreversible, or unstoppable. According to Guillén, globalization is “a

fragmented, incomplete, discontinuous, contingent, and in many ways contradictory and puzzling process” (p. 238). Globalization processes seem to appear differently and on different levels in the economy, the financial sector, politics, international migration, technological development, and current academic research.

Therefore, globalization is both complex and in process, not homogeneous or unidirectional, with uncertain outcomes (Martell, 2010). At the same time, states, institutions, and individuals might react to globalization in different ways leading to different outcomes in different contexts. Two of these outcomes can be summarized under the concepts of convergence, homogenization, and universalism as opposed to localization, nationalism and nationalistic appropriation of globalization.

B. Convergence, homogenization, and global culture

Globalization's general trend shows that states are increasingly interdependent on each other in many ways, while influencing each other immensely. This results in more and more homogenized and convergent forms of business, politics, culture, and so on. Supporters of the convergence theory state that the world is becoming more similar, more homogenous, more standardized, and more Westernized or Americanized. Convergence theory and McLuhan's (1964/1994) 'global village' concept expect the world to move towards a global, homogenous, and unifying culture that will wipe out the differences between countries and cultures. The first wave of globalization

theory called ‘globalist’ theory is supporting this homogenizing view of globalization as well (Martel, 2010).

However, researchers have been skeptical about such outcomes, often because empirical evidence does not support claims of convergence. In Boyer’s extensive review of convergence theory, he came to the conclusion that convergence is neither universal nor an automatic result of globalization (1993). In a similar fashion, Guillén (2001a) argued that uniform homogeneity is unlikely to occur, while Giddens (1990) emphasized that globalization fragments cultures rather than homogenizes them. Garrett pointed out that when it comes to economic policies and participation in the global economy, cross-country differences seem to be enduring (1998). It is also clear that different countries follow “different paths of incorporation into the global economy” (Guillén, 2001a, p.246). Each country applies different and unique economic policies and organizational forms even in the unifying flow of globalization. Through case studies of Argentina, South Korea, and Spain, Guillén (2001b) showed that each of these countries has followed a different path of economic policies and organizational forms, even while they became more and more integrated into the global economy.

C. Localization, nationalism, and the nationalistic appropriation of globalization

Along with supporters of theories of convergence and homogenization, researchers skeptical of such phenomena have voiced their opinions as well. Both the empirical evidence against convergence and the apparent strengthening of nationalism (for example, in conflicts in Eastern Europe in the 1990s) point towards the possibility of uneven and sporadic globalization.

In several flows of globalization, convergence cannot be proved; moreover, nationalistic sentiments and protectionism against globalization seem to be growing stronger. Smith (1995), who has been researching nationalism for a long time, explained that global culture cannot fulfill people's need for a sense of belonging, rootedness, and security that a national or ethnic culture can; therefore, national identity becomes more apparent and reinforced through globalization.

Whether it is global media or global culture, their meanings are mediated by local contexts and culture (Martell, 2010, p. 94). Global discourse and globalization processes are always embedded in local contexts - if there were no nations, local cultures, or nation states, the term globalization would be meaningless, since there would be no local processes to transcend or connect. Smith pointed out that global culture as such does not exist:

even within one ‘culture’ there are several different beliefs, values, and ways of lives or ‘cultures’ (1990, p. 171).

Globalization often brings resistance to the ideologies and practices that it endorses, encouraging local cultural practices and strengthening nationalism. Most states make sense of this contradiction by appropriating globalization to national or local purposes, choosing ideas or flows of globalization that are acceptable to their goals and resisting others that are threatening to those goals. Appadurai (1996, pp. 4, 21) stated that both individuals and nation states appropriate, interpret, and make use of globalization in their own ways, for their own purposes. Appadurai argued that the reason for such appropriation is the resistance, irony, and selectivity that mass media and other flows of globalization have brought about. In short, the forces of globalization have resulted in the agency of groups and individuals, which means that they select particular flows of globalization, appropriate them in their own way, and make use of them for their own purposes.

In a similar fashion, Shin explained that nation states react to globalization and are “proactive in maximizing what globalization has to offer”. He concludes that globalization can be “proactively appropriated for nationalist goals” and globalization can “intensify, rather than weaken, ethnic/national identity in reaction” (2003, p. 8).

D. Global flows of migration and changing ethnoscares

The growing mobility of people and the tension between global flows and local interests have resulted in a situation where states and cultures have to face changes in their 'ethnoscares' or issues with migration, whether they are accepting or resisting globalization. The biggest of these issues is whether the cultural integration of ethnically and/or culturally different groups is possible. If globalization is seen as homogenizing, then different, co-existing cultures will become homogenized as well. According to Martell, this 'homogenization perspective' sees culture as becoming more Westernized through the globalization of media and especially through the spread of American media and media companies (2010, p. 90). Some call this kind of globalization cultural imperialism, as homogenization happens by the dominance of Western or American media. Certainly, forms of consumption or cosmopolitan lifestyle show similarities throughout the world.

However, local differences never disappear; rather, the blending of global influences and local agency creates a hybrid culture (Martell, 2010; Neverdeen Pieterse, 2004). Unfortunately, the answer is not simply either homogenization or hybridization when two cultures meet. Issues of multiculturalism, tokenism, or cultural diversity are to be considered and dealt with both culturally and policy-wise. At the center of this is the cultural diversity of human populations, which is both inevitable because of the growing mobility of people and beneficial to states and cultures. The

UNESCO stated in their *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* (2001, Article 1) that

As a source of exchange, innovation and creativity, cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature. In this sense, it is the common heritage of humanity and should be recognized and affirmed for the benefit of present and future generations.

Therefore, states must consider cultural diversity and multiculturalism (which refers to the policies and laws about cultural diversity) to the benefit of both their own population and to migrant populations. Unfortunately, some states, cultures, or societies do not handle these issues well. Prejudice, discrimination, ethnic stratification, conflict, racism, tokenism etc. are some of the phenomena surrounding relations between majority and minority groups, or simply different ethnic groups (see Marger, 2000 for more on racial and ethnic relations). For example, to present a more ‘multicultural’ image, some states or ethnic groups employ tokenism of other ethnic groups. Tokenism refers to the symbolic use of members of other ethnic groups to present a superficial image of diversity. The concept of tokenism originates from the racial issues in the United States during the 1950s. However, as being part of a ‘tokenized’ minority group, Martin Luther King Jr. described tokenism as having minimal benefits towards the black minority in the US in 1963 (1964/2000).

Globalization spreads and advances through many different flows in many different ways in different parts of the world. As the mobility of people is increasing, whether globalized or not globalized, states and cultures have to face the reality of cultural diversity. How it is handled can determine the future of states, as cultural diversity can lead to a better economic and political situation, and can affect a state in many different ways. Therefore, states must consider their multicultural policies and laws well.

The next section looks at globalization and its nationalistic appropriations in Korea. It focuses on cultural issues and discusses the globalization of Korean culture and multicultural policies, too.

2.2 Korea' s globalization

A. Flows of globalization and nationalism in Korea

The flows of globalization or segyehwa (세계화) have become accelerated in Korea during the Kim Young-sam (김영삼) regime in the 1990s. The internationalization of finance and trade, multinational companies, overseas manufacturing, democratization, technological development, the influence of the US, as well as growing emigration and immigration have all been both the catalysts and the results of globalization in Korea.

Korea' s globalization was initiated by the government as a top-down reform, mostly focusing on the internationalization of the Korean economy.

The purpose of globalization was to enhance the competitiveness of Korea in the global market (Kim, 2000). Korea's globalization ideology was not the same as globalization generally understood around the world, but it represented the globalization of the Korean economy for national purposes.

According to Gills, globalization refers to the “changing conditions of the global village” and a new mindset required by these changing conditions, as well as a “new vision and strategy” needed to become a developed global country (1996, p. 677). Historically, struggling for survival after the Korean War and the following development of Korea (for example, the dictatorships after the Korean War and the 1997 financial crisis) have not secured Korea's place in the global market, giving rise to a social Darwinist and survivalist ideology of globalization summarized by the slogan “globalize or perish.” Policies regarding the economy, education, administration etc. have been created and implemented for this survivalist purpose.

In other words, Korean globalization has been endorsed by the Korean government for economic growth. On the one hand, the government encouraged the expansion of businesses abroad, creation and maintenance of political ties, the reform of English language education, and the promotion Korean culture. On the other hand, the government restricted imports of certain foreign goods, foreign media contents, and immigration to Korea. Therefore, the Korean government supported flows of globalization that helped the development of the country while it intervened in or restricted other flows

that would endanger local culture and local goals. Several East Asian countries such as China or Singapore have applied this same strategy of appropriating globalization for local growth (Martell, 2010). This hints at a nationalistic appropriation of global flows.

At the same time, nationalism in Korea has been quite apparent in the last few decades. Joo (2014) recounted how modern Korean nationalism has evolved and how it interplays with globalization in the Korean context. Originally, Korean nationalism was a reaction to the threat of the states surrounding Korea. In addition, nationalism was based on nation-making myths that promoted the value of Korean history, culture and language (for example the mythical figure of Dan-gun / 단군). During the Japanese colonial period, the same reactive nationalism became mixed with racial nationalism, while the post-colonial period saw the rise ethnic nationalism, i.e. Koreans as an ethnic group. Later, nationalism bloomed under dictatorship; Park Jung-hee (박정희) has “appropriated foreign civilization and economic growth for nationalist agenda.” At the same time, he tried to “preserve and revitalize national culture and identity” (Joo, 2014, p. 301).

In the 1990s when globalization became more apparent, especially through government policies, globalization was based on and shaped by ethno-nationalist ideology (Shin, 2006). In a way, globalization was seen as dangerous as it threatened Korean identity (Alford, 1999). Alford added that Korean globalizing strategies were often ones that tried to keep globalization under control. Kim Young-sam stressed that ‘Koreanization’

i.e. maintaining and promoting Korean culture, tradition, and language is a precondition to Korea's globalization (Joo, 2014, p. 307). Globalization in Korea "prompted efforts to revitalize Korean culture and identity" (Shin, 2006, p. 11); for example, festivals and events have been held, such as local festivals, film festivals, and folk festivals. According to Shin, "such activities further illustrate Koreans' efforts to defend their identities and cultures from the encroaching forces of globalization" (2006, p. 12). For example, Song's (송준, 2013) study highlighted the importance of Korean traditional culture and folklore in the age of globalization.

