

**Tracked Identities, Resistance, and Cultural Production of *Yeongpoja*:
Critical Ethnography of Tracked English Classes in a Korean Middle School**

by

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M.A., University of Wisconsin-River Falls, 2011

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE AND POSTDOCTORAL STUDIES
(Language and Literacy Education)

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

(Vancouver)

May 2017

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Abstract

In South Korea, English is implicated in local political processes, mediating relations of class and social (re)production (Park, 2013). Unequal access to English restricts the prospects of the disadvantaged in education and the job market (Kubota, 2011). Tracking, an institutional practice which groups students by performance, is one way in which these inequalities manifest in the neoliberalized landscape of Korean education. Situated within the frameworks of cultural production (Willis, 1977, 2004) and language socialization (Duff & Talmy, 2011), this critical ethnography explores the language learning trajectories of ninth-grade students in a Korean school over one semester who have been tracked since entering middle school. Classroom interactions and interviews are analyzed using critical discourse approaches (Talmy, 2010a).

This study finds that teachers oriented to the significance of English in high-stakes exams, and naturalized tracking to provide students appropriately leveled lessons. However, their beliefs about homogenously-constituted tracks steered them to conflate students' language competence with track categories and prevented them from attending to the multiple levels and needs of learners within each track. More importantly, there were very few differences in the instructional materials used across tracks because teachers based their lessons on the same textbook in preparation for the same tests. Consequently, many students, regardless of track, deemed tracking uncondusive to learning, engaging in acts of resistance to grammar-translation-oriented classroom practices.

Nevertheless, students displayed disaffiliative stances towards detracking out of concerns of being held back or tacitly positioned as having deficits. In this sense, this study argues that socialization into tracking led students to track not only their abilities but also their habitus (Bourdieu, 1990) and identities. Such tracked identities created conditions to reinforce a school

hierarchy in which many low-track students were discursively co-produced as *yeongpoja*, i.e., students who have given up on English.

This study demonstrates that the *yeongpoja* identity is a consequence of socialization into low tracks, manifesting students' resistance to their stigmatized identities as well as the test-oriented instructional practices. The study concludes with a call for reexamining tracking, suggesting implications for instruction which integrate and recognize the needs, interests, and knowledge of students from diverse backgrounds.

Preface

This study has undergone an ethical review process which was approved on January 9, 2015 by the University of British Columbia Behavioural Research Ethics Board. The Human Ethics Certificate #H14-03136 for “Critical ethnography of tracked Grade 9 English classrooms: Class, identity and L2 learning in a Korean middle school” expires on September 17, 2017.

This dissertation is original, unpublished and independent work of the author, Hyera Byean.

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List of Abbreviations

CE	Critical Ethnography
CA	Conversation Analysis
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KMOE	Korean Ministry of Education
KTU	Korean Teachers' and Education Workers' Union
LC	Learning Community
LS	Language Socialization
L2	Second language
MCA	Membership Categorization Analysis
NGO	Nongovernmental organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
SES	Socioeconomic status
TEE	Teaching English in English only
TOEIC	Test of English for International Communication
WHO	World Health Organization

Abbreviated References to Data

Fieldnotes

Examples: (a) (Hfnmarch06) (b) (Mfnjune23) (c) (Lfnapril11)

	Track location	Fieldnote	Month	Date
(a)	H (high track)	fn (fieldnote)	May	06
(b)	M (middle track)		June	23
(c)	L (low track)		April	11

Classroom data

Examples: (a) (Hjune03:33-35) (b) (Mmarch12:101-106) (c) (Lmay25:234-245)

	Track location	Month	Date	Microsoft Word line number
(a)	H (high track)	June	03	33-35
(b)	M (middle track)	March	12	101-106
(c)	L (low track)	May	25	234-245

Interview data

Examples: (a) (I1:23-25) (b) (I2: 11-16) (c) (UI1: 34-43) (d) (UI2: 66-89)

I1	I2	UI1	UI2	23-25/ 11-16/ 34-43/ 66-89
The first formal interview	The second formal interview	The first unstructured interview	The second unstructured interview	Microsoft Word line number

Acknowledgements

The long and endless journey of Ph.D. could not have been possible without the support and patience of many. My heartfelt thanks first go out to my co-supervisors, Drs. Ryuko Kubota and Steven Talmy, and my committee member, Dr. Patricia A. Duff. I am deeply indebted to each of you for granting me an opportunity to learn and practice under your supervisions and for guiding me to become an ethically responsible researcher, scholar, and teacher. Their critical insights helped sharpen my thinking and beliefs throughout this doctoral journey. I would also like to express my sincere gratitude to university examiners, Drs. Lee Gunderson and Wendy Poole, a chair, Dr. Donald Baker, and an external examiner, Farahnaz Faez for supporting my oral defense. I have been extremely fortunate to work with the amazing thesis committee.

I would also like to extend my thanks to all the participants who graciously welcomed me into their lives and spaces and allowed me to conduct this ethnographic study, which is still uncommon in Korea. I sincerely appreciate them for sharing with me their stories and insights and for letting me observe their classroom practices for six months. My deepest thanks also go to my students and fellow teachers in Korea. Without their support, this study would have been impossible.

I am also very grateful to my fellow graduate pals. Special thanks go to my study buddies, Jeongja Kang and Hyejin Lee, who shared with me insights, concerns and challenges not only as mothers but also as professionals engaged in Korean education. I would like to acknowledge Dr. Ee-Seul Yoon for her intellectual and spiritual guidance. Also, I would like to convey many thanks to my cohorts, Ava Becker, Natalia Balyasnikova, Victoria Surtees, Christine Bridge, Claire Ahn, Lisa Chang, Angela Moon, and Sara Davidson, and LLEDers, Tomoyo Okuda, Bong-gi Sohn, Won Kim, Ryan Deschambault, Junghyun Hwang, Ismaeil Fazel, Harini

Rajagopal, Jun Ma, Assadullah Sadiq and others, for their encouragement, inspiration, and a piece of smile, whenever I was having a hard time with my study.

Last but certainly not least, I am eternally grateful to my family, especially my late mother, Moonja Heo, my father, Chungwoong Byean and my two brothers, Haewon Byean and Haewook Byean, for all of their love, support, and faith. 엄마, 아빠, 그리고 오빠들, 끝까지 저의 꿈을 믿고 응원해줘서 고마워요. My heartfelt thank-you goes to my daughter, Jaeyeon who has been my best friend, study buddy, and soul mate. Jaeyeon, what could I possibly have done without you? You showed me unwavering trust in me even at times when I began to lose confidence in myself. I hope that we keep our close friendship and achieve many more of our dreams together in the years to come. 고마워, 딸아, 그리고 사랑해. 네가 내 딸이라 참 좋다.

Dedication

*To the memory of my mother,
Heo, Moon-Ja,*

Chapter 1: Situating the Study

1.1 Introduction

Neoliberalism is an economic doctrine that “ontologizes the global market logic” (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 32). With an emphasis on individual freedoms and entrepreneurial skills, it promotes not only the corporatization of the state through deregulation, privatization, and devolution for minimal government, but also the corporatization of individuals vying for their personal branding (Giroux, 2008; Harvey, 2005). Since the 1980s, many countries have been subsumed by the term “globalization” and have headed in this direction through the implementation of neoliberal reforms in various social sectors, particularly in education, where market-based policies have intensified competition among social actors and ascribed success or failure to personal virtues (Apple, 2006; Dolby et al., 2004; Flores, 2013; Urciuoli, 2010).

The impacts of neoliberal globalization have included a greater recognition of English for global communication and economic progress. Such beliefs attribute exchange value to English and help to build the myth that English will guarantee material gain and social inclusion (Block, Gray, & Holborow, 2012; Blommaert, 2009; Cameron, 2005; Holborow, 2015; Kubota, 2015; H. Shin & Park, 2016). Accordingly, many governments in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) contexts have facilitated English education by promoting English-mediated instruction, hiring native-speaking English teachers and tracking students by competence. Thus far, however, little ethnographic research has been undertaken in EFL K-12 settings (e.g., De Costa, 2011; Duff, 1995; K. S. Lee, 2014; Lin, 1999). Given the significance of English in local education and job markets, EFL classroom research is crucial to help illuminate how English as an integral part of neoliberal projects mediates relations of class and affects students’ identities, investment, and aspirations throughout the processes of second language socialization.

In this light, this critical ethnographic study drew on theories of cultural production (Dolby et al., 2004; Giroux, 1983b; Levinson et al., 1996) and second language socialization (Duff, 2002, 2003, 2008b; Duff & Talmy, 2011) and examined the language learning experiences of ninth-grade EFL learners in a Korean public middle school for one semester; the learners had been sorted into high, middle and low tracks according to their academic performance on school-based assessments. Particular attention was paid to capture the complexity of local practices surrounding English in relation to macro-level policies. Many tracking studies have asserted that tracking has contributed to a reproduction of the wider social hierarchy, and this study also reached to similar conclusions. However, through a close analysis of classroom interactions, this study illuminated how English education policies in which communicative competence figures prominently ran into conflict with local practices and how the meritocratic logic underlying tracking obscured different affordances, resources and access to English learning that hinges on students' socioeconomic and sociocultural backgrounds.

In the next section, I locate English as an integral part of neoliberalism and discuss the significance of South Korea as a research site in exploring tracking and the politics of English education. I then delineate my background and motivation for the study. This is followed by describing the ontological and epistemological stances I take over the course of the study. Having clarified the notion of social class, I pose the research questions which guide this study.

1.2 Background to the Study

In South Korea, English is deeply implicated in local political landscapes and neoliberal practices, mediating relations of class and social (re)production (Jeon, 2012a; J. S.-Y. Park, 2011, 2013; Piller & Cho, 2013). Having prioritized the development of competitive global citizens in the global market, the government has placed English at the very core of Korean education. As a

result, some parents send their children to privileged English private institutes or English-speaking countries to give them a head start in English language learning, consequently triggering a socioeconomic polarization with English at its core or a so-called “English divide” among students from diverse backgrounds (Byun & Kim, 2010; H. Park, 2014; J. S.-Y. Park, 2013; H. Shin, 2014). As such, being a (neoliberal) global citizen is very much aligned with the aspirations of the middle and upper middle classes as it requires certain levels of symbolic capital (Apple, 2001; Block, 2014; Bourdieu, 1986).

In this respect, it is inevitable that unequal access to English restricts the prospects of the disadvantaged in the neoliberal education market (Kubota, 2011; J. S. Park & Wee, 2012). Tracking is one way in which this unequal access manifests itself in Korean society. “Tracking” is the process whereby students are grouped and taught by their purported abilities (Gamoran, 2010; Oakes, 1985). It is intended to create conditions in which teachers can offer efficient instructions to meet students’ needs. Contrary to its rationale, however, tracking has been met with limited success and vehemently criticized as non-egalitarian because it tacitly segregates students by class, race, ethnicity and linguistic capital (Callahan, 2005; Gilbert & Yerrick, 2001; Harklau, 1994b; Ireson & Hallam, 2009a; Y. Kim, 2012; Lucas, 1999; Page, 1991).

In Korea, tracking was firmly prohibited in 1974 by the enactment of an equalization policy or *pyeongjunhwa* (평준화) in order to preclude overheated competition in the private education market and to enhance educational equity among students from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds (H. Park, 2007). However, debate about tracking and curriculum differentiation began anew during Kim, Yeong-sam’s regime (1993-1997) on the grounds that curriculum commonization failed to serve the needs of high-performing students, thereby impeding the enhancement of their competitive edge in the global market. Despite strong opposition to its

focus on high-performing students and educational excellence, thirty years after its abolition tracking became officially reinstated in 2008 and enforced from Grade 7 to 12 in English and mathematics, both of which play a crucial role in Korean college entrance exams. Under the name, *sujunbyeol* (수준별, by ability) *idong* (이동, moving) *sueop* (수업, class) (KMOE, 2008a), the government differentiated its ability grouping from tracking, which segregates students based on the total score of all subjects for an academic year. However, Oakes (2014) argues that “what some schools call ability grouping often amounts to tracking under a more acceptable name” (p. 204). In this vein, Mickelson and Everett (2008) refer to ability grouping as “neo-tracking”.

While the equalization policy is gradually being dismantled through neoliberal educational reforms, tracking has become increasingly entrenched. Furthermore, research shows that low-track classes are often assigned to inexperienced instructors (E. Yoo, 2013), thus raising questions about the equality of educational opportunity. The preceding discussion compellingly shows how neoliberal projects and the significance of English mediate relations of class and perpetuate the hegemonic ideologies of English. For this reason, the role of tracking in English education requires more in-depth scrutiny into the processes that affect students’ identities, investment and aspirations throughout language socialization in Korea.

1.2.1 Significance of South Korea as a Research Site

Some researchers have surmised that tracking might work effectively when it is tied to meaningful incentives such as high-stakes exams and access to jobs along with applying a common curriculum regardless of tracks (Ayalon & Gamoran, 2000; Broaded, 1997; Gamoran, 1996, 2010; Stanley & Maccann, 2005). South Korea is a country which has demonstrated the highest degree of educational expansion, achievement, and investment among OECD nations (H. Park, 2007). The remarkable degree of educational expansion, academic elitism tied to

prestigious schools or *hakbeolism* (학벌이즘), neoliberal reforms in education, and high-stakes exams, make South Korea an important site for examining the effects of tracking on students and teachers. Moreover, curriculum commonization is another distinctive feature of Korean tracking practices. Regardless of track locations, students are asked to take the same paper-and-pencil tests two times per semester. These teacher-created summative tests consist of multiple choice, sentence-level writing or cloze questions and are assessed in a norm-referenced fashion whereby students' scores are interpreted with reference to the performance of other students. Along with these test results, students are also evaluated by performance-based assessments such as classroom attitude, classroom participation and homework. These English grades determine students' tracks within a school as well as between schools.

Much of the Korean research on tracking has been large or small-scale quantitative studies, sometimes including interviews with teachers and students (Baek, 2011; Hwang, 2014; Y. Kim, 2012; Y.-M. Kwon, 2005; S. Park et al., 2005; Y. Sung, 2008; Yang, 2006); some of these studies argue that tracking has widened the academic gap between students across tracks. For example, Y. Sung's (2008) and Baek's (2011) studies based on longitudinal data demonstrate that tracking promoted the self-efficacy of high-track students at the cost of the self-efficacy of middle-and low-track students, having no or less contribution to the enhancement of low-track students' academic achievements. If tracking aims to close the academic gap between students, Baek (2011) argues for "detracking" by placing struggling learners into higher tracks.

In terms of the effects of tracking on English learning, Y. Kim's (2012) research shows that only high-level students respond positively, indicating a studious environment in higher tracks. Nonetheless, the findings demonstrated that one of the common concerns for all groups was that they did not experience much difference in lessons because materials covered across

tracks did not differ. In this light, Y. Kim (2012) maintains that although 85% of the teachers in her study responded that tracking allowed them to provide appropriately leveled lessons to students, the majority of them also agreed on the benefits of tracking as illusive because of Korea's test-oriented education system. High-stakes exams and competition also echo Hwang's (2014) quantitative research. Owing to a *competitive disposition*, "a tendency to put a high value on competition and getting ahead of others, as well as being afraid of falling behind" (p. 146), it was found that tracking was not necessarily effective for high-track students who were under pressure and tension out of the fear that they might move downward into lower tracks. Hwang then concludes that "the competition-oriented atmosphere prevalent in Korean society may serve as a socio-cultural condition to prevent ability grouping from achieving its intended goals" (p. 146; see also Y. Kim, 2012; Ryoo, 2008).

While there are ample quantitative studies on tracking in Korea, to my knowledge, there has been no ethnographically-designed research which undertakes microanalysis on classroom interactions. For a more nuanced understanding of the institutional process of cultural (re)production, what counts is a close examination of the cultural politics of English tracks in terms of what actually takes place within them (Duff & Talmy, 2011; Pennycook, 2001). In this respect, this critical ethnographic study on the experiences, dilemmas and struggles of EFL students and teachers within the Korean tracking system will allow for a better sense of what consequences the neoliberalization of education has on students as well as teachers, thereby engaging in the creation of inclusive policies and pedagogies.

1.2.2 My Motivation and Positionality for the Study: Why I Am Doing This

In designing critical ethnography, Madison (2012) encourages researchers to self-pose the following questions: "what are we going to do with the research; who ultimately will benefit?;

who gives us the authority to make claims about where we have been?; how will our work make a difference in people's lives?" (p. 8). In this section, hence, I address these questions by elucidating my motivation and positionality as a teacher-turned critical ethnographer.

I was once a staunch advocate of tracking. As a representative of the Provincial Office of Education, I participated in national tracking-promoting conferences and presented to other English teachers in my province on tracking as an alternative strategy to narrow the gap of English competence among students from diverse backgrounds. My credentials, bolstered by several awards, in particular two first place awards from Teaching and Research competitions, enabled me to heighten the legitimacy of tracking when speaking with local teachers. Since 2000, I have taught English in public middle schools, and I still hold my teaching position in South Korea. At the beginning of my career, tracking had not yet been implemented nationwide, and it was in 2007 when I first learned about the tracking policy. After first hearing the rationales being put forth for tracking, I thought that it might be an efficacious strategy to support low-achieving students, and that belief drove me to become an advocate.

However, it took me less than one semester to realize my naivety and to start questioning the justifications for tracking. No matter how hard I tried and no matter what activities I utilized, motivating low-track students was still challenging. In response to my agony over their non-participation, what one of my low-track students once told me is indelibly etched into my mind: "Teacher, don't bother. We are low track¹ and will be so always" (쌤, 너무 힘 빼지 마요. 우리는 하반이잖아요. 여기서 못나가요). It seemed that their placement into the bottom rung track had negative influence in shaping their subjectivities and identities. Moreover, tracking did not

¹ In Korean, students equate themselves with their tracks and thus refer to themselves as a high track, middle track or low track, rather than a certain-track student. For example, *na* (나, I) *ha-ban* (하반, low track) *i-ya* (이야, am). Accordingly, their track becomes their learner identity.

always benefit even the high-track students. Except for exceptionally high-performing students, many students were self-conscious about social comparisons within the high-track classroom, showing a sense of insecurity that they might move down to lower tracks. In some cases, students refused moving into the high-track class despite their eligibility.

I was not the only person who had been confronted with these dilemmas. One day after class was over, I ran into a colleague in a school hallway. After teaching a low-track English class, she was on her way to a teacher's office with hands full with materials for class activities. I noticed the materials and stopped to ask if the class had been fun, but the answer that I received took me by surprise. With tears in the corners of her eyes, she mumbled that she could not even take out the materials she had worked hard on: "I couldn't do anything. The low-track students didn't want to do anything. They didn't want to read, write, or even play a game". Questioning her professional skill and identity, the teacher sighed and said that she really regretted becoming an English teacher.

I had been teaching tracked-English classrooms since 2007, and had experienced the same problems repeatedly. These conflicts led me to use my seniority and to choose high-track classes, and to assign low-track classes to non-regular instructors who were employed by the government as English Conversation Instructors (영어회화전문강사) for two purposes: to facilitate communicative competence and tracking. Despite teachers' ambivalence towards the effects of tracking on English learning, it has become entrenched within the public school system, engendering a set of beliefs in its ability to act as a springboard for students to advance to the next level. As Bourdieu (1977) argues, it is collective misrecognition that leads social actors to the state of doxa, an unchallenged belief for "the naturalization of its own arbitrariness" (p. 164). The misrecognition around tracking seems to hamper teachers, including myself, from

problematizing the use of tracking and taking actions to challenge it. The reality is I have rarely seen low-track students advancing to the next level. Given the large number of students who are low-tracked for their entire middle and high school years and the reluctance of teachers, including myself, to teaching them, the effects of tracking on English learning in tandem with identity development should be brought to the fore via classroom-based ethnographic research.

In Korea, there is a popular and poignant expression, *yeong-po-ja* (영포자) which is a shortened form of “*yeong-eo* (영어, English) *po-gi* (포기, give-up) *ja* (자, person)” and refers to those who have withdrawn from English learning. The existence of the term, *yeongpoja*, and a range of commercialized resource books specially designed for them are evidence of the local significance of English in education and the job market. During high school, I was also a *yeongpoja*. I was born in a remote mountain village, and my parents, who had lived through Korea’s historical turbulence of Japanese colonialism and the Korean War, were very poor farmers. Because poverty prevented both of them from completing their elementary education, they always hoped that higher education would provide upward social mobility for their children. In my small village, I was an “okay” student throughout elementary and middle school, but I began to have problems after entering a high school located in a city.

With high hopes, my parents had me take an entrance exam for a city high school and fortunately, I got accepted and began to live alone at the age of fifteen. However, my rural experiences turned out to be often in conflict with what I encountered while attending the city school. To someone raised in the country-side, it was not easy to keep up with other city students who had already been studying for the high school curriculum since middle school; English was above all the most challenging subject. I still remember myself sitting in an English classroom, with feelings of anxiety, insecurity and frustration. The dreadful fear and anxiousness of being

singled out in English class led me to choose silence as a tool to protect myself from public humiliation. I know too well what it means to be *yeongpoja* in English classrooms. The label, regardless of being sanctioned by either others or self, has a tremendous impact on students' construction of social identity, often leaving them with life-long emotional trauma. Needing to overcome this feeling of inferiority or sense of *junuk* (주눅) in Korean might be one of the driving forces which kept me pursuing higher academic credentials.

In this respect, the more *yeongpoja* I found in low-track classes, the more I blamed myself for my role in propagating the tracking policy. To initiate a critical discussion over the politics of teaching and learning English by tracks, I decided to embark on this critical ethnography. By exploring “hows” and “whats” through an ethnographic lens, I aim to illuminate the contingent, multidirectional and complex processes of language socialization.

1.3 Situating the Study within a Social Practice Paradigm

Defining a paradigm as “the basic belief system or worldview that guides the investigator”, Lincoln and Guba (1994, p. 195) suggest that researchers situate their study within a larger paradigm and make explicit the ontological, epistemological, and methodological positions they take into their studies (see also Lincoln & Guba, 2011).

The ontological and epistemological position I take in this study departs from scientific objectivity, normativity, and neutrality couched in a positivistic paradigm in which language is cast as a fixed entity and language learning as a linear and static process. The objectification of language as a value-free entity, as Reagan (2004) points out, leads not only to reifying language itself but also to reinforcing dominant ideologies and technician approaches to language teaching and research. He maintains that this occurs because all pedagogical practices are ultimately questions of epistemology—“the way we think about *knowledge* and what it means *to know* are

directly and necessarily linked to all aspects of how we teach” (p. 51, emphasis in original). The positivistic paradigm is theoretically and methodologically unviable with the hermeneutic nature of research (Denzin, 2003; Duff, 2008a; Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005; Lincoln & Guba, 2011), and works to “mystify the inherently ideological nature of research in the human sciences and to legitimate privilege based on class, race, and gender” (Lather, 1986a, p. 64).

From this standpoint, my ontological and epistemological position is primarily grounded in theories of cultural production (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1993; Dolby et al., 2004; Levinson et al., 1996; Willis, 1981) and language socialization (Duff, 2003; Duff & Talmy, 2011). Although these theories are derived from different academic disciplines, they share many underlying principles. Both frameworks conceive of the nature of social reality as multiple, contingent, and a site of struggle over meaning, value, ideology, identity and power, given that power is not simply repressive but also productively circulating in intricate ways (cf. Foucault, 1980a; Giddens, 1979; Pennycook, 2001). Accordingly, this study deems language learning as a social practice, and the cultural production of “the educated person” (Levinson et al., 1996) is a dynamic and complex process by which multiple discourses and power relations significantly mediate the meaning of “the educated person” throughout language socialization processes. This allows for conceptualizing the notions of subjectivity, identity, agency, resistance and ideology in terms of emergence, relativity, performativity and multiplicity within particular local contexts.

1.4 Conceptualizing a Key Term: Social Class

Many of the initial studies concerning the complex processes of cultural production came out of Birmingham’s Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) in the 1970s. Particularly important to such work was a critical analysis of class-based inequalities focusing on how institutional forms of culture and power were (re)produced, accommodated or resisted

within situated social practices. Paul Willis's (1977) seminal work, *Learning to Labour* marked a theoretical and methodological break from reproduction theories, as the notion of resistance as the primary orientation was located through ethnography. It was shown how working-class "lads" in a secondary school in an industrialized town resisted the middle-class values of the school and produced their own subculture and masculine identities. The "lads" ended up getting working-class jobs, but what is important is that they "reproduce[d] existing structures only through struggle, contestation and a partial penetration of those structures" (p. 175).

Since Willis's work, other notable critical ethnographic studies in education have been carried out (Corrigan, 1979; Eckert, 1989; Griffin, 1985; Levinson & Holland, 1996; McLaren, 1986; McNeil, 1986, 2000, Weis, 1990, 2004). For example, Jean Anyon's (1981, 2008) study of five elementary schools in contrasting class settings in America showed how knowledge was differently distributed and practiced across working-class, middle-class and executive elite schools, and how upper-class parents skillfully fortified their own privilege in pursuit of class distinction (cf. Atkinson, 2003; Brantlinger, 2003; Heath, 1983; Howard, 2008; Reay, 2010). In this regard, Bernstein (1996) argues that "social class is a major regulator of the distribution of students to privileging discourses and institutions", and suggests taking into account "the constraints and grip of class-regulated realities" as a locus of symbolic control over democracy, culture and education (p. 11; see also Apple, 2004c; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977).

Since the rise of Thatcherism and Reaganism in the 1980s, the logic of neoliberal globalization has been heightened, thereby relocating working-class manufacturing industries from "First World" to "Third World" nations (Collins, 2012; Dolby & Dimitriadis, 2004; Harvey, 2005). The advent of this new political economy reconstituted the division of labor and class structure and entailed the shift of modern society from "a society of producers" to "a society of

consumers”—one ruled by the aesthetic of consumption which is primarily concerned about individuals’ capacity as consumers and their choice (Bauman, 1998). Given this drastic shift in and the instability of the labor market, Willis (2004) states that the composition of social class has become far more complex and uncertain, and “the contradictions of individualism and meritocracy [have carried] over, actually in much deeper ways, from the days of *Learning to Labor*” (p. 162). This point is well underscored by Anyon’s (2005) analysis on the links between underfunded schools and the macroeconomic system. Against this backdrop of prevailing class inequality, both Willis and Anyon argue for bringing social class to the centre to critique the neoliberal global economic order and social stratification. Likewise, Rampton et al. (2008) also point out, “In the era of the new globalized economy, mass migration and population mobility, analysis without a sense of class has become both increasingly common and increasingly inadequate” (pp.76-77; see Apple, 2004a; Block, 2014; Collins, 2012; Weis & Dolby, 2012).

The recent popularity of poststructuralist approaches to research has obscured social class as an important construct for academic inquiry. Therefore, understanding social class requires “giving due recognition of the multiple ways in which people are formed” (Au & Apple, 2009, p. 92). As Weis (2010) notes:

While class must be understood and theorized primarily in relation to the economy, we must additionally recognize that class rests fundamentally in the ‘lived’ realm in that it organizes the social, cultural, and material world in exceptionally powerful ways.(p. 415)

This view resonates well with Reay (2010) who foregrounds the notions of temporality, spatiality, and relationality to capture contemporary class relationships of schooling, because “[t]he lived experience of class varies across time and space, so class is experienced in different ways in different national contexts” (p. 402). With a focus on time and space, Reay argues that we can

illuminate relational aspects of educational achievement within a highly competitive and individualized neoliberal space in which the middle-class sense of intellectual superiority often results in pathologising working classes as unmotivated, thus embodying the class-based imagination of future career trajectories. That is, while working- class groups are more likely to envisage themselves within a familiar locality, the middle classes tend to have a more cosmopolitan aspiration (Block, 2014; Brantlinger, 2003; J. S.-Y. Park, 2013).

The middle class may simply represent a group that falls socioeconomically between the working class and upper class within the class spectrum. Yet, given the extent of variables such as consumer spending, education and others, no single definition would suffice as to what constitutes the middle class. In defining the middle class, one of the common measures that OECD studies use is a median income-based definition which specifies the middle class as 50% to 150% of national median equivalized household income (Castellani & Parent, 2011). Drawing on this definition, Statistics Korea, a government institute, implemented the 2014 Family Income Survey and defined the middle class in Korea as those households which make approximately 1,700 to 5,033 USD (50%~150%) monthly in accordance with the 2014 median income (3,360 USD) for a family of four. Among a total of Korean households, 65.6% fell into this middle class category, suggesting an increase in the middle class and a decrease in income inequality (S.Kwon, 2014).

However, the 2016 Korean Middle Class Report released by NH Investment & Securities projected conflicting results. The institute selected 1,128 middle-class people between their thirties and fifties who earn about 3,340 USD per month and have net assets of 178,524 to 267,785 USD, and conducted a survey on their self-perception as being members of the middle class. Interestingly, the survey showed that 79.1% of the respondents did not classify themselves

as a part of the middle class, but rather as lower class. This is indicative of a discrepancy between national statistics and people's perceptions and lived experiences. According to the respondents, middle-class status requires the ownership of a mid-sized car and an apartment bigger than 102 m², a monthly expense of more than 334 USD on their children's private education, and so forth. In terms of values, they prioritized the stability of their families, and deemed themselves as conservatives for change (D. Choi, 2015).

As Harvey (2005) notes, “[w]hile neoliberalism may have been about the restoration of class power, it has not necessarily meant the restoration of economic power to the same people” (p. 31), given its close association with neoconservative elites through a reconfiguration of what constitutes an upper class (see also Apple, 2006; Giroux, 2008). In this sense, it is necessary to address the impact of the new political economic conditions on the reconfiguration of the middle class. South Korea is one of a few countries which has achieved a remarkable economic growth within a single generation, and this rapid progress has contributed to the dramatic expansion of the middle class. Since the Asian financial crisis in 1997, however, employment instability and income inequality have worsened, affecting people of all social strata, particularly the middle class substantially (Byun & Kim, 2010; H. Park, 2007). In a study on Korean early-study-abroad or *jogiyuhak* (조기유학) adolescents in Toronto, H. Shin (2010) points out the following:

Given the increased class disparity and the collapse of segments of the middle class during and after the financial crisis in Korea, the pace and extent to which *jogi yuhak*, which was initially the practice of well-off members of at least upper-middle class, has spread into different tiers in the middle class is noteworthy. (p. 9)

In response to increase in the number of middle-class *jogiyuhak* students, Shin maintains that “the old Korean middle class (now elites)” created transnational cosmopolitanism as a new form

of capital for distinction. This was subsequently pursued by “the new middle class” through *jogiyuhak* in search of amassing two key sources of symbolic capital: “authentic” English acquired in English-speaking countries; and educational credentials from prestigious Western universities (p. 11). Shin (2012) adds that “*jogiyuhak* students and families used ‘consumption’ to negotiate their social positioning as modern, cosmopolitan citizens in Canada” (p. 186), where “citizenship has been conflated with consumption rather than production” (Dolby & Dimitriadis, 2004, p. 7).