As we can see, while globalization was and is deemed necessary to economic growth, it met with resistance from a cultural viewpoint. Therefore, globalizing flows and policies in Korea could be implemented only in certain ways and to a certain degree that brought economic benefits while maintaining and protecting the cultural and ethnical identity of the Korean people.

B. Nationalistic appropriation of globalization in Korea

Since the 1990s, Korea has certainly become globalized in several areas including technology, finance, and multinational companies such as Samsung or Hyundai. Other flows of globalizations have not been fully globalized: culture and media can hardly be considered globalized in Korea, which is the

result of the interpretation, appropriation, and selectivity of globalization for national purposes in Korea.

Korea appropriates globalization “as a nationalist goal” while Koreans do not see any contradiction between globalization and nationalism (Shin 2003, p. 6). This is not necessarily unique to Korea, as Beasley & Beasley (1995) pointed out that Japan, China, and Korea all appropriated global flows of science, technology, and civilization for their own national use under the catchphrase ‘Western technology, Eastern spirit’ .

According to Shin, this “instrumentalist understanding of globalization (...) in turn facilitates its nationalist appropriation” (2003, p. 9). Competitiveness, especially free-market competition is an important element of globalization (Mittleman, 2000), and globalization must be “properly utilized for one’ s national interests to survive in this world of ‘hyper-competition’ ” (Shin, 2003, p. 9). This ideology is often called social Darwinism, and refers to the idea that the only the fittest will survive in a fierce competition. Shin stated that it’ s a “careful, strategic, and instrumentalist use of globalization for Korea’ s collective national interests” (p. 11). This social Darwinist ideology can be the explanation to nationalist appropriation that is a “collective response to threats (real or perceived) or opportunities associated with globalization” (p. 9). This is especially apparent in societies that are collectivistic like Korea. Indeed, globalization has been a tool for the economic growth of Korea (김영명, 2002, p. 27). In other words, globalization in Korea is used as a

tool to enhance competitiveness and ensure survival as a response to the threats of globalization.

Although state intervention and strong nationalist sentiments might depict Korea as a country that is conservative, closed, and tradition-based, capitalism and neoliberalism are the dominant ideologies currently supported not only in the world of economy and finance, but in the culture industry, education, and in everyday practices of Korean people as well.

Unfortunately, the appropriation of globalization for nationalistic purposes has not only controlled globalization but has limited and restricted globalization in ways not necessarily wanted or desired. Lee Hong-koo (이홍구, prime minister in the Kim Young Sam government in 1994-96) stated that Korean attitudes and norms are in the way of globalization and Korea must overcome its exclusivist culture to become more globalized (Joo, 2014). Neo-Confucianism, the ideology of national homogeneity, lack of diversity and experiences with foreigners, fear of foreign powers, and anti-internationalization are facets of Korean culture that hinder the full globalization of Korea (Kim, 2000).

For example, Korean companies have invested a lot abroad (foreign direct investment or FDI) as a globalizing strategy, but “without globalizing much change of their corporate thinking, culture, and behavior” (Kim, 2000, p. 254). Kim called it “mindless globalization” (p. 255). Also, Korea has been wary of foreign investment in Korea, because of fear of foreign domination - a residue of Japanese colonialism (p. 256). Kim claimed that

such nationalistic cultural practices and values make it harder to promote globalization in Korea (p. 276). Unfortunately, the bigger the gap is between Korea's culture and norms and globalization's ideology, the harder it is for Korea to become globalized (p. 258). Globalization in the Korean context has never been about social and cultural transformation. Kim pointed out that "no fundamental learning - no paradigm shift - has occurred in the course of Korea's segyehwa drive, only situation-specific tactical adaption" (p. 257).

Therefore, Korea's globalization can be conceptualized as economically-motivated. Korean-style globalization exhibits traits of social Darwinism, capitalism, and neoliberalism. Globalization in Korea was initiated for survival in the global market (social Darwinism) as well as for the economic development of Korea and Korean companies (capitalism). Globalization can enhance competitiveness in the free competition of local and global markets (neoliberalism). For these reasons, Korea must prove itself to be globalized - although it might not mean a full transformation to achieve the above mentioned goals. Rather, it is enough for Korea to *look* globalized and provide a globalized image to the world to raise its status among the countries of the world.

As a result, globalization in Korea is always about the economic success of Korean individuals, Korean companies, and the Korean state, rather than about an openness towards and learning from others. This has resulted in a very unidirectional globalization of Korea: Korean products and companies

are known all over the world yet the world is not very well known in Korea. Lack of diversity in culture and in media content strengthens the homogeneity of Korean culture and limits the globalization of Korea. Thus, globalization in Korea has not been fully achieved in every aspect.

C. Foreigners in Korea

As mentioned before, the cultural aspects of Korea are still lacking in globalization despite the growing number of foreign workers and residents in Korea. Ethnic Koreans from China, Chinese students and workers, South-East Asian low-skilled workers, foreign wives, multicultural families, and English teachers are just some of the groups of foreigners or migrants living in Korea nowadays. The influx of foreigners to Korea reflects global trends of mobility and migration. For example, Chinese people often come to Korea because of better educational and work opportunities. Foreign wives fill in the gap left by extensive urbanization and internal migration within Korea, which resulted in male agricultural workers having too few potential marriage partners. Low-skilled workers from South-East Asia and foreign English teachers have been invited through government programs or have entered thanks to changing laws and policies that supported globalization (for example, the policies of the Kim Young-sam regime).

To reflect this trend, multicultural policies have been pursued to ensure that people of other ethnicity or culture can live life to the full in Korea.

Lee et al. (2008) analyzed Korean advertisements featuring persons of other ethnicities to uncover the state of multiculturalism in Korea. Their conclusion was that multiculturalism in Korea is more of a show than real cultural inclusion and cultural diversity. They pointed out that multicultural messages emphasize the differences between Korean and non-Korean by simplifying and standardizing the diversity of non-Koreans. Multiculturalism is more about patriotism, showing that Koreans care about other (although often inferior) others, and more about racism than it is about inclusion and diversity. Moreover, the culture and cultural practices of others become commodities, which reduce the possibility of cultural inclusion or integration. Therefore, the use of multicultural themes in advertising is to improve the image of Koreans.

Multiculturalism and policies about foreigners and immigrants in Korea show the same traits as globalization in Korea in general. As seen in the examples above, foreigners are often hired, invited, or needed to fill in economically motivated or beneficial roles. The presence of foreigners, whether they are in Korea because of their skills or because of their symbolic value, is necessary for the growth of the Korean economy. Foreigners are needed to create a globalized image of Korea or Korean companies, which helps them survive and compete in the global market. Policies and laws related to foreigners are motivated by economic globalization and therefore motivated by social Darwinism (survive in the global and local market), capitalism (foreigners as symbolic or cultural

capital), and neoliberalism (enhance competitiveness in the global and local market).

The employment of foreign English teachers in Korea is one example of Korea's globalizing efforts that are mediated by its nationalistic appropriation of globalization. Foreign teachers have been invited since the 1990s to help Korea achieve its local goals of facilitating globalization in order to improve the English language skills of Koreans and through that enhance its competitiveness in the global market. Therefore, exploring how the presence of foreign English teachers reflects global flows and their nationalistic appropriations in Korea is a meaningful attempt to get a better picture of the present-day Korea.

The next section looks at English as a global language, English education, and English teachers while reflecting on globalization and its nationalistic appropriations in the Korean context.

2.3 The English language in a global context

A. English as a global language

Nowadays, English is considered to be a lingua franca or common language around the world. Not knowing English makes travelling, finding a job, conducting business, or studying abroad hard if not impossible. Furthermore,

English is necessary for obtaining information not available in other languages or for communicating with people from other countries.

According to Martell (2010), English and other widely spoken languages helped the world become more globalized simply because learning these languages provides access to information not available in other languages. Among English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Arabic, Hindi, Russian, and Chinese, English is not only spoken as a native or second/foreign language but it has become the “primary global language in business, politics, academia, science, advertising, popular culture and the Internet” (p. 82).

Thus, the English language has a significant role in advancing globalization. This has prompted many countries to encourage English language education or even make it mandatory to study English. How well people in a country can speak English can affect its level of globalization, as higher proficiency in English can influence economic development, businesses, politics, exposure to media, and cultural change. English proficiency can impact individuals and states as well; therefore, the cultural practices of learning English and the related government policies can impact global and local outcomes.

B. The English language in the Korean context

The history of English teaching in Korea is short and displays a quickly growing interest in the English language. Although some date the start of

English teaching in Korea back to the late 1800s, the importance of knowing and using English became more evident around the Korean War. During the Kim Young-sam regime in the 1990s, the reformation of English education in Korea was one of the strategies of the government to achieve its goal of globalization. Western practices of communicative language teaching methodology and new textbooks were promoted as the solution to the low proficiency of English among the Korean population (윤지관, 2000). Universities adopted many features of the American education system; moreover, the number of students who go abroad to learn English has been growing. The boom of English education can be seen in the widespread nature of private education (e.g. hagwon* - private schools offering after school classes), private tutoring, English teaching-related television programs, English villages, and so on.

Native English-speaking teachers have started coming to Korea in the 1960s and their numbers have been growing steadily since the 1990s. Government policies aimed at reforming English education and advancing globalization in Korea included a government subsidized program called English Program in Korea (EPIK) through which native English speakers were invited to teach English in Korea. Other programs such as the US founded Fulbright program, or another Korean government program called Teach and Learn in Korea (TaLK) have also facilitated the introduction of native

* In this thesis ‘학원’ is romanized as ‘hagwon’ and refers to the private institutions in Korea that offer after-school classes. As it is a very characteristic type of institution unique to Korea and hard to convey in English, it is not translated but left as ‘hagwon.’