Issues like these substantiate the reality that demarcating a middle class is not simple. In the neoliberal economic order, the middle class is largely perceived as a consumer class whose members display characteristics, including a stable income and job, housing, good educational backgrounds, and vigorous investments in their children’s education as well as family cultural and leisure activities (Apple, 2004b; Block, 2014; Brantlinger, 2003; Reay, 2008; H. Shin, 2014). Accordingly, this study conceptualizes the middle class in a generic sense, referring to those who have resources and affordance and invest economic capital as well as emotional capital in their children’s education. Diane Reay’s (2000, 2004) notion of “emotional capital”, which is an extension of Bourdieu’s concept of capital to the realm of affective domains, represents the key role of mothers’ involvement in their children’s education. With a focus on the impact of social class on gendered notions of emotional capital in her research, Reay (2004) posits that emotional capital does not differ greatly by class:

[W]orking-class women found it more difficult to supply their children with resources of emotional capital than their middle-class counterparts because they were frequently hampered by poverty, negative personal experiences of schooling, insufficient educational knowledge and lack of confidence. (p. 65; see S.-J. Park, 2007)

Taken together, social class is inextricably connected to who we are (becoming), not just about what we have or don't have. This study conceives of social class not as a static categorical position but as a social construct emerging from the means of production, economic and cultural resources and taste, and social relations with others while intersecting with other identity inscriptions, such as race ethnicity, gender, language competence, able/disable bodies, sexuality and others (Block, 2007, 2014; Griffin, 2003; Rampton et al., 2008; Reay, 2010; Savage et al., 2013; Weis, 2010). Given that social categories do not act independently of one another, the notion of intersectionality highlights how the intersection of multiple identity categories which often work on simultaneous levels entails the stigmatization and marginalization of the disadvantaged (Crenshaw, 1991; Mccall, 2005). Understanding the role of social class in schooling, hence, is not only about what students have, but also about their lived experiences and subjectivities that shape their particular ways of knowing and doing.

To highlight the intersection of English competence, track placements and class divisions, I elaborate on the social practice patterns of participants, particularly focusing on the different forms of investment in English learning among students from different tracks and diverse backgrounds. Building on Bourdieu's notion of distinction in relation to habitus or socially-mediated individual dispositions and forms of capital, this study factors in three major backgrounds of the participants to understand their social class: 1) academic background as related to students' English skills and their educational aspirations; 2) sociocultural background as related to students' transnational trajectories or physical mobility, parents' "emotional capital" invested in education and social networking; and 3) socioeconomic background as related to students' English learning trajectories or forms of investment in shadow education, learning done

outside of the public education system, and the level of institutional support² received in terms of meal plans, supplies, supplementary programs, school fees, etc. The Korean government provides economic support for low-income families, such as the National Basic Livelihood Security recipients, single-parent families, and near-poor families, and those who do not meet the conditions of any of the categories could receive support on the local level.

However, the boundaries of each background are not likely to be clearly defined but will instead be intersected. Rather than categorizing students under certain class labels, I thickly describe participants' academic, sociocultural and socioeconomic conditions, which is intended to help readers to surmise the students' class positions on their own.

1.5 Research Questions

With the above concerns in mind, I approached this study with the intention of exploring multiple ideologies and discourses surrounding English and tracking in school and how these discourses mediate language teaching and learning in tracked ninth-grade English classes. The following are the research questions which guided this study:

1. What ideologies inform the implementation of “tracking English” in the school?
2. What are students' beliefs and discourses surrounding learning English by track?
3. What ideologies mediate teachers' instructional practices by track?
4. How do students negotiate their language learning and identities within tracked classrooms?

² In Korea, there is a social program called Oneclick, an online platform through which parents can apply for government support at the beginning of each year. They are asked to submit many documents such as bank statements and property ownership papers to prove their economic hardship. Once an application is submitted and evaluated, district offices send schools a list of students who have been selected for institutional support in March or April of the same year.

5. What effects, if any, does tracking have on English learning and use of students from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds?

This study involves multiple sources and methods, including participant observation, field notes, audio-recording of classes, the collection of site documents, multimodal artifacts, and interviews. Data are analyzed through critical discourse analysis (Blommaert, 2005; Talmy, 2010a). The complementary benefits of critical ethnography and critical discourse analysis is cogently foregrounded by Talmy (2010b), “particularly in terms of analytic accountability (how defensible or warranted an analysis is) and demonstrability of research claims (how warrants for research claims are demonstrated)” (p. 128).

1.6 Structure of the Dissertation

In Chapter 2, I present a brief genealogy of English education in Korea and discuss the country’s sociolinguistic context, with a focus on English, tracking and the neoliberalization of education. I then examine the relevant literature on tracking in general education and L2 learning in regard to identity, resistance, and cultural production.

In Chapter 3, I introduce the theoretical frameworks of cultural production and L2 socialization. While the cultural production framework offers a critical lens to reveal unequal relations of power within the system of tracking, L2 socialization provides an analytic lens to explore how socialization into such hierarchical relations influences the processes of L2 learning and teaching. By discussing the notions of ideology, identity, agency, and resistance as conceptualized within the two frameworks, I am able to show how these theories are appropriate for this study to highlight the contingent, contested, and multidirectional processes of socialization.

Chapter 4 demonstrates how critical ethnography, along with critical discourse analysis, aligns with this research. Specific research processes, from negotiating access to a research site to interpreting and representing cross-cultural qualitative data are discussed.

Chapters 5 to 8 include the analysis and primary findings of the study according to each research question. To answer the first research question, in Chapter 5, I explore the rationales for tracking and discuss multiple ideologies which mediate the implementation of English tracking at SunnyHill. To answer the second research question, in Chapter 6, I examine the multiple discourses and ideologies surrounding English and tracking and then discuss SunnyHill social actors' beliefs about "tracking English" and narrative accounts of their lived experiences of learning English as tracked students. Focusing on how teachers and students differently navigate language teaching and learning according to track locations, I present answers in relation to research questions three to five through an analysis and discussion of the classroom interactional data in a low-track classroom in Chapter 7 and a high-track classroom in Chapter 8.

Chapter 9 summarizes the findings of this study, provides its implications and limitations, and suggests directions for future research.

Chapter 2: English, Tracking and Neoliberalization of Education in Korea

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores language ideologies surrounding English and ideologies that are evident in tracking policy and practice in South Korea. Given the local significance of English in education and the job market, such a macro-level sociolinguistic portrait is crucial to understanding micro-level local practices. As Pennycook (2013) notes, “it is not so much language as language ideology that is the object of language policy” (p. 1), and therefore, policy is not a free-standing text, but rather a discourse mediated by historical, political, and ideological interests. In this regard, a close analysis of the interplay between English and educational policies like tracking allows for a more contextualized understanding of how English is implicated in the neoliberal rhetoric of endless competition and perpetual self-management in education, functioning as a significant element within the larger framework of neoliberalism (Block et al., 2012; Kubota, 2016; H. Shin & Park, 2016).

In this chapter, I first explore the hegemonic status of English through a genealogical analysis (Foucault, 1984) of the local construction of English in light of neoliberal reforms in education, with a particular focus on tracking. By locating tracking against the backdrop of the role of English, it is possible to identify the hidden agendas that underlie tracking and to illuminate how the interplay between English and neoliberalism works to rationalize the policies and practices surrounding English as one of the imperatives of globalization. I then review relevant literature in K-12 classroom research.

2.2 The Sociolinguistic Context of South Korea and Language Ideologies

In exploring the hegemony of English in Korea, Joseph Park (2009) analyzed

metadiscourses about English and investigated how the workings of language ideologies and circulating ideologies around globalization have served as a conduit for Koreans to follow the trend of “English fever” by relentlessly investing in the language. The investment is made with the hope that someday the participants would be free from the fear of English. Framing language ideologies as socially situated beliefs, Park (2009) categorized ideologies of English into three types: 1) *Necessitation* which constructs English as an essential skill for social success; 2) *Externalization* which dismisses English as an Other in conflict with linguistic nationalism; and 3) *Self-deprecation* which casts English as an “unspeakable tongue” despite substantial investment in it (p. 2). These ideologies work simultaneously and lead many Koreans to disclaim English with the feelings of anxiety about it, or what he calls the invocation of *junuk* (주눅), a deep-seated sense of inferiority in an encounter with a powerful superior (J. S.-Y. Park, 2015).

Aspects of subjectivity such as affect, feeling, disposition, attitude, emotion, and desire are not simply matters of an individual’s psychological state. They are socially situated and spatiotemporally constituted by and constitutive elements of subjectivity (Benesch, 2013; Duff, 2007b; Holland & Leander, 2014; Motha & Lin, 2014; Weedon, 1987). From this, taking of an affective stance, such as *junuk* in regards to English, is mediated by the discourses surrounding English in Korea. This necessitates a genealogical analysis on multiple scales and dimensions in shaping such subject positions in order to account for the constitution of the subject within a social, cultural, and historical realm (Blommaert, 2007; Lemke, 2000).

2.2.1 The Ideological Construction of English: A Genealogy of English Education

English language education was first introduced to Korea in 1883, when the Choseon Dynasty opened its first public foreign language school, *Dong-moon-hak* (동문학) to nurture elite interpreters for facilitating commercial transactions and diplomatic relations (Chang, 2009; Kim-

Rivera, 2002; O. Kwon, 2000). This initiative was enacted due to a need for interpreters soon after the ratification of the nation's first treaty with America in 1882. As there was no English interpreter in Korea, it was only through the assistance of a Chinese interpreter that the treaty could be ratified. Along with government institutions, missionary schools played a pivotal role in promoting English education, albeit in a different way, as they opened their doors to everyone regardless of class and gender; in this way, English was constructed as symbolic capital for upward social mobility in a hierarchically sensitive society (Bourdieu, 1986; Min, 2010).

However, the boom in English education was significantly interrupted when Korea was colonized by Japan at the beginning of the 20th century. To effectively indoctrinate Koreans as the subordinate subjects of Japan and to assimilate them into Japanese culture and language, the Japanese empire restricted Koreans from access not only to education beyond the elementary level, but also to other languages, including English and Korean (Kim-Rivera, 2002; Seth, 2002). Even if English was introduced on a limited level, it was taught only by Japanese teachers via the Japanese language (Chang, 2009). Having forced missionaries to return to their home countries, the Japanese empire strengthened the policy of forced assimilation and prohibited Koreans from travelling or studying abroad. Nonetheless, under the heavy surveillance of the colonial period, some Koreans fueled their enthusiasm for English at alternative night schools which were confidentially established by Korean intellectuals (Kim-Rivera, 2002; Min, 2013).

Shortly after liberation, the significance of English in South Korea became more salient between 1945 and 1948, when the U.S. military forces established a transitional government in the southern half of the peninsula, and the Soviet Union exercised sovereign power on its northern half. During this process, many important government positions were only able to be occupied by those who maintained a close political and cultural alignment with America and its

language, English. It is not surprising that the U.S. government appointed Rhee, Syng-man (1948-1960) as the first Korean president, an individual who earned his doctoral degree in America and was fully cognizant of the political value of English. The term, *Tong-yeok-jeong-bu* (통역정부) or “translation government” which represents Rhee’s pro-American government succinctly encapsulates the central role of English and Korea’s close dependency on the United States (J. S. Park, 2009; Shim & J. S. Park, 2008). After the Korean War (1950-1953), as South Korea was put under the U.S. trusteeship, the U.S. government more actively participated in organizing the South Korean cabinet with American-friendly elites who demonstrated a high-level proficiency of English in many cases (J. S. Park, 2009; H. Shin, 2007).

Because of ongoing political confrontations and conflicts with North Korea, South Korea has kept its close alliance with the United States in security, trade, culture, and politics, all while placing an emphasis on English. In Korea, English was adopted as a regular subject in 1945 (Jung & Norton, 2002), and recognized as the first foreign language in the Second National Curriculum (1963-1974). It is likely due to such close ties with the United States that Koreans tend to normalize American English. This genealogical analysis shows that the sense of *junuk* many Koreans feel in relation to English is not merely an individual experience, but rather one that is discursively constructed through the multiple dimensions of their lived experiences and subject positions.

In the next section, I discuss how English is implicated in neoliberal practice and suggest tracking as one way in which an unequal access to English manifests itself in Korea

2.3 Locating English within Neoliberal Reforms of Education: Focusing on Tracking

After the end of Japanese colonial rule and the Korean War, the structure of stratification started to come to an end, and its collapse steered Koreans to view education as the most

powerful means for upward social mobility and economic prosperity. This resulted in a deepening “education fever” or “a national obsession with the attainment of education” (Seth, 2002, p. 6). Owing to the lack of school facilities in the 1960s and 1970s, middle and high schools selected their students through competitive high-stakes entrance exams. This social phenomenon caused many adolescents to suffer through so-called “examination hell,” and gave rise to the shadow education business in Korea (Lee et al., 2010). Shadow education refers to fee-based tutoring outside the public school system, and exists in various forms, including individual tutoring, cram schools, and English language institutes (Baker et al., 2001). Although middle school entrance exams were abolished in Korea in 1971 (KMOE, 1988), the intensity of educational competition continued, allowing the shadow education market to thrive.

In response, the government enacted the policy of equalization (*pyeonjunhwa*, 평준화) in 1974 for the purpose of creating equality among students from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds, foreclosing overheated competition, and reducing the financial burden of shadow education (Chun, 2003; Seong, 2004). The policy included measures such as reducing the autonomy of colleges’ admissions processes, eliminating high school entrance exams, randomizing high school assignments, and prohibiting tracking and curriculum differentiation (Chun, 2003; C. J. Lee et al., 2010; H. Park, 2007; Seong, 2004). Despite its contribution to alleviating competition and the hierarchical structure of secondary education, the equalization policy was critiqued for hindering the enhancement of high-performing students’ progress in an era of neoliberal globalization. This is in line with Apple (2006); “neoliberalism does not usually stand alone. It is almost always accompanied by parts of a neoconservative agenda, one that is often aimed at restoring ‘lost’ traditions and authority” (p. 24).

2.3.1 English, Tracking and the Neoliberalization of Education

The equalization policy was denounced for stifling students' excellence, mostly by middle-class parents, conservative media, politicians, and university authorities during the regime of Kim, Yeong-sam (1993-1997), a leader who openly embraced the logic of a neoliberal market economy (Gim, 1997, 2004; Y.-M. Kwon, 2005). The discourse around placing equity over excellence in public education galvanized Koreans and brought the topic of globalization to center stage. Under the pretext of greater competitiveness in the global market, President Kim officially proclaimed the drive for globalization (*segzehwa*, 세계화) in 1995 (S. Kim, 2000), and joined the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) the following year. Not only did the *segzehwa* drive mark a watershed in boosting neoliberal reforms of education in Korea, but it also added momentum to the rise of an unprecedented obsession with English, spawning terms like “English fever,” “English fetishism,” and “English frenzy” in academic circles (J.-K. Park, 2009; J. S.-Y. Park, 2009).

Marching to the beat of the *segzehwa* drum, the Presidential Committee for Education Reform proposed the 5.31 Education Reform Plans (*5.31 gyoyuk gaeheokan*, 교육개혁안) in 1995, mainly advocating two projects: one which would reinforce English education specifically focusing on communicative competence; another which would reinstate the tracking policy (Seong, 2007; J. S. Shin, 2004). The government's emphasis on English generated a shift in the curriculum from the Grammar-translation method to Communicative Language Teaching (CLT), a move that was further rationalized through policies, including hiring native speakers of English (Jeon, 2009), teaching English in English-only (TEE) (H. Shin, 2007), and expanding English as a mandatory subject from the third grade (S. K. Jung & Norton, 2002).

With regards to reinstating tracking, the Committee argued that tracking could contribute to alleviating the overheated shadow education market and restoring the reliability of the public education system, by fulfilling the desires of middle and upper-middle class parents who were main consumers of the private education market (Chun, 2003; Y.-M. Kwon, 2005; Seong, 2007). To legitimize the restoration of tracking, the Committee (1995b) replaced tracking with the term, “differentiated curriculum,” and proposed its implementation only in two subjects, English and mathematics (pp.58-59). However, this policy was heavily criticized by teachers and intellectuals for ranking students in accordance with their social class, and for consequently serving to widen the achievement gap among students and between schools, as track locations were correlated with socioeconomic status (Sung, 2008; Yang, 2006). Due to the contention over the issues of equity and excellence, tracking was not immediately put into practice during the Kim, Yeong-sam regime, but it became the central pillar of the Seventh National Curriculum (1998-present) which was developed at the end of Kim’s presidency and took effect for all grades in 2004. This was followed by two rounds of revision in 2007 and 2009 respectively. Through this process, tracking has permeated into the Korean educational system, gradually dismantling the equalization policy.

While neoliberal initiatives were prevalent in education, Korea was confronted with the Asian financial crisis in 1997, which caused Kim’s ruling party to lose the presidential election to more progressive oppositional party leaders, Kim, Dae-jung (1998-2002) and subsequently Roh, Moo-hyun (2003-2007). Ironically, the Korean economic depression acted as a catalyst for deepening English fetishism (Piller & Cho, 2013), as English was believed to be a means for revitalizing the nation’s economy. This linguistic instrumentalism ignited a nationwide debate in 1998 over adopting English as an official language (O. K. Yoo, 2005). In addition, Korean

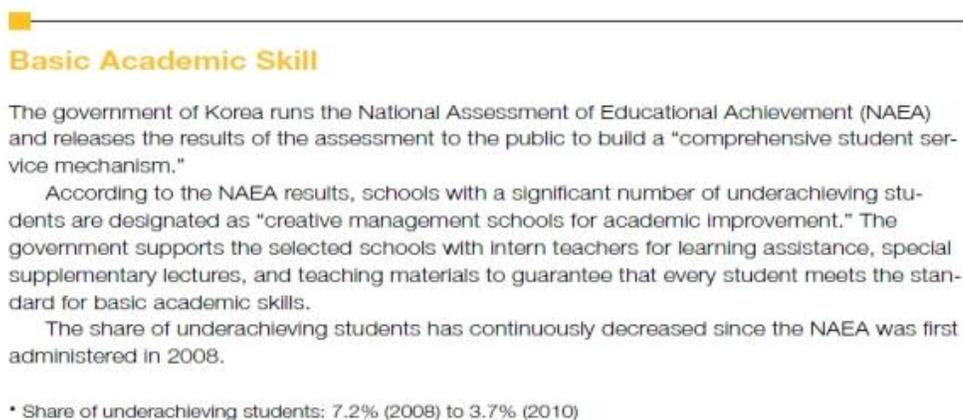
chaebeol (재벌) groups, i.e., large corporations, placed an increasing emphasis on English in their employment criteria as they began to expand their businesses globally.

During the ten years of progressive administrations, the ideal of neoliberal globalization was still ubiquitous in education. In 2001, the Kim administration even modified the name of the “Ministry of Education” to “Ministry of Education & Human Resources Development” to reflect the intent of producing Koreans as human capital with knowledge and competencies to further economic growth: “In the 21st century, the future of Korea hinges upon the competitiveness of human resources” (KMOE, 2001, p. 1). This market-oriented direction was substantiated through education policies, including the Plans for Education Excellence (수월성교육종합대책) in 2004, Plans for Vitalizing the Tracking Policy (수준별수업활성화방안) in 2005 and the Five Year Plan for English Education Vitalization (영어교육활성화 5 개년종합대책) in 2006, all of which were designed to promote the tracking policy and English education, with an emphasis on “excellence” (Byun & Kim, 2010; Hwang, 2014; Jeon, 2009).

Although the neoliberalization of education has been happening since the 1990s, it was during Lee, Myung-bak’s regime (2008-2012) that it became much more intensified. During Lee’s presidency, the government embarked more aggressively on the marketization and privatization of education by implementing the School Liberation Plan (학교자율화계획) and 300 Project for the Diversification of High Schools (고교다양화300프로젝트), which are associated with the following policies: 1) deregulating the admission procedure of colleges and elite high schools; 2) permitting the opening of a greater number of elite high schools and international schools; 3) strengthening English immersion instruction (Teaching English in English only or TEE) and expanding “English villages” which simulate English-speaking contexts; 4) reinstating nationwide standardized exam (*iljegosa*, 일제고사) in 2008, ten years after its abolition; 5) giving

merit-based incentive pay to teachers and schools; and 6) reinforcing tracking at the national level (Choi & Andon, 2013; Jeon, 2012a, 2012b; J. S.-Y. Park, 2013).

Notably, schools were given autonomy in deciding whether to enforce tracking or not, but the issue of autonomy in tracking requires close scrutiny of how tracking sits in relation to other policies. Coupled with tracking, the Lee government reinstated the nationwide standardized test or *iljegosa* in 2008, ten years after its abolition. Below is the policy discourse in regards to *iljegosa*, or what the government referred to as the National Assessment of Educational Achievement (NAEA), which I retrieved from the Korean Ministry of Education.



Basic Academic Skill

The government of Korea runs the National Assessment of Educational Achievement (NAEA) and releases the results of the assessment to the public to build a “comprehensive student service mechanism.”

According to the NAEA results, schools with a significant number of underachieving students are designated as “creative management schools for academic improvement.” The government supports the selected schools with intern teachers for learning assistance, special supplementary lectures, and teaching materials to guarantee that every student meets the standard for basic academic skills.

The share of underachieving students has continuously decreased since the NAEA was first administered in 2008.

* Share of underachieving students: 7.2% (2008) to 3.7% (2010)

Figure 2.1 Discourse about NAEA

Retrieved September 16, 2016 from
http://english.moe.go.kr/web/1707/site/contents/en/en_0275.jsp

On the grounds of building “a comprehensive student service mechanism” and supporting “schools with a significant number of underachieving students,” the government justified the reenactment of *iljegosa* as well as the release of the test results. Unsurprisingly, however, it was used as a means for ranking students, teachers, schools, districts, and provinces and also as a way of providing performance-based incentive pay. In what followed, some school districts falsified students’ records, while others pushed school principals to enhance test scores. This pressure resulted in the adoption of measures such as implementing extracurricular make-up classes

before and after school, teaching to the test using workbooks, and reinforcing the tracking of students. In this sense, the government's claim of a decrease in the number of underachieving students—7.2% (2008) to 3.7 (2010)—merely reflects the washback effect rather than the real growth of academic competence. As McNeil (2005) notes in her study of the accountability of standardized testing in America, the failure to acknowledge the negative impact of national testing seems like “a way of faking educational equity” (p. 72) by making it less transparent as to whether schools serve their students well (see also Fine, 2005; McNeil et al., 2008). Given that, testing such as *iljegosa* is a way for neoliberalism and neo-conservatism to maintain tight control over school curriculum and shift the blame for school failure onto students, teachers, and schools, intensifying competition in education (Apple, 2006; Nolan & Anyon, 2004).

Furthermore, what is significant is the role that English plays in the neoliberalisation of education (Jeon, 2012a). The establishment of the English Education Task Force Team (영어교육강화팀) within the Ministry of Education during the Lee regime clearly testifies to the government's emphasis on English. Tracking seems to have been considered an effective policy to facilitate English learning and teaching. While offering pro-tracking conferences for principals and teachers, and disseminating videos, guide books and PowerPoint resources to schools (KMOE, 2008a, 2008b, 2008c), the government officially encouraged schools to carry out a “2+1” tracking system which involves combining two homeroom classes and then sorting them into three ability tracks. For reference, Korean students study with their homeroom classmates in their homerooms for a whole day in contrast to many North American schools where students change their classes each period.

To supplement the lack of teachers and classrooms, the government not only hired non-regular teachers under the name English Conversation Instructors (영어회화전문강사) and

expanded the number of native-English-speaking teachers, but also established greater numbers of English-only zones within schools (KMOE, 2009a). The English-only zones, which can be found in almost every elementary and middle school, are spaces equipped with English books, cutting-edge facilities and in some cases, simulated environments such as a post office or an airport. Moreover, the government initiated the Departmentalized Classroom System (교과교실제) in which students change their classes each period (KMOE, 2009b); this system was primarily applied to English. This policy has been continued by the incumbent president, Park, Geun-hye (2013-2017).

As Table 2.1 shows, tracking practices at the middle and high school rose from 32.5% in 2004, to 66.3% in 2007 and 77.2% in 2009. As tracking became gradually entrenched into the Korean education system, the government devolved tracking to local regions and schools in 2010 (Jin & Song, 2009). Since then, no statistics have been released, but research shows a steady rise in tracking up to the present (Hwang, 2014).

Table 2.1 Yearly Ratio of Tracking Practices in Middle & High Schools Nationwide

Year	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Ratio (%)	4.5-14.4	32.5	50.8	63.7	66.3	76.7	77.2

(Jin & Song, 2009)

In the following section, I turn to reviewing tracking literature in general education and L2 research in K-12 classrooms focusing on identity, resistance, and cultural production.

2.4 Tracking as a Worldwide Phenomenon: A Literature Review

Sociologists of education have focused heavily on what impact institutional organizations have in shaping students' academic trajectories; tracking has thus attracted their attention over the decades. The practice, known as *tracking* or *ability grouping* in America and *streaming* or

setting in England refers to sorting students into academic programs, classes, and groups of high, average, and low ability in order for teachers to efficiently tailor instruction to the students' needs, and it has been in practice for more than a century (Anderson & Oakes, 2014; Ireson & Hallam, 2001). Since the 1920s, many schools around the world, particularly in America and England, have tracked their students into separate programs such as vocational or college-preparatory ones designed for those who are expected to follow different career paths after high school graduation (Clandfield et al., 2014; Gamoran, 1992; Ireson & Hallam, 2001; Oakes, 1985). Given the possible differences in students' intellectual abilities, motivations and aspirations, many proponents of tracking have regarded it as a logical, scientific, and democratic policy to accomplish two important purposes of public schooling: "(1) providing students with the education that best suits their abilities, and (2) providing the nation with the array of workers it needs" (Oakes, 1995, p. 682).

The meritocratic rhetoric of tracking has been vehemently debated by many educators and researchers over its legitimacy and concomitant issues of inequality (Apple, 2004c; Caughlan & Kelly, 2004; Ireson & Hallam, 2001; Lucas, 1999; Oakes, Gamoran, & Page, 1992; Shor, 1992). Many researchers have substantiated the overrepresentation of low-income students in lower tracks (Caughlan & Kelly, 2004; Kulik & Kulik, 1982; Kulik, 1992; Oakes, 1985, 1995; Watanabe, 2008), and the involvement of middle-class parents in negotiating their children's track placements (Brantlinger, 2003; Harklau, 1994b; S. Kelly, 2004b). While socioeconomic status (SES) has direct effects on track placements, race, gender, and language competence indirectly influence track assignments. Some studies have brought to light "institutional racism" (Kubota & Lin, 2009) by uncovering that minority students are less likely to be high-tracked, when their test scores and SES backgrounds are identical to those of their White peers (Anderson

& Oakes, 2014; Lucas, 1999). In terms of teacher assignment, researchers have found that lower tracks are often instructed by less experienced and less well qualified teachers than higher tracks (S. Kelly, 2004a; Oakes & Guiton, 1995; E. Yoo, 2013).

Disparities across tracks have been widely documented in the literature, with higher-track classes concentrating more on open-ended discussion, critical reasoning, and in-depth curriculum, while lower-track classes dealing with close-ended questions, basic skills, and behavior issues (Anderson & Oakes, 2014; Carbonaro, 2005; Caughlan & Kelly, 2004; Oakes et al., 1992). This phenomenon has been demonstrated by research that shows that students' low-track placements in earlier grades rarely change, and low-track students achieve lower than their peers with the similar test scores who are placed in higher-track classes (Baek, 2011; Boaler, 2006; Watanabe, 2008). Moreover, some studies illuminate the counterproductive effect of tracking on high-track students. For instance, Korean studies have demonstrated that tracking can do harm to the self-efficacy of high-track students, as they are too concerned about their track assignments in comparison with their peers (Hwang, 2014; Y. Kim, 2012; Ryoo, 2008).

In the next section, I review qualitative research on tracking in general education, and L2 learning in tandem with identity, resistance, and cultural production.

2.4.1 Tracking Research in Education: Identity, Resistance and Cultural Production

One of the most comprehensive studies on tracking is Jeannie Oakes's (1985) seminal work, *Keeping Track*. In this mixed methods study, Oakes examined English and mathematics tracks and questionnaires completed by teachers, students, and administrators in twenty-five secondary schools in America. By discussing substantial differences in curriculum content, instructional activities, classroom climate, and teachers' expectations across tracks, Oakes

argued that the stigmatized position of low-track students in comparison with their high-track counterparts imposed more constraints on their learning and subjectivity. Oakes claimed that:

Negative relationships and low levels of student involvement appear not only to restrict their chances of learning but to *socialize students in such a way that they are prepared to stay at the bottom levels of institutions*, not only as teenagers in schools but in adult life as well. (p. 134, emphasis added)

Such a negative self-image led low-track students to hold themselves responsible for their positions within the system and to reinforce the legitimacy of the hierarchy over years of schooling. Oakes's findings resonated through Page's (1991) ethnography of *Lower-Track Classrooms*. Focusing on curriculum differentiation, Page compared regular and lower track classrooms within and across two high schools in America, finding that teachers' overt labeling of low tracks as "'holding tanks' or 'dumping grounds' for students with behavioral problems" (p. 48). Given teachers' low expectations, fragmented instruction, individualized classwork, and disciplinary practices in lower tracks, Page argued that "teachers structure lower-track lessons for control" (p. 52).