English speakers into English classrooms in Korea. At the same time, hagwons started to recognize the appeal of native speakers to their target customers, and have been employing native English-speaking teachers in great numbers. Current numbers of foreign English teachers employed in Korean educational institutions are close to 20,000.

Evidently, English proficiency plays an important role in Korean society. It is necessary for survival in society as it enables upward movement socially. English skills lead to a higher status as English is a marketable skill to have for job seekers, resulting in better chances of employment and therefore higher social and material status (윤지관, 2000). English is essential for Koreans not only in Korean society or the Korean job market, but also necessary for enhancing the competitiveness of Korea in the global market as well. There is a fierce competition for the survival of the fittest, where fittest means ‘best at English’. At the same time, English is a tool for survival as well. Thus, there is a high pressure on Koreans to be proficient in English.

American influence before, during, and after the Korean War and the US military presence in Korea has impacted the status of English in the Korean context. Right after the Korean War, knowledge and proficiency of English lead to a higher status politically, socially, and materially (Moon, 2005). Even today, English fluency helps to move upward in society.

As a result of American influence in Korea, English education is quite Americanized: the American variety of English (especially pronunciation) is

preferred as opposed to other varieties, US citizens are (or used to be) preferred as English teachers, American curriculum and textbooks are used in many schools, and American methodology of communicative language teaching is preferred and adopted more than others (Yoon, 2014). Some argue that this US-centeredness of English education and the employment of foreign English teachers maintain and reinforce the hegemony of the US in Korea and in the world (Jeon, 2012). Thus, the influence and role of English as well as its widespread teaching does not necessarily lead Korea towards globalization; rather, it simply strengthens American hegemony in Korea.

Despite the widespread nature of English education, it is not available for everyone in the same quality and effectiveness. Choi's study (최섫별, 2007) showed that English skills reflect social status more than effort or diligence, although many believe that fluency in English is a reflection of the person's capabilities. Jeon added that English teaching brings about and reinforces inequalities in society (2012).

As English and education in general have become such vital cultural capitals, many have discovered that offering education can be a profitable business. Yoon pointed out that in English education, American English and education methodology is the most marketable (2014). This reflects the historical background of English education Korea and Korean-American relations. Making English teaching into a business also means that English as a language, English teaching methodology, and the English skills of native speakers become commodities to be marketed and sold (Jeon, 2012).

Moreover, English is reduced to a product and a tool that is void of its cultural, political, and historical context (윤지관, 2000). Jeon (2012) criticized the TaLK (Teach and Learn in Korea) program for such neoliberal views of language and identity.

Therefore, the status of English in Korea can be explained by social Darwinism (English needed for survival), capitalism (English as a cultural capital), and neoliberal education (English as commodity and English education as business), which are three sides of the cultural practices surrounding English. They influence each other greatly: the more English is needed for survival, the more important it is as a cultural capital and the bigger business English teaching becomes.

C. Nationalistic appropriation of English education in Korea

While English education in Korea bears many similarities to relevant global tendencies, what is different about it is that its aims are explicitly local and nationalistic. English proficiency is not needed for working or studying abroad but for passing exams in high school, getting into university, or finding a job in Korea. Most of the time, English is needed for local purposes and is treated as a tool for achieving them. Government policies view English as a tool for facilitating globalization in Korea, yet Korea's globalization is often unidirectional.

The EPIK (English Program in Korea) has started in the 1990s as a government founded English teaching program that invited native English speakers to teach English in Korea. Later the GEPIK (Gyeonggi-do English Program in Korea) and the TaLK (Teach and Learn in Korea) programs were added, all under government founding and regulation. The aims of these programs were to improve the English skills of students while helping Korea become more globalized. These programs were especially aimed at rural schools, where meeting foreigners had been hard and thus both exposure to globalization and the quality of English education had been low.

Since the start of English education reforms, there has been a clear preference for native speakers of English, while ‘native’ remains an ambiguous concept in Korea. According to Korean visa regulations, English language instructors (E2 visa) must be citizens of one of these countries: US, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, UK, Ireland, or South Africa. Therefore, ‘native’ simply becomes citizenship in an Anglophone country. This ‘nativeness’ enables them to become teachers of English as a foreign language and authorities in English language-related questions. Originally, a bachelor’s degree and the right citizenship were all the qualifications needed for applying to EPIK. Recently, government regulations on the EPIK program (2015) have become stricter; South African citizens are required to submit proof that they have received education in English for a certain number of years, and all applicants are required to possess an English teaching certificate such as TEFL (Teaching English as a Foreign Language)

or TESOL (Teacher of English to Speakers of Other Languages). Yet some English teaching certificates can be obtained by simply taking an online course that takes a few weeks without ever teaching in a real classroom.

Although one of the aims of the reform of English education and the invitations of foreign English teachers was to improve Korean people's English proficiency, there are no clear answers whether it has been achieved. Moreover, many have criticized English education in Korea for its preference for native speakers, language teaching methodology, and the education system's expectations for students and teachers.

Many have criticized these government programs for their preference for native speakers and laxness in terms of teaching qualification of the candidates. Others expressed their concern that native English speakers are not necessarily better teachers (Lee, 2007). Wang & Lin showed that in the Asian context that government policies have not achieved their purposes of improving students' language skills; rather, they had a negative impact on the quality of English instruction and professional identity of local non-native speaker teachers (2013). They added that government preferences toward native speakers legitimize employing unqualified and inexperienced teachers. Nam (2011) pointed out that the turnover rate of native English-speaking teachers is very high. At the same time, native monolingual teachers struggle with the language barrier and are quite expensive to hire; yet preference towards them can result in unemployment of local qualified non-native teachers.

When it comes to linguistic and cultural diversity, Jeon lamented that even Korean diaspora bilingual teachers participating in the TaLK program have to pretend to be monolingual native English speakers (2012). Kubota et al. (2003) defined the type of native speakers of English preferred by employers as white, middle class and Anglophone. Preferring native speakers of English therefore limits the diversity of foreign English teachers in Korea.

Yoon (2014) added that while there is a preference for US English, the definition of the native speaker is ambiguous and only specific varieties of English accepted. This can arise from misconceptions of and lack of knowledge about the US and other countries. As a result, the US is often seen as monolithic and not diverse as it is (Moon, 2005), not to mention other countries.

As a result, English education in Korea often ignores the cultural and political background of the language (윤지관, 2007). Moreover, communicative language teaching methodology advocated by the government is a Western/American methodology that might not fare well in other contexts, such as the Korean education system (Dailey, 2010). At the same time, English proficiency is never the purpose of learning English - it is only considered as a tool for achieving other goals (Lee, 2011). The ultimate purpose of learning English in Korea is to be able to compete in the local and global competition both on an individual and state level.

Others have criticized the Korean education system in general. Nam (2011) stated that the Korean system tries to enforce communicative teaching methods but the expectations of the system are too high, and therefore native teachers cannot meet them. Nam urges that more preparation is needed to introduce native teachers to Korean culture, while the teachers themselves should make more efforts to understand Korean culture and students better.

Another goal of the reform of English education in Korea was to increase and advance globalization. Some researchers agree that English education can indeed lead to greater globalization. According to Lee (2011), English proficiency of Koreans can facilitate globalization, while Yoon (2014) expressed concern over the fact that education is used as a “means and field of” globalization. Jeon (2012) added that diaspora Koreans (for example Korean-Americans) are seen as global citizens who have a duty to serve the Korean nation and help it become more globalized. Furthermore, Lee (2011) criticized the ideology that ‘English is the answer to all our problems’ in Korea, doubting that English can be the answer to issues of globalization or economic growth.

This chapter has looked at globalization, its nationalistic appropriation, and its cultural practices. Next, globalization and its nationalistic appropriation in the Korean context were explored. Lastly, the role of English in globalization and cultural practices related to English and globalization in Korea were examined. The next chapter will outline the

research questions of this thesis, the research method employed to explore the research questions, and the characteristics of sample of the people who participated in this research.

3. Research questions and research methodology

3.1 Research questions

Based on the issues mentioned in the literature review globalization is being interpreted and appropriated for nationalistic purposes in South Korea. This includes inviting and employing foreigners to teach English. However, the nationalistic appropriation of globalization in Korea affects the cultural practices related to foreigners and English education. Korean institutions such as businesses, educational institutions as well as cultural practices often do not show an awareness of the problems and needs of foreigners or cultural diversity in general, while endorsing globalization and multicultural slogans. This is true in the case of foreign English teachers, too.

This thesis explores how Korean cultural practices surrounding foreign English teachers reflect nationalistic appropriations of globalization. At the same time, it examines whether globalizing policies related to English teachers have achieved their goals.

Q1. How have foreign English teachers experienced cultural practices of appropriation of globalization in their workplace and outside of their workplace in Korea?

Q2. Has the employment of foreign English teachers achieved its goal of advancing globalization in South Korea?

The first question aims to uncover the cultural practices and the ethnoscares of globalization in Korea, focusing on the case of foreign English teachers, and the second question focuses on the policy side of globalization and English education.

3.2 Research methodology

To uncover the relationship between globalization and the personal experiences of foreign English teachers in Korea, online and personal in-depth interviews were conducted with foreign English teachers. In-depth interview is a popular method of qualitative research, which involves asking open-ended questions to uncover deeper cultural meanings. It has its strengths in allowing the participants or respondents to structure their own replies and analyze cultural phenomena in their own way, and it helps understand phenomena in a subjective way (Boyce & Neale, 2006; Marshall & Rossman, 1999). There have been studies that had employed in-depth interviews to explore issues related to foreigners and foreign English

teachers in Korea, such as Molina' s (2013) thesis on foreign sportsmen in Korea, Nam' s (2011) study on foreign English teachers in secondary schools in Korea, or Yun and Kim' s (2014) paper on the cultural awareness of foreign English teachers in Korea.

The interview questions were formulated based on the researcher' s previous knowledge about and experience with foreign English teachers in Korea. The questions covered personal and workplace information, experiences of coming to and living in Korea, relationships with Korean people in everyday situations, experiences related to the workplace environment and relationships with Korean people at their workplace. Moreover, there were questions about evaluating the influence of foreign English teachers on English education and Korean society. The full set of questions can be found in the Appendix.

In addition to quantitative questions of personal and workplace information, both the written and personal interview questions included mostly open questions, allowing the respondents to formulate their own ideas and to reply freely. Both the written/online and the personal interviews used the same set of questions. The online interview questions were put into an online form on the website of Sogosurvey and were distributed through Facebook and Twitter several times. The participants for the personal interviews were recruited through friends and acquaintances through the method of snowballing. The interviews were conducted in person in a

comfortable location (for example a café) and were recorded for further analysis.

The replies were analyzed by looking for common themes or problems that foreign English teachers have encountered in Korea. Among those, the analysis focused on issues or themes that are unique to or characteristic of Korea.

This research has aimed to provide an outsider's perspective on the nationalistic appropriation of globalization and the cultural practices surrounding foreign English teachers in Korea. The author has spent 3 years in Korea, which provided her with insight into Korean culture, history, and so on. At the same time, the author has been a foreigner in Korea and has experienced the cultural practices of Koreans towards foreigners. Yet neither Korean, nor native speaker of English, and also not an English teacher, the author aimed to explore the research questions with a relatively outsider's viewpoint while being insightful, compassionate, but objective about both the participants' and Koreans' cultural backgrounds.

3.3 Sample characteristics

There were 23 respondents to the online interview and 6 other people were interviewed in person. Altogether, 29 people participated in this research. Among the 29 respondents 17 (59%) were female and 12 (41%) were male. The respondents were between their early twenties and late fifties, most of them

being in their late twenties. While there were respondents from different parts of Korea, most of them (24 of 29 respondents) were from Jeollanam-do (전라남도) and within Jeollanam-do more than half of them (15 out of 24 people) were from Gwangju (광주광역시).

Table 1 – Respondents participating in this research*

	Citizenship	Stay in Korea	Type of workplace	Location	Length of interview
W1**	North America	5 years	University	Chungcheongnam-do	–
W2	Africa	14 years	Middle/High school	Gyeonggi-do	–
W3	Australia/Oceania	17 years	University	Gyeonggi-do	–
W4	North America	18 years	University	Gyeongsangnam-do	–
W5	North America	7 years	University	Jeollanam-do	–
W6	Europe	1 year	Middle/High school	Jeollanam-do	–
W7	Europe	3 years	Middle/High school	Jeollanam-do	–
W8	Australia/Oceania	3 months	Other	Jeollanam-do	–
W9	North America	10 years	Hagwon, University, Company	Jeollanam-do	–
W10	North America	9 months	Hagwon	Jeollanam-do	–
W11	North America	4 years	Hagwon	Jeollanam-do	–
W12	North America	4 years	Other	Jeollanam-do	–

* Personal data has been simplified and omitted to protect the privacy of the participants.

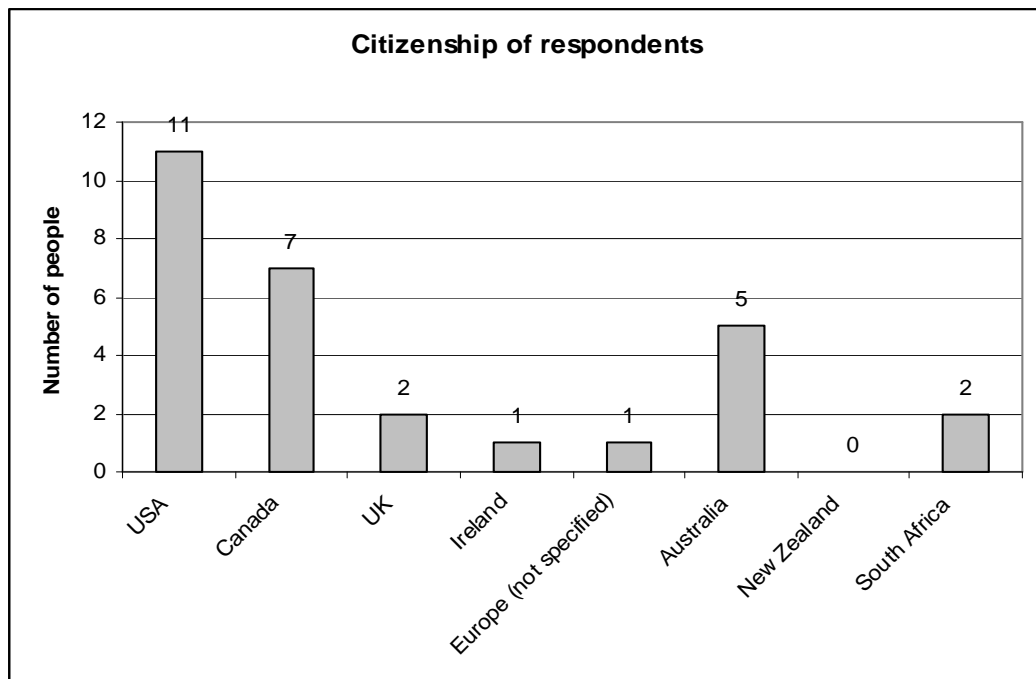
** ‘W’ refers to respondents of the online written interview, and ‘P’ refers to those who were interviewed in person.

W13	North America	2 years	Other	Jeollanam-do	-
W14	Africa	4 years	Other	Jeollanam-do	-
W15	North America	2 years	Middle/High school	Jeollanam-do	-
W16	North America	8 months	Hagwon	Jeollanam-do	-
W17	Europe	3 months	Middle/High school	Jeollanam-do	-
W18	Australia/Oceania	2 years	Middle/High school	Jeollanam-do	-
W19	North America	3 years 6 months	Middle/High school	Jeollanam-do	-
W20	Europe	4 years	Middle/High school	Chungcheongnam-do	-
W21	Australia/Oceania	2 months	Hagwon	Jeollanam-do	-
W22	North America	3 years	Hagwon	Jeollanam-do	-
W23	North America	3 years	Middle/High school	Jeollanam-do	-
P1	Australia/Oceania	2 years 4 months	Hagwon	Jeollanam-do	52 minutes
P2	North America	8 months	Middle/High school	Jeollanam-do	35 minutes
P3	North America	10 months	Middle/High school	Jeollanam-do	36 minutes
P4	North America	2 years 6 months	Company	Jeollanam-do	38 minutes
P5	North America	10 months	Middle/High school	Jeollanam-do	54 minutes
P6	North America	1 year 8 months	Hagwon	Jeollanam-do	48 minutes

There were respondents from several countries, but all respondents were from countries that are included in the E2 visa regulations for English

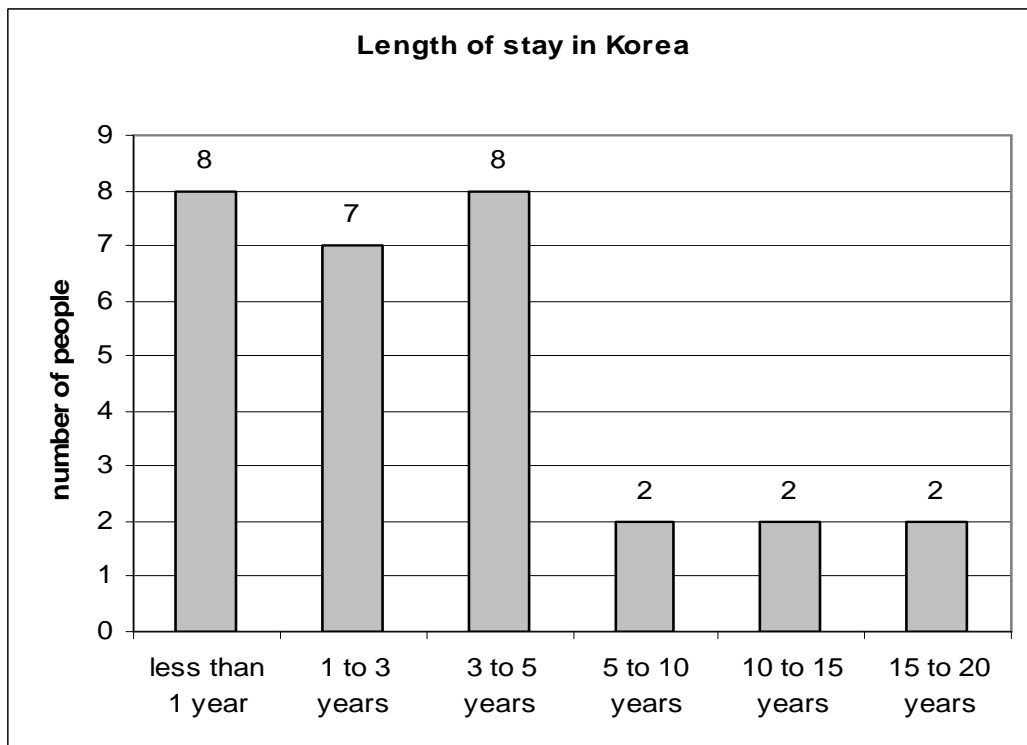
language instructors, i.e. USA, Canada, UK, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, or South Africa. Figure 2 shows that 11 of 29 (38%) respondents were from the USA, while 7 (24 %) were from Canada and 5 (17%) from Australia. 2 respondents were from the UK, 1 from Ireland, while one respondent have not specified which country in Europe they are citizens of. In addition, there were 2 respondents from South Africa and none from New Zealand. Altogether 18 respondents (62%) were from North America and 4 respondents (14%) were from Europe. When asked about their ethnicity, the overwhelming majority defined themselves as white, Caucasian. There was one person from an Asian background and one from a Native American background.

Figure 2 - The citizenship of the respondents



The replies varied in regards to how long the respondents have been living in Korea. The shortest stay was two months while the longest stay was 18 years. Figure 3 shows that most of the respondents (23 of 29 people or about 79% of the respondents) have been staying in Korea for less than five years. When asked about how long they are planning to stay in Korea, the replies varied between “one year” and “indefinitely”, with the most respondents planning to stay in Korea for a maximum of five years.