Building on Oakes's (1985) and Page's (1991) empirical studies, a growing number of researchers have undertaken ethnographic work on tracking with a focus on identity, resistance, and cultural production in such subject areas as science (Gilbert & Yerrick, 2001), mathematics (Hand, 2010; Zevenbergen, 2005), language arts (Watanabe, 2008; Zeuli, 2011), and English as an additional language (Harklau, 1994b; Lin, 1999). In science, Gilbert and Yerrick (2001) examined eight low-track students in a rural high school science classroom in America. Their discourse analysis of interactions showed student apathy and disengagement, teacher frustration, and disparities in their discourses and beliefs, highlighting the habitual and collaborative

occasioning of student resistance to memorization, repetition and the teacher's lecturing. They then concluded that "[i]t is through resistance and negotiation that lower track students choose to engage outsiders on their own terms" (p. 590).

In Australia, Zevenbergen (2005) conducted an interview-based study on students in secondary schools and analyzed their learning experiences within streamed settings. Drawing on Bourdieu's habitus, Zevenbergen argued that the streamed practice of school mathematics created conditions that influenced the construction of a very different mathematical habitus, and such differentiation led students in upper streams to envision their futures in mathematics more positively than students in lower streams who resisted school mathematics. Zevenbergen's finding was further substantiated by Hand's (2010) one-year-long ethnography in an eighth grade low-track algebra classroom in America. The study focused on the emergence of students' "oppositional events" in class, showing that students' acts of resistance grew more deliberately and collaboratively over time, from talking out of turn and joking around to ignoring the teacher's directives, talking back to him, and even leaving the room in the middle of a lecture. Through a discourse analysis of classroom interactions, Hand further showed how classroom opposition was jointly constructed by the teacher and students and reinforced mainly by three factors: diminished access to meaningful engagement; a polarized participation structure; and marked low-track identity positions. Given opposition as a sociocultural phenomenon, Hand concluded, "the teacher's desire to ensure his students' success by maintaining strict control over their behavior meant that he *began to resist them*" (p. 126, emphasis in original).

The co-construction of learner identity was also highlighted in Watanabe's (2008) ethnography on Grade 7 classes in the context of high-stakes state accountability reform as a response to No Child Left Behind (NCLB) in America. Based on one-year-long classroom

observation in two language arts classes, Watanabe found less explicit test preparation, more challenging reading, writing and discussion, and more constructive feedback for “academically-gifted” track students than their peers in “regular tracks”. Watanabe argued that “If tracking persists, high-stakes accountability programs are unlikely to lead to the desired closure of the achievement gap” (p. 522), suggesting the need for a two-tiered response: 1) abolishing tracking; and 2) supporting teachers through professional development programs. Similarly, Zeuli (2011) examined two low-tracked ninth grade English classes in America, and found wide discrepancies between students’ beliefs about literacy and teachers’ classroom practices. Although the students frequently engaged in literacy practices outside of school, they did not invest in class as they saw little connection between their needs and abilities and the English curriculum. Zeuli’s analysis showed that teachers’ discourses often positioned the low-track students as having deficits.

In L2 learning, ESL students’ limited linguistic proficiency was often conflated with an inability to learn content knowledge in mainstream classes. Harklau’s (1994b, 1994c) three-year ethnography highlighted the pervasiveness of “a perceived remedial stigma” (1994a, p. 241) associated with high school ESL programs in the America. At the inception of an ESL program, the author found that ESL students were often tracked in the lowest status rungs of the system, and the lack of access to advanced instruction and enriched curriculum had serious consequences for learners’ ability to “jump” tracks even if their language skills developed. Nevertheless, Harklau also observed that some students succeeded in the negotiation of their track placements skillfully. Likewise, much ESL research has addressed how students negotiate and resist multiple discourses surrounding ESL and their marked identity positions by not investing in ESL (McKay & Wong, 1996; Talmy, 2008), by becoming Black in a social imaginary where they were already produced as Black (Ibrahim, 1999), by deploying silence as a resource in a mainstream class

(Duff, 2004), by playfully appropriating linguistic surveillance (Miller & Zuengler, 2011) and by demonstrating “getting out of ESL” as socialization into ESL (Deschambault, 2016).

Along with student agency, teacher agency was underscored in Lin’s (1999) critical ethnography on tracking within and between schools, or “forms and bands” in Hong Kong. The analysis of data, gleaned across seven forms of English classes in high schools located in diverse socioeconomic districts, showed how English, unequally distributed across the class spectrum, worked as a gate-keeping mechanism for social stratification, and how social reproduction was counteracted by classroom practices in which teachers appropriated or resisted educational policies, for example, an English-only policy, to meet students’ needs. With an emphasis on teachers’ agency to alter “doing-English-lessons in the reproduction to in the transformation of the students’ social worlds” (p. 393), Lin stated:

[W]hat matters is not whether a teacher uses the L1 or the L2 but rather how a teacher uses either language to connect with students and help them transform their attitudes, dispositions, skills, and self-image—their habitus or social world. (p. 410)

Just as Lin’s study has done, some tracking research also concentrated on teachers’ agency and discussed successful instances of low-track classroom practices. A good example is Dillon’s (1989) ethnography, *Showing Them That I Want Them to Learn and That I Care About Who They Are*. The interactions between 17 black students and their white male teacher, Mr. Appleby, in a secondary low-track English reading classroom in America were examined. The analysis showed the teacher’s commitment to building good relationships with students and establishing an open, safe learning environment conducive to their affective learning needs. These actions included visiting the student homes, engaging in small talk with them, implementing lessons based on discussions, tasks, and materials relevant to students’ needs and

interests, maintaining classroom order without forcing control on students, treating them with respect and care, etc. Over this year-long field project, Dillon found that the students appreciated Mr. Appleby's inclusive and culturally responsive classroom practices.

Dillon's findings are similar to those found in Gamoran's (1993) study which examined instances of high-quality instruction in the eighth- and ninth-grade low-track English classes of two schools in America. Based on the findings, Gamoran characterized the successful instances in three ways: 1) teachers' high expectations; 2) well-planned lessons and materials which foster extensive oral discourse; and 3) assigning highly experienced teachers to low tracks. Likewise, in interview-based research on low-track students, P. Lee (1999) found that low-track students explained that their most influential teachers were those who included a challenging curriculum and interactive learning and had high expectations. "The ethics of care" (Noddings, 1984) was illuminated in Yerrick et al. (2011) who analyzed low-track student narratives of what constitutes effective teaching. Their analysis showed that the students closely associated affective teacher attributes such as care and respect with effective planning and implementation.

The successful instances of low-track classrooms foreground that effective teaching involves both affective teacher attributes such as care, respect, and high expectations and pedagogical practices which reflect students' needs and knowledge. This overall discussion implies that all instruction in low-track classrooms is not necessarily uncondusive to students' learning. Nonetheless, we should be cautious not to hold individual teachers wholly accountable for students' performance. Given that teaching is a social practice mediated by multiple discourses, placing blame on teachers might result in scratching only the surface manifestation of deeper contradictions within tracking, and overlook its complicating effects on education.

The enduring effects of tracking have been found in detracking research. For example,

Yonezawa et al. (2002) conducted a three-year case study of ten secondary schools in America, where students were given autonomy to select their own track placements. Their analysis showed the resistance of low- and middle-track students, most of whom were African American and Latino, to entering high-track classes. Their long-term low-track placement and the hidden institutional barriers within schools had an effect in shaping their identities and ideologies, thereby leading them to choose “‘places of respect’—classrooms where they were not racially isolated and their cultural backgrounds were valued” (p. 40). Referring to those places as “safe spaces,” Yonezawa et al. advocated low-track classes as not necessarily oppressive places; yet they also critiqued the practice of allowing students to select their own tracks as it reproduces a hierarchy in the school.

Loveless’s (1999) quantitative study on teachers’ perceptions pointed to teachers’ substantial resistance to detracking. Among them, Loveless maintained that mathematics and language teachers were the most resistant of their beliefs about the sequential nature of knowledge in their fields. On this matter, Oakes (1992) addressed three challenges to “detracking”: 1) *technical challenges* due to teachers’ reluctance to teach mixed-level students; 2) *normative challenges* due to the deep-seated norms of schooling; and 3) *political challenges* due to resistance from some parents of high-achieving students, educators, and policy makers.

Even though policymakers, researchers and educators have been cognizant of and concerned about the inherent dangers of tracking, the practice of tracking, with periods of ebb and flow, has been highly resistant to change and nearly entrenched in many forms within and across nations: Canada (Clandfield et al., 2014); Japan (Ono, 2001); Hong Kong (Cheung & Rudowicz, 2003; Lin, 1999); South Korea (Hwang, 2014); Israel (Ayalon & Gamoran, 2000); the UK (Ireson & Hallam, 2005); the United States (Oakes, 1985, Gamoran, 2010); and New

Zealand (Hornby & Witte, 2014).

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored the multiple ideologies surrounding English and brought them to the fore to critique neoliberalism's role in shaping the hegemony of English in Korea and reinforcing the neoliberalization of education, with a specifically focus on the tracking policy. This literature review of tracking in classroom research has highlighted the ideological underpinnings of tracking as well as a dialectical relation between the system and agency in light of student resistance and teacher accommodation. Moreover, the successful instances of low-track classroom practices have shown that all instruction in low tracks is not necessarily of low quality, but it is crucial to take into account that a majority of research on tracking has reached a similar conclusion: tracking has widened the achievement gaps between high-track students and low-track students substantially. Now I turn to outline the theories of cultural production and L2 socialization on which this study draws.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Frameworks

3.1 Introduction

This study draws upon two main theoretical frameworks that support situated and context-relevant language learning and teaching. One is cultural production approaches to education (Dolby et al., 2004; Levinson & Holland, 1996), and the other is language socialization approaches to L2 learning (Duff, 2003; Duff & Talmy, 2011). Through a general overview of reproduction theories, I stress that the cultural production framework makes better sense than the reproduction one as it allows for capturing schools as sites of ongoing struggle and conflict, especially in the current context of postindustrialism, neoliberal globalization, and mass migration (Blommaert, 2010; Collins, 2012; Nolan & Anyon, 2004; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). The orientation of cultural production to a dialectic of control and the creative capacity of agency contributes not only to broadening the purview of critical educational studies, but also to making it possible to imagine radical pedagogies for social transformation (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1993; Canagarajah, 1999; Dolby et al., 2004; Giroux, 1983a, 1983b; Levinson et al., 1996; O'Connor, 2003; Talmy, 2005; Weis, 2010; Willis, 1983).

Along with the cultural production framework in education, this study also draws on language socialization (LS) approaches to L2 learning. As Duff and Talmy (2011) note, “L2 socialization shares many underlying principles with other socially oriented theories, models, or accounts of SLA [second language acquisition]” (p. 96). LS illuminates interactionally-mediated processes through which members of a group are socializing and socialized into particular views, values, ideologies and identities (Bayley & Schecter, 2003; Duff, 2003, 2007b, 2008b; Duff & Talmy, 2011; Watson-Gegeo, 2004). Therefore, its linguistic and ethnographic orientation provides methodological and analytical tools for understanding how language is involved in the

construction of meaning and the production of “educated”, “uneducated” or even “uneducable” persons (Duff, 2008b; O’Connor, 2003; Talmy, 2005). A close analysis of situated language use, while particularly focusing on indexical ties between ideology and stance-taking in constructing identity, can provide insights into the dynamics of cultural productions throughout the process of socialization.

As such, the nexus of LS and cultural production theories might be mutually supportive (Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004; Talmy, 2005). While the cultural production framework offers a critical lens to approach unequal relations of power in the process of socialization, LS provides an analytic lens to bring language to the centre and illuminate the process of cultural productions. Finally, I clarify the conceptions of ideology, identity and agency employed in this study.

3.2 Cultural Production Approaches to Education

The interplay between power, politics, and culture has been the site of intellectual debate in critical and cultural studies. Influenced by Willis’s (1977) work, the concept of cultural production has been developing in critical educational studies. Within this framework, culture is seen not as a static body of knowledge, but as a dynamic process which “repeatedly mutates and is subject to ongoing changes and interpretations” (Giroux, 2004, p. 60). In this respect, Apple (2004a) extends his early theoretical work in *Ideology and Curriculum* (1979) and argues that schools need to be seen in a more complex manner because culture provides “significant resources in hegemonic and counter-hegemonic struggles” (p. 53). Accordingly, theories of cultural production build upon, but do not limit themselves to reproduction theories. By outlining the reproduction theories, I provide a theoretical basis for the cultural production framework.

3.2.1 Theories of Social and Cultural Reproduction

Grounded in a Marxist conception of economy as the determinant of social relations, the reproduction theories offer critical insights regarding the sociopolitical dimensions of schooling and class-based school failure. In early theories of social reproduction (Althusser, 1971; Bowles & Gintis, 1977, 2002), schools are depicted as directly engaging in replicating the social division of labor. By adding ideology to the economic realm, Althusser (1971) deemed state-sanctioned education as central in perpetuating hegemonic ideologies and (re)producing the status quo. More specifically, Bowles and Gintis (1977) undertook a form of class analysis and claimed that such an economic-reproduction function is accomplished by what they called the “correspondence principle”—structuring students to serve the needs of capitalist production. In *Schooling in Capitalist America*, the authors focused on the structure of schooling and its implication for socialization and demonstrated the contribution of schooling to later economic success by statistic econometric investigations. In their subsequent research, “Schooling in Capitalist America Revisited” (2002), they reaffirmed that “the extent of intergenerational economic status transmission is considerable” (p. 3), as parental class status was passed on to children, in part, by means of unequal educational opportunities and affordances.

While the economic-reproduction model focused on the structure of schooling in light of the divisions of labor, Pierre Bourdieu (1979a, 1990) shifted his attention to the function of school culture and hidden curriculum. Bourdieu argued that students were socialized with and within the school system through testing, their relationships, tracking, and linguistic practices, which inscribed them to various social positions. Drawing on the conceptions of habitus, capital, and field, Bourdieu provided in-depth insights into how the hegemonic curriculum in schools served to sustain and reproduce existing power relations in the larger society, for example,

through such symbolic practices as the selection and distribution of certain bodies of knowledge, which only validated the interests of the dominant.

The practice of distinction is deeply implicated in aesthetic taste, which rests in the lived realm. That is to say, that because taste is socially constructed and inculcated in relation to individuals' habitus and forms of capital in fields, it features prominently in the reproduction of social class. Habitus, as described by Bourdieu (1990), is a set of "systems of durable, transposable dispositions" (p. 53) shaped by socialization through which individuals develop social attitudes and beliefs relevant to their historical, cultural, and social backgrounds, and their capital. Capital refers to resources of strength, power, and profit for the production of distinction. It includes four different, but intersecting forms; cultural, economic, social, and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Cultural capital is the key concept to Bourdieu's analysis on cultural reproduction, because children from different social classes bring different cultural capital to schools, and the culture transmitted by schooling tacitly confirms the dominant culture as legitimate, while disenfranchising the cultures of others in the field of education. Fields, in this sense, are fluid and dynamic spaces, sometimes interchangeable with "markets," in which different forces with different forms of capital compete for power and greater indexical values.

In the field of education, a central logic of practice is the construction of common sense based on the ethics of objectivity, fairness, and neutrality. Those who possess strong symbolic capital take an advantageous status in embedding their hegemonic ideologies in the curriculum at the expense of the values and beliefs of other groups. Through the process of objectification, the powerful naturalize their ideologies as norms and internalize institutionally organized misrecognition into social actors. Bourdieu (1977a) deemed such "misrecognition" as a form of forgetting, and being produced and secured by "doxa," which is an implicit belief in "the

naturalization of its own arbitrariness” (p. 164) or “universe of the undiscussed” (p. 168).

Bourdieu (1992) explains the notion of doxa as follows:

The social world doesn't work in terms of consciousness; it works in terms of practices, mechanisms and so forth. By using doxa, we accept many things without knowing them, and that is what is called³ ideology. (p. 113)

The doxic attitude means “bodily submission, unconscious submission, which may indicate a lot of internalized tension, a lot of bodily suffering” (p. 121). Such a powerful doxa acts as “a power to exert symbolic violence which manifests itself in the form of a right to impose legitimately, reinforces the arbitrary power which establishes it and which it conceals” (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 13). It is thus the key to the normalization of policies, curriculum, and practices.

As such, Bourdieu provided a theoretical model for unraveling the relations of schooling and social control through the politicization of culture and school knowledge. In doing so, he highlighted the relative autonomy of schools and their mediating functions as compared with the framework of social reproduction. Moreover, Bourdieu's notions of improvisation (e.g., Holland et al, 1998), and “heterodoxy,’ which is an oppositional kind of language” (Bourdieu & Eagleton, 1992, p. 114) opened the possibility for contestation and resistance. Nevertheless, Aronowitz and Giroux (1993) posited that “the power of reflexive thought and historical agency are relegated to a minor theoretical detail in Bourdieu's theory of change” (p. 79), thus saying too little about the theoretical basis for a radical pedagogy to make possible counter-hegemonic education (Gramsci, 1971). In response, researchers started to conduct ethnography, providing

³ Due to the vagueness of ideology and its misuse as “an insult” or “an instrument of symbolic domination,” Bourdieu purposely substitutes it with conceptions, including doxa, symbolic domination, symbolic power, or symbolic violence (Bourdieu & Eagleton, 1992, pp. 111-112).

holistic accounts of complex human experiences and multiple social realities (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; Lather, 1986a; Lincoln & Guba, 1994).

3.2.2 Theories of Cultural Production

Willis's (1977) interpretive and ethnographic orientation and his primary focus on culture in *Learning to Labor* mark a theoretical and methodological break from the top-down analysis of reproduction (Dolby et al., 2004; Weis et al., 2009). As Willis (1983) explicates,

In fact neither structure nor agency is understandable alone—they *need* each other in order to be comprehensible at all. In my view, there has to be some kind of dialectical relation—not between free subjects (knowing and centered) and determining structures (external and objective)—but between *subjects formed in struggle and resistance to structures in domination, and structures formed in and reproduced by struggle, and resistance against domination.* (pp. 134-135, emphasis in original)

That is, Willis's "lads" got working-class jobs through a complex and contingent process rather than a simple process of correspondence between school and economy. In this light, Levinson and Holland (1996) note that schools are not "monolithic purveyors of dominant ideologies" (p. 9) but relatively autonomous institutions in which "while the educated person is culturally *produced* in definite sites, the educated person also culturally *produces* cultural forms" (p. 14, emphasis in original). As such, theories of cultural production deem cultural and economic processes as mutually constitutive and contradictory phenomena and pay close attention to struggle, conflicts, and resistance to make sense of individual agency and identity construction in the micropolitics of everyday life (Au & Apple, 2009; Bernstein, 1996; Collin & Apple, 2015; Giroux, 1983b).

Despite Willis's (1977) reconceptualization of culture and contributions to the study of youth subculture and identity, his work also attracted a number of criticisms, particularly for remaining silent about sexism, racism, and peer marginalization and overlooking within-group differences and hidden forms of resistance (Fordhan, 1996; Giroux, 1983b; Lave, Duguid, Fernandez, & Axel, 1992; Mcrobbie, 1980; Walker, 1986; Weis, 1996). The key concept of resistance, therefore, needs to be teased out in relation to the enactment of agency within specific local contexts, situations and interactions with a focus on a multitude of tactics, from direct to indirect acts of resistance, deployed to navigate the forms of control. By making a distinction between strategic and tactical agentive acts, de Certeau (1984) defines strategies as the acts of the powerful to impose their hegemony while tactics as "ways of operating," which are employed by the less powerful in everyday practices in order to "reappropriate the space organized by techniques of sociocultural production," achieve their goals, and form "the network of an antidiscipline" (pp.xiv-xv). In this respect, de Certeau maintains that those in subordinate positions often manipulate the mechanisms of discipline through tactical conformity as a way to evade them. In this sense, he regards tactical conformity as a subtle form of resistance.

Such tactical conformity was echoed throughout James C. Scott's (1990) ethnography on peasants of Southeast Asia and their arts of resistance to various forms of domination. Although he is a political scientist, Scott's notion of resistance is relevant to the cultural production approach and thus worth discussing here to capture the complexity of resistance. By comparing the peasants' public forms of subordination (the public transcript) with their offstage discourses (the hidden transcript), Scott found that they tactically manipulated "a wide variety of low-profile forms of resistance" (p. 19) through a social performance of conformity, evasion, and concealment, while engendering their own social spaces, ideologies, and subcultures. Given

these displays of disguised conformity, Scott (1990) maintained that “the dialectical relationship between the public and hidden transcripts is obvious,” particularly under heavy surveillance (p. 27). What follows is his critique of the notion of ideology as false consciousness couched in the theories of reproduction:

When combined with the exemplary punishment of the occasional act of defiance, the effective display of compliance may achieve a kind of dramatization of power relations that is not to be confused with ideological hegemony in the sense of active consent. One may curse such domination—in this case preferably offstage—but one will nevertheless have to accommodate oneself to its hard reality. (pp. 66-67)

In school contexts, Scott’s view of resistance was highlighted in Weiss’s (2009) ethnography on student reaction to school-based surveillance systems in America. The findings demonstrated that students tactically avoided security guards out of fear of humiliation and harassment. Weiss then claimed that “[b]ecause the threat of being singled out by authority for doing something wrong is so real, tactical avoidance represents a form of individualized, often isolated resistance” (p. 64). Similarly, Carlone (2004) also discussed tactical conformity in her ethnography on well-performing girls in an upper middle class school. She found that despite their reluctance, the high-achievers tactically embraced the ways the school defined success to maintain their “good” student identities and get credentials for college admission. Accordingly, the interplay between control and resistance appears in multiple forms and levels across multiple contexts, not only through overt acts of deviance but also through less obvious tactics of resistance such as avoidance, conformity and silence. To account for ambivalent possibilities for resistance, Canagarajah (1999, 2004), who has made contributions to theorizing resistance for second language learning, insisted that classroom ethnographers “go beyond the surface-level

interactions between teachers and students (especially in on-task encounters)” (2004, p. 129) and closely analyze what actually transpires in classrooms (see also Miller, 2012, 2015; Pennycook, 2001; Talmy 2008).

Furthermore, within feminist scholarship, the intersection of social class and gender in the context of the collapse of manufacturing industries attracted much attention (e.g., Weis, 1990, 2004). As noted in Chapter 1, the rise of neoliberal globalization and mass migration resulted in reorganizing and destabilizing the labor market within and between nations, leaving many working-class youths and adults jobless and living in unstable conditions. As the market-based reforms of education have prevailed globally, researchers have situated the central analysis of *Learning to Labor* within the neoliberal economic order and extended their foci to the changing dynamics of social reproduction: dropouts (Fine, 1991; D. M. Kelly, 1993); tracking (Gilbert & Yerrick, 2001; Yonezawa et al., 2002); high-stakes examinations (Apple, 2004a; McNeil, 2000); juvenile and criminal justice systems (Nolan & Anyon, 2004); student resistance and activism for change (Bae & Ivashkevich, 2012; Ginwright, Noguera, & Cammarota, 2006); globalizing educational policies and class struggle in varying national contexts (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Weis & Dolby, 2012); class (re)production in school career portfolio programs (Collin, 2011); and the role of language in social polarization (Blommaert, 2010; Collins, 2012; J. S.-Y. Park & Wee, 2012).

Given the role of language in an era of neoliberal globalization, it is imperative to bring language to the centre and investigate its effects on social (re)production and people’s struggles (Collins, 2012; Kubota, 2014a; Rampton et al., 2008; H. Shin & Park, 2016; Talmy, 2008). In this sense, language socialization (LS) approaches have the potential to enrich critical social theories, as LS attends to “whats” and “hows” through discourse analytic methods and accounts

for processes of (re)production and unexpected consequences of social practices in a wide variety of linguistically and culturally heterogeneous contexts (Duff & Talmy, 2011; Garrett, 2007; Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002; Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004). In the next section, I discuss language socialization as a complementary framework to cultural production, since it offers robust methodological and analytical tools for better making sense of how language is involved in the moment-by-moment processes of cultural production in schools (Talmy, 2005).

3.3 Language Socialization Approaches to L2 Learning

Language socialization (LS) has its roots in anthropological, sociolinguistic, sociocultural, psychological, and more recently, poststructuralist approaches to human development (Duff & Talmy, 2011). LS examines the processes whereby members of a group, by means of language, are socialized into particular values, cultural norms, ideologies, stances, subjectivities and identities pertinent to that particular group (Bayley & Schecter, 2003; Duff, 2003, 2007b, 2008b; Duff & Anderson, 2015; Duff & Talmy, 2011; Moore, 2008; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a, 1986b; Talmy, 2008; Watson-Gegeo & Nielsen, 2003). Based on early theorizing by Hymes (1972), Gumperz (1982), Halliday (1980), Vygotsky (1978), Heath (1983), Schieffelin and Ochs (1986a, 1986b), and others, LS attempts to understand the links between micro-level practices and macro-level discourse through ethnographic research designs and discourse analytic methods (Duff, 2008b; Duff & Talmy, 2011; Moore, 2008).

Unlike cognitivist SLA research which deems language learning as an individual psycholinguistic phenomena, L2 socialization is grounded in a much broader sociocultural frame, and seeks to account for not only linguistic development, but also sociocultural and communicative repertoires learned in and through interactional dimensions of language use (Duff, 2003, 2007b; Duff & Talmy, 2011; Firth & Wagner, 1997; Saville-Troike, 2002; Watson-

Gegeo & Nielsen, 2003). Accordingly, LS views language learners as “sociohistorically, socioculturally, and sociopolitically situated individuals with multiple subjectivities and identities (e.g., not only as *language learners*), which are inculcated, enacted, and co-constructed through social experience in everyday life” (Duff & Talmy, 2011, p. 97, emphasis in original). In contrast to ESL contexts where English is the key medium of instruction and communication, this study found that the teachers at SunnyHill conducted their lessons primarily in Korean (L1). Even though socialization did not take place in and through the target language, talking about English or naturally-occurring metalinguistic discourse also has implications for L2 practices, ideologies, and identities. Therefore, the term “L2 socialization” is used in this study, in a generic sense, to explore and highlight the complex processes and effects of learning English as a compulsory foreign language in school.

In the early LS research, which began in the 1970s, the primary foci were on “successful” L1 socialization cases in which young children had sufficient access, resources, language practices, and interactions with caregivers, eventually becoming competent members of particular communities (Bayley & Schecter, 2003; Ochs, 1996; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a). Despite the significance of the L1 socialization studies, however, this framework was criticized for a unidirectional conception of socialization as “more or less monolingual (in the home), inevitable, linear, accepted, expected, desired, facilitated and accommodated” processes (Duff, 2003, p. 3) by which novices are always ready to take part in socialization in both passive and uniform manners and experts are always supportive knowledge transmitters. Consequently, the early LS research resulted in obscuring the dynamic of socialization involving myriad complexities, such as power, access, participation, constraints, agency, and identities (Bayley & Schecter, 2003; Duff & Anderson, 2015; He, 2003; Talmy, 2008; Watson-Gegeo, 2004).

More recent studies on L2 socialization, have focused on “potentially vulnerable populations” (Duff, 2008, p. 116), particularly minority students’ enculturation processes into heterogeneous mainstream contexts (Bayley & Schechter, 2003; Duff, 2002b; Harklau, 1994c; He, 2003; Kobayashi, 2003; Morita, 2004; Talmy, 2008; Toohey, 2000b) and examined “unsuccessful” and “unexpected” cases, highlighting that “contingency and multidirectionality are inherent in LS given its orientation to socialization as an interactionally-mediated process” (Talmy, 2008, p. 619; see also Duff, 2007, 2008). In terms of schooling, for example, Talmy (2008) argues that contingency in LS is self-evident because students often resist complying with negatively marked identity categories sanctioned by schools; multidirectionality in LS is also indispensable because rather than solely being imposed by teachers, the consequences of socialization are always manifested within reciprocal relations between students and teachers.

In this sense, LS conceptualizes language learning as “one of a multitude of in-flux, contested, and ever-changing social practices” (Duff & Talmy, 2011, p. 96), and requires looking at the trajectories of socialization within and across multiple events and time, given that identity is interdiscursively co-constructed through a series of events over time (Bucholtz, Barnwell, & Skapoulli, 2012; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005a; Duff, 2008b; Lemke, 2000; Wortham, 2005). Namely, identities in LS are conceived as emergent co-accomplishments across multiple temporal scales through: 1) the reconfiguration of *participation frameworks* from full-fledged participants to unratified bystanders (Goffman, 2001); 2) *denotative stances*, or intersubjective displays of emotion, knowledge, and evaluation; 3) *interactional tacit positioning* —e.g., lack of or no uptake; and 4) *embodied actions* —e.g., showing up late for class, not doing homework, not having textbooks or vandalizing them, chatting, silence, and sleeping in class, and seating positions (Bucholtz, et al., 2012; Duff, 2008; Talmy, 2008; Wortham, 2008).

In LS, stancetaking is deemed as an interactional and discursive phenomenon and cast as an important means to negotiate social relations and subject positions. It involves processes of alignment and disalignment among interlocutors to establish intersubjectivity in interaction. Taking up a stance is thus socially situated and consequential and involves performing the display of epistemic, moral, and affective stances to negotiate participation frameworks (Goodwin, 2007). Affective stances refer to attitudes, feelings, and dispositions while epistemic stances represent regimes of knowledge and authority. Therefore, stancetaking is attributable to semiotic processes in language use, especially indexicality through which speakers use a particular set of linguistic forms and make relevant to the moment of interaction, a particular identity, discourse, ideology, and knowledge (Bucholtz, 2009; Jaffe, 2009).

The frameworks of both cultural production and language socialization are closely intertwined and complement each other throughout this study as I explore the language teaching and learning practices within the tracking system at SunnyHill middle school. Theories of cultural production offer a critical lens to capture schools as sites of ongoing struggle, especially in the context of the neoliberalization of education through institutional practices such as tracking. They also help reveal how the system of tracking produces unequal relations of power and establishes hierarchies among students. Theories of language socialization provide an analytic lens which supports an investigation into how the long-term practice of tracking affects the socialization of the members of each track in terms of their classroom participation frameworks, cultural norms, ideologies, subjectivities, learner identities, and displays of stance taking, such as (dis)affiliative stances towards teachers' classroom practices. These two frameworks together help this study to investigate the myriad ways in which the cultural productions of students are instantiated, appropriated, resisted, or transformed in the

micropolitics of everyday school life, thereby illuminating the contingent, contested, and multidirectional processes of socialization related to tracking.