Figure 3 – The respondent's length of stay in Korea at the time of the interview



Most respondents have not taught English or other subjects abroad before coming to Korea. Some had an educational background or educational qualifications, and a few had English teaching degrees or qualifications (other than TESOL or TEFL certificates). Some of the respondents have taught English as a second language in their home countries, while others had experience of teaching English in China, Taiwan, Thailand, or Middle Eastern countries. As for teaching in Korea, many had experience in teaching English in Korea at different schools or institutions. In general, respondents had little experience or qualification for teaching English as a foreign language.

The respondents were also asked about their workplace in Korea. Most of them are working in public middle or high schools (12 of 29 respondents or about 41%), with others working at universities or hagwons. There were a few teachers working in other places such as a private high school or an English center. Most of the teachers are teaching elementary or middle school students at a beginner to intermediate level.

When it came to Korean proficiency, most stated that they know minimal, survival, or beginner level Korean, regardless of how many years they have been living in Korea. Only a few of them had intermediate or higher proficiency.

4. Results and discussion

The following section will present the results of the interviews and the themes emerging from them. Nationalistic appropriation of globalization in related to foreign English teachers in Korea can be seen in the following three big themes: the arbitrary imagined community of foreigners, tokenism, and the lack of diversity. Then a summary of how foreign English teachers experience English education is presented, together with recommendations for change in regards to government policies. Lastly, future prospects of globalization in Korea are offered.

4.1 Korea' s globalization

This section first looks at global flows and nationalism in Korea as experienced by foreign English teachers. When talking about globalization and Korea, most respondents agreed that Korea is semi-globalized; Korea is globalized in some aspects while not so globalized in other aspects. Breaking down respondents' views and experiences according to Appadurai' s five flows of globalization (1996), respondents considered technoscapes and financescapes to be the most globalized in Korea, ideoscapes and mediascapes to be somewhat globalized, and ethnoscap es not to be globalized at all. W1, a university teacher who has been living in Korea for five years, summarized it the following way:

Culturally and mentally, the [Korean] people are not global. The culture and language are too protected and people too nationalistic to be considered global. The country is quite globalized in the economic and technological sense and those are having some effects on the people and culture, but that effect is minor.*

W8, who has been in Korea only for three months, talked about how technology and consumption, as well as media are globalized in Korea.

There are many ways Korea appears to be globalized especially with electronics and cars that are produced here and shipped globally. The food is very global and you can find almost anything here. Korean pop culture is spreading to the west and in that way it is globalized.

W12, who has spent four years in Korea and has returned to work in Korea again, shared similar views on globalization in Korea.

I think Korean brands are globalized but not necessarily the people who can be quite insular in their world view.

W6, who has spent one year in Korea teaching, expressed their frustration at the disjunctures in the flows of globalization in Korea.

* Most of the quotes from the written interviews are left as they were written by the participants, with small corrections in spelling for legibility. The personal interviews were transcribed in a similar manner.

I have become more frustrated with Korea. It is hard to imagine a country which can be so technologically advanced but still socially very much left behind.

According to foreign English teachers, Korea's technological development is on par with other developed and globalized countries. In addition, Korea's economy, trade, and other finance-related institutions work on a global level. Korean media exported abroad can be regarded as the globalization of Korean media as well. Yet within Korea, local media lack diversity in terms of introducing foreign cultural products to Koreans. S23, who has been teaching in Korea for 3 years, put it the following way:

No, Korea is not a globalized country. They export kpop and technology, but only consume foreign media when it fits with their stereotypes about other countries.

Ideology has not been mentioned often, but those who talked about ideological globalization have mentioned Korea's democratic government as a sign of globalization, while others mentioned conservatism as a sign of lacking globalization. Most respondents agreed that Korea is quite globalized in terms of technology and economy, but not globalized in terms of society or culture.

W15, who has been living in Korea for two years, summarized it up the following way:

Yes [Korea is globalized] in an economic sense, not so much in a social sense. There are still some aspects of Korean society that are very traditional and specific to Korea only. I understand and appreciate why, but I wouldn't consider Korea as globalized as Canada or New Zealand (the country I now live in).

Therefore, respondents see Korea as partly or semi-globalized. Culture is considered to be the least globalized because of insular, inward-looking, or nationalistic tendencies. Indeed, many of the respondents have pointed out that nationalistic and conservative sentiments have made ethnoscaping in Korea less globalized than they could be. W18, who has spent two years in Korea, sees Korea as a country where tradition is still very prominent.

[Korea is] semi-globalised. The country takes on many Western practices and cultures, yet still adheres to traditional aspects of the nation.

W16, who has been in Korea for only eight months pointed out that these nationalistic sentiments make Koreans less open to new and different ideas, and ultimately to globalization.

No I don't think South Korea could be considered a globalized country. The Korean populace has deeply engrained nationalistic sentiments, which prevents them from keeping an open mind when it comes to new ideas or practices.

Therefore, nationalistic sentiments can hinder globalization in Korea. Moreover, nationalistic sentiments can affect not only culture but media content and media consumption as well. W22, who has been teaching for three years in different schools in Korea, mentioned that nationalistic sentiments influence media consumption in Korea.

It's globalized insofar as it has imported Western products but that's about it. Given the lack of English fluency most Koreans can't interact with people from other countries, and with such high national pride they're not really motivated to. They're content to rely on translations for entertainment media and news etc.

W23, who has been teaching for one year in Korea, felt that nationalistic sentiments are so strong in Korea that globalization might not be achieved or even desired in the Korean context.

I've made a few very good Korean friends but besides that I find many Koreans to be very racist, xenophobic and homophobic. The culture doesn't really allow for assimilation. Compared to other countries I've lived in it's a very conservative and closed society. (...) Before I came here I thought Korea was a modern progressive country. Now I know that their cultural values are very far behind in relation to things like race, gender equality and treatment of

LGBTQA* folks. (...) No, Korea is not a globalized country. (...) I don't think that a country like Korea that has such racist, supremacist, nationalistic ideology actually wants to be globalized.

In other words, nationalism and nationalistic sentiments in Korea's ethnoscapings are in a stark contrast with its globalized technoscapes or financescapes. Nationalism makes Korean culture less open towards global ideas and other cultures. This can be seen in nationalistic tendencies in Korean media, too. Although some wonder how globalization is possible in such a strongly conservative and nationalistic culture, globalization and nationalism seem to coexist in Korea.

This contradiction and the nationalistic appropriation of globalization can be seen in the experiences of foreign English teachers. In the case of cultural globalization and the interaction of foreigners with locals, most respondents reported having both positive and negative experiences. Most of these included reactions from Korean people towards foreigners that are common in similar contexts in other (Asian) countries as well: staring at foreigners, curiosity, kindness, helping them out, commenting on foreigners' appearance, ignoring them, taking pictures with foreigners and so on. W7, who has been teaching in Korea for three years, gave a few examples of such encounters between Koreans and foreigners.

* LGBTQA stands for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgendered, Queer, and Asexual

Some people are very warm and kind. Some people can be quite shy. Some people stare. Some people are quite abrasive and rude. It depends. (...) Getting service from shop owners because I'm a foreigner. Getting free entrance into places because I'm a foreigner. Getting ignored in public places due to ignorance or shyness to speak English.

However, there are certain characteristics of the cultural practices surrounding foreign English teachers that are unique to Korea, which are reflections of the nationalistic appropriation of globalization. The next smaller sections explore the concept of being a 'foreigner' in Korea, tokenism related to foreigners, and the lack of diversity in both the foreign population and media.

A. The Korean concept of 'foreigner'

Looking at the experiences of English teachers, an apparent theme of being a 'foreigner' emerges. The word '외국인' or foreigner can refer to anyone not Korean. Yet calling someone a foreigner in Korea often implies a white person from the west (mostly North America or Europe). 'Foreigner' is an arbitrary and ambiguous term that shows that Korea interprets white Western people as the stereotypic foreigner. Korean culture is quite focused on appearances and lookism is quite apparent with it comes to foreigners, too. Most of the respondents were white, with only one person who was of a

race visibly different. There seems to be a trend to hire mostly white-skinned people as a foreign English teacher. Most teachers in the sample were from North America, which can be both the reason and the result of this conceptualization. As white teachers are preferred, most students encounter them as the first foreigners in their lives, resulting in the concept of foreigners as white people. This then results in considering white people as the ‘default’ foreigners, resulting in the employment of more white people than people of other races.

Respondents mentioned several examples of how being a foreigner or being white have affected their lives. They mentioned that they often receive better treatment because they are white. Furthermore, being white becomes their identity in the Korean context, and they are often seen as representatives of ‘white culture’. Although some of the respondents have been living in Korea for several years, and others are able to speak Korean on a conversational level, their white identity persists and hinders their integration into Korean society. This is because their whiteness is based on skin color not their cultural identities. Lastly, some respondents expressed their concerns that the people Korean images of foreigners are based on are those who are not adapting well to Korean society. These images of foreigners are then generalized to all white persons living in Korea, resulting in the above mentioned issues of othering and exclusion from Korean society.

When asked about how Koreans treat them as a foreigner, W4, a teacher in their forties who has spent nearly twenty years in Korea, replied the following way:

Good, I dress nice and I'm white that helps, plus I drive a newer foreign car, yes that helps also. I'm not making this up.

W13, who came together with her boyfriend, pointed out that out that their being and looking American made a big difference in how Korean people treat them.

I believe that they are kinder to us because we are from America... and look like typical foreigners (blonde hair, blue eyes, tall...) (···) The principal is nicer to us because she loves Americans.

W4 also called themselves a 'white monkey' and others added that their whiteness was an important factor in how they were treated. P3, a white teacher from the US talked about how people tried to practice English with them based on their appearance.

People target me for my whiteness and think "ah, she must be someone I can speak English with."

W23, another American teacher summed it up as:

Most every interaction, good or bad is colored by their perception of my "otherness".

W20, a teacher from the UK put it the following way:

The whole point of me is that I'm a foreigner. This covers every single instance of 'treatment' I've experienced. I've never been treated like a Korean...

Often being a white English-speaking person is all that becomes the identity of foreigners and they are seen as representatives of 'foreign culture' or their own cultures. One respondent recounted how their coworkers and students assumed that they must like and do the same things as other 'foreigners.'

W15: Little things like making assumptions about my country ("all North Americans are fat and only eat pizza") or ridiculing my chopstick skills. It could have been taken with good fun, but it was happening a lot. (...) At lunches I would feel like an animal in the zoo as they would all watch what (how) I ate and comment on it in Korean.

P5, who has been teaching in a rural town in Korea for ten months, commented,

I feel like I'm expected to be representative for all Americans, for all foreigners. (...) They're so convinced that you're a certain way because you're a foreigner.

Some of the respondents who have been living in Korea for a long time have reported othering cultural practices and expressed their frustration with the difficulty of being anything else than a foreigner in Korea. P3 talked about how being able to speak Korean on at least an intermediate level has not changed much in regards to cultural integration, as they and other foreigners are still judged to be ‘foreigners’ based on their white appearance.

If I’ m in a group with my Korean friends… it’ s not even like a big deal but like… they’ ll speak Korean to them but then try to speak English to me even though we’ re all speaking Korean together. Um… which, I mean, it’ s not like “oh, that hurts me” but it’ s like… that’ s something I notice. It’ s coz my face, I guess. (…)

I have friends that are [fluent], they get really frustrated, because they’ ve been here like seven years, and they’ re like as Korean as anyone else… but they’ re white, and then… so people like… they’ d be like “they’ re foreigners.”

Some respondents expressed their concerns about inviting foreign English teachers to help Korea become more globalized: often people who come to Korea as foreign English teachers do not care about teaching well and adapting to Korean culture. Yet Koreans form their image of foreigners and foreign English teachers based on these people, resulting in more resistance towards foreign cultures and languages.

P4 talked about some of their previous coworkers who fit this stereotype.

My international colleagues were people that I really didn't get along with, because of different lifestyle choices. They were more concerned with the stereotype that Korean taxi drivers have: you're here to get drunk and wasted, you're here to have sex with other Koreans, we don't want you here. That was the type of international colleagues that I had.

W13 gave some reasons why these foreigners might be coming to Korea and what their image is like.

I also believe, however, that because of the nature of the job (1 year contract, little requirements to apply) the job has attracted some teachers who may give foreigners a bad name i.e. those who get too drunk and start fights, don't care to immerse themselves in the cultures, etc.

In summary, Korea interprets the concept of 'foreigners' as an imagined community of white western people, often ignoring or erasing the identity of those who have different characteristics such as different personal preferences or different ethnic background. This in turn prevents not only the integration of foreigners into Korean society but globalization as well. Many respondents replied that money was their main concern about coming to Korea, as Korean wages for foreign English teachers are high compared to the living costs. This has brought many people to Korea, who came to love the

country, learnt to speak the Korean language, and in general would like to enjoy their lives here. Yet their foreign or 'other' identities persist, resulting in a quick loss of interest in cultural integration. The reason why most respondents do not plan to stay longer than five years might be reflected in this frustration with cultural integration.

B. Tokenism

When it comes to being a teacher of English, employing native English-speaking teachers has more to do with having a token native speaker or token foreigner than having a good English teacher at the school. Several participants responded that they feel that their job is to be a foreigner or native speaker that their school can show off with to the parents, often with picture or promotional materials.

W1 (university teacher): I am an English teacher, so my job is to be a foreigner.

W8 (works at an English Center): That is my role. To be the foreigner. Teachers, students and parents will approach me to say hello, speak English and have a photo.

W20, a teacher from the UK who has been living in Korea for four years commented,

As long as a lesson has technically been taught by a native speaker and there's nothing in particular that a parent could cite in a complaint, they're happy... I just need to get the box ticked.

Others added that their role as a native speaker is to speak English, be available for practicing English, and act as a resource of 'proper' English rather than teach English. Some schools even control foreign teacher's language use inside and outside the classroom, often forbidding them to speak Korean to enforce their identities as foreigners. W5, who has been living in Korea for seven years and can speak conversational Korean, gave the following reasons why they are not using their Korean language skills enough.

No one wants me to speak in Korean...even my Korean friends. My job came down on me once for using a Korean vocabulary word for clarification.

In most cases, foreign teachers are just a token at their workplaces to show the parents that there are foreign teachers at the school and thus show a better image to them. This also means that other aspects of foreign English teachers such as their English teaching abilities are ignored and are not deemed to be important when employing them. As long as they look like a 'foreigner' and speak English as their native language they are good enough to promote the school with.

W10 (hagwon teacher): I' m the only foreigner at my hagwon so to some extent I kinda act like a mascot. (...) I' m kinda the school mascot. My boss likes to show me off so the parents and future students see that they have a foreigner who teaches here and stuff.

P1 (hagwon teacher): If they have an open day or something (...) the foreign teachers are there for show. It' s just to prove that "yes we have foreign teachers, here they are, don' t they look lovely" kinda thing. (...) it' s to show off that we have foreigners at our school. And it' s for the parents.

Foreign English teachers are subject to lookism and tokenism in Korea. Foreigners are associated with globalization, and globalization is associated with economic success; therefore, schools, restaurants, and other places like to look globalized by using obviously 'foreign-looking' foreigners for promoting themselves. This is a very characteristic aspect of Korean cultural practices related to foreigners. Such cases happen not only in schools but in other situations such as on television programs or in restaurants as well.

P1, a hagwon teacher, talked about how important photos with the foreign teachers are to the school.

It' s all about the photos. Photos with the foreign teachers, not that the kinds are doing much...

W23, a middle school teacher, described a situation where they decided to decline the school's request to take pictures, because they realized it was focused on their foreignness.

This has happened a few times when the school takes pictures, they've asked me to take pictures with students to put on their website. The other teachers were not asked to, so I politely refused.

W21, who works at a rural town, mentioned how a restaurant requested a photo with them.

A local restaurant wanted a photo with me in it to show that foreigners go there.

As we have seen, foreign English teachers are often employed because of tokenism; in other words, they are employed because they are white Westerners who speak English. They are then used to promote the educational institution as being better than others which do not employ foreigners. Not only are the identities of these people reduced to being a foreigner or being white, this identity is then used as a token to show how globalized and how culturally accepting the educational institution is. In Korea, having a native speaker of English also implies having better language education, which is not only debatable but unproved by research (see for example Medgyes, 1992 on native speakers versus non-native speakers of English as EFL/ESL teachers).

These cultural practices reflect the trends of Korean-style globalization: foreigners are hired to present a more globalized, therefore more marketable image of the educational institutions as well as Korea. At the same time, it enhances the competitiveness of Korea, educational institutions, and students learning from these foreign teachers - only by the fact that there are foreign teachers present. Their employment is therefore a token and a type of cultural capital to Koreans, motivated by economic reasons.

C. Lack of diversity

Another aspect of being a foreigner in Korea is the apparent lack of diversity when it comes to foreign products, foreign media, and foreigners living in Korea. As stated before, foreign English teachers are coming from a restricted set of countries that are dominantly Western, white, and Anglophone. English education also favors teaching the language variety and culture of these countries rather than others. Moreover, the English language instructor visa (E2) is restricted to seven countries: the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Ireland, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. As seen in the sample as well, most teachers came from the US; the USA clearly is the most dominant influence in English education in Korea. Some teachers expressed their concerns about this restriction of the diversity of foreigners and foreign English teachers in Korea.

P6 put the problem of diversity in Korea very simply:

If we weren' t here, [Korea] would be even more homogeneous than it is right now.

W8, who has only been in Korea for three months, already noticed the limitation on the diversity of foreign English teachers in Korea.

The different cultures students are exposed to is limited as the USA definitely dominates the English teachers here in Korea. If the [foreign English teacher] application process was opened to more countries a true cultural experience would be achieved.

W13, a teacher from the US commented on the general diversity of foreigners in Korea.

I think [Korea is] globalized in terms of the international markets, but not in terms of diversity of the foreign community living here.

Not only are the invited teachers mostly American, many people in Korea seem to be interested in and receptive to American culture, while non-Western cultures and even cultures outside of North America are not receiving that much interest. P2, a teacher at a rural middle school, talked about how their students are mostly exposed to American culture and media.

I know my students, they like my appearances and they' re interested in my American life or like... Western things. (...) I know that

they' re like... not exposed to that quite as much over here... but I feel like movies and different things... they' re interested in like white Western culture, and in like... they think that' s the idea but... I feel like they' re not as interested in other... cultures. (...) They only really watch major like... US blockbuster or foreign blockbuster films, and they don' t really listen as much to... They know like some of the like... pop radio hits, but they don' t know other music.

W22, who has been living in Korea for three years, identified some reasons for such lack of diversity in media.

Given the lack of English fluency most Koreans can't interact with people from other countries, and with such high national pride they're not really motivated to. They're content to rely on translations for entertainment media and news etc.

Because of the restriction on the diversity of both the foreign English teachers and media, many of the teachers believe that their role is to provide a wider view of the world and promote cultural diversity. This is mainly because all the countries the respondents and foreign English teachers in general come from are culturally very diverse with large population of immigrants. In other words, the respondents come from countries that are much more diverse and globalized culturally than Korea.

As Korean culture is not globalized yet, some reactions to being exposed to cultural diversity reflect the resistance and insular world views of Koreans.

W17, an English teacher from Ireland talked about how they try to introduce more cultural diversity in her school.

I teach them about Ireland, the UK and America all the time. I'm doing a culture week for summer camp they will learn more about the USA, Mexico, Spain, Turkey, South Africa and Ireland. It's going to be awesome and will open them up to the fact that Korea is not the centre of the universe and to get out and see the world.

W18, a teacher from an Asian background, tried to expose their students to different cultures, yet the reactions were not always positive.

When I discussed aspects of other cultures, many people seemed unreceptive or downright negative towards it.

P2 talked about introducing non-Western cultures to their students in a rural town.