The frameworks of cultural production and language socialization point to a dialectic between structure and agency, and view identity as an emerging process in interaction; ideologies play a crucial role in this complex process as they mediate both macro-level beliefs about language and micro-level practices. In the next section, I elucidate how ideology, identity, agency, and resistance are understood in this study as a means to go beyond “a rather uncritical theoretical tendency to romanticize modes of resistance” (Giroux, 1983b, p. 105).

3.4 Conceptualizing Ideology, Identity and Agency

3.4.1 Ideology

Theories of cultural production mark a conceptual break from Marxist deterministic worldviews and ideologies, as “[s]ocial agents are not passive bearers of ideology, but active appropriators” (Willis, 1977, p. 175) or possibly creative producers. In Marxism, ideology is deemed as biased, “false consciousness,” or a monolithic unidirectional entity that is imposed on individuals by the dominant and works to obfuscate “truth in a real world” (Woolard, 1992). This framework conceives of truth as something existing a priori and obscured by hegemonic ideology. Critiquing such views on truth and ideology as too simplistic, critical social theories have recognized that truth claims are always discursively produced and deeply implicated in relations of power (Blommaert, 2005; Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005; Pennycook, 2001; Willis, 1983); that is, ideologies are expressed and constructed from the sociocultural experience of social actors within and through interaction (Kroskrity, 2004). Therefore, contemporary scholarship in the social sciences tends to conceptualize ideology as a discursive means that structures a complex web of power relations, shaping social actors’ beliefs, values, stances,

identities, and agencies (Collin & Apple, 2015; Norton & Morgan, 2012; Pennycook, 1994, 2001).

The previous discussion on neoliberal education policies in Korea may appear to imply that educational practices, including teachers' classroom instruction and students' uptake, are determined by prevailing neoliberal ideologies. Hegemonic ideologies, no doubt, impose constraints on teachers and students, but they are not the only factors at work because social actions are mediated by hegemonic as well as counter-hegemonic ideologies. In addition, ideologies are malleable as teachers' and students' beliefs and stances towards English and tracking may change over time. Therefore, through ethnographic observation, this study explores how teachers' and students' ideologies regarding English and tracking are expressed on an interactional level and how those ideologies change over time.

In this sense, the framework of cultural production aligns itself with the situatedness, contingency and multiplicity of ideologies. As "dynamic filters which shape our social actions, rather than as static variables" (J. S.-Y. Park, 2009, p. 21), ideologies operate in and through polycentric and stratified systems, in which multiple ideologies are at play at different levels, in complex, overlapping, and even contradictory ways, and with varying degrees of awareness on the part of social actors (Blommaert, 2005; Errington, 2001; Kroskrity, 2004). Understanding ideologies in this way allows for viewing knowledge as contingent, provisional, and discursive achievements and making sense of struggles and resistance in knowledge production in the classroom. This study views ideologies as an overarching construct under which beliefs, stances, values, cultural norms, and identities are subsumed, arguing that ideologies are constitutive of and (re)constituted by social actors in interaction who work through hegemony, local constraints,

lived experiences, subject positions and agentive acts such as improvisation in the process of meaning making (Holland et al., 1998).

The situatedness of ideologies is also consistent with theories of language socialization (LS), which account for processes of reproduction as well as change. LS denotes that “members of society are agents of culture rather than merely bearers of a culture” (Ochs, 1996, p.416) and it views ideologies as “multiple, situated, and ‘interested’ i.e., rooted in individual experiences of the social order that vary with class, age, gender, etc.” (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002, p. 354). Following this line of conceptualization allows for construing identity as multiple positions which are socially constructed and constantly shifting across time and space.

3.4.2 Identity and (Un)Markedness

In their positioning theory, Davies & Harré (1990) view positioning as the discursive construction and accomplishment of the world and understand identity as the constant positioning of individuals in interactions with others. Therefore, working with naturalistic data is crucial to capture the shift of identity positions in interactions (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2003, 2008). By attending to mundane talk, in this sense, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) developed the notion of identity as “*the social positioning of self and other*” (p. 586, emphasis in original), and theorized tactics of intersubjectivity which people employ in interaction: adequation vs. distinction; authentication vs. denaturalization; and authorization vs. illegitimation. Mindful of the emergent, and relational dimensions of identity, they called close attention to ethnography on identity trajectories or “itineraries of identity” (Bucholtz et al., 2012, p. 157) travelled by social actors so as to develop sensitivity to the shift of identities (see also Wortham, 2006).

Furthermore, understanding identity as social positioning expands a discussion of how the representation of difference is culturally produced as “marked” vis-à-vis “unmarked”

positioning (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). According to Bucholtz and Hall (2004), “markedness” is a concept which structures hierarchies of difference, and which denotes “the process whereby some social categories gain a special, default status that contrasts with the identities of other groups, which are usually highly recognizable” (p. 372). Within the system of tracking, for instance, this study finds that tracking reinforces the unmarkedness of the high track and produces it as the norm from which all other tracks diverge; therefore, high-track students are seen and represented as intellectually superior to their counterparts. The politics of representation, in this light, contributes to creating archetypal images of learner identity, working to privilege some students as capable, prominent and high-achieving while stigmatizing others as [deficient](#), in need of academic and behavioral remediation (Harklau, 2000; Lin, 2013; Norton & Toohey, 2011; Talmy, 2008; Toohey, 2000b). Nevertheless, institutional images of a good/bad student are not reproduced in a linear way because they are constantly reshaped and resisted by students and teachers in everyday school life.

Taken together, I construe subjectivity as “the ways in which individuals come to know themselves” (Garrett, 2007, p. 235), that is, a sense of self, and identity as an enactment of subjectivity in particular positions. Given the inseparability of the two constructs, however, I use identity as an umbrella term which embraces all the concepts of self, identification, subjectivity, and subject position which can be used interchangeably with them. As Bucholtz and Hall (2005) note, understanding identity as social positioning highlights “agency as a broader phenomenon than simply individualistic and deliberate action” and allows for attending to “the myriad ways that identity comes into being, from habitual practice to interactional negotiation to representations and ideologies” (p. 608).

3.4.3 Agency and Resistance

The metaphoric expression of identity as social positioning allows for a shifting sense of agency to take up, resist, or negotiate particular subject positions regarding power relations in interactions. Agency is central to the theories of social practice (e.g., Giddens, 1979) and conceptualized as individuals' capacity mediated by social practices in particular historical, cultural, and political contexts (Ahearn, 2001; Blommaert, 2005; Holland et al., 1998; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Miller, 2012). In advancing agency scholarship, Laura Ahearn (2001), an anthropologist, has offered insightful evidence of agency through analysis of social movements, civil activism, and political upheavals in recent decades. In this vein, Korea's recent large-scale candlelight protests against President Park over a political scandal have demonstrated the powerful capacity of collective human agency in transforming social structures. As such, agency is neither a heavily fettered capacity nor absolutely unfettered free will. Rather, agency is always situated, produced, and mediated by social and discursive practices in particular sociocultural, sociopolitical and ideological spaces. It is therefore important to account for agency in here-and-now interactions.

Since research in language education has turned to focus on sociocultural perspectives (Firth & Wagner, 1997), issues of identity and agency have been a central concern in L2 research, though agency has remained under-theorized. In L2 socialization scholarship, Duff (2012) defines agency as "people's ability to make choices, take control, self-regulate, and thereby pursue their goals as individuals leading, potentially, to personal or social transformation" (p. 425). On the one hand, Duff (2012) states that a sense of agency enables people to invest in their learning in pursuit of their imagined goals. For example, De Costa's (2010) study on the L2 socialization of Jenny, a Chinese immigrant student in a secondary school in Singapore,

demonstrated how Jenny actively negotiated her social positioning and language ideology of standard English in order to reposition herself as a successful speaker of English. Given that, De Costa (2010) concluded, “even though individual language ideologies align themselves with officially sanctioned ideologies, such an alignment should not be exclusively attributed to a hegemonic reproduction of ideologies” (p. 235). On the other hand, Duff (2012) also adds that a sense of agency allows people to resist certain positionings that have been negatively imposed upon them. In Duff’s (2002) study, for example, some ESL students in a mainstream class, who lacked intertextual knowledge about Western pop culture, agentively used silence as a tool of resistance to protect themselves from public humiliation.

Given the dynamic interplay of LS and agency, which is socially shaped by engagement, and performativity in contexts, agency is not an autonomous and decontextualized free will, nor is it simply resistance. As Foley’s (1996) ethnography on the “Silent Indians” in White-dominated high school classrooms shows, the cultural performance of silence manifests “part of a much larger discursive and ideological struggle between Whites and Indians over cultural representations,” rather than “the simple enactment of learned language patterns and speech styles” (p. 81). In this regard, Talmy’s (2008) microanalysis on classroom interactions cogently underscores that ESL students’ resistance in class is not simply the evidence of lack of motivation, but a sociocultural phenomenon, indicating their identity struggle within the mainstream/ ESL hierarchy prevalent in many high schools. To capture the complexity of resistance, but not to romanticize it, this study undertakes a subtle analysis of multiple and shifting identities through a close reading of interactional sequences and students’ narrative accounts of their lived experiences in learning English by being placed in tracks.

Furthermore, understanding acts of student resistance and their self-sabotaging effects on learning within social practices has significant pedagogical implications. As Willis (1977) pointed out, a meritocratic education system culturally produces the “disaffected” working-class lads as deviant, low-achieving and at-risk, and *often pushes them out of schools*; hence, the lads’ resistance demonstrates “a ‘crisis’ in education” (p. 189, emphasis added). Even though resistance illuminates the contingent process of socialization, the lads in Willis’s (1977) study, the silent Indian students in Foley’s (1996) study, the burnouts in Eckert’s (1989) study, the lower-caste Indian college students in Atkinson’s (2003) study, and the ESL students in Talmy’s (2009) study all close off any possibility of pursuing intellectual work which may allow for upward social mobility. By rejecting the logic of schooling, they are subsequently complicit in the process of their own subordination and social reproduction. Therefore, as Auerbach (2000) underscores, using student resistance as “the object of collaborative reflection and dialogue” can be a valuable pedagogical encounter for both teachers and students: “It is critical to expect and welcome resistance to what you (as the powerful teacher) are orchestrating—including resistances to participatory learning itself” (p. 161). Along these lines, this study views student resistance as a performance of difference, an act of pedagogical negotiation and affective struggles, and analyzes classroom interactions to show how resistance is (co)performed in mundane talks, why it is occasioned, and what it implies pedagogically.

3.5 Conclusion

Situated within the social practice framework, I have provided an overview of the two main theoretical frameworks that underpin situated language learning and teaching. I have broadly started with a general overview of the development of theories of cultural production and then continued more specifically with L2 socialization. Grounded within these frameworks, I

have conceptualized the notions of ideology, identity, agency and resistance as being always situated and implicated in sociocultural and sociopolitical contexts.

Although the frameworks of cultural production and language socialization are derived from different disciplines, I have shown that they complement and support each other for the purpose of this study. By analyzing classroom interactional data through discourse analytic techniques, particularly focusing on students' off-task behaviors, this study shows how teachers' discourses and practices position members of each track differently and how such imposed identity positions are appropriated or resisted by students denotatively, interactionally, and through embodied actions. In this study, I discuss how these two main frameworks are appropriate to investigate the ideologies that underlie teachers' and students' beliefs and discourses regarding tracking and to examine the discrepancies between teachers' classroom practices and students' lived experiences, thereby exposing the contradictions of tracking that are accepted by social actors as natural. In the next section, I delve into the methodology that this study draws on.

Chapter 4: Methodology and Methods

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I begin a sketch of critical ethnography (CE) and then explore CE in education and L2 learning. After that, I articulate important features of CE and my conceptualization of CE as praxis. After describing my positionality as a teacher-turned researcher, I explain how I negotiated entry into SunnyHill Girls' Middle School and how I positioned myself and was positioned by SunnyHill's social actors. This is followed by the descriptions of the school and research participants, and the methods and sources employed in this study. The rest of the chapter deals with the politics of representation in terms of coding, transcription and translation, and critical discourse analysis. I conclude the chapter by reflecting on the process of research and analysis that I went through in order to ascertain the trustworthiness of this study.

4.2 Locating Critical Ethnography within the Study

Derived from critical social theories, critical ethnography (CE) challenges power, hidden agendas, taken-for-granted assumptions, and knowledge by taking a politically motivated and openly ideological approach to social injustice, stigmatization, and marginalization, closely related to issues of class, race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and language competence; among others (Anderson, 1989; Carspecken, 1996; Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005; Madison, 2012; Masemann, 1982; May, 1997; Quantz & O'Connor, 1988; Simon & Dippo, 1986; Talmy, 2012; Thomas, 1993). In this respect, Simon and Dippo (1986) suggest three fundamental conditions to warrant the label "critical" in CE: 1) consistently problematizing data and analytical procedures; 2) being situated within a public sphere for the critique and transformation of the conditions of inequitable moral and social regulation; and 3) reflecting the limits of its own claims (p. 197). In

this study, I take the following position with respect to “becoming” critical: always problematize the taken-for-granted; always have greater openness, imagination, and reflexivity to embrace difference; always be self-reflexive about my own limits, assumptions, positionality, and practices; and always take morally responsible actions to promote social justice, and equity. Bearing this positionality in mind, I explore CE in both education and second language education, and then describe what it means to employ CE as a research methodology in this study.

4.2.1 Critical Ethnography in Education and L2 Learning

As noted earlier, much of the initial CE came out of the University of Birmingham’s Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) in the 1970s. Willis’s (1977) study on working-class lads was a pioneering work in situating resistance as the primary orientation of CE. During the burgeoning period of the ethnography movement in education in the late 1960s, ethnography offered an important methodological venue for educators who sought to account for a dialectic between the structural constraints and the relative autonomy of human agency out of a “dissatisfaction with social accounts of ‘structures’” and “dissatisfaction with cultural accounts of human actors,” which underlie reproduction theories (Anderson, 1989, p. 249). CE is thus rooted in and developed out of critical social theories and poststructural feminist theories (Denzin, 2003; Foley, 2002; Lather, 2007; Pignatelli, 1998; Quantz, 1992).

In second language education, CE is still relatively underrepresented (Talmy, 2012; Toohey, 2008), even though ethnography has become an increasingly popular approach, specifically for studies drawing on language socialization (e.g., Duff, 1995, 2002b, 2008b; Duff & Uchida 1997; Duranti, Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011; Harklau, 2005; J. Kim & Duff, 2012; Kobayashi, 2003; McKay & Wong, 1996; Morita, 2004; Watson-Gegeo, 1997; Watson-Gegeo & Nielsen, 2003). Although there is a dearth of research explicitly framed as CE, Toohey (2008)

argues, “[m]uch of the most recently published ethnographic work in language education aligns with critical ethnographic perspectives” (p. 184). This indicates that boundaries across ethnographies become much fuzzier. Spearheaded by Canagarajah’s (1993) work in war-torn Sri Lanka, CE in second language education has highlighted a diversity of issues, including student resistance and accommodation, social identity, racism, linguicism, classism, neoliberalism, the politics of second and foreign language policies, nativespeakerism, and others (De Costa, 2010; Goldstein, 2004; Heller, 2010; Ibrahim, 1999; Kanno, 2008; Lin, 1999; Motha, 2006b; Talmy, 2009c; Toohey, 2000a).

I adopt critical ethnography as my methodology because it is ontologically, epistemologically, and methodologically congruent with the two theoretical frameworks that underpin this study. While the cultural production theory is developed through CE on marginalized social groups (Levinson et al., 1996; Talmy, 2008; Willis, 1977), L2 socialization is grounded in ethnography, often in “unexpected” cases (Duff & Talmy, 2011; Harklau, 2005), both shedding critical light on an asymmetry of power in knowledge production within school settings. As such, CE is a viable choice for this study to explore how multiple discourses around English and tracking influence language learning and teaching.

4.2.2 Conceptualizing Critical Ethnography as Praxis

Critical ethnography (CE) shares many of the characteristics of conventional ethnographic traditions which aim to provide holistic and interpretive accounts of people’s behavior and cultural patterns in particular settings from an emic or insider’s perspective through up-close observation, thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973) of particular contexts and participants, and triangulation of multiple sources and methods such as observation, field notes, interviewing, journals, the collection of site documents and multimodal artifacts, and member checks

(Atkinson et al., 2011; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Duff, 2008b; Harklau, 2005; Heath & Street, 2008; May, 1997; Toohey, 2008; Watson-Gegeo, 1997; Watson-Gegeo & Nielsen, 2003).

Although embedded within these tenets of ethnography, CE goes beyond it by concentrating on “what could be” rather than “what is” (G. L. Anderson, 1989; Quantz, 1992; Simon & Dippo, 1986; Thomas, 1993). CE is therefore the act of doing ethnography “with an attitude” or with “critical epistemology” (Carspecken, 1996). It problematizes cultural formations in the lives of ordinary people in asymmetrical power relations as a means of invoking social consciousness in order to take action for better transforming the unequitable relations (Carspecken, 1996; Levinson et al., 1996; Madison, 2012; May, 1997; Talmy, 2012).

CE, in this sense, is critical theory in action, praxis, or “the performance of critical theory” (N. Denzin, 2003) through a “continuous reflexive integration of thought, desire and action” (Simon, 1992, p. 49). Praxis is a critical site in which an academic rhetoric of critical theory and actual practice merge to act upon the real world to bring about change. Therefore, being critical refers to not simply discussing social issues in a circle, but engaging with such unjust issues as a form of action. As Quantz (1992) stresses, in CE, theory and method do not exist independently; that is, “[m]ethod is fully embedded in theory and theory is expressed in method”(p. 449). Nevertheless, CE was charged with the overstated role of theory without practical implications for practitioners (G. L. Anderson, 1989; Hammersley, 1992). If CE aims to achieve its ultimate goal of social and educational change, it must offer a theory of action for educational practitioners to develop a counter-hegemonic practice. Highlighting student resistance may not necessarily be transformative when there is no consequential paradigm shift in educational policies, curriculum, and classroom practice. To defy the theory/practice dualism, some critical ethnographers urge for representing research in more accessible and engaging narratives (D. E.

Foley & Valensuela, 2005; Quantz, 1992), while others stress participatory ethnography or ethnographic action research to more progressively engage in community-based reforms (D. E. Foley & Valensuela, 2005; Holliday, 1994; Ulichny, 1997), for example, via performative ethnography (Denzin, 2003; Goldstein, 2004).

As a teacher-turned researcher, it is crucial to maintain a highly reflexive stance in regards to my positionality, assumptions, and beliefs throughout the research process; otherwise, the study could suffer from my top-down impositions. As Quantz (1992) points out:

That all of these groups are oppressed and marginalized is not the question. The question is, rather, how are marginalized people positioned in material and symbolic relations, how do they participate in these relations, and how can our understanding work toward the restructuring of these relations. (p. 468)

Indeed, I decided to delve into the tracking system in Korea because working as a teacher, I had seen much resistance on the part of low-track students and then questioned the ramifications of tracking in language learning and teaching. By ethnographically exploring the “hows,” I want to acquire an adequate sense of the “whats” and to illuminate the contingent, and complex processes of cultural production throughout students’ L2 socialization. In the following section, I segue into an explanation of how I gained access to a research site and recruited participants.

4.3 Research Context, Participants and Methods: The School and Its Social Actors

4.3.1 Negotiating Entry

Negotiation of entry into a research site is a complex endeavor particularly for K-12 researchers because they need permission not only from students, parents, teachers, school administrators, and district officials, but also from university institutional review boards (Duff, 2007a). Accordingly, the negotiation of entry begins with building relationships with

“gatekeepers”. Building and maintaining relationships, as Wanat (2008) notes, is crucial to the success of school-based research since “[g]atekeepers grant formal access but withhold cooperation if they think studies threaten them or their schools” (p. 192). Indeed, gaining access and cooperation requires extensive negotiation in bureaucratic organizations. My case certainly epitomizes this process as I encountered many stumbling blocks to getting past the gatekeepers.

In selecting a research site, Heath and Street (2008) suggest, “[Teachers-turned-ethnographers] will find it easier to grow familiar with a ‘strange’ site than to maintain a value-neutral stance within the ‘familiar’ classroom” (p. 58). I take issue with the term “value-neutral” because I believe that all forms of research impose values and “[n]o pristine interpretation exists” (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p. 294). In critical ethnography, therefore, as Quantz (1992) notes, “the important question cannot be *should* we impose our value but *how should* we, as researchers, deal with our values” (p. 472, emphasis in original). Nonetheless, Heath and Street (2008) make a great point regarding the inevitable difficulties in taking “good” care of our values when working in familiar sites. Given my positionality as a middle school teacher and PhD student in a Canadian university, I surmised that selecting my school as a research site could be risky.

It is for this reason that I negotiated entry into what I call “Bay Middle School” through Ms. Park, my co-worker, and Ms. Sohn, the principal of my school in Korea. In October 2014, I contacted them both by telephone from Vancouver. Having explained the goals and procedures of my research, I e-mailed them the introductory letter for the study, included as Appendix A, and added my interest in researching Bay Middle School. After reading the introductory letter, both Ms. Park and Ms. Sohn agreed to help me negotiate entry into the school. A few days later, I was told by Ms. Park that the principal of Bay had shown interest in my research. I then called the principal and asked her to distribute the research introductory letter to English teachers. It

was not long before Ms. Park e-mailed me to let me know that the school had agreed to participate in my study. However, when I contacted my prospective teacher-participants at Bay, it turned out that they had not been informed about the required classroom observations, and the misinformation had aroused in them a great deal of anxiety towards the study, consequently, leading them to withdraw from it. Because of administrative hierarchies in the Korean school system in which principals are final arbiters, acting as critical gatekeepers involving all kinds of institutional practices, I contacted the principal of Bay prior to contacting the teachers. However, my failure proved this top-down approach as counter-productive, demonstrating the importance of ethical engagements in ethnographic research (see Duff & Abdi, 2015).

Shortly after the withdrawal of Bay, I shifted to a bottom-up approach and rather than the principal of my school, I contacted Ms. Park to discuss my situation in November 2014, and she suggested that I attempt to gain access to permission for research in my own school. Because I was fully aware of the risk in selecting my own school, I asked Ms. Park to have a thorough discussion with other English teachers. After the lengthy discussions, Ms. Park confirmed that three out of four English teachers agreed to participate in the study. In order to ascertain the voluntary nature of participation, I sent each teacher an email that explained in detail about the goals and procedures of my research. After all the teachers assured me that they were well informed of the nature of the study, I contacted the principal of my school, and obtained her official permission.

Following this process, everything moved forward smoothly. With the approval of my university's institutional review board and an air ticket in hand, I was ready to return to Korea to undertake the study. However, just before my departure, a bigger problem emerged. As the principal of my school was resigning in February 2015, I requested that Ms. Park ensure that the

vice principal, who I had never met, be notified of my research. Unexpectedly, the vice principal had not been informed of the research, so when I made contacted, my request for entry to the school was flatly rejected.

Immediately after I returned to Korea, I went to the school to meet the vice principal, but her decision remained the same, clarifying that her biggest concern was fulfilling her administrative role of protecting teachers from being disturbed by the researcher. She then critiqued ethnography for exploiting participants for a researcher's academic advancement, dismissing it as a Western methodology that is inapplicable in Korean contexts. A series of questions raised by her left me speechless, and led me to consider my subjectivity as a teacher, PhD student, and researcher, and more fundamentally my morality and ethics. Regarding reflexivity as "turning back" on their own power, privilege, and biases, Davis (1998) posits that a constant mirroring of the self allows critical ethnographers to become more accountable for their own ethical responsibility. In the same vein, Quantz (1992) emphasizes researchers' reflexivity in order not to be trapped into strategies which "serve the professional advancement of the ethnographers more than the transformation of society" (p. 469). That night, I turned back to myself with a full set of questions and reread my notebook on which I had scribbled my ethical stances about Madison's (2012) questions, in particular, "how will our work make a difference in people's lives?" (p. 8). Despite my colleagues' consent, I could not help but comply with the vice principal's decision because to her, I was an outsider for whom she had no obligation to protect and provide support. Being positioned as an outsider in my own school was heartbreaking, but it taught me that any sense of an insider status is relative and provisional.

As soon as it became clear to me that my research plan had fallen apart, I approached several schools, but this time, I made sure to discuss my research with principals, vice principals,

and teachers. The previous two failed bids had taught me that all of these people were equally important gatekeepers in gaining access to a research site. One week before Term 1 started, I had already experienced several failures, mainly because many teachers felt uncomfortable having a researcher in their classes. Devastated about the possibility of not finding a site, I called a former colleague, Ms. Lee, who was the vice principal of SunnyHill Girls' middle school, and expressed my interest in meeting with English teachers to explain the purpose and procedure of the study. One day later, Ms. Lee confirmed the English teachers' willingness to meet with me, and I then arranged a meeting with them in the afternoon of the same day. At SunnyHill, there were three English teachers, one of whom was Ms. Yoon, who was a highly experienced teacher in comparison with the other two teachers, Ms. Sun and Ms. Jang. It was Ms. Yoon who expressed a willingness to work with me, and keeping one teacher on-side encouraged the other teachers to participate in the research. Ms. Sun even told me that she would like to use this research as a pedagogical encounter and asked me to share my expertise to enhance her practice. My case resonates with Duff (2008a), noting that "Often, having one of the staff members become enthusiastic about a project will in turn open many other doors" (p. 127). After receiving the teachers' consent forms, I asked them to distribute the research introductory letter to students; both of these are included in Appendix A.

Shortly after my first meeting with the teachers, I was introduced to the principal of SunnyHill, who turned out to be very supportive, and asked me to help out the teachers with the implementation of SunnyHill's district-funded project of "Learning Community"—a teaching and learning approach which SunnyHill was launching to foster the professional development of faculty members and to further students' investment in learning. My next visit to SunnyHill followed immediately for the purpose of meeting the students in each track. Considering the

hectic schedule of the first week of school, I took extra precautions to be as unobtrusive as possible to the teachers. I spent ten minutes in each track to explain the research to the students and to give them the opportunity to ask any questions they might have about it.

On the following Monday most of the students had received permission from their parents or guardians and returned the consent forms to their English teachers. I then obtained their assent forms; both forms are included in Appendix A. The assent process consisted of both a verbal explanation (in Korean) of the research purpose and process as well as a written assent form (also in Korean). Except for one student in a high-track class, across the three tracks, fifty-three students were given permission by their parents to participate in the research. After that, I provided the students who had consented to participate with a simple questionnaire as a means to gain some idea of student backgrounds, interests, and aspirations. It proved useful on a number of accounts, particularly for the development of interview questions; the questionnaire is included in Appendix B. Moreover, I planned to have an interview with two homeroom teachers, but unfortunately SunnyHill's busy daily schedule did not allow it. Instead, they provided me with a list concerning the students' sociocultural and socioeconomic backgrounds and asked me to keep it confidential. The list includes students who receive governmental financial support and parents who display strong interest in their children's education.

4.3.2 SunnyHill Girls' Middle School

SunnyHill is in one of the lowest socioeconomic residential areas in a small city. This is because despite its close location to the city's downtown—less than ten minutes by bus—high fences around an overpass railroad track, which stretches abruptly into the area, separate the SunnyHill neighborhood from other inner city areas. On the streets surrounding SunnyHill are shabby cement houses and old low-rise apartment buildings. Many houses have multi-

households dwelling together for economic reasons. The streets are so narrow that a bus can hardly drive through, and many kinds of small shops spread out along the streets appear to hinder the smooth flow of traffic. Near SunnyHill, there is an old-style marketplace in which vendors run their businesses in either poorly-built tents or from handcarts that sellers push through the streets. In an interview, Ms. Lee, the vice principal, informed me that many of the parents of SunnyHill students make their livings in this market, and approximately a third of the school population receives free lunch. Consequently, Ms. Lee maintained that the number of underachievers at SunnyHill was much higher than that at schools with affluent student populations (I1: 43-51).

SunnyHill Girls' Middle School is a single sex school just as many Korean schools are, and it has been faced with a substantial decline in student numbers. In the 2015 school year, there were 18 teachers, one vice principal, and one principal, and there were only nine classes with two hundred students in total, two classes of Grade 7, four classes of Grade 8, and three classes of Grade 9. Each class had an average of 27 students and was identified by number, for example, Class 1 of Grade 7 and Class 1 of Grade 8. Most lessons took place in assigned homeroom classrooms, which were equipped with a TV, computer, blackboard, desks, and chairs. As in many Korean middle schools, SunnyHill tracked the students in two subjects, English and math, by applying the "2+1" system in which two classes of the same grade were combined and then divided into three tracks by scores. As there were three classes in Grade 9, Class 1 and Class 2 were merged and then sorted into high, middle and low tracks whereas Class 3 was divided into high and low tracks. The focus of this study was on the combination of Class 1 and Class 2.

Recently renovated and painted, SunnyHill gave a clean impression at first sight, but most classrooms, except for special purpose classrooms, still typified the look of traditional

classrooms in which desks were arranged in rows, facing a blackboard in front. English lessons took place in designated areas called an “English only zone” which consisted of three separate classrooms. As noted in Chapter 2, “English only zone”—a typical name for the space—was established during Lee, Myeong-bak’s presidency (2008-2012) to promote communicative competence and tracking. Below is a floor plan of the SunnyHill English only zone.

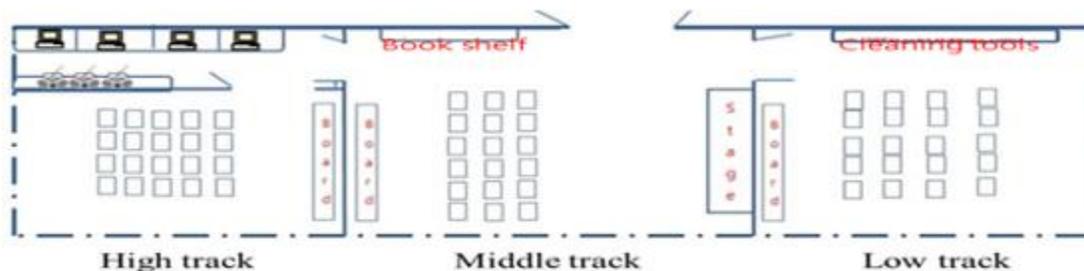


Figure 4.1 The Floor Plan of SunnyHill English Only Zone

The English only zone is located in the corner of the third floor of the school building and easily accessible to students, given that homeroom classrooms are situated on the second, third, and fourth floors. English books and English-learning game tools, such as Bingo on a book self and a list of “Broken English” pinned on a bulletin board hanging next to the main entrance, clearly depict these classrooms as spaces for learning English. When asked about the list, Ms. Sun, a middle-track teacher, responded that she created it to help students learn appropriate English expressions (I1: 241). Broken English, thus, represents Koreanized English words.



Figure 4.2 Semiotizing Koreanized Expressions as Broken English

Examples include *APT* to *apartment (flat in England)*, *note* to *notebook*, *health club* to *fitness center*, *sharp pen* to *mechanical pencil*, *cunning* to *cheating*, and *one-side love* to *unrequited*

love; more examples are included in Appendix E. Given that American and British English are the only forms legitimized as norms, the list seems to reflect, promote, and valorize the standardization of English in association with specific geographic locations.

With respect to the physical conditions of each English classroom, the high-track classroom was the brightest and sunniest place, while the low-track classroom was cold and dark in winter and humid and hot in summer. A stack of cleaning tools near the entrance also downgraded the image of the low-track classroom. During my field work, I often heard low-track students complaining about the poor condition of their classroom. The middle-track classroom sandwiched between the two rooms acted as a passage for the other classrooms because students and teachers could only enter and exit the English only zone through the middle-track classroom. On many occasions, when high-and low-track students were dismissed earlier than middle-track students, the middle-track classroom practices were disturbed by students leaving the English only zone, by others who stopped to chat with the middle-track students, or by those who chose to stand in the back of the classroom after the dismissal. Appendix F includes classroom pictures.

4.3.3 Participants: The Three English Teachers and Students

The allocation of track classrooms was decided according to teachers by seniority, educational credentials, and preference. All teachers had very different employment conditions. Ms. Yoon, who had 28 years of teaching experience, was in her fifties and the only regular public school teacher, whereas the other two teachers, both in their late thirties, were non-regular teachers who obtained their certificate as a secondary English teacher and had considerable teaching experience at public schools as well as private language institutes: Ms. Sun was hired as “an English conversation instructor” (영어회화전문강사), a position which was initiated in 2008 aiming at promoting communicative competence as well as tracking practice; and Ms. Jang was

employed as a six-month substitute replacing a regular teacher who was on study leave. For reference, working as public school teachers in Korea requires passing the National Teacher Exam, and this exam is becoming more and more competitive because of a growing increase in unemployment and job insecurity (H. Park, 2014). With respect to working experience at SunnyHill, Ms. Sun had been working there since 2011, whereas Ms. Yoon and Ms. Jang began teaching at SunnyHill in 2015.

In a hierarchically sensitive and status conscious society like Korea, it was not surprising that Ms. Yoon had priority in selecting a classroom and tracks. In fact, both Ms. Sun and Ms. Jang appreciated Ms. Yoon for letting them teach multiple tracks, not just low tracks, although the social convention is that teachers with higher seniority normally take the higher tracks, and non-regular instructors are often assigned to low tracks (Ms. Jang I1: 255-265; Ms. Sun I1: 200-210; see E. Yoo, 2013). In this regard, S. Kelly (2004a) argued that “teacher tracking” reinforces two phenomena: institutional resistance to changing the structure of tracking; and the aggravation of inequalities in learning opportunity (p. 69). Table 4.1 shows the tracks assigned to each teacher. This study focused on the three Grade 9 tracks which are shaded in the table.

Table 4.1 Track Combinations and Teacher Assignments

Teacher/ Track	Grade 7	Grade 8		Grade 9	
	(Class 1+Class 2)	(Class 1+Class 2)	(Class 3+Class 4)	(Class 1+ Class 2)	(Class 3)
Ms. Yoon	Low track	Middle track	Middle track	High track	High track
Ms. Sun	High track	Low track	Low track	Middle track	Low track
Ms. Jang	Middle track	High track	High track	Low track	

4.3.4 Positioning Myself in SunnyHill

Having gained access to SunnyHill, I asked the teachers to introduce me to students not as a middle school English teacher but as a student-researcher from a Western institute. This was

due to my concern that my teacher identity might make students feel insecure about sharing their stories with me due to a general deference to teacher authority. By positioning myself as a student as well as a researcher from Canada, I hoped to be able to have students feel closer to me and to see me as a resource for their language learning and intercultural experiences.

However, soon after entering the site, I found myself in a somewhat conflicted position as I was addressed as a teacher by students as well as their teachers. In Korea, people are often addressed by their job positions rather than their names. For example, students call their teachers “teacher” (title), “English teacher” (subject and title) or “Byean teacher” (last name and title), and it is considered inappropriate to address their teachers by their first or last names only, for example, Hyera or Ms. Byean. Although the teachers did not introduce me as a school teacher, they addressed me as “Byean teacher” (변선생님) since there were not any apposite appellations to address someone like myself. Consequently, the students immediately positioned me as a teacher, which led me to rethink my positionality, and eventually, I told the students about my teacher identity.

My insider status as an English teacher proved useful in building rapport with both teachers and students at SunnyHill as it helped them view me as a practitioner who was seeking better ways to enhance students’ English competence. In the middle-track class, in this regard, I worked as a teaching assistant upon Ms. Sun’s request, helping students’ group work or on individual worksheets. However, my insider status was contingent on the situation, as I was often positioned in different identity categories throughout the research. For example, positioning me as an expert in teaching English and classroom management, Ms. Sun often sought my advice and perspectives on the lessons, and invited me to be a judge for the SunnyHill English Speech Contest. When my expertise was called upon, I drew on my experiences and shared many stories

rather than providing prescriptive solutions. In regards to Ms. Yoon, my positionality as a researcher was often invoked in class as she appealed to me to urgently find ways to maximize students' participation. Students were not an exception in this respect as they often approached me with questions related not only to English but also Canadian culture, such as schools, students—specifically boys—food, and fashion. Such multiple and shifting positioning contributed to helping to dissolve the binary division between the researcher and the researched, and constructing a community in which I could move from detached observation to intimate dialogical co-performance with my participants.

As Madison (2012) notes, “[the critical ethnographer] is a co-performer rather than a participant-observer [and] it is to live in the embodied engagement of radical empiricism, to honor the aural/oral sounds that *incorporate* rather than *gaze over*” (Madison, 2012, p. 186, emphasis in original). Such reciprocity, Toohey (2008) argues, guides critical ethnographers to create “less authoritative and more ‘porous’ descriptions of ethnographic research which allow multiple interpretations and dialogicality about others’ realities” (p. 185). Given that “most ethnographic data is ‘produced’ not ‘found’” (Simon & Dippo, 1986, p. 200) in a collaborative manner, I approached my participants as co-producers or co-partners of “our” study (Motha, 2006a). It is to the procedures of data generation that I now turn in the next section.

4.4 Performing Critical Ethnography: The Procedures of Data Generation

This study understands that ethnographic data are collaboratively generated and interactionally achieved by researchers and participants. Therefore, of primary importance is taking “good” care of rigor in order to enhance the trustworthiness of this politically-motivated and openly ideological study (Lather, 1986b). As Duff (2006) suggests:

[T]he triangulation of research *methods, data,* and participant *perspectives* (including my own analytic perspectives) to shed light on classroom phenomena provides a more multidimensional, richer image or composite and thus systemic understanding than an individual snapshot or series of snapshots taken from a distance would.

(pp. 81-82, emphasis in original)

To ensure the credibility of the work, this study iteratively undertook the triangulation of multiple sources and methods, including participant observation, field notes, audio-recording of classrooms, the collection of site documents, multimodal artifacts, and formal and informal interviews. Table 4.2 presents the methods and sources of data along with any special activities and events which occurred throughout the study.

Table 4.2 Methods and Sources of Data

Data generation period	March	April	May	June	July
Special activities & events	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Starting Term 1 (March 2) Starting classroom observation (March 9) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> National English Listening Test (April 09) Fieldtrip (April 13-15) Mid-term test (April 28-30) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Holiday (May1/ 4-5/ 15) Rearranging tracks (May 11) Sports Day (May 14) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> English Speech Contest (June 17) National Standardized Test (June 23) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Final test (July 1-3) Summer vacation (July 18-August 19) Starting Term 2 (August 20)
	4 weeks (12 hours)	3 weeks (9 hours)	3 weeks (9 hours)	4 weeks (12 hours)	2 weeks (no audio-recording)
Methods & Sources					
Classroom observations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> audio-recorded classroom interactions: 14 hours x 3 tracks (a total: 42 hours) three students carrying a recording device in a class: (42 hours x 3 Ss =126) 				
Fieldnotes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> fieldnotes on 45 lessons and participant observations before and after lessons 				
Artifacts & site documents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the 2015 SunnyHill curriculum and plan lists of students' track location and English test scores lists of students' financial status and parents' involvement in their education class worksheets and mid-term and final test papers students' written work and notes photos and bulletins 				
Interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 3 English teachers 28 students (including one returnee student from America) 2 administrators: SunnyHill vice principal & supervisor of Provincial Office 				

4.4.1 Participant Observation

As ethnography is mainly concerned with providing holistic and interpretive accounts of people's behavior and cultural practices in particular settings through first-hand, intensive and up-close observation and participation, participant observation is considered a key feature of data generation within this methodology and more broadly in qualitative research (N. Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Duff, 2007a; Harklau & Norwood, 2005). In this study, getting a close look into participants' language learning and teaching experiences allowed for comparing and contrasting spatial dynamics and conditions, teaching and learning processes, teachers' expectations and instructional practices, and learning outcomes across three tracks. Participant observation, hence, played a central role in contextualizing the local research site in juxtaposition with the larger sociopolitical context and further grasping the dialectical interfaces between macro-level policies, such as tracking and English-only, and micro-level English teaching and learning practices in everyday classrooms.

As noted earlier, I align myself with Madison's view (2012) that "[the critical ethnographer] is a co-performer rather than a participant-observer" (p. 186), and first and foremost, I acknowledge the effects of my co-presence in classrooms on data generation. As Foley (2005) points out, "[a]lthough this sort of collaboration does not relinquish authorial authority, it does add a great deal of reflexivity to the data collection and representational process" (p. 223). I, therefore, conceptualize my observations as joint achievements and delineate my involvement in each tracked class starting with an explanation of SunnyHill's daily schedule.

My observations were conducted over the course of one semester, from March to July. As in many Korean middle schools, SunnyHill students wear a school uniform composed of a white shirt, dark blue tie, vest, jacket, and a skirt. Although the length of a skirt was required to cover

the knee and the length of hair was restricted to be up to 8cm from the ear, as a teacher myself, it came as no surprise to see that many students did not follow these regulations. The daily schedule at SunnyHill lasts from 8:30 am to 4:20 pm during the week, and the day begins with a 20 minute-self-directed study hall under the supervision of homeroom teachers. Starting from the first period at 8:50, every period lasts for 45 minutes, followed by a 10 minute-break between each period. When the fourth period ends at 12:20, students line up by grade and class for school lunch, and eat together in the school cafeteria. School lunch, which is mandatory, costs about 2,500 KRW, or 2 USD per meal, and it consists of three different kinds of side dishes, rice, and soup. After a one hour lunch (12:20-1:20), students take three more classes (1:20-3:55) and then clean their classrooms as well as other facilities such as the offices of the teachers and principal, bathrooms, and the English only zone. Finally, students are dismissed by their homeroom teachers at 4:20 pm. When I negotiated access to SunnyHill, I volunteered to teach an extracurricular English class, but the teachers responded that it would be impossible owing to the late dismissal. Moreover, this late dismissal complicated my interviewing practice because of some students preferring not to stay late, while others had to attend private institutes after school. Accordingly, most of the formal interviews were conducted during the lunch period.

As for the Grade 9 English lessons I observed, students learned English four times a week, and English took place during the third period (10:40-11:25) on Monday, Tuesday, and Friday, and during the fourth period (11:35-12:20) on Thursday. Despite students being placed into different tracks, they were all taught based on the same English textbook, and took the same tests which had been created by their English teachers. The *Iljegosa* and the Nationwide English Listening Test were the two tests which came from outside the school. Upon the teachers' request, I was only allowed to observe each track of Grade 9 once a week; high track on Monday,

low track on Tuesday, and middle track on Friday. Although conducting more classroom observations would have allowed me to collect more data, having been a secondary school teacher, I was fully cognizant of the discomfort caused by having an outsider observe classes. Therefore, I felt an ethical obligation to respect the teachers' decisions and to approach the teachers with sensitivity regarding the possibility of ethics-related challenges in situated research practices (see De Costa, 2014; Kubanyiova, 2008). As indicated in Table 4.2, I discontinued my observations on special occasions such as Sports Day, field trips, and during the week after mid-term and final test periods. During the assessment periods, students took tests of ten subjects for three days, and had an early dismissal shortly after lunch. As a way to prevent cheating, SunnyHill placed a parent into each classroom and had them co-supervise the students with a teacher. Once tests were completed, teachers used the following week for grading.

Even though the teachers did not ostensibly define the scope of my observations, and I was well aware that what was taking place in classrooms could be better understood through observing many other social events and situations (Canagarajah, 2004; Carspecken, 1996; Madison, 2012), it would most likely have been counterproductive for me to have gotten involved at SunnyHill; given my teacher identity working at a neighboring school, I was afraid that my presence would increase the uneasiness of SunnyHill teachers. Mindful of the difficulties in finding a research site, my priority was conducting the study in a nonobtrusive manner. It is for this reason that I limited my observations to English classrooms and withdrew from observing other extracurricular activities and facilities, including the teachers' office, school cafeteria, and homeroom classrooms. Apart from the English Speech Contest for which I was asked to become a judge, my involvement outside classrooms was very limited. In total, accordingly, I observed each track sixteen times out of twenty weeks of the term, with the last

two observations not audio-recorded; my class involvement varied considerably depending on which class I was observing.

Ms. Yoon's class. As Ms. Yoon conducted most lessons in a teacher-led whole-class structure, I played the role of observer, sitting quietly in the back of the classroom with a field notebook and pen. However, my role also shifted in the class between being more or less involved in that Ms. Yoon often made use of my language expertise (Rampton, 1990) and asked me questions related to English pronunciation and idiomatic expressions. Moreover, I was occasionally called Doctor Byean, although I kept reminding Ms. Yoon of my student status, and asked to give a talk to students concerning my language learning trajectory, intercultural experiences, and Canadian students.

Ms. Sun's class. My involvement in Ms. Sun's class was different from the other two classes because during our first meeting, I was explicitly asked to serve as an assistant in terms of helping students with class work and as a teacher mentor in terms of providing pedagogical and instructional advice before and after lessons. As a way of putting into practice the SunnyHill annual project of Learning Community, for the first time in her career, Ms. Sun placed students into groups and implemented all class activities during the semester as group-based. In doing group-based work, Ms. Sun offered students extra credits or candy to groups in which all members completed the provided worksheets. Under these circumstances, I was often called upon by students and kept busy helping them complete their group assignments. What most distinguished Ms. Sun from the other teachers was that she self-created and harnessed a multiplicity of multimodal resources such as PPT, worksheets with colorful images, and hands-on games and delivered lessons using an honorific (very formal and polite) form of the Korean language.

Ms. Jang's class. Like Ms. Yoon, Ms. Jang also conducted lessons in a teacher-led whole-class structure. Accordingly, I positioned myself in the back of the classroom. Nonetheless, while I situated myself into a peripheral position, I also walked around the classroom and offered my help to students during self-directed study sessions, albeit cautiously as I was not explicitly recruited as an assistant. Interestingly, Ms. Jang was the only teacher who allocated approximately a third of a class period to this self-study session. She informed me that it was designed to increase the students' performance-based grade by having them complete their classwork and overdue homework in class.

Although my involvement varied considerably hinging upon which class I was in, I tried to maintain an "active observership" by thickly describing what I observed in my field notebook.

4.4.2 Fieldnotes

Coupled with observation, fieldnotes comprise the core of ethnographic research (Duff, 2008a; Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011; Warren & Karner, 2010). Writing fieldnotes is the inscription of descriptive representations of what is observed and it is thus an important vehicle to capture local knowledge and understandings (Carspecken, 1996; Emerson et al., 2011; Hatch, 2002; Warren & Karner, 2010). As Emerson et al. (2011) note, fieldnotes are "the products of active processes of interpretation and sense-making that frame or structure not only what is written but also how it is written" (p. 9; see also Geertz, 1973, p. 19).

There is no one specific or correct way to write fieldnotes. According to Warren and Karner (2010), however, well-written fieldnotes include highly contextualized accounts on spatial relations, temporal sequences and interactions, personalities, physical appearance and apparel, and more to the point, "well-done fieldnotes are those written as soon as possible after the events in the setting have transpired" (p. 111) because relying on memory can result in large

gaps in thick description. Although I was able to manage writing my fieldnotes while observing Ms. Yoon's and Ms. Jang's classroom practices, keeping fieldnotes was not as easy a task in Ms. Sun's class, where I was usually busy helping with the group-based work. This hecticness made it difficult to keep fieldnotes, and as a result, my fieldnotes in Ms. Sun's class were markedly scarce in comparison with those in the other two classes. In Ms. Sun's class, thus, whenever possible, I took notes on any paper available to me and rewrote them in my field notebook at a later time, in some cases while listening to recorded classroom interactions.

My fieldnotes include the descriptions of my impressions before, during, and after lessons, seating arrangements, grouping, attendance, Initiation-Response-Evaluation (IRE) patterns, students' participation framework and their noncompliant acts such as showing up late, sleeping, passing notes, chatting, not bringing books, notebooks and pens, homework, and worksheets, and the sound of silence, and the teachers' responses to these acts, activities, and stances. In addition, I also wrote what was written on the whiteboard and kept track of the time and the amount of content that was dealt with in class. These multimodal fieldnotes played a crucial role in the contextualization of the classroom interactional data and helped me to refine my focus in generating and analyzing data.

4.4.3 Audio-Recorded Classroom Interaction

I began audio-recording classrooms from the first day of my observations. During the first week, I carried one audio-recording device while placing another one at the front of a classroom. In doing so, I tried to gain a glimpse into instructional practices, activities, interactions, and the students in each classroom, and to use the data to help me decide which three students should carry the audio-recording device (Sony ICD-PX440). On the first day of my fieldwork, I reiterated that classroom interactions would be recorded, and recruited those

who would like to carry a recorder in their pockets, with the T-mic clipped on the lapel of their shirt or jacket. Though whole-class recordings as well as researcher-carried recordings were useful for comprehending a general sense of the dynamics of whole class interactions, I was more interested in capturing micro-level local interactions among students and their perspectives on, and responses to teacher-fronted classroom practices. It is for this reason that student-carried recorders were used throughout my observations, and it was successful in that they picked up much of the whole class, teacher-student, and student-student interaction as well.

For student-carried recordings, I first recruited students who were willing to carry a microphone and then selected three students in each class in consideration of their track experiences (long-term/ crossing), language learning trajectories in an outside school, and parents' interest and investment in their education and socioeconomic conditions. Both questionnaires that participants completed and the information I obtained from students' homeroom teachers were valuable in this selection process. Following Carspecken's (1996) "the method of priority observation" (p. 48), I considered everything the recorder-carrying student did and said as a first priority, everything other people did and said in interaction with this student as a second priority, and everything else happening in the setting as a third priority. Nevertheless, as I conceptualized a classroom as a case, I occasionally changed microphone-carrying students depending on my focus; after track rearrangement, for example, students whose tracks were shifted were asked to carry a recorder.

As shown in Table 4.2 above, I recorded fourteen periods of each track, with one period lasting for forty-five minutes, for a total of 42 hours. There were two occasions when audio-recording was not carried out. This decision was made through negotiation with the teachers because as the semester was coming to an end, they had difficulties holding students' attention

and maintaining classroom order, which caused them concerns about having me in their classrooms.

4.4.4 Interviews

Interviews are another common form of data generation in ethnography. Given that the interviewer's action has consequences for the trajectory of the interviewee's answer, interview data are not mere reflections of memory but "accounts" of the interviewee (De Fina, 2009) which are produced as responses to the interviewer's evaluative inquiry. Hence, the interview is inherently a social encounter which depends on "the *local interactional contingencies* in which the speakers draw from, and co-construct broader social norms" (Rapley, 2001, p. 303, emphasis in original). This social practice orientation to interviews implicates the mutual engagement of the two parties in meaning-making and building their identities and others' throughout the interview (Block, 2000; Ellingson, 2012; L. J. Foley, 2012; Roulston, 2010; Talmy, 2010b, 2010c; Talmy & Richards, 2011; Warren, 2012). It is therefore important for interviewers to "*recognize, respect, and respond to differences* in a process of continuous interrogation of the self and others" (Reay, 2012, p. 637, emphasis added).

In this sense, I considered building rapport with my participants as the primary importance during an interview. However, I was also concerned that an excess of conversational intimacy might breach a code of ethics, with possible consequences of causing participants' emotional distress (Corbin & Morse, 2003). For example, over-*rapport* might lead my participants to attempt to please me by providing anticipated answers, or to feel uncomfortable when their beliefs differ from mine (Foley, 2012; Warren, 2012). Confidentiality is embedded and situated in all stages of interviews (Heggen & Guillemin, 2012). Since the onus for protecting participants' safety, dignity, and privacy lies with the researcher, I paid scrupulous attention to

issues of ethics. Particularly, I made maintaining participants' confidentiality a priority given that the study was undertaken in a small city. In designing interview questions, therefore, I drew upon my research questions as conceptual "Big Qs" and carefully developed open-ended "little qs" from general to specific and sensitive questions (Josselson, 2013). With "ethical mindfulness" (Heggen & Guillemin, 2012, p. 467), I tried to be reflexive and sensitive to ethically important moments and describe what was ethically at stake, particularly with issues of social class. A general template for the formal semi-structured interview protocol, which was tailored for teachers, students, and administrators respectively, is included in Appendices C and D. Interview questions were developed in an ongoing and recursive manner based on the general protocol template, the narratives of former interviews, informal talks, and classroom interactional data.

I conducted interviews with students and teachers in both formal and informal formats. The degree to which participants have control over the process and content of the interview is the main criterion which divides the interview into three types; unstructured, semi-structured, and structured (Corbin & Morse, 2003). In this study, the formal semi-structured interviews were arranged in advance and guided by an evolving set of interview protocols. On the other hand, the informal unstructured interviews were often conducted during or after class about specific events which had just occurred, only lasting for short periods during breaks. Because of their spontaneous nature, the informal interviews were sometimes unrecorded, in which case the details were immediately written in my field notebook. Table 4.3 shows a summary of the interview practices generated throughout this study.

Table 4.3 A Summary of Interview Data

Participants (initial track)		Data source (mins)	Date
Teachers	Ms. Yoon	Formal interview (16)	March 23
		Formal interview (50)	March 31
		Formal interview (15)	June 22
	Ms. Sun	Formal interview (47)	March 27
		Formal interview (22)	May 12
		Formal interview (23)	June 16
		Formal interview (18)	July 14
	Ms. Jang	Formal interview (38)	March 24
		Formal interview (18)	May 12
Formal interview (17)		July 14	
High-track students	Seyeong	Formal interview (35)	June 1
	Jeongryu	Formal interview (16)	March 31
		Formal interview (22)	June 15
	Liyoon	Formal interview (16)	March 30
		Formal interview (20)	June 16
	Eunji	Formal interview (25)	March 30
		Formal interview (20)	June 8
	Ryunji	Formal interview (15)	March 31
		Formal interview (32)	June 15
Jaeyeon	Formal interview (17)	June 1	
Jaemin	Formal interview (30)	June 5	
Geon	Formal interview (20)	July 14	
Sinhye	Formal interview (30)	June 8	
Middle-track students	Kyeong	Formal interview (23)	June 9
		Formal interview (25)	July 14
	Hashin	Formal interview (22)	April 6
	Somin	Formal interview (13)	June 15
	Jinhee	Formal interview (15)	March 27
		Formal interview (35)	June 19
	Yeong	Formal interview (30)	March 27
	Yangjin	Formal interview (35)	June 16
Julin	Formal interview (20)	April 6	
Low-track students	Jin	Formal interview (25)	April 3
		Formal interview (23)	June 5
	Gain	Formal interview (27)	April 3
		Formal interview (20)	July 14
	Lina	Formal interview (37)	April 7
	Sorim	Formal interview (20)	April 10
		Formal interview (35)	June 16
Sulim	Formal interview (20)	April 10	
	Formal interview (15)	July 14	
Minseo	Formal interview (10)	June 19	
Hyeon	Formal interview (45)	July 7	
A returnee	Shannel	Formal interview (1:30)	July 6
Administrators	Ms. Lee (vice principle)	Formal interview (40)	June 26
	Mr. Kim (supervisor)	Formal interview (37)	July 16

The teachers. I conducted a total of ten formal interviews with the three teachers, three times with Ms. Yoon, four times with Ms. Sun, and three times with Ms. Jang. These interviews were mostly scheduled in advance and conducted before or after lessons in their classrooms. Because of the busy daily schedule, the formal interviews ranged from 15 minutes to 50 minutes and were complemented by informal talks over my fieldwork.

The students. With student interviews, I recruited interviewees in an ongoing way in light of their track experiences, classroom interactions and attitudes, and specific events. I had a total of 33 formal interviews with 23 students, one of whom was a returnee student who had studied alone in America for one year and was planning to rejoin SunnyHill from the start of Term 2 of 2015. When asked to create their own pseudonym in the first interview, interestingly, the returnee was the only student who displayed a preference for choosing an English name, Shannel, whereas the other students asked me to create their pseudonyms; except for Shannel, I chose the pseudonyms in this study.

I attempted to have formal interviews with most students at least twice, but the hectic schedule and late dismissal at SunnyHill made this difficult; as a result, the formal interviews took place during lunch time, ranging from fifteen to twenty minutes. Several students were limited to just one interview. In this respect, I spent a fair amount of time chatting informally with these students and many others. These informal talks regarding specific events or activities which had just transpired played a crucial role in generating more context-specific data and making sense of their L2 socialization. For formal interviews, I used protocols tailored to individual students based on their track experiences, classroom interactions, and the questionnaires that were completed at the start of the semester.

The administrators. I also conducted one formal interview each during the research period with Ms. Lee, the vice principal of SunnyHill, and Mr. Kim, the supervisor of the Provincial Office of Education. Ms. Lee's interview took place in the middle-track classroom at SunnyHill, while Mr. Kim's was in his shared office at the Provincial Office of Education. As the interview with Mr. Kim took place in an enormous office, which was shared with approximately 35 other supervisors, I was surrounded by many of them and thus felt uncomfortable. During the interview, Mr. Kim informed me that neither the Ministry of Education nor the Provincial Office of Education collected tracking-related data any longer because it had been firmly entrenched and widely normalized across schools; therefore, there were no official document and statistics related to tracking that he could provide.

4.4.5 Questionnaires

At the beginning of the term, I distributed a simple questionnaire to students to gain a snapshot of their backgrounds, language learning trajectories, track experiences, interests, and aspirations. The questionnaire was very useful in gaining some insight into students' sociocultural and socioeconomic backgrounds and creating interview questions which were specifically tailored to individual students. The questionnaire is attached in Appendix B.

4.4.6 Artifacts and Documents

Over the course of one semester, I amassed several official documents: "the 2015 SunnyHill Curriculum and Annual Plan" in which the purpose of tracking was briefly sketched out; the SunnyHill school calendar and daily schedule; three lists of students' track placements in which their English score and rank were recorded; testing materials such as mid-term and final tests, the National Standardized Test, and the National Listening Test. In addition, I was given by homeroom teachers two lists, which included students who were receiving governmental

financial support, students who were in preparation for elite high schools, and students whose parents were highly interested in their education, with these lists being partially indicative of students' sociocultural and socioeconomic backgrounds. In class, I collected the textbook, worksheets, classwork, and homework, along with other artifacts such as lists of "Broken English" which were displayed in the English only zone.

Overall, the data sources generated throughout my fieldwork allowed me to gain a better understanding of the effects of multiple discourses on students' language learning.

4.5 Interpreting and Representing Data

4.5.1 Data Management

Even though this study was a semester-long ethnography, and observations were limited to the three English classrooms, the amount of data collected during fieldwork was substantial and thus required a well-planned system for data organization and management. Most of my handwritten fieldnotes were typed into a computer, and audio-recorded classroom interactions as well as interviews were all transcribed and arranged by date and class. Data from the classroom interactions and interviews were logged and transcribed in Korean. Aside from the site documents, almost all of the data were digitalized and protected by password. Copies of data, my field notebook, and site documents were all kept and secured in a locked cabinet in my home.

Because of test-focused orientations, every English class was taught dominantly in Korean and there was not much incidence of English in the data. This finding highlights the wide disparity of macro-level discourse and micro-level practice. Nonetheless, there were small but important occurrences of translingual practice (Canagarajah, 2013) involving the codemeshing of Korean and English in interactions. All translingual data were flagged and translated in English along with *Hangul* (Korean). Classroom interaction data were roughly transcribed in Korean

based on my fieldnotes and summarized by date and themes for later detailed transcription. I also created a comprehensive list which encompassed events, activities, worksheets, time frame, instructional foci, and students' participation across tracks. This list proved useful, particularly for comparing the three classroom practices. Apart from classroom interaction data, I transcribed all of the interview data thoroughly. Having printed out all the classroom and interview data, I highlighted important interactions in search of recursive themes and translated selected data into English for analysis. Moreover, I organized student information generated from interviews, the questionnaire, lists of students' track placements, and their backgrounds in several Excel files.

4.5.2 Transcription and Translation

Transcription is inherently embedded in relations of power given that the “whats” and “hows” involving transcription are filtered through the interpretive and representational decisions of the researcher. As Bucholtz (2000) argues:

These decisions ultimately respond to the contextual conditions of the transcription process itself, including the transcriber's own expectations and beliefs about the speakers and the interaction being transcribed; the intended audience of the transcript; and its purpose. (p. 1439)

By conceptualizing an act of transcription as “an act of power” (p. 1463), therefore, I attempted to be reflexive by engaging in transcription iteratively throughout the whole process of data analysis, and such “quite thick” (Carspecken, 1996, p. 48) transcription was a way of acknowledging the limitations of my own beliefs and representational decisions.

Coupled with the politics of transcription, translation is a complicating but important social practice in conducting and reporting cross-cultural qualitative data. In this light, Pennycook (2001) deems the politics of translation as “the ways in which translating and

interpreting are related to concerns such as class, gender difference, ideology and social context” (p. 13). That is, researchers require factoring in potential semantic loss through translation of language since translation is “deeply embedded in translation of context and culture, neither of which moves on a one-to-one, isomorphic basis across national borders” (Gonzalez & Lincoln, 2006, p. 194). However, the fundamental issue here is not simply the accuracy of translation but also “how the expediency of translation reinforces the invisibility of the source language—an issue that is both political and methodological” (Temple & Young, 2004, p. 166).

In data translation, my insider positionality as a Korean who shares the first language of the participants is not as unproblematic as is sometimes suggested, because this dual researcher-translator role is inextricably intertwined with my sociocultural and sociopolitical positioning, possibly entailing ontological and epistemological consequences in translation. The data gleaned in this study are mainly in Korean because interviews were all conducted in Korean and English classroom instructions were also delivered predominantly in Korean. Therefore, I included the original Korean data next to the English translation if deemed important for bilingual readers to understand the contexts. In dealing with classroom interactional data in which teachers explained grammar or directed the whole class to repeat, I used quotation marks to indicate English accounts, e.g., All together, “go to the store” (다 같이, go to the store).

To preserve the richness of the data and to take care of my rigor, I first transcribed my data in Korean and then translated some of them into English for analysis. In the situations when I could not find any English words or expressions equivalent to Korean ones, or when I deemed the use of Korean words essential in data analysis, I underwent three steps to negotiate this challenge of representation: 1) writing a word in Korean (*Hangul*); 2) Romanizing *Hangul*; and 3) translating or more precisely describing the word into English. After that, I asked other Koreans

to read my own translations juxtaposed with the original Korean data, and I then had an English-speaking editor read my translations taking into consideration the speech of teenagers. This complex process allowed me to be more reflexive and cautious about representing my participants because as Roberts (1997) notes, “we are transcribing people when we transcribe talk” (p. 172).

In addition, owing to the matter of (re)translation, I coded my data into salient and recursive themes using Microsoft Word rather than any specific coding software, and this coding procedure was conducted in an iterative and ongoing fashion through (re)reading, (re)listening to, and (re)coding the data. Although it took a considerable amount of time, this inductive process enabled me to recognize hidden topics, discursive patterns, and orientations throughout data analysis. All the original Korean data transcriptions analyzed in this study are arranged by chapter and included in Appendix N.

4.5.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

In critical ethnography, critical discourse analysis remains underutilized despite the synergic potential of their alliance in terms of contextualization and analytic accountability (Anderson, 1989; May, 1997; Talmy, 2010a). While there may be different interpretations of what constitutes critical discourse analysis, this study aligns with Talmy’s (2010a) “lower-case critical discourse analysis” (p. 131) which is grounded in, but moves beyond a Faircloughian approach to Critical Discourse Analysis.

Like critical ethnography, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) also has its academic origins in critical social theories and aims to illuminate the inequitable distributions of power through the analysis of the linguistic and semiotic dimensions of social processes (Fairclough, Mulderrig, & Wodak, 2011). The main purpose of CDA is thus to make more visible and

transparent how the instrument of power works by analyzing discourse in which the structural relationships of power and control are naturalized, sustained and perpetuated by ideological practices (Blommaert, 2005; Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk, 1993; Wodak, 2011).

In early CDA work, a key focus was on manifestations of ideology in discourse, and much of the CDA-based research, therefore, was mainly concerned about denaturalizing sociocognitively normalized issues of racism and classism embedded in the politicized discourse of institutions, politics, media, and advertisement (Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk, 1993; Wodak, 1997). As the popularity of CDA has increased in the social sciences, the term CDA has come to represent a specific “school” of scholarship led by Fairclough, Wodak, van Dijk and others. On this point, Pennycook (2001) argued that “it has also become another form of ‘mainstream critical work’ that also closes down the possibilities for thinking about critical text analysis in different ways” (p. 79). Furthermore, some scholars have made several critiques of CDA regarding its focus on the macro-level production of texts, ideology-dominated interpretations and its monolithic view on ideology as false consciousness, a tendency to pay less attention to local contexts, a lack of reflexivity, a tendency to project political prejudices onto data and analyze them accordingly, and a tendency to divide discourse analysis into critical vs. non-critical (Billig & Schegloff, 1999; Blommaert, 2005; Pennycook, 2001; Price, 1999; Talmy, 2010a; Widdowson, 1998).

For these reasons, Talmy (2010a) uses the lower-case “critical discourse analysis” (cda) to emerge from this boundary-shaping practice of the school of CDA, and suggests that critical discourse analysis is not a specific single analytic method but can be practiced by drawing on many discourse analytic approaches, ranging from interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz, 2001) to applied conversation analysis (CA) (Kitzinger, 2000, 2005; Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2008),

membership categorization analysis (MCA) (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998; Sacks, 1972; Stokoe, 2012; Talmy, 2009c), ethnography of communication (Duff, 2002; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986b; Talmy, 2015), and insights on identity from Bucholtz and Hall (2005). This study draws on this eclectic framework of cda and attends to the micro analysis of interactions.

Indeed, CA and MCA's (M/CA) insistence on "participant orientations" is not without controversy, particularly in critical research, because emic orientation raises for the analyst a set of dilemmas regarding how to redress an unquestioned act of oppression and privilege (see Billig & Schegloff, 1999; Wetherell, 1998). In this regard, Kitzinger (2000, 2005) shows that M/CA finds resonance in a great deal of feminist and critical cultural studies through a fine-grained analysis on how such an unquestioned and unoriented set of naturalized heterosexual assumptions is occasioned in talk, serving as a resource to reflect and (re)produce a heteronormative social order circulating in a wider society. For instance, wife and husband are unmarked person reference forms for married different-sex partners. When reference forms other than these are deployed—e.g., spouse or partner—they become recognized and oriented to by interlocutors, thereby implying interactional trouble for married same-sex partners. Given that the inference of heterosexuality is never oriented to as such in this work, Kitzinger (2000) argues that "*it is precisely the fact that sexist, heterosexist and racist assumptions are routinely incorporated into everyday conversations without anyone noticing or responding to them*" (p. 171, emphasis in original), further suggesting M/CA as a valuable tool for making visible the pervasiveness of invisible categories and social norms woven into the fabric of social interaction. The compatibility of "unmotivated looking" M/CA in "politically motivated" research was succinctly instantiated in Talmy's (2009, 2010a) work on high school ESL classrooms. Through the microanalysis on classroom interactions, Talmy made concepts such as resistance explicit

and delineated how relations of power were reproduced in the micropolitics of everyday school life.

Taking eclectic discourse analytic techniques, this study is intent on showing how a school hierarchy is discursively produced and reinforced in interactions, exposing the contradictions of tracking accepted by social actors as natural. In this study, data transcription is based on Jefferson's (2004) transcription conventions, which are included in Appendix M. Along with discourse analytic techniques, I also engage in a thematic analysis of students' and teachers' narrative accounts in interviews to understand their multiple discourses and ideologies. If deemed necessary, I also present parts of the data without analysis to warrant claims that I have made. I hope this allows readers to make their own intersubjective judgements, inferences, and interpretations in light of local contexts.

4.5.4 Issues about Trustworthiness and Representations

Given the openly political and ideological nature of CE, Lather (1986b) warns that a lack of concern for data trustworthiness in CE cannot warrant the legitimacy of the knowledge the researchers produce. Most importantly, Lather maintains that "if we fail to develop these procedures, we fail to protect our work from our passions, and our theory build will suffer" (p. 78). By the same token, Duff (2008a) also posits, "Withholding information about counter-examples and giving the impression that all data fit neatly into certain patterns is not really honest reporting" (p. 179). Duff further emphasizes the need for "contextualization" through thick descriptions, holistic and inductive analysis, a triangulation of methods, sources and emic perspectives as well as a triangulation of theory and researchers for different interpretations.

Admittedly, some critics may raise questions about the trustworthiness of this study because its focus was limited to only three English classrooms in a Korean middle school.

However, as Duff (2006) and Polkinghore (2007) point out, transferability is a context-dependent concept. It heavily pertains to readers' intersubjective judgements and interpretations considering local contexts. Therefore, my efforts for contextualization through "quite thick" descriptions along with microanalysis add some degree of transferability to this study, validating my claims for potential transferability to new settings.

4.6 Conclusion

In the first part of this chapter, I have outlined the epistemological orientations, and methodological traditions with which this study is aligned. I have started the second part by positioning myself as a teacher-turned critical ethnographer, and described the research site and my negotiation of entry to it as well as details about research participants in the three Grade 9 English tracked classrooms. I have also outlined multiple methods and sources for data generation and data management, and clarified critical discourse approaches to data analysis.

Now I turn to a discussion of how tracking is developed and implemented at SunnyHill in relation to the multiple discourses surrounding neoliberalism.

Chapter 5: Multiple Discourses and Local Practices of Tracking

5.1 Introduction

As tracking gradually became entrenched into the Korean education system, the Ministry of Education devolved tracking to local regions in 2010 (Jin & Song, 2009). Since then, the implementation of tracking has been passed on to the school level. Schools were given autonomy in deciding whether to enforce tracking or not, and those schools which implemented tracking were asked to include their rationales for tracking in their Annual School Curriculum. Nevertheless, because this autonomy was controlled by an ensemble of other policies, and English instructors were only deployed to schools which adopted tracking, tracking was then normalized at “autonomous” institutions (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Giroux, 2008) as a viable strategy. An increasing number of non-regular instructors and English classrooms clearly demonstrates a steady rise in tracking in Korea (Hwang, 2014).

To answer the first research question regarding the ideologies which underlie the implementation of “tracking English” in the school, this chapter explores how neoliberal educational policies and ideologies mediate the practice of tracking at SunnyHill and discusses the discursive construction of its school identity within the stratified Korean education system. By examining the local practice of tracking, I question the (in)visibility of social class and hierarchies across tracks, arguing that tracking is a highly class-mediated practice.

5.2 The Neoliberal School Hierarchy and SunnyHill

SunnyHill is situated in one of the lowest-socioeconomic districts in a mid-sized city, a location which affected the demographic makeup of SunnyHill, with a third of households

receiving government financial support (⁴ Ms. Lee I1: 23-24). Such a low socioeconomic environment surrounding SunnyHill was consistently topicalized by administrators, teachers, and students. Ms. Lee, the vice principal, who was transferred to SunnyHill in 2014, told me how hard it was to deal with so many students in broken families, not to mention financial difficulties (9-13). In terms of parents' jobs, Ms. Lee further maintained that there were no doctors, lawyers, or professors, all of which are often deemed upper class occupations (43-47). Ms. Lee added that what could be recognized as the highest white collar job was a kindergarten principal, who was the head of the school council and the mother of Shannel, a returnee student who had studied in America (57).

According to Ms. Lee, the parents' low socioeconomic status (SES) and low education backgrounds, and SunnyHill's poor education environment had negative effects on students' academic achievement. In comparison with other schools in affluent residential areas, Ms. Lee explained that SunnyHill was consistently ranked at the bottom in terms of the nationwide standardized test, or *iljegosa*, and positioned as a school with the highest rate of "underachievers" (9-13). Given the notion that identity is social positioning of self and other (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005), school identity is produced and produces itself in relation to other schools. Such an institutional positioning carries the school's histories, experiences, and aspirations within and across time and space. In this sense, the way SunnyHill was positioned by others and how it positioned itself had an impact in shaping the way students interpreted their school's institutional identity and their membership in the school.

5.2.1 SunnyHill Identity: A "Rotten" School

When I negotiated my entry into SunnyHill, most of the people I encountered, such as the

⁴ (Ms. Lee, I1: 23-24) represents (interviewee, the first interview: Microsoft Word line number).

administrators, teachers, and students, raised questions as to why I had selected SunnyHill as a research site. In addition, both the principal and the vice principal notably exhibited concern for researching ninth-grade students due to their low performance and behavioral issues. Associating a good research site with a good educational environment, and high academic attainment, they were worried that I might go back to Vancouver with empty hands (fmmarch5). Moreover, some students explicitly referred to SunnyHill as a “rotten” school (썩은 학교), and advised me that I should have selected a better school such as one in Seoul (LApril7: 01-15). For them, it seemed that a good research site would be a school which conforms to the idea of a good school identity in terms of its location and academic performance. This self-denigrated institutional positioning was pervasive at SunnyHill, negatively affecting student identities. For example, when Ms. Yoon asked high-track students about SunnyHill students’ academic levels prior to a mid-term test, no student responded affirmatively. Instead, they replied, “we have already screwed up,” “you will be disappointed,” or “you will see many students who get a zero on the test” (HApril20: 55-59).

5.2.2 Negotiating the “Rotten” School Identity through Tracking

As one of the distinguishing features of the neoconservative position, Apple (2006) posits its support of the marketization of education “through its clear preference for incentive pay systems in which people are motivated by personal, not collective, gain rather than by the encouragement of social altruism” (p. 24). Under this system, Apple maintains that administrators spend more time and energy on enhancing a school ranking and image than developing curriculum and pedagogy. This was also true at SunnyHill. As *iljegosa* was an important criterion for school ranking and incentives for promotion and financial bonuses, SunnyHill administrators had focused on reducing the number of low-achieving students by implementing tracking and teaching to the test.

In an interview with Ms. Sun, the middle-track teacher, who had worked with three different principals at SunnyHill, she responded that each test season, the principals held a meeting with teachers to garner ideas for enhancing test scores. The most common strategy was tackling all the previous test questions in class with a focus on patterns in order to improve students' test-taking skills (I2: 311-317). For subjects with a high number of underachievers, Ms. Sun added that the principals asked teachers to open special classes either before or after school (318-319). In response to students' reluctance to attend the special classes and their failure to surpass the threshold of the underachiever category, the teachers had them register for make-up classes during summer and winter vacations. This practice also took place during my fieldwork when *iljegosa* was imminent.

Casting those classes as a direct indication of underachievement, Jin, a long-term low-track student, informed me that out of fear of being teased by her classmates, she skipped many of the classes and avoided the teachers. However, repeated placement into those classes since elementary school, added Jin, led her to care less about affective dimensions associated with her institutional positioning: "Teachers often ask me if I don't feel ashamed of lagging behind. Honestly, I don't care anymore" (I2: 434-435). In this light, while these special classes worked as a "threatening" exemplar of what would happen if students failed to meet the school's expectations, they were also resisted by students through tactics of avoidance. A week prior to *iljegosa*, I had a conversation with some students, and they also told me that they were afraid that they might have to go to make-up classes after school. On the other hand, some of them who had never been assigned to those classes added that they would not mind going there because they could be officially excused from lessons in private institutes, which they had to attend even on the weekends (Hfnjune20: 547-585). Not only does it denote the ubiquity of shadow education,

but it also suggests the impact of the private education market on educational outcomes and inequalities (Byun, 2014; Byun & Kim, 2010).

When asked about teachers' reactions to students who were continuously categorized as underachievers in *iljegosa*, Ms. Sun added that the teachers explicitly asked students to make the same choices for all multiple-choice questions in order to increase the probability of getting the correct answers (I2: 329-330). Given many Korean teachers' consistent protests against *iljegosa* (Byean, 2015), I asked Ms. Sun about SunnyHill teachers' responses to the test. She said, "Most of the SunnyHill teachers are pliable" (대부분 순응적인 분들이 많아요) (339). Quoting what a principal once said, 'SunnyHill teachers seem so nice' (이 학교 선생님들은 너무 착한 것 같애) (342), Ms. Sun further explained that "nice," or *chakhan* (착한) represents, "they tend to do whatever they are told to do" (하라면 다 하는 것 같다고) (344), and complained that the principals placed "invisible pressure" (안보이는 압박감) upon the teachers, particularly non-regular teachers as their contracts were renewed according to their perceived merits (346-348). When asked about the effects of *iljegosa* on learning, Ms. Sun responded negatively because its purpose is "school ranking, school stratification" (학교 키재기, 학교 서열화) (352). Ms. Sun's narrative accounts characterize teachers' compliance to the powerful as not necessarily representing their complete subjugation to the system of power but rather manifesting the ideological struggles that teachers go through in order to negotiate the imposed responsibilities in school contexts.

SunnyHill's case resonates with both McNeil's (2000, 2005, 2008) and Fine's (1991, 2005) studies on the links between high-stakes, test-based accountability and student dropouts in America. Due to test score comparisons and the tracking of dropouts, they argued that the system of high-stakes testing has not made schools more equitable but rather resulted in "the dropout crisis," "*widening the gap between the quality of education for poor and minority youth and that*

of more privileged students” (McNeil, 2000, p. 3, emphasis in original). At SunnyHill, neither the teachers nor students considered that *iljegosa* had contributed to improving the students’ English competence or their investment in it. In contrast, as its results could be accessed on the Internet, they complained that it had aggravated the stratification of students, schools, and districts. Given their denigration of SunnyHill as a “rotten” school, neoliberal competition and ranking not only affected the image of SunnyHill, but it ultimately influenced the identity of students at SunnyHill, where they were socialized into the least privileged communities.

5.2.3 SunnyHill Education Visions and Tracking

In 2015, SunnyHill tracked students in two subject areas, math and English, and articulated the rationales and plans for tracking in the 2015 SunnyHill Curriculum. These are included in Appendix G. Interestingly, these rationales do not differ markedly from the general rationales for tracking; that is, meeting student needs and easing the teaching task (Oakes, 2005). The Curriculum (2015) specifies that tracking aims to enhance the quality of education as well as basic skills by offering classes in which teachers utilize many resources and methods and tailor their lessons to meet students’ personalities, creativities, and individual differences. Moreover, the Curriculum calls teachers’ attention to four matters: peer marginalization; stigmatization and low self-esteem; informing parents regarding tracking and inducing their voluntary participation; regulating classroom order through a seating chart. By improving such negative factors, the Curriculum illustrates that tracking is expected to enhance students’ interests as well as their academic performance, ultimately contributing to the betterment of teaching-learning methodology and the realization of “systematic consumer-centered education” (체계적인 수요자 중심의 수업) (p. 98)

The term “consumer” has become a buzzword in the neoliberal market, where optimizing

the demand and choice of consumers has prevailed as a primary discourse of corporations. This market-oriented language has now permeated many areas across society, not to mention education (Block et al., 2012; Holborow, 2015). Consumer choice has been deployed as one of the major discourses for neoliberal educational reform and often harnessed as a mechanism of social control because the ways in which people consume education, e.g., school choice, are inextricably intertwined with their class positioning (Apple, 2004b). Therefore, the portrayal of students and parents as consumers in the Curriculum tends to convert the relationship between students and teachers into the relationship between buyers and sellers for a commercial transaction. The notion of “consumer,” accordingly, points to SunnyHill’s education vision in which parents and students are constructed as buyers or recipients of education rather than as copartners or co-performers in a community of practice.

Moreover, the discourse of “systematic consumer-centered education” tends to inculcate an assumption that the market of SunnyHill is a space which operates based on the consumers’ interests, choice, and autonomy. Despite the emphasis on voluntary participation depicted in the Curriculum, however, many student-participants informed me that SunnyHill did not conduct a survey concerning students’ willingness to participate in tracking in the first place. Nor did it provide parents and students with any explanation regarding the rationales and procedures of the tracking practice. Many of the students interviewed, therefore, said that their parents were still oblivious to the fact that they had been tracked since they began at SunnyHill.

With respect to this, Ms. Lee, the vice principal, replied, “Through many years of practice, tracking has been naturalized as something we should do. Therefore, I briefly mention it at parents’ conferences, but there is no need to explain it in detail” (교육 과정 설명회 때 잠깐 안내하지 상세히 설명 안하고. 이제 오래 되었기 때문에 당연히 해야 되는 거라고 생각을 하고) (I1: 167-

168). Prior to this, Ms. Lee told me that “parents also take tracking for granted as something we should do” (당연히 해야 된다고 생각하고) (136). A lot of what we do in schools is ritualized more or less out of habit and deep-seated beliefs. It seems that “the naturalization of its own arbitrariness” (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 164) works to hinder Ms. Lee from furthering reflexivity in discussion and exploration of what actually goes on in tracked classes. She then highlighted SunnyHill parents’ support of tracking and the school in juxtaposition with the parents of Queen middle school located in an affluent catchment area where she had previously worked. The original Korean data is included in Appendix N.1.

SunnyHill parents tend to have great faith in the school, so they are very supportive of whatever the school does. So far, there has been no single parent who questioned tracking negatively. The only problem is the attendance rate of parents on open class days.

Because high-track parents have much interest in their children’s education, most of them attend the open class while other parents in lower tracks do not. Except for that issue, I think there is not much complaint about tracking. (I1: 137-143)

At Queen middle school which is “a 180-degree total opposite of SunnyHill”(180도 완전 다른 환경) (147-148), conversely, Ms. Lee maintained that parents incessantly found problems with the school’s policies and practices.

Some parents whose children were high-tracked in English asked for expanding tracking to math, whereas some parents whose children were in the middle track complained like ‘Why is my child not placed in the high track?’ or ‘My child is good at English, so tracking is unnecessary.’ (159-162)

This type of parental managerial acts were explored in Brantlinger’s (2003) study on economically-stable and well-educated middle-class parents’ discourses. Although they

conveyed sympathy for poor children, Brantlinger pointed out that “they would never tolerate low tracks, special education placements, and schools with predominantly low-income enrollments for their own children” (p. 36). Referring to such a politics of class distinction as “moral deficit”, Brantlinger (2003) further explicated that when their own children were excluded from privilege and relegated to a lesser condition, they constantly negotiated their children’s track placements by invoking situational factors such as ill health, launching into accounts of their children’s being misjudged, or firmly hold out for the abolition of tracking (p. 41, see also Reay, 2008). This finding reverberates through Apple’s (2004) study which stressed, “[m]iddle-class parents have become quite skilled, in general, in exploiting market mechanisms in education and in bringing their social, economic, and cultural capital to bear on them” (p. 21).

Such middle-class parents’ managerial skills were also prevalent in discourses of the three teacher-participants in light of their experiences. They stressed that working in affluent areas required much courage, patience, and discretion on the part of teachers, in particular English teachers. As students are graded on a curve, in the case that their children who are preparing for elite schools failed to get a perfect score, parents often brought school English tests into question utilizing all kinds of strategies such as consulting with native speakers of English, calling principals directly, or reporting to higher institutions (Ms. Sun, I1: 178-194). They even criticized school tests as being too easy and thus lacking their assessment function, bluntly demanding to make them difficult enough to distinguish their children from others, regardless of a sharp decline in average scores (Ms. Jang, I1: 191-200). In addition, Ms. Yoon told me that the same is true of middle-class students. Influenced by a competitive disposition (Hwang, 2014), they are becoming much more sensitized to competition, placing a high value on getting ahead of others. Consequently, when they found the classroom practice tangential to entrance exams for

elite high schools, Ms. Yoon explained that they overtly stooped over their desks or took out other materials to study, even in a teacher's presence, and when sanctioned, they countered that the teacher should ignore them because what was urgently important was being accepted by an elite school (187-191).

In this respect, despite its low academic achievements, Ms. Lee as well as the teacher-participants felt profound relief working at SunnyHill, where parents and students hardly intervened in school practices. "Nice" or *chakhan* (착한) and "good-hearted" or "naïve" (순수한) are frequently used adjectives to refer to SunnyHill students and parents, and those words indexed respect, trust, and compliance in juxtaposition with inner city school students who were represented as highly-achieving but self-centered and deviant. For instance, Ms. Lee added:

SunnyHill students are uncommonly naïve, so they differ from other neighboring school students who project pugnacity and aggression. Though they complain, they tend to comply with teachers who show them even a little consideration. It is probable that they have been starving for love. (I1: 16-21)

Ms. Lee's account, "though they complain, they tend to comply with teachers" appears to denote the complex process of producing the image of *chakhan* students.

When asked about school rules which strictly regulate students' appearance such as the length of hair and skirt, Jeongryu, a top student, told me that she stopped negotiating the school rules with teachers and instead tried her best to maintain a low profile in order to avoid them. When asked about whether she brought it up with the teachers, the response was, "No. Why do I risk bringing it up? Nothing's gonna change...because they say the school rules are laws and punish us for not keeping the laws" (선생님은 잡을 때 법이라고. 학교의 법인데 왜 안지키냐고) (I2: 451-456). Although Jeongryu disagreed with the teachers, she complied with them by lamenting,

“What else can I do at the school.” (뭐 학곤데 어떨게 해요.) (458). Jeongryu’s reservations might sound too extreme as they tend to position all of the teachers quite negatively. Nonetheless, this discourse illuminates that students are not merely determined by school authority but they consistently navigate the system and utilize tactics of avoidance (Scott, 1990), particularly those who are positioned as model students (Canagarajah, 2004; De Costa, 2011a) as a means to resist enforced rules and the surveillance of teachers. Moreover, Jeongryu’s resistance highlights educational practices that promote “the ‘engineering of consent’ toward predetermined decisions that has too often been created by the illusion of democracy, but [not] a genuine attempt to honor the right of people to participate in making decisions that affect their lives” (Beane & Apple, 2007, p. 10). These top-down legislative practices led Jeongryu to feel that school is not a democratic institution, where counter opinions are appreciated, and to choose tactics of avoidance to evade conflicting and complex consequences.

With respect to tracking, Ms. Lee maintained that tracking is indispensable to serve these “*chakhan*” students, and this is why SunnyHill decided to create one advanced class for a cluster of high performing students who put forth their efforts in spite of their socioeconomic difficulties, while mixing the rest of the students together in order for them to become more motivated to learn English (I1: 191-194). After the first half of Term 1, tracking was rearranged from the three-track system (high/middle/low) to the two-track system (high/ two general). When asked about separating high-track students, the teachers recruited the high-track students’ efforts and their poor environment as resources, stressing the need to provide them with enriched instructions in preparation for high school (Ms. Sun, UI2: 258-264). SunnyHill’s tracking practices underscore one of the common assumptions about tracking, that “homogeneous” grouping can facilitate bright learners’ excellence as well as remediate slow learners’

deficiencies (Oakes, 2005).

5.2.4 The (In)Visibility of Social Class

Table 5.1 shows the background information of the students in each track. I created this table based on multiple resources, including students' interviews and questionnaires, lists from two homeroom teachers regarding students who receive governmental financial assistance, and parents' investment of their emotional capital in education (Reay, 2004).

Table 5.1 Background Information Regarding Students in Each Track

Track (Total of stu.)	Financial aid (FA)	Shadow education (In and Outside of SunnyHill area)					Parents' active involvement in education			Abroad experiences		
		Non FA		FA		Total	Non FA	FA	Total	Non FA	FA	Total
		In	Out	In	Out							
High (20)	3 (15%)	11	6	3	0	20 (100%)	9	2	11 (55%)	5	2	7 (35%)
Middle (20)	6 (30%)	*12 (1)	1	2	0	15 (75%)	1	0	1 (5%)	2	1	3 (15%)
Low (14)	8 (57%)	*2 (1)	1	0	0	3 (21%)	2	0	2 (14%)	2	0	2 (14%)

*12(1) - twelve students including a student who receives individual tutoring at home
 *2(1) - two students including a student who receives individual tutoring at home

According to the table, the percentage of students who received governmental financial aid (FA) increases, as tracks are lowered from high (15%), to middle (30%), and low (57%) tracks. This indicates that students relying on financial aid are far less likely to be placed in the higher tracks. Moreover, the table shows that all of the high-track students, including FA students, engage in shadow education, with six students attending private institutes outside of the SunnyHill area. In the middle track, there are fifteen students engaged in shadow education, two of whom are FA students. Among thirteen non-FA students, one student gets individual tutoring at home, while one student attends an institute outside of the SunnyHill area. In the low track, there are three students who invest in shadow education, none of whom are FA students.

In terms of parents' involvement in education, the two homeroom teachers' lists indicate that while eleven high-track students' parents, including two FA students, are actively involved in their children's education, one middle-track and two low-track students' parents show interest in their children's education by attending parents' conferences and open class days. Although this figure might be subjective, my interviews with the students underscored it in part. For example, one FA high-track student, Gilim, explained her mother's efforts to enhance her English skills by studying with her at home and searching for information about private institutes. Although Gilim's mother wanted to send her to an institute outside of the SunnyHill area, she added that her family's financial situation did not allow it. Students' experiences abroad also show that high-track students have more experience traveling to other countries than the other tracks, possibly suggesting that their parents' SES is more stable than their lower-track peers'.

According to the 2016 Statistics Korea, in 2015, 68.8 % of students invested in one or more forms of shadow education, with 80.7% of elementary school, 69.4% of middle school, and 50.2% of high school students participating. Each month, Korean families spent 244,000 KRW (approximately 215 USD) on their children's shadow education, with a total annual expense of 17.8 trillion KRW (15.7 billion USD). As shown in Figure 5.1, the statistics show that the expenditure on shadow education differs considerably in light of monthly average family income. 82.8 % of students whose monthly family income was more than 7,000,000 KRW (6,165 USD) engaged in one or more forms of shadow education and spent 420,000 KRW (370 USD) per month. On the other hand, only 32.1% of students whose monthly family income was less than 1,000,000 KRW (880 USD) participated in shadow education and spent 66,000 KRW (58 USD) per month.

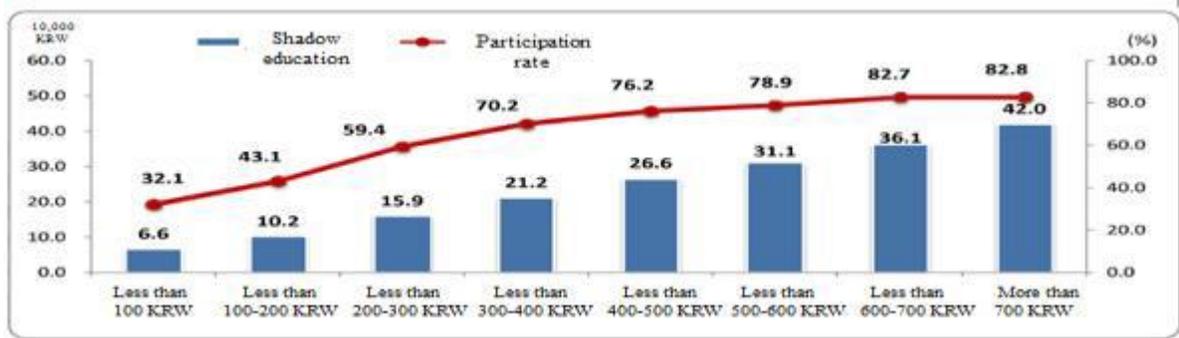


Figure 5.1 The 2015 Students' Participation Rate in Shadow Education by Monthly Family Income (Statistics Korea, 2016, p. 10)

At SunnyHill, to be sure, there were a good number of students who had never attended a private institute due to economic reasons, but it is important to note that many of them did continuously attend a variety of private academic institutes despite their low socioeconomic condition. This phenomenon typifies the pervasiveness of “education fever” for upward social mobility in Korea, regardless of social class (Seth, 2002). Nevertheless, it is also crucial to pay attention to the class-based practice of shadow education in conjunction with parents’ SES. While most of the students attended private institutes within the SunnyHill area, six high-track students and one low-track student travelled quite a long distance to attend institutes with better reputations and much higher tuition.

In an interview with Liyoon, who was one of top students and attended an institute in the most affluent residential area in the city, when asked about SunnyHill students’ investment in learning, she responded, “SunnyHill students do not pay much attention to their study because the atmosphere of this area is not studious” (동네 자체가 공부 분위기가 아니라서 애들이 신경을 많이 안 써요) (I1: 132). In comparison with parents’ investment in education in other rich areas, she added, “SunnyHill is not like that. Parents care less about their children’s education, so they just send their children to private institutes in this area” (동네 분위기가 이쪽은 안 그래요. 좀 관심도

없고. 동네 학원 그냥 보내고) (144-146). By shuttling out of the SunnyHill area for shadow education, Liyoon distanced herself from other SunnyHill students who were constructed as indifferent to their education. Such a distinction was often enacted by high-performing students who previously or currently travelled outside of SunnyHill to attend institutions with greater prestige.

Privilege is an identity lens through which individuals understand themselves in relation to others in everyday life (A. Howard, 2008; Reay, 2008). It is woven into the fabric of their lived experience and subjectivity, shaping their values, disposition, perceptions, and actions. Ms. Lee's privilege, as a successful teacher-turned administrator, the teachers' privilege, and Liyoon's privilege seemed to construct SunnyHill students with negligible differences in socioeconomic and educational backgrounds or needs, subsequently dismissing those students who have resources, opportunities, and social connections which come with the privilege of the middle class (see also Reay, 2010; Weis, 2010). As shown in Table 5.1, a majority of high-track students had affordances to perform better academically. They might have less affordance than those students in affluent residential areas, but they indeed mobilized better resources, social networks, opportunities, and more importantly, parents' emotional involvement in their academic success in comparison with those who were placed in the lower tracks.

In this sense, the discourse of the vice principal and the teacher-participants who naturalized tracking as indispensable to support high-performing students despite their low socioeconomic backgrounds ran into conflict with social reality at SunnyHill. Their position on the effects of tracking in light of the local significance of English appeared to overshadow the ideological implications and contextual complexities embedded at SunnyHill, keeping the dynamics of social class invisible. Instead, their emphasis on individual effort and merits rather

than class advantages had a powerful grip on the collective misrecognition of the social actors at SunnyHill (Bourdieu, 1990) and contributed to reproducing social inequality by privileging the advantaged at the expense of the disadvantaged. As much tracking research argues, segregating high achievers is a way of rewarding them differently, for it grants them a better classroom environment and enriched materials (Oakes, 2005; Page, 1991; Watanabe, 2008). Consequently, the class-blind practice of tracking spurred the emergence of social hierarchies among students and affected their beliefs about their peers and themselves in association with tracks.

5.3 Performing Tracking at SunnyHill

In the Korean public middle school system, students take a mid-term test and a final test during a semester, and these pencil-and-paper tests are usually created by school teachers based on one common textbook. Alongside these two main tests, which usually make up 70 percent of a student's evaluation for a semester, the remaining 30 percent hinges upon a variety of performance-based tests such as listening, class work portfolio, homework, class behavior, and participation. Some schools rearrange tracks in the middle of a term based on the mid-term test results, while others reshuffle students after a semester. SunnyHill fell into the former category. At SunnyHill, moreover, tracking was found in two subject areas, English and math. Placement decisions were made separately for each subject based on test scores.

5.3.1 Track (Re)Arrangement and Its Criterion

At the beginning of the first semester of 2015, the initial tracks of SunnyHill students were determined by the results of the final test of the second semester of 2014. In 2015, the teachers selected the "C" middle school English textbook out of twenty-five government-approved texts. This textbook was composed of ten chapters, five of which were taught during the first semester. Each chapter included six distinctive sections in sequential order: Listening,

Speaking, Reading, Grammar, Writing, and Review. The teachers assigned approximately ten class periods to complete a chapter, with two thirds of them being spent on Reading and Grammar. In creating questions for the two summative tests, the three teachers took charge of different chapters and confirmed the questions by peer review.

Along with the main tests, SunnyHill students were also assessed by three kinds of performance-based tests throughout a semester: The Nationwide English Listening Test; homework and classwork; and classroom attitude. For classroom discipline, all of the teachers used a bonus-penalty-point system, or what it is called “the **●/X** system.” “**●**” represents the gain of credit while “**X**” means the loss of credit, and the system was deployed as a mechanism for controlling students’ nonconforming behavior in class. For example, when students completed their classwork and homework, they gained bonus credit, but when they were singled out for disturbing class, they were given penalty points and lost their credit. Most of the students were very enthusiastic about gaining bonus credit, and low-track students were no exception in that regard. They told me that they needed to obtain a good score on a performance-based assessment, given their low chance to perform well on the summative tests. Notably, however, the students were not generally motivated by this technique of classroom control, but instead, they tactically negotiated it by taking part in class only when bonus credit was offered.

Because of the absence of a list of rubrics created by the teachers, each track adopted different criteria in assessing the students’ performance. Although all of the students took the same tests based on the same textbook, I found that there was not much communication and collaboration on the part of the teachers in implementing lessons and designing worksheets and the tests. Not only did this non-dialogic practice trigger many of the students’ complaints in terms of the fairness of the tests, but it also created conflict and tension among the teachers;

consequently, Ms. Yoon and Ms. Jang stopped interacting with each other after the mid-term test, and Ms. Sun also shared with me her emotional distress. It seemed that these tensions could largely be attributed to the lack of dialogic communication derived from the vertical hierarchies characterizing their relationships according to their seniority and employment conditions.

After the mid-term test, SunnyHill students' initial tracks were rearranged, and those students at a cutting-off point could negotiate their tracks, but it proved difficult as they were required to obtain approval from the teachers of both tracks; consequently, students at SunnyHill appeared to not have played any significant role in placement decisions. What was noticeable was that when the tracks were rearranged after the mid-term test, the track system had changed from the three-track system (high, middle and low) to the two-track system (one high track and two general tracks, G1/G2). Prior to this change, the teachers informed me of the need to separate the high-track students in order to provide them with enriched instruction and a more studious atmosphere upon advancing to high school. They also added that the middle-and low-tracks were mixed to facilitate group-based work in a bid to implement "Learning Community" (Ms. Lee, I1:191-197; Ms. Sun, UI2: 258-264).

In 2015, SunnyHill newly launched the district-funded project, "Learning Community" (LC), a teaching and learning approach aimed at improving teachers' instructional practices and students' class participation. For the teachers' professional development, SunnyHill not only invited guest speakers to educate them about the philosophical background and teaching approach of LC, but also encouraged teachers to attend conferences and open their classrooms once a year to the whole faculty. This project, indeed, spurred the English teachers to rearrange students' desks into groups and to mix middle- and low-track students in consideration of the absence of facilitators in the low track. However, as the teachers regarded LC as a technique for

group work, it appeared not to jolt them into new ways of thinking about their test-oriented practices or tracking, despite the incommensurability of tracking and LC⁵.

5.3.2 Incommensurability of Tracking and Learning Community

Learning Community (LC) is an educational approach grounded in John Dewey's democracy in education and Vygotsky's conception, zone of proximal development (ZPD). It was developed by a Japanese educator, Sato, Manabu (2009, 2013, 2014), whose main focus was on the restoration of educational visions that seek to fulfil children's right to learn and co-build a democratic society. As Sato (2006) notes:

Generally speaking, although most teachers complain lack of budget, time and staff for innovation, and most policy makers and administrators point lack of abilities and incentives of teachers, *the most critical lack is not such matters but vision, strategies and philosophy.* (p. 14, emphasis added)

In this sense, LC envisions schools as public spaces in which students, teachers, and community members all learn and grow together by negotiating different ideas and views and co-developing curriculum, resources, and activities through a learning community of practice.

With an emphasis on these three main principles, collaboration, collegiality, and dialogue, LC encourages teachers to deconstruct their textbooks and to implement project-oriented activities by organizing seating in groups of four and consistently rearranging the seating in accordance with students' tasks. The teachers, in this type of class, are expected to speak at a

⁵ In Korea, LC has been disseminated by progressive-minded teachers, particularly members of the Korean Teachers' and Education Workers' Union (KTU). During my fieldwork, I attended several LC conferences and also took a week-long course instructed by Dr. Sohn who was a former student of Dr. Sato. For reference, KTU, whose membership is optional, has become an emblem of teachers' resistance to the neoliberalization of education. However, KTU's official status was revoked by the government in 2013 on the grounds that it had granted membership to teachers who had been laid off due to their political acts (M. Kim, 2014).

lower pitch in order to actively listen, connect, and return: “teaching is not telling but mostly listening and connecting, connecting content to students, connecting a student to other students, connecting an idea to other ideas, connecting today’s lesson to tomorrow’s lesson, and connecting classroom to the world” (Sato, 2006, p. 12). The idea of active listenership or what Sato (2008) calls “passive activeness” (p. 2) allows the teachers and students to dialogically engage with each other in establishing a collaborative learning community in which “they do not teach each other but learn from each other” (p. 3). In LC, excellence is construed as learning to stretch and broaden limits rather than learning to compete with or excel over others. LC, thus, strongly rejects tracking on the grounds that it instigates undue competition and stratification in education. As such, tracking is inherently incommensurable with the vision of LC because tracking is a policy for promoting students’ excellence through separation, whereas LC is an approach for facilitating collaboration and collegiality to move beyond competition in education.

5.3.2.1 Learning Community as a Technique

Despite their best intentions, it seemed that some of the teachers misunderstood the philosophical background of LC. When questioned about their understanding of LC, both Ms. Yoon and Ms. Jang deemed LC as a type of group-based teaching technique as opposed to teacher-centered whole class practices. They told me that LC is simply about letting students teach themselves in a group rather than teachers teaching them. In a conversation with me, therefore, Ms. Jang showed deep concerns over the feasibility of LC in English class given low-track students’ lack of competence in maintaining group discussions and the lack of teacher-led instructional time (LfnApril7). In class, Ms. Jang had students sit in rows by their test scores, but after the mid-term test, she put the students in groups and assigned each group one paragraph to translate and then present at the front of class. However, since the class became disorderly over

time, Ms. Jang finally dismantled the group seating arrangement a month later. During the interview, which occurred a week before the end of the term, Ms. Jang told me that LC might be a good approach for the high-and middle-track students who do their best under any circumstances, but it is not effective for low-track students: “How can I do LC in the low track where some students don’t even know the English alphabet?” (사실 알파벳도 아직 모르는 아이들도 있는데 개들 데리고 무슨 배공 수업을 하겠습니까?) (I2: 514-515).

In Ms. Yoon’s case, the seating arrangement was often altered from groups to a U shape. However, although students were seated in groups, Ms. Yoon continued to deliver lessons in a teacher-fronted whole-class structure; therefore, there was not much group discussion in the high track. During my fieldwork, there was one period in which students were asked to translate a paragraph in their groups and then present in front of class. However, as Ms. Yoon did not offer the students scaffolding and sufficient time for the presentation, students appeared confused and thus failed to accomplish their task. For the second half of the semester, desks were returned to their original row arrangement. Consequently, the students from both Ms. Yoon’s and Ms. Jang’s classes said that there was not much change other than the rearrangement of desks.

The way Ms. Sun approached LC was different from the other teachers. Much time was spent designing and preparing lessons. Sometimes, Ms. Sun texted me to ask for tips about different kinds of activities to do. In class, many kinds of multimodal and intertextual resources were harnessed, such as PPT, popular culture, and hands-on games and flash cards. Rather than using worksheets included in the textbook, Ms. Sun created her own worksheets to meet students’ needs; the middle-track teaching materials are included in Appendix J. During group work, Ms. Sun always walked around the class and whenever faced with student complaints about the

difficulty of assigned tasks, she first sympathized with the students by making such comments as, “I know, it’s difficult, right,” and lowering herself, by kneeling down, to answer their questions.

In Ms. Sun’s class, nevertheless, tracking, testing, and the same textbook-based instruction seemed to arouse the anxiety and ambivalence of track-crossers, who had shuttled between the high and middle track. Some of them deemed that group-based tasks required their sacrifice because they were the ones who had to teach the other group members; therefore, they were concerned they might fall behind their high-track peers (e.g., Geon, high, I1; 27-30). Unfortunately, this peer dynamic triggered a sense of insecurity among students, particularly those who were from the low track as they often felt they did not have much to offer to the other group members in terms of linguistic knowledge (e.g., Minseo, low, I1: 19-20).

After the first half of the semester, the two-track system, one high track and two general tracks (G1/ G2), allowed high-track students to secure their distinction from their peers, and because of this separation, many high-track students were oblivious to the change and continuously referred to Ms. Jang’s G2 track as the low track. Even those who were cognizant of the change tended to attribute the separation to middle- and low-track students’ classroom disturbing behaviors. When asked about it, Liyoon, a high-track student, responded, “I guess that’s because the high-track students are all working hard, but many middle-and low-track students sleep or make noise” (상반은 다 열심히 하고 하반이나 중반은 자거나 떠드는 애들이 좀 많으니까 떼 놓은 것 같은데) (I2: 281-282).

Moreover, the spatial markedness of the G2 track in association with the low track evoked some middle-track students’ reluctance to be placed in it, leading them to move back into Ms. Sun’s class by switching seats with low-track students assigned to it. Consequently, the G2 track had four fewer students than the G1 track, and a majority of the G2-track students had been

placed in the low track. Besides arranging desks into groups, there was not much difference between the G2 and low track in terms of Ms. Jang's classroom practice and classroom atmosphere. Rather, students' off-task behaviors became more prevalent and explicit in the G2 track. Accordingly, most of the students still equated the G2 track with the low-track class, thereby continuously (re)producing spatial stigma and social hierarchies at SunnyHill.

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have highlighted how tracking was naturalized as a viable policy to promote the quality of education and to specifically serve high-performing students from low socioeconomic backgrounds. However, a careful analysis of the local practice of tracking has shown that tracking has been deeply mediated by the logic of neoliberalism. Given that high-track students had affordances to perform better academically than their peers in the lower tracks, tracking contributed to keeping the dynamics of social class (in)visible and thus reinforcing social hierarchies across the tracks. I have also discussed the incommensurability of Learning Community (LC) and tracking, and examined how LC was inadequately conceptualized and practiced only as a group-based technique within the system of separating students according to their English test scores. The intersection between space and language learning therefore needs to be understood with greater sensitivity to the ideological implications and material conditions which characterize spatial dynamics across the tracks. As a way to make better sense of instructional practices at SunnyHill, in the next chapter, I first explore ideologies surrounding English, and then examine local practices of English in conjunction with macro-level English education goals and policies. This is followed by a discussion of how the intersection of multiple discourses about English and tracking has an effect on students and teachers in shaping their beliefs about English, tracking, and tracked students.

Chapter 6: Ideologies and Neoliberal Socialization at SunnyHill

6.1 Introduction

Ideologies around “English as pure potential” (J. S.-Y. Park, 2016) have heightened the pursuit of English, significantly affecting the policy direction of Korean English education. The Korean National Curriculum (2011) stipulates that the goals of English education are largely threefold: 1) promoting communicative competence (“영어 의사소통 능력 향상”); 2) building an appropriate personality and creativity as well as citizenship and communal spirit (“인성교육과 창의성 교육...시민의식, 공동체 의식을 제고”); and 3) understanding foreign culture appropriately while nurturing students’ knowledge and quality as cosmopolitans (“외국 문화를 바르게 이해하고 세계인으로서의 자질과 소양 육성”) (p. 3). In any manifestation, language ideologies are not merely about language but more about indexical ties between language and other social identity categories operating in multiple dimensions (Kroskrity, 2004; Ochs, 1996). As such, ideology can be useful in capturing the gap between policies and practices.

To answer the second research question regarding students’ beliefs and lived experiences of learning English by track, this chapter explores ideologies surrounding English and the classroom practices at SunnyHill. I then discuss how this ideological complex is contradictory and open to contestation by SunnyHill’s social actors within the test-oriented Korean education system. Through a discussion of how these English ideologies mediate discourses on tracking, I show the impacts tracking has on the formation of students’ and teachers’ beliefs regarding each track level and its members. I engage in a thematic analysis of their narrative accounts in interviews to heuristically understand the function of ideologies in shaping the trajectories of language learners. All of the original data are included in Appendix N. 2.

6.2 Ideologies about English at SunnyHill

- Byean: Why do you think we track English class?
Sorim: Because English is important
Byean: Important? What do you think English is in Korea?
Sorim: Something we need when we are looking for jobs
Byean: English is important when you are looking for jobs. What is English to you?
Sorim: To me, it's a language of other countries. I don't know why we have to learn English in Korea when we can communicate in Korean.
Byean: What comes in your mind when you see many English signs on the street?
Sorim: Ah *Hangul*, *Hangul*, there is not much *Hangul*. What if Koreans use English only without using Korean at all!

(Sorim, low, I1: 182-190)

This interaction with Sorim—a low-track student who had moved into the middle track only once throughout her time in middle school—highlights the ideological complex encountered by Korean learners and speakers of English. Sorim's multiple and overlapping English ideologies fit quite well into J. Park's (2009) three ideologies of English in Korea: the ideology of necessitation which constructs English as “something we need when we are looking for jobs”; the ideology of self-deprecation which casts English as an unspeakable tongue and disclaims it as “a language of other countries” despite her investment in it; the ideology of externalization which exhibits a growing apprehension that “Koreans use English only without using Korean at all”. Sorim's conflicting stances about English are indicative of the multiplicity of language ideologies which circulate inseparably and are negotiated and reconstituted by social actors, who work through the mediation of dominant ideologies, local constraints, lived experiences and subject positions in the process of meaning making.

6.2.1 The Ideology of Necessitation

- Byean: Why do you think we learn English?
Yangjin: ***Just basic. Something we need for survival*** (그냥 기본, 살려면 필요한 것)
Byean: Then, why do you think English is needed in Korea?
Sorim: ***To look well-educated*** (유식해 보이려고)
...
Byean: Why is English needed to you right now?

Yangjin: For the future
 Sorim: I don't think it is needed now.
 Byean: Then, why do you think you are studying it now?
 Sorim: That's because the state forces me to learn it ((laugh)).
 Yangjin: To go to a good college
 Byean: Do you think English will be much needed later?
 Sorim: Yes, I think so.
 Byean: Why is it?
 Sorim: To find a job. People often say we should be able to speak three languages at least. (회사 취직할 때 영어해야 하고. 3 개국어 잘해야 된다고 하고)
 (Sorim, low, & Yangjin, middle, I1: 415-435)

In a group interview, both Sorim and Yangjin agreed that English is a “basic” skill in Korea because it is something we need “for survival,” “To look well-educated,” “For the future,” “To go to a good college,” and “To find a job later.” The local significance of English in high-stakes examinations and the job market was underscored by many participants, regardless of their track location: “English is necessary to get a decent job” (Sulim, low, I1: 127-144; Julin, middle, I1: 170-172); “English is required to go abroad for business trips” (Yeong, middle, I1: 58-60); “Good competence of English leads to your future success” (Hashin, middle, I1: 172-177).

Naturalizing English as an instrument for social success had a great influence in shaping the student participants' views on those who have good competence in English vis-à-vis those who do not. For example, Eunji, a high-track student, responded, “English makes you look so cool because it is difficult to learn, so you get a kind of self-pride if you can speak it” (I1: 213-214). As shown in Sorim's account, “To look well-educated” in the interaction above, most of the students, particularly low-track students, tended to equate good competence of English with individual intelligence as well as higher education credentials. They told me that those people with good competence of English look “cool” (있어 보인다), “great” (멋지다), “smart” (똑똑해 보인다), “well-educated” (유식해 보인다), and “not to be disrespected” (무시는 안 당할 것 같다),

ascertaining successful career paths in the future. Lina went further and told me that, “they are like geniuses in Korea (천재죠)” (I1: 244) and responded to my question, “What do you think it would mean becoming *yeongpoja*, i.e., giving up on English learning in Korea?” with, “It would be very difficult to live in Korea” to my question, (255-256). Lina was a long-term low-track student who self-positioned and was positioned as *yeongpoja* by teachers and classmates.

As Bourdieu (1984) argues, distinction often operates through the binary oppositions that organize hierarchical relations based on “the specific logic of the field, of what is at stake and of the type of capital needed to play for it” (p. 112). Given the rosy picture of English as symbolic capital, it is inevitable that the elevation of one category as an unmarked in-group denigrates the other group as a marked out-group (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). Hence, attributing a positive image to those with high English competence entails the disparagement of those people with less linguistic capital. Many of the students said that those people with low English competence would face significant challenges finding “decent” jobs in Korean society: “they would be easily neglected by their coworkers” (Sulim, low, I1: 156); “they look ignorant” (무식해 보인다)” (Gain, low, I1: 260); “they look like working-class laborers” (노동자 같은 사람) (Julin, middle, I1: 268).

Interestingly, however, when asked about what constitutes good English competence, most of the students interviewed answered the question with English-speaking countries’ pronunciation, or what they refer to as “mainland pronunciation” (본토발음) and native speaker-like fluency, more specifically, “not like English spoken by Koreans but like English spoken by Americans” (우리 한국 사람들이 말하는 영어가 아니고 미국 사람들이 하는) (Jimin, HJune29: 39-63). For them, what counts is not really about a speakers’ actual proficiency but rather about their status in relation to geopolitical locations. Their conflation of legitimate English as American English as well as their ambivalent attitudes to distinguish it from another also underpins a deep

ideological stance towards English. Given their lack of transnational experiences and physical mobility—e.g., migration, study abroad, or traveling—it seems that the ideology of “good English” as American English has been locally shaped through English education and policies, instructional materials, native-speaking teachers, linguistic landscapes, pop culture, other media, and local English teachers’ discourses (Duff, 2015; Kubota, 2015a; J. S.-Y. Park, 2010).

The students’ instrumental views on English also resonated through the teacher participants. Ms. Jang, the only teacher who had had experience studying abroad, told me that “English is a universal language that we should know as common sense, and we should learn other skills or languages to facilitate our competitive edge in the job market” (I1: 115-120). This discourse of skills in which English is deemed as a key element was echoed by Ms. Yoon who stressed learning as many languages as possible, for example Chinese, in addition to English. Ms. Yoon maintained that multilingual skills are crucial to engage in overseas trade because the Korean market is too small for Koreans to make a profit (I1: 307-315), stressing the increasing use of English for economic growth:

The fact that we use too much English on street signs or K-pop songs is not because we love English but because we need to make economic profits by entertaining foreign visitors and drawing their attention to export our goods to other countries. (I1: 284-288)

While complaining about how difficult it was for her to travel around France owing to the absence of English signs, Ms. Yoon added that compared to France, “Korea is a small and weak country,” and it is therefore necessary for Korea to lower itself humbly and to intensify the use of and teaching of English in order to raise its competitiveness in global markets (I1: 291-301).

Slightly different from the other two teachers, while acknowledging the significance of English in the local and global markets, Ms. Sun problematized the pervasiveness of English premised on the neoliberal ideology as illusive myths:

The belief that English is a key to social success seems illusive. It tends to have fueled an already overheated education market. You know some people reserve [prestigious] English kindergartens immediately after giving birth to a child. (I1: 222-224)

The relationship between English and economic benefits has been questioned as “the economic benefit myth” (Watts, 2011) or the fallacy of “the promise of English” (J. S.-Y. Park, 2011), working to rationalize the neoliberal logic of human capital in capitalist marketplaces and to naturalize other kinds of beliefs about English in relation to geographic location, race, ethnicity, gender, and class. Through a discussion of the constant recalibration of the Korean linguistic market, for instance, J. Park (2011) argues that “English is never a transparent key to social inclusion” (p. 445) as it is determined and controlled by institutions of power.

In this regard, it is likely that the ideological complex surrounding English in Korea led SunnyHill’s social actors to imbue English with supremacy and to valorize its speakers as cool, stylish, smart, and well-educated. Nevertheless, although the development of communicative competence has taken a pivotal role in the national policy of English education, what is actually taking place in some local practices tends to run into conflict with the macro-level discourse. A majority of SunnyHill students and teachers displayed ambivalent attitudes towards the affordances of cosmopolitanism as well as English policies such as Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) and Teaching English in English-only (TEE) in the test-oriented education system where linguistic knowledge is deemed crucial.

6.2.2 The Myth of Communicative Competence

To facilitate students' communicative competence, the Teaching English in English-only (TEE) policy was strengthened by employing different strategies: deploying English conversation instructors to schools; having schools report what percentage of English teachers use in class; granting a TEE certificate to those teachers who demonstrate CLT-based classroom practices and a high proficiency in English and providing them with fringe benefits such as financial support and extra credits for promotion (T. Choi & Andon, 2013; K. S. Lee, 2014).

During my six months of fieldwork, there was no single class which was taught in English only, nor did any of the three teachers speak much English in class, except for offering simple directions such as 'open your book' or 'listen carefully'; even these kinds of directions were rarely provided in English. When asked about the feasibility of the TEE policy, Ms. Sun told me that she used to partially implement TEE at a middle school in an affluent district, but abandoned TEE at SunnyHill after being confronted with students' confusion: "Is TEE just luxury for myself? What is the use of TEE when the students have no idea what I am talking about?" (이거 나 혼자만의 사치인가? 아이들이 알아듣지도 못하는 말을 나 혼자 읊조려 뭐하나?) (II: 158-161). Ms. Sun's struggles and conflicts came to the surface when having an open class. Given the prevalence of "the perfect language myth" (Watts, 2011), which underscores maximum exposure to English via an English-only approach, Ms. Sun initiated the open class in English only. Having read Ms. Sun's mind, students seemed to follow the method of teaching. However, Ms. Sun soon switched back to Korean after students complained: "'can't you just do what you normally do?' I felt so embarrassed. They might think that I used English to show off" (그냥 하시는 데로 하면 안돼요? 너무 무안하더라고요. 보여주는 수업이라고 영어 하나) (163-166).

Not only was Ms. Sun faced with conflict regarding TEE, but the other two teachers also had similar thoughts about TEE as a locally unviable policy. Ms. Yoon explained, “I believe the best way of teaching is when there is no rejection on the part of the students. If we do TEE, more than a half of the students won’t understand us” (제일 좋은 거는 애들한테 제일 소화하고 그 수업을 거부 안 하게 만들어 주는 게 좋은데, [TEE 로 하면] 절반 이상은 애들이 몰라 진짜로. 모르니까” (I1: 76-77). She further commented that she had no intention of taking part in professional development programs to improve her communicative competence because of the perfunctory nature of those programs and the impracticality of TEE in the test-oriented system (35-40). In this light, Ms. Yoon dismissed CLT methods as something fancy which only works for affluent school districts in which students have already acquired basic linguistic knowledge (84-88): “My focus is indeed grammar because you can improve communicative competence later by yourself once you know English rules” (문법. 그러니까 회화나 이런 것은 아이들이 독학으로 많이 할 수 있는데 문장구조를 제일 먼저 지도해야지) (I1: 23-25). Likewise, Ms. Jang claimed, “I don’t think grammar-focused instruction is wrong because the grammar learned through ten-year public school education can help you acquire communicative competence within a year” (저는 그것은 아니라고 봐요. 왜냐면 10 년을 문법 공부를 하고 예를 들어서 나중에 회화를 공부하는데 이게 문법이 바탕이 되면 한 1 년만에 할 수 있거든요) (I1: 148-150). Ms. Jang disregarded TEE “absolutely not in low tracks” because “it would lower students’ test scores for sure” (I1: 66-67), and attributed her teaching focus to the Korea’s test-oriented education system,

Along with the teachers, a majority of the students interviewed said that they regarded English learned at school as something only to be used for tests. Regardless of their tracks, therefore, they dismissed TEE as infeasible for enhancing their test scores: “I won’t study English at all because I won’t be able to understand the English-only class” (Sulim, low, I1:215-

216); “Only a few students would participate in class, while others would whoop it up” (Ryumin, high, I2: 415-416); “More students will withdraw from participating in class” (Liyoon, high, I1: 165); “English-only class will increase my English phobia, lowering my motivation to English learning” (Gain, low, I1: 376-378). In this light, the teachers’ practices are indicative of their enactment of agency to negotiate the macro-level policies like TEE and to accommodate their students’ needs in their local context. These counter-discourses are thus crucial not to “lose sight of the persistent demand for monolingualism and linguistic purism in various locations as well as Anglocentrism and English-only ideologies in many non-English-dominant neoliberal societies” (Kubota, 2014a, p. 9).

6.2.3 The Myth of Cosmopolitanism

When my fieldwork almost reached the end, I met with a student, Shannel, who had just returned to SunnyHill after one-year studying abroad or *jogiuhak* in America. Prior to studying abroad, the student had already been to America twice and the Philippines once. According to Shannel, her mother ran a kindergarten near SunnyHill and served as head of the SunnyHill parents’ council while her father worked for a medium-sized company. Although Shannel’s family was not as wealthy as her friends’ living in rich areas and she has lived in a small apartment since birth, she told me that her mother always prioritized education over the size of a house and was very deft in gleaning all kinds of information from many sources concerning Shannel’s elite path. That is to say that it was her mother’s managerial skills and emotional capital regarding education (Reay, 2004) which enabled Shannel to enjoy privileges such as attending many prestigious private intuitions outside of the SunnyHill area, joining gifted science programs operated by local university professors, and facilitating self-efficacy, mobility, and flexibility through transnational migration at an early age.

Imagining herself as a leader at the World Health Organization (WHO), Shannel added that she always remembered what her mother had warned about self-conceit: “Don’t boast of your victory because the first place at SunnyHill does not make you number one in Korea and the world.” (자만하지 말라고. 계속 1등을 해도 너는 써니힐 중학교의 1등일 뿐이지 너는 한국의 1등, 세계의 1등이 아니다) (I1: 770-772). With a strong sense of the entrepreneurial and transnational self, not bound to a particular location and culture, Shannel’s mother aligned closely with a neoliberal persona, i.e., one who strives to exceed boundaries through endless self-development and reflection and in turn, prompted Shannel to imagine herself within a global space as a flexible, neoliberal subject. Influenced by this way of imagining the self, Shannel did not even consider local students as her contenders, but her return to SunnyHill stirred up the anxiety of other high performers out of fear that their ranking would be affected by Shannel’s performance.

At SunnyHill, except for Shannel, none of the students that I interviewed construed themselves as cosmopolitans at a global level, nor did they view the current goal of learning English for global communication. A majority of the students responded that learning English at school was only to get through the gate-keeping practice of high-stakes examinations, and some of them were therefore under a lot of pressure to get high scores on English tests. It is for this reason that while acknowledging the importance of English, many of these students also questioned the need for learning English in Korea and envisioned their lives without English: “I will live in Korea, so I don’t know why I need to study English” (Hyeon, low, I1: 122; Lina, low, I1: 296); “Although we learn English, we don’t use it in Korea. Besides, I am not going to travel abroad” (Hashin, middle, I1: 143-144). In the narrative account of Gain, who was one of only a few low-track students investing in shadow education, said, “My mom told me that it is

impossible to live without English” (I1: 101) but expressed her own feelings with, “I wish English would disappear” (277).

Furthermore, even though they focused on linguistic knowledge to increase their test scores at school, many of them disregarded grammar-focused classroom practices as “something useless” for border-crossing communication (Geon, high, I1: 179) on the belief that “the way we learn English in Korea, like teaching to the test, will screw us up when we go abroad” (우리나라 식으로 이렇게 시험 잘 치는 위주로 가르치면 바깥에 나가면 망하죠) (Jeongryu, high, I1: 356).

Regardless of track locations, in fact, many of the students acknowledged the significance of improving communicative competence and displayed a strong desire for learning how to speak English, even though they had a pessimistic belief that the washback effect in public education would not change “unless the education system changes” (제도가 바뀌지 않는 이상은 뭐) (Geon, high, I1: 175). Accordingly, some of the higher-track students such as Ryumin and Hashin were attending language institutes, which offered communication-based classes taught by native speakers once a week. In this light, Shannel, drawing on what her American friends pointed out, “You guys are so good at grammar but not at jokes” (I1: 711-712), expressed the following:

Suppose that we are all free from college entrance exams, I then hope we place less emphasis on grammar because I realized that my friends in America did not always produce grammatically accurate sentences. Grammar lessons are no fun. (I1:687-691)

Evidently, the neoliberal logic of competition was the very force which compelled the teachers and students to teach and learn to the test focusing on linguistic skills, as opposed to the rationale for Korean English education, “nurturing students as cosmopolitans with knowledge and quality” (MOE, 2011, p. 3). Moreover, the notion of cosmopolitanism couched in the curriculum of Korean English education points to elite cosmopolitanism, which is “supportive of

conventional, hierarchizing educational arrangements secured by nation-state education policy” (Collins, 2012, p. 196), that is those who have affordances to position themselves as cosmopolitans just as Shannel did, thereby obscuring the differences in resources and affordances in learning and the use of English in the era of neoliberal capitalism. More importantly, who would actually be able to afford the enhancement of communicative competence when it is not directly related to college entrance exams in Korea, where the ultra-competitive education system placed Korea the highest in youth academic achievement and investment in the shadow education market and youth suicide rate, but the lowest on the youth happiness index, among OECD nations (E. Jung, 2016).

Nevertheless, the significance of English in high-stakes tests and its sequential nature of knowledge worked to legitimize the tracking of students by their test scores. In an interview, Mr. Kim, a supervisor in charge of tracking practices at the Provincial Office of Education, underscored placing students according to “similar academic performance level” as a means of fostering students’ learning efficiency on the grounds that “it is an undeniable reality that their levels differ substantially in the case of instrumental subjects such as English” (도구 교과 같은 경우에는 학생들의 학력의 차이가 있는 것이 당연한 현실이잖아요) (I1: 47-50). Likewise, a majority of the students and teachers who I interviewed differentiated English from other subjects and naturalized tracking English as indispensable (e.g., Sinhye, high, I1: 372-380), despite their ambivalent attitudes towards it: tracking is not conducive to improving English skills owing to the test-oriented classroom practice; and students learn better when tracked by their levels. In the next section, I contextualize the categorization of identity drawing on data from interviews with students and teachers, and fieldnotes about their understanding of the students in each track, and explore how this categorization affects their beliefs about tracking and the members of each track.

6.3 Ideologies about Tracking at SunnyHill

How did your teachers explain the tracking policy?

They just told us that by test scores, we are divided into those who do well and those who don't, and because those who do well can understand the class very fast but those who are underperforming need more explanations, the tracking policy is necessary... And I immediately thought I would be low-tracked then. (Sorim, low, I1: 25-29)

Before entering the middle school, we took a placement test. One day, we were waiting for an English teacher in class, and a teacher, all of sudden, came into the class and sorted us into different tracks by calling our names. I then came to know about tracking... The teacher first called the names of high-track students and then middle-track students. She then said that the rest of us belonged to the low track... I felt discriminated against because there was no such a thing as tracking at elementary school. (Jin, low, I1: 80-89)

How would you explain SunnyHill's tracking practice to a newcomer student?

Those who do well go to the high track and those who don't do well ((laughing)) go to the low track... That's it. (Gain, low, I1: 288-290)
(공부 잘하는 애들은 상반 가고, 못하는 애들은 ((웃으며)) 하반 간다... 끝인데요)

Dividing students between those who study and those who don't and teaching them by their level. (Lina, low, I1: 280)
(공부 하는 애들 안 하는 애들 나눠서 자기 그것에 따라 가르치는 것)

As the first set of the interactions above indicates, most of the students did not render tracking as a transparent practice. They told me that they were not adequately informed of tracking in terms of its rationales, criterion, and procedures during their transition from elementary to middle school. It appears that the lack of explicit accounts for tracking was one of multiple factors in shaping a dichotomous belief about students by their tracks. As shown in the second set of the interactions, high-track students were cast as capable, motivated learners, while lower-track students were depicted as incapable, unmotivated slow learners. These beliefs are in parallel with the tracking literature on K-12 students which is replete with terms which label low-track classrooms as “dumping grounds” (Page, 1991, p. 48) and cast low-track students as

having deficits by relating their low performance to their intellectual capabilities, and individual dispositions (Benesch, 1991; Harklau, 1994c; Oakes, 1985; Watanabe, 2008).

6.3.1 Students' Beliefs about Tracks and Their Members

In the SunnyHill catchment, there was only one elementary school, and a majority of SunnyHill's students were graduates of that school. Over the process of more than eight years of academic socialization, they came to be well aware of their classmates' academic performances and socioeconomic conditions. This long-term socialization tended to produce a kind of fixed hierarchy among students, and tracking appeared to play a central role in reinforcing this in relation to track locations. Given that such hierarchical relations are evident in the appellations of high track (上, 상반), middle track (中, 중반) and low track (下, 하반), tracking reinscribes the unmarkedness of the high track and establishes it as the norm from which all other tracks diverge (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004).

6.3.1.1 Discourses about the High-Track Category and Its Members

Mindful of the indexical prestige attached to the high track, it should come as no surprise that for SunnyHill students, the high track was an unmarked identity category (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005) and its members were seen as the intellectual superiors of their local counterparts. They were commonly perceived by themselves as well as by their peers and teachers as more persistent, responsible, capable, focused, hardworking, and well-mannered than their classmates in the lower tracks: “high-track students have *persistence* or *kkang* (깡) to keep up with enriched materials as opposed to lower trackers” (Shannel, high, II:660); “high-track students are *responsible* for their work because they complete whatever they are supposed to do” (Jeongryu, high, I: 76); “no need for the teachers to repeat for high-track students because they are *capable* of understanding what the teacher once taught them” (Jinhee, middle, I: 47); high-track students

can understand even the teachers' rough explanations because they all *work hard* in advance at private institutions" (Gain, low, I1: 328).

These circulating perceptions contributed to formulating the imaginary of what it means to be a high-track student, who was in turn imagined to comply with a set of high expectations in order to achieve distinction from the other tracks (see Ibrahim, 1999; Talmy, 2015). However, the unmarkedness of the high track was a double-edged sword for some of its members. On the one hand, its indexical prestige had a positive influence in shaping learner identity in conjunction with high self-pride. On the other hand, it entailed the rise of the sentiments of insecurity and anxiety out of fear that they might be positioned as illegitimate members by higher-performing peers, and consequently, lose their high-track membership.

By the time of my entry into SunnyHill, for instance, Ryumin was placed into the high track, but she told me that she had crossed between the high and middle tracks. Ryumin was a student who had been active in the private education market since elementary school and attended a local language institute where she was taught by a native-speaking English teacher once a week. Ryumin also told me that she had travelled abroad with her family a few times. Despite high-track membership, Ryumin's lower status in the high track evoked a sentiment of fear and insecurity and led her to be concerned about "falling down from the high track," losing her face, and being implicitly positioned as one who "is not doing very well" in comparison with higher-performing peers (I1: 14-25). Even in the high track, Ryumin was anxious about making mistakes, asking questions, or answering "no" to teachers' questions, because she was concerned that her friends might say, "Hey, she is not that good" when her answers were incorrect (제가 뭐 틀리면 '어, 재는 별로 공부 못하는데' 이렇게 이야기 할까 봐) (83-85).

Moreover, Ryumin commented on her difficulty in keeping up with the high-track classroom practices: “The high-track teachers didn’t deal with basic things because they assumed that the high-track students had already learned them” (상반은 잘 하는 애들만 있으니까 기초 그런 것은 안하고 그러는데) (96-98). This highlights that the ideology of homogeneous grouping draws teachers’ attention away from attending to individual learners’ differences and needs within a track. However, most striking in Ryumin’s account was that in spite of her preference for middle-track classroom practices because they resulted in less anxiety, she oriented to the vertical relation of tracking and wished to maintain her unmarked high-track identity: “The high track is good, but the middle track means you are falling behind” (상반은 좋은 거고 중반은 좀 떨어지니까 좀 좋은 데 있고 싶잖아요) (103).

Ryumin’s view resonated with Jinhee, who was placed into the middle track at the time of the interview. Jinhee also explained the ambivalence she had in the high track: “I was proud of being in the high track, but I also felt uncomfortable there because my English score was slightly lower than the other students” (다른 사람보다 높은 데 있는 게 뿌듯하고 그랬는데, 그 상반 자체 안에서도 살짝 낮은 거니까 그것도 별로 안 좋았죠.) (I1: 52-53). Similarly, Hashin and Kyeong, who were placed into the middle track for the first time, recalled their disappointment and embarrassment immediately after being notified of their track placement: “I didn’t feel good because I fell down to the middle track while those who used to underperform me stayed in the high track” (좀 그랬죠. 나보다 못하는 애들, 원래 평소에 못한 애들은 상반인데 난 중반으로 떨어졌으니까 좀 그랬어요) (Hashin, middle, I1: 30-31); “My sudden placement into the middle track, what can I say, it was very (3.5). At first, I got so confused and as time went by, I felt like crying” (갑자기 딱 중반 이라고 하니까. 완전히 진짜, 뭐라고 해야 되지, 뭐가 대게 (3.5) 처음에 대게 혼란스러웠는데 가면 갈수록 뭔가 대게 뭔가 눈물 날 것 같고 그랬어요) (Kyeong, middle, I1: 14-17).

At the start of the semester, both of these students came into the high-track classroom during break and displayed grim determination to move up to the high track (Hmar30: 02-18).

Most of the high-track students, including high-performing students as well as high/middle track crossers, were deeply concerned about their track relocation in relation to their identity or what they referred to as self-esteem or self-pride (자존심). Both Seyeong and Jeongryu, who had been traveling outside the SunnyHill area to attend private institutes, said that they worked hard not to move downwards to save face and their identities. Jeongryu, for example, recalled the restlessness and nervousness felt after doing poorly on an English test. Jeongryu was a student who had been studying in a tracked elite class at a private institute since elementary school. Her ultimate goal was to go to one of the SKY⁶ universities in Seoul and become a nurse. That being said, getting an average score in English immediately positioned Jeongryu as less competitive in this elite race, and consequently not only infuriated her mother who had made a formidable financial and emotional investment into Jeongryu's elite course, but also caused Jeongryu acute anxiety over "falling down to the middle track." When asked about "what's wrong with going to the middle track?" Jeongryu displayed an ambivalent stance to it with reference to personal affective dimensions bearing on her strong "self-esteem" (I1: 129-138).

With these examples, it becomes clear that for high-track students, becoming middle-track students means "falling down" to a recognizable marked outgroup and being positioned as less capable and competitive learners, which in turn invokes anxiety, insecurity and inferiority or *junuk* (주눅) to their peers (J. S.-Y. Park, 2015). Due to these within- and across-track

⁶ SKY refers to the three most prestigious universities in South Korea: Seoul National University, Korea University, and Yonsei University. As a result of Korea's excessive academic elitism and school ties, SKY indexes one's successful career path and high social status, and getting admission to a SKY university is thus extremely competitive.

comparisons, it is clear that many students aspired to being continuously placed into the high track, despite their problematization of the myth of homogeneity prevalent in the high-track classroom practices. Some of the high-track students pointed out that the high-track teachers failed to recognize multiple levels in the high track and rather focused on a few high-performing students (Kyeong, I1: 116; Ryumin, I1: 96-98). Such a belief allowed a few high-performing students to dominate the classroom, while leading the others to feel insecure and ashamed of raising questions (Jeongryu, 79-80; Jinhee I1: 67-69) or offering responses to the teachers' initiations, consequently, entailing their exclusion in class (Sinhye I1: 233-237). In this regard, Sinhye, who moved down from the high track after the mid-term test, responded: "I would be a high-performing student in the middle track, so I would have more chance to answer the teacher's questions. It's hard to get the floor in the high track" (중으로 떨어지면 중에서는 잘하는 편이니까 발표도 많이 하잖아요. 그러니까 상반에는 잘하는 애들이 늘리고 늘려서 발표 잘 못해요) (I1: 365-370). Interestingly, Sinhye positioned herself differently in the new track in that she drew on her former high-track identity and produced distinctions from her classmates (cf. Talmy, 2008).

With respect to instructional differences across tracks, many students spoke of the classroom atmosphere and the depth of grammar explanations as notably different; other than these two factors, students told me that there were not many differences in lessons and materials because the teachers, regardless of tracks, based their classroom practices on the same textbook in preparation for the same summative tests. In particular, the high-track classroom atmosphere was the main reason for high-track students supporting tracking. When asked about how the high-track classroom practices differed from the other tracks', for instance, Liyoon responded, "There is not much level difference across high-, middle- and low-track students. It's up to teachers. We are very much influenced by the teachers" (상중하 그렇게 수준차이는 안 나는데, 쌤에

따라 다른 것 같은데) (I1: 51-54). Liyoon then elaborated, “When a teacher who the students like teaches the high track, they work hard in class. But when a teacher they hate teaches it, they don’t pay attention to the class, then they get moved to a lower track” (애들이 좋아하는 쌤이 들어오면 수업을 열심히 듣고, 싫어하는 쌤이 상반에 오면 좀 성적 떨어지고. 수업 안 듣다 보니까) (56-58). However, though Liyoon viewed tracking as a “perfunctory practice” (그냥 형식적인 것 같아요) (71), she was supportive of tracking over detracking because it allowed for distinction from low-track peers: “I don’t know about its contribution toward the improvement of English competence, but I like tracking because it allows me not to be disturbed by noisy low-track students” (하반 애들이 많이 떠들고 해서 상반 애들에겐 수준별로 하면 좋죠. 방해도 안 받고. 학업 같은 것은 모르겠어요) (74-75). Similarly, Sinhye replied, “It’s a loss to the high-track students. They will lose class time because teachers spend a lot of time keeping low-track students quiet” (공부 잘하는 애들이 손해가 크겠죠. 시끄러우니까, 공부 못하게 되니까. 쌤이 그러면 혼내잖아요. 그럼 시간낭비죠) (I1: 406-407). Kyeong also rejected detracking because she was afraid that “those inattentive low-track students would disturb lessons by making noise or singing, so the class would be total chaos” (수업 안 듣는 애들은 진짜 떠들잖아요. 완전 노래 부르고. 개판 되잖아요) (I2: 571-572).

Furthermore, some of the high-track students were concerned that detracking might result in downward levelling or “dumbing down” their level to meet the level of the lower-track students: “detracking will dumb down our learning. We can’t give up on those low performing peers. Then, the high-performing students would get bored and held back after all” (저는 하향평준화가 된다고 생각하거든요. 친구들을 끌어올려야 되잖아요. 포기할 순 없잖아요. 그렇기 때문에 했던 것을 반복 반복하고 하다 보면, 상위권 친구들은 지루해질 수 밖에 없고) (Shannel, high, I1: 568-571); “I think tracking is good for the high-track students, but not necessarily good for the low-

track students. But I still support it because the high-track students would fall behind as well if those who fall behind keep asking questions” (상반은 좀 이렇게 잘하는 애들에겐 좋지만 하반 애들은 딱히 도움이 안 되는데 그래도 다 같이 모아놓으면 어떤 애들은 아예 못 알아듣고, 그걸 계속해서 물어보면 상반 애들이 뒤쳐질 수도 있고) (Seyeong, high, I1: 359-362; see also Jeongryu, high, I1: 46-52; Jinhee, middle, I1: 59-64). The discourses of “dumbing down” and “falling behind” are consistent with the rationales for tracking which dismiss the equalization policy as “‘dumbing down’ the system and thus blocking students’ proper development as individuals with skills and competence appropriate for the global age” (J. S.-Y. Park, 2013, p. 291). However, given their acknowledgement regarding no significant instructional or ability differences and their emphasis on the role of the teacher, students’ resistance to detracking is mediated by their ideological stances, which delegitimize their lower-track peers as adequate learning partners and produce their distinction from them. Long-term socialization into tracking seems to play a crucial role in shaping such contradictory and competing positions.

6.3.1.2 Discourses about the Low-Track Category and Its Members

While the high-track students were represented in a positive light, low-track students were constructed as less persistent and responsible learners with little or no desire to move up and with no cares about their track placement or English learning. In the low-track classroom, eight out of a total of fourteen students were oldtimer low-track students (Lave & Wenger, 1991), who had never been out of the low track since they began middle school. Except for two students, in fact, a majority of these learners had been placed in the low track for over a year. Thus, long-term low-track student worked as an identity category referring to “those who have no thought about learning” (공부 안 하는 아이들은 별로 생각이 없어요) and “those who have no desire to move up” (올라갈 의지가 없어요) (Ryumin, I2: 227-246; Sulim I1: 187-193). For example, Seyeong, a

high-track student, said that “tracking might work for those who study, but not for those who have given up on English because they don’t mind being in the low track” (공부를 하는 애들에겐 도움이 되는데 아예 그냥 놓아버린 애들은, 뭐 하반에 있으면 되지 뭐. 이렇게 하죠). When asked to elaborate, Seyeong responded, “There are many *yeongpoja* in the low track” (영어를 포기한 애들도 많으니까) (I1: 349-352). It seems that most of the higher-track students attribute the problem of long-term low-track placement to individual learners, thereby producing them as *yeongpoja* who have no desire or motivation to learn English.

However, Gain’s narrative regarding her experience in the low track illuminates how the low-track students, in particular oldtimers, are discursively co-constructed as unmotivated *yeongpoja* as soon as they join the low-track social imaginary. In an interview with Gain, a low-track student who had track crossing experiences, when asked as to whether the low-track classroom practices met her needs and interests, she responded, “Not really. The low-track is just like a playing place” (별로, 하반은 그냥 노는 곳 같아요) (I1: 113). To a question regarding teachers’ perceptions towards low-track students, Gain commented, “they view low-track students as those who just play. Because those who don’t study at all are placed in the low track” (그냥 하반 애들은 좀 그냥 노는 아이들. 공부 하나도 안하고 그런 애들이 들어와 가지고 그냥) (117). When asked about having a role model in the low track, she replied with a laugh, “No, I think I am the best there” (아니요, 제가 제일 잘하는 것 같은데) (123); this sense of higher ability is likely due to the fact that Gain was a track crosser of the middle/ low tracks and also one of only a few low-track students who had engaged in shadow education. According to Gain’s homeroom teacher and her narrative, Gain’s mother was the only parent of low-track student who attended an open class. This is indicative of her mother’s high interest in her child’s education.

Despite Gain's mother's investment, she failed to get out of the low-track classroom. In this respect, she responded that when she was first placed in the low track, she was determined to move up, but the prevalent mood of "let's play" (놀자 분위기) in the low track hindered Gain's investment in class: "Middle-and high-track students are working hard. They are performing well. But as I was continuously placed into the low track, I also played with my classmates, so..." (하반에서 계속 수업하니깐 중반 상반 애들은 다 공부 잘하잖아요. 공부 잘하는 애들이니까. 하반은 노는 분위기니까 같이 놀고, 그래 가지고...) (I1: 86-87). Gain's narrative also resonated through Hyeon's experience, the only low-track student who had experienced all three tracks. Upon entering SunnyHill, Hyeon was placed into the high track but was moved into the middle track in the second semester of Grade 7 and into the low track in Grade 8 where she stayed. In this regard, Hyeon said, "The longer I was staying in the low track, the less I studied English...because no one studied there" (하반에 있으니까 더 공부 안 하게 되요... 다 안 하니까) (I1: 198-200). When asked about her desire to move up, Hyeon explained, "I studied what was emphasized by the teacher in the middle track, but not in the low track. I am on the bottom rung after all. Why do I even bother studying when there is no track to move down to?" (하반에 있으니까 어차피 하반인데 더 내려갈 때도 없는데 안 해도 상관없지 않나? 이렇게 생각되어서 그냥) (367-369). Hyeon was receiving governmental financial support and said that her parents could not support her academically because they were relatively older than her peers.

Out of the lived experiences of the students socialized into a long-term low-track position, the most poignant was the narrative account of Jin, who had never exited the low track since entering SunnyHill. Jin told me that tracking made her feel "discriminated" against in class (차별하는 기분) (I1: 89) and explained the impact of "a feeling of discrimination" on her participation in class. Charging her low-track teachers with failing to take into account the

“many levels in the low track,” Jin negatively evaluated their classroom practices which focused on “raising the scores of those who were doing well in the low track” and “didn’t care about students like [her], even if they slept and did not do any work” (저처럼 안하고 자는 애들은 그냥 놔둬요) (93-94). When asked about her efforts to participate in class, Jin maintained, “I have already given up on such a thought because I have been treated in that way by the teachers. They were holding me responsible for my study, so I didn’t study at all in class” (이미 접었어요. 그 샘들이 그때부터 그랬으니까 그냥 접었어요. 놔둬도 어차피 너 알아서 하라는 식으로 해서 저도 그냥 안했어요) (97-99).

As is evident in Jin’s accounts, the myth of homogeneity underlying tracking (Oakes, 2005) made it difficult for the teachers to recognize the heterogeneous realities in the low track. Such practices resulted in Jin’s feeling of being excluded in class, significantly affecting the development of her language competence and learner identity. As the lack of teachers’ care and their low expectations and discourses worked to tacitly position Jin as *yeongpoja*, Jin also positioned herself as *yeongpoja* by not investing in class. This narrative demonstrates the emergence and co-construction of *yeongpoja* as a part of socialization into the low tracks.

It is possible that Jin attempted to defend herself by shifting the source of her *yeongpoja* identity to the teachers. Therefore, I asked Jin whether there was any teacher who showed a concern for her learning. Jin then talked about her Grade 8 English teacher who taught her for six months. Whenever Jin fell asleep, the teacher provided encouragement with a pep talk, for instance, “You can do this,” and even tutored Jin individually after class. Thanks to this teacher’s care, Jin said that, “At that time, I had a thought of ‘I have to study English,’ but you know sleeping had grown into a habit with me since Grade 7, so I often found myself sleeping in class and being woken up by the bell” (그때도 해야 해야겠지 생각은 있었는데 그게 습관이 되었잖아요).

중학교 1학년때부터 습관이 되어서 하다고 자고 있고 종소리에 일어나고 그랬어요) (111-121).

Although Jin slept in class, the important thing to note is that the teacher's care and encouragement led Jin to think about reinvesting in English rather than simply giving up. This highlights that affective teacher attributes can play an integral part in promoting student learning.

In our later interactions, Jin suddenly burst into tears while sharing with me about how her forever-low-track identity positioned her as a helpless deficient learner: "As soon as I received my report card, I thought, 'what is the use of getting it ((sobbing)) because I would be at the bottom anyway? How could I go to high school?' ((crying hard))" (처음에 딱 [성적표를] 받으면요. 어차피 꼴등인데 ((흐느끼며)) 받아서 뭐하나 생각도 들고 ((계속 흐느낀다)) 고등학교 어떻게 가나 ((심하게 흐느낀다))) (169-170). Being teased and bullied by her peers, Jin often ended up fighting with the peers who asked, "Why do you even bother checking your report card when you were the bottom of the bottom anyway? Better to throw it away" (((흐느끼며)) 항상 애들이 '너는 어차피 꼴등인데 받아서 뭐하냐고? 차라리 버려야 되지 않냐고' 이러던데. 기분 나쁘니까 또 서로 또 치고 받고 싸우고) (173-174). In an ethnography on school bullying, Jacobson (2012) found that the resource of bullying was "[s]tatus; being someone of value in the eyes of the human community," suggesting that "bullying (e.g., public domination of another) was the means to secure that resource" (p. 145). Within a highly competitive education system, accordingly, test scores and ranking are crucial in evaluating one's status and thus recruited by Jin's classmates as resources to achieve and to secure their distinctions while marginalizing Jin's learner identity.

Though Jin positioned herself as *yeongpoja*, she showed a lot of concern about her English performance as well as for the high school she would attend. Even while copying others' work, I found that Jin submitted most of her homework and participated in pair work in order to obtain some points in the performance-based assessment. Jin also told me that she began a

worksheet-based private English program and solved the questions at school, but unfortunately, it was again recruited as a resource for teasing by Jin's peers who insulted Jin for doing a kindergarten-level worksheet. When asked about the effects of such a social positioning, more poignantly, Jin said that she "got used to" (익숙해서) (466) such a denigrating categorization over long-term socialization into the underperforming student category. Because of her poor grades, Jin told me that her parents, who ran a small supermarket, had her do Taekwondo to receive special admission to high school. Therefore, Jin spent about six hours a day at a gym and learned to really enjoy doing Taekwondo. When Jin talked about Taekwondo, Jin became visibly excited.

The joint production of the marked low-track identity was further instantiated in an interaction with Liyoon, a high-track student, about the classroom practices of subjects such as science which are not tracked. Liyoon talked about incidences in which some low-track students' denotative challenge to teachers' discipline resulted in aggravating a confrontation between them and thus taking a great deal of class time. Questioning, "Do they really have to do this by harming others?" (남에게 피해를 주면서 저렇게 해야 되나.), Liyoon wished that teachers would discipline disruptive students after, instead of during, class (I2: 300-316). When asked about whether the teachers asked students to help each other, she responded, "My science teacher once told us to be nice to them because they were pathetic ((laughing))" (불쌍하다고 잘해주라고 하고) (324-329). Using the third person voice in reported speech, Liyoon distanced herself from her comments but the laughing was indicative of Liyoon's likely affiliation with the science teacher's orientation. Accordingly, the science teacher's representation of them as the "pathetic" learners ostensibly worked to marginalize their social positioning and to reinscribe the hierarchical relationships between students in association with individual classroom performance and attitudes.

Notwithstanding the low-track students' complaints about teachers' low expectations, their stigmatized social positioning, and more importantly their ambivalence towards the effects of tracking on English learning, interestingly, many of them displayed disaffiliative stances to detracking in conjunction with their low achievement. They then cast the low track as a safe space exempt from within-class comparisons and face-threatening occasions through the essentialization of the low-track students homogenously underperforming. For instance, Sorim favored tracking over detracking out of fear that she might be positioned as "a fool" if she failed to catch up with her higher performing peers in mixed classes (이해 못했다고 하면 뭔가 잘하는 아이 사이에서 바보 된 것 같은 기분) (I1: 61). More to the point, the low-track students' tracked habitus, language competence, and identity tended to reinforce the stigmatization of their learner identities in relation to their high-track counterparts, thus increasing their ambivalence and resistance towards detracking on the beliefs that: "the high trackers would be pissed off because the low trackers learn slowly" (하반이 이해 못했다고 하면 상반이 짜증 날 것 아니 예요) (Lina, I1: 332-333); "I am afraid that I would disturb their learning. They work so hard in class" (방해가 될 것 같아요. 대게 열심히들 하는데) (Yangjin, I1: 457); "I don't think they would like to study with us because we don't do well" (잘하는 애들이 저희 못한다고 싫어할 것 같은데) (Gain, I1: 406); and "I don't mind being separated from the high-track students. Besides, that way is much better to enhance the average of academic achievement at SunnyHill (괜찮아요. 잘하는 애들 끼리 하는 것. 원래 공부 잘하면 우리 반도 그렇고 우리 학교 평균 점수도 올라고 그러니까) (Hyeon, I1: 307-308).

These multiple discourses appeared to propel low-track students to view the high track as an unimaginable community, where they could not possibly claim membership. What Amin, who was never placed into the high track, told me encapsulates this tracking-induced inequality: "When I see the high-track students, I feel like they are so far far away from me" (상반 애들을

보면은 완전 까마 득 보이교) (UI1: 54). Evidently, the negative image projected by low-track students is attributable to their low-track habitus, which has been constructed