I' ve mentioned some things about Hispanic culture or like African (···) and comments they' ve made and then like the faces that they' ve made···

Being conceptualized as foreigners and employed as token native speakers of English, the cultural and linguistic diversity of foreign English

teachers have often been ignored. Fortunately, it seems that more and more Korean educational institutions are recognizing the value of cultural and linguistic diversity in. P1, who teaches at a hagwon, talked about diversity in their school currently and in the past.

My school likes to have teachers from as many different countries that teach English (...) I know Korea used to be... They only wanted Americans pretty much. And if you came from a different country, you were expected to try and talk in American accent.

The concept of white western foreigners and the tokenism of employing them dominate Korean cultural practices related to foreign English teachers, resulting in an apparent lack of exposure to other, 'non-stereotypic' foreigner products, media, culture, and language. This then controls, limits, and hinders the globalization of Korean culture while maximizing the benefits to the local economy, businesses, and politics.

4.2 English education in Korea

English education in Korea is used as a field of globalization. The employment of foreign English teachers is one of the strategies to advance globalization in Korea while helping to improve the English skills of Koreans. As being part of the English education system in Korea, most foreign English teachers had quite strong opinions on it; some had positive

opinions about what foreign English teachers can achieve in Korea. W15, a professional ESL teacher who has been living in Korea, stressed the positive aspects of having foreign English teachers in Korean classrooms.

I believe NETs [Native English Teachers] can provide the conversation practice needed for students who have a high level of English. I also believe NETs can help improve pronunciation in really young kids. For low level learners, this is a bit more debatable.

W16, who has been teaching in a hagwon for eight months but has no English teaching qualifications, had more pessimistic views on the role of foreign English teachers in improving the English skills of Korean students.

No I don't believe foreign teachers have a large impact on the English fluency of students because we are expected to entertain the children not actually teach them. (...) However, most Korean students don't spend enough time with the foreign teacher for them to have any influence on the children.

W20, who has been teaching in Korea for four years, remarked that most teachers are invited based on citizenship and native language skills, and are therefore not qualified to teach English. Unfortunately, the Korean education system does not mind that.

[The foreign English teachers are] all idiots... can' t teach, not given the opportunity anyway, and no one takes them seriously enough to learn from them.

W22, who has been teaching in a hagwon for three years and is currently teaching elementary school-aged children, complained that the level of teaching they are required to meet is not appropriate for the students. The school effectively ignores the education needs of students in order to prove that they have been learning from a foreign teacher.

I mostly teach from the books while struggling to converse with the students, who are mostly incapable of doing so. (...) They're just not at a level where they can learn from a teacher who only speaks English; most of their comprehension is very low.

W23, a teacher with a background in teaching English as a foreign language, talked about their disappointment that their teaching skills cannot be fully utilized in the Korean education system.

My job only exists because I'm foreign. I have a strong educational background in second language acquisition, but here for the most part my educational skills are ignored and my appearance is used instead.

P2, a teacher with a background in education but not English as a foreign language education, talked about their discomfort as an English teacher without the proper education and qualifications for it.

My co-teachers will ask me questions (...) which is kinda hard sometimes, 'cause I didn't study like... English extensively in college... so some of the grammar questions... I know what's right and what's wrong but I don't really know how to explain it. (...) I feel like I'm kinda seen as like the English authority but I don't really feel qualified to be the English authority.

P3, another teacher with English teaching qualifications, talked about their role as an English teacher at a public middle school.

My role is... (laughs) my classes don't really mean anything to the kids. There's no grade for my class, there... it feels very like 'hey let's just have a foreign teacher class' ... I do teach, thankfully. I teach two pages of each chapter of the textbook. So a little bit of what I do matters.

P3 added that the current system of having classes with foreign English teachers favors exposure to foreign English teachers over actual language learning.

I honestly see my class as unfortunately a waste of time. Um... because of how many students I'm expected to teach and how short a

time I have with them. I teach every student in the school. Last semester I taught 600 kids. I taught them all once a week, in classes of about 30 to 40 kids. (...) I don't like the way that the native English teachers' classes are set up, in that... it just seem very ineffective in um... helping them. (...) I feel very discouraged about foreign teachers in Korea. It's just a waste of time and money. And I say that as someone - I want this to be my career.

P3 summed up the foreign English teacher programs at public schools with the following sentence:

It's impossible to... for one foreign teacher to have a positive impact... like measurable impact on 600 kids.

Many of the respondents have shown their concern about the educational system in Korea and English teaching in particular. Those in public middle or high schools voiced their complaints about having to teach too many students for a short time every week. They reported that there was little change in the English skills of their students, since their role was more to provide exposure to native English and to foreign cultures than to teach English to their students. In other words, their role was subject to tokenism or token exposure to foreigners. Others, who are teaching in hagwons, talked about the long teaching hours and too intensive and high level of teaching. All respondents agreed that the Korean education system (exam-oriented education, grading system, textbooks, etc.) is limiting their

abilities to teach students effectively, while they are often employed without teaching qualifications or experience. Their employment is related to the tendencies of globalization and English education in Korea: they are employed to boost the image and marketability of institutions, by which their competitiveness can be enhanced. This is why the employers of foreign English teachers are often not concerned about qualifications that much.

Regrettably, neither the education system nor the mindless employment of foreigners is beneficial to the improvement of Korean students' language skills. Therefore, employing foreign English teachers might not be the right decision in a culture that views English as a tool, foreign English teachers as tokens, and in an education system that by itself hinders language education.

A. Recommended changes to policies

When talking about the reform of the education system, some mentioned that foreign English teachers are being phased out of the education system for financial concerns. Some openly agreed with this decision to reduce the numbers of foreign English teachers in Korea.

When talking about the Fulbright and EPIK programs, P3 said,

But is it important enough to be spending so much money on it? As like, for the government (...) I don't think so. (...) I think the benefits of being open with foreigners and like being confident in

your English do not outweigh the costs of like... you' re not really learning English from these people that you' re spending a lot of money on.

P1, who have been teaching in hagwons for more than two years, talked about their concerns of how big changes are needed and how English teachers could help promote globalization in Korea.

They need to change the education on a much bigger scale than what one hagwon can cope with. (...) I don' t see how... a few thousand foreign teachers gonna make this country go global. It' s something they have to do on their own.

W23, a qualified English teacher, suggested that training Korean English teachers would be a better solution to improve English education in Korea.

Korea needs to have credentialed foreign teachers training Korean teachers, not teaching in their schools. I think the policy of using native speakers as the goal for language learners is misguided and not effective. Foreign English teachers pay could be better used to send Korean teachers abroad for training.

In other words, the English education system and government English teaching programs need to change in order to achieve their goals of improving English education and the English skills of Korean people. Education goals should transition from economically-motivated to goals that

put the well-being of students and Korean society in the center. This is not a task that foreign English teachers can necessarily do successfully; therefore, reconsideration of both the education system and government policies is needed.

4.3 Future prospects

Based on the current situation in Korea, teachers have expressed their concerns and hopes for how Korea will become or can become globalized in the future. Most respondents mentioned that younger generations are indeed benefitting from foreign English teachers, as they learn more about foreign cultures and thus become more open to new or different ideas, cultures, or ways of thinking.

W12: New kids that are entering the school seem to be more aware of the outside and travel more widely. I think the attitudes of the younger generation will make Korea more globalized in the future as they are open to new ideas and change.

W15: For the younger generation [foreign English teachers] could help, but the older generation is dead-set in their ways and I doubt we are much of an influence to them.

P1: When it comes to the generation that is growing up now, so when the younger generation comes up and takes over, and the generations

that had experience with foreign teachers and heard about different places other than just America, I think the country will grow as the generations move up.

In summary, younger generations i.e. children currently in schools can experience some of the benefits of learning from a foreign English teacher, such as awareness of and openness towards other cultures. However, for adults and older generations, there is little influence and change expected.

5. Conclusion

This researched focused on how foreign English teachers experience globalization in Korea and how the nationalistic appropriation of globalization has affected the cultural practices related to foreign English teachers. Also, it shortly explored the policies related to foreign English teachers and how they are related to the cultural practices surrounding them. The strong point of this research has been the fact that it has aimed to provide an outsider's perspective on the nationalistic appropriation of globalization and the cultural practices surrounding foreign English teachers in Korea.

Through a thorough literature review, Korean-style globalization, its appropriation, and its cultural practices were defined as economically motivated by nationalistic purposes. Social Darwinism, capitalism, and neoliberalism, as well as nationalism were defined as the key ideologies that influenced the appropriation of globalization in Korea, which is in turn reflected in cultural practices related to them. English education in Korea was conceptualized as showing the same traits of being economically motivated for nationalistic purposes.

To explore the above issues in the case of foreign English teachers, in-depth interviews were conducted with 29 participants, from which 6 people were interviewed in person, while 23 people have been interview in writing, online. Both of these groups have received mostly open questions about their

experiences in Korea, both as a foreigner and as an English teacher. The results were analyzed by noting emerging themes that were common in the respondents' experiences as well as unique to the Korea's situation.

To summarize the results, foreign English teachers experience Korea as semi-globalized. Some flows of globalization such as technology and finance are globalized, while other flows such as media or culture are not so much. Indeed, there is a disjuncture between the different flows of globalization in Korea, which is a reflection of Appadurai's global flows model (1996).

According to foreign English teachers, Korea is not globalized culturally. Korean society is seen as nationalistic and closed off, which is reflected in their globalization policies that promote outward globalization and global images to maximize Korean profits while little cultural transformation happens inside Korea. In other words, globalization in Korea is appropriated for nationalistic purposes. This confirms the reasoning of Kim (2000), Shin (2003), and others who have emphasized that Korean globalization is heavily influenced by national interests. This nationalistic tendency results in a unidirectional globalization, where Korea is increasingly well-known in other countries, yet other countries and cultures are not very well-known or even present in Korea. Nationalistic interests also bring about an appearance-based globalization, where the globalized image of Korea, Korean businesses, or schools is more important than actual globalization of Korean culture (Kim, 2000).

One of the globalizing strategies in Korea has been inviting foreign English teachers to teach English. Nationalistic appropriation of globalization can be seen in the arbitrary definition of foreigners as white westerners and the restriction of English teaching programs to only include mostly white, native English-speaking westerners. In Korea, the concept of ‘foreigner’ indicates white people of Western origin, and mainly people whose native language is English. Many of the respondents stressed that their whiteness influenced how Korean people have treated them. They are generally treated better because of their white skin, but whiteness is often all that was to their identity. This foreigner or white identity is based on appearance and language ability, which then persists despite efforts to integrate into Korean culture. Moreover, images of white foreigners are often based on examples of foreigners who have little desire to integrate into Korean society. This then perpetuates a concept of ‘foreigner’ that is neither true nor beneficial to foreign English teachers or the general foreign population.

Foreigners are employed to promote their workplaces as globalizing or globalized, resulting in tokenism. Firstly, they are employed for their ‘foreignness’ ; secondly, they are employed for their ‘native English’ . The reason for this is the concept of ‘foreigner’ Koreans have, as well as the belief that native speakers are more authentic and perfect speakers of the English language. Educational institutions are often promoted or advertized with foreign teachers to show a more global, more successful

image with supposedly better language education. A consequence of this is that unqualified foreigners are employed rather than capable and qualified teachers. Even if qualified teachers are employed, they are restricted by the educational system and are often not able to utilize their teaching skills in a teaching environment that focuses on token employment of and exposure to foreigners rather than high quality English teaching.

Moreover, policies related to foreign English teachers restrict the diversity of foreigners and thus Korean people's exposure to diverse cultures. By including only seven countries' citizens as eligible for the English language instructor visa (E2), the diversity of English speakers and English as a language is compromised in Korea. Until recent years, the American variety of English has been preferred and mostly American or North American teachers were employed to teach English. Although this trend persists, there is a relatively greater diversity of foreign English teachers nowadays. When it comes to Korean media there is limited exposure to foreign movies, music, and so on; most foreign content in Korean media is American. This makes the role of foreign English teachers in promoting diversity - and not only the diverse cultures of Western countries - even more important.

The concept of 'foreignness,' tokenism, and the lack of diversity are obstacles to the full-scale globalization of Korean culture. The objective behind such cultural practices is not the globalization of Korea but the

nationalistic appropriation of globalization for economic growth on the individual and state level.

Government programs inviting foreign English teachers have had two aims: to improve the English proficiency of Korean people and to advance globalization in Korea through exposure to foreigners. The first goal has not been achieved as the above mentioned policies restrict and limit the roles of foreign English teachers, often leaving little room for actual English teaching. Moreover, the Korean education system needs improvements when it comes to language education and is currently not ready for the influx of foreign teachers. Therefore, it is questionable whether foreign English teachers have had or can have a measurable impact on the English skills of Korean students.

On the other hand, foreign English teachers were more positive about the effects of Korean people meeting foreigners in person, yet the lack of diversity can be an obstacle to this. Teachers were positive about younger generations in Korea, who appear to be more globalized and open to different cultures and ideas. In the case of awareness of and openness toward foreigners, foreign English teachers seem to have a positive influence.

Overall, most teachers recommended against the mindless employment of foreign English teachers and offered recommendations as to what improvements could be made to ensure that Korean students are receiving a better English education. Most have stressed that foreign English teachers are not the solution to problems in the Korean education system, nor the solution to the

globalization of Korean culture. They added that while foreign English teachers can make Koreans more open to other cultures, the costs of employing foreign English teachers might be too high a price for this. The respondents suggested that the government should reconsider the current policies and programs and develop other measures to advance globalization in Korea.

Furthermore, current policies and cultural practices related to foreigners, immigrants, and multiculturalism are reducing foreigners to certain stereotypes, often practice tokenism, limit diversity, and are often unidirectional. Here a difference between foreign English teachers and other foreigners in Korea can be seen: the white, Anglophone foreigner is expected to teach their culture and make Korea globalized, while the other (for example, South-Asian) foreigner is expected to integrate into Korean culture. In both cases, little real learning is happening on Korea's side. While both cases make Korea look more globalized, these cultural practices reduce individuals to images, cultures to stereotypes, and cultural diversity to tokenism. Overall, multiculturalism and cultural diversity is gravely lacking in Korea. Unfortunately, the influx of foreigners is not likely to slow down (although government English programs might gradually come to a halt). Top-down globalizing policies by the government cannot do much if there are no 'grassroots' globalizing tendencies. Korean individuals and the Korean state must find ways to overcome this hurdle for the benefit of other, non-Korean human beings. Moreover, it would be better if Korea could

see not only technological or economic globalization but cultural globalization and cultural diversity as beneficial to the country. The more Korea can learn from other cultures, the better it can adapt to globalization and compete in the global competition.

All in all, this study was limited by the number of respondents and their concentration in the Gwangju area and therefore the replies might represent more of what Jeollanam-do and Gwangju is like rather than what Korea in general is like.

To facilitate cultural diversity, further studies on multiculturalism, cultural diversity, and foreigners in Korea would be beneficial to Korean society. Especially studies on how the cultural acceptance of foreigners is changing and what measures can be taken to encourage acceptance would be useful. At the same time, English teaching policies and recommendations for improvements are needed, with a strong focus on reevaluating the goals of English education and the employment of foreign English teachers in Korea. Hopefully, these policies and the globalizing goals of Korea will be reconsidered in the coming years, so that the policies can achieve their goals as well as provide a more comfortable environment for foreigners in Korea.

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Appendix - Survey and interview questions

Page 1

Globalization and experiences of foreign English teachers in Korea

Thank you for participating in this survey.

My name is Julia Katona and I am a graduate student at Chosun University, Department of Journalism and Communication. I am writing my master's thesis about foreign English teachers in South Korea. I am interested in your experiences during your stay in South Korea, whether you had good or bad experiences.

This survey is completely anonymous and I am in no way affiliated with any government office or language teaching institute. If you have any questions or comments, you can contact me at juliekatona at gmail dot com or leave a comment at the end of the survey.

Page 2

These first few questions concern personal data.

1. What is your age?
2. What is your gender? (Select one option)

- Male
- Female
- Other (Please specify) _____

3. Where are you from?

(a) Citizenship:

(b) Ethnicity:

4. About how long have you been living in Korea? Please reply in years or months.

5. About how long are you planning to stay in Korea? Please reply in years or months.

Page 3

The next questions are about your general experiences of coming to and living in Korea. Please reply in detail. Feel free to describe both positive and negative experiences.

6. Why Korea? What made you come to Korea?

7. How fluent are you in Korean? How long have you been learning Korean and in what way?

Page 4

The next questions are about your general experiences of coming to and living in Korea. Please reply in detail. Feel free to describe both positive and negative experiences.

8. How do you like Korea in general?

9. What did you imagine or expect Korea to be like before coming here?

10. Has your image of Korea changed after coming here? How has it changed?

11. Based on your experiences during your stay in Korea, do you think Korea a globalized country? Why? In what ways can Korea be considered globalized?

Page 5

The next questions concern your experiences in everyday situations in Korea. Please reply in detail. Feel free to describe both positive and negative experiences.

12. How do Korean people treat you in everyday situations?

13. Have you experienced any situations where Korean people treated you differently because you were a foreigner? This could be because of any foreign trait you have (for example foreign physical traits, foreign habits or ways of expression, foreign lifestyle etc.)

14. Have you experienced any situations in your everyday life in Korea where your role or job was to be a foreigner? (For example, people wanted to talk to you or take a picture with you because you are a foreigner etc.)

Page 6

This question is about your teaching experience abroad. Please reply in detail.

15. Have you taught English or others subjects abroad before coming to Korea? If you have, please describe where and in what context you have taught abroad.

Page 7

Next are some questions about your current workplace. (If you are not working as an English teacher in Korea right now, but have experience teaching English in Korea, please refer to your last workplace when replying to these questions.)

16. Where is your current workplace located at?

(a) Province:

(b) City, town or village:

17. What type of place do you currently work at? (You can select more than one)

- Public school
- Private school (hagwon)
- University
- Company
- Other (Please specify): _____

18. What age group are your current students? (You can select more than one)

- Kindergarten children
- Elementary school students (grades 1-6)
- Middle school students (grades 7-9)
- High school students (grades 10-12)
- University students
- Adults
- Other (Please specify): _____

19. What level of English do you currently teach? (You can select more than one)

- Beginner
- Intermediate
- Advanced
- Other (Please specify): _____

Page 8

20. Have you worked at other places as an English teacher in Korea before your current workplace? Please describe where and in what context you have been teaching English before your current workplace.

Page 9

These questions concern your workplace. You can describe your experiences at both your current and previous workplace(s) in Korea. Please reply in detail. Feel free to describe both positive and negative experiences.

21. How do you like your workplace?

22. How would you describe your and other foreign English teachers' role at your workplace? (For example: co-teacher, conversation teacher, native speaker etc.)

23. How much choice or influence do you or other English teachers have at your workplace in regards to what and how you teach?

24. How do Korean people (students, teachers, managers, parents etc.) treat you at your workplace?

25. Have you experienced any situations at your workplace where Korean people treated you differently because you were a foreigner? This could be because of any foreign trait you have (for example foreign physical traits, foreign habits or ways of expression, foreign lifestyle etc.)

26. Have you experienced any situations at your workplace where your role or job was to be a foreigner? (For example, people wanted to talk to you or take a picture with you because you are a foreigner etc.)

Page 10

These last few questions concern English teaching and globalization in Korea according to your experiences. Please reply based on your experiences during your stay in Korea. You can describe your experiences at both your current and previous workplace(s) in Korea. Where it is possible, please reply in detail. Feel free to describe both positive and negative experiences.

27. Do you think learning from foreign English teachers have helped improve the English skills of Korean students, teachers, and others? In what ways have foreign English teachers contributed to this?

28. Do you think learning from foreign English teachers have made Korean students, teachers, and others more open to foreign languages and cultures? In what ways have foreign English teachers contributed to this?

29. Do you think the presence and influence of foreign English teachers have made Korea become more globalized? In what ways have foreign English teachers contributed to this?

Page 11

Thank you for completing this survey.

If you have any questions or comments, you can contact me at juliekatona at gmail dot com or leave a comment below. If you would like to receive more information about this survey and its results, please enter your email address below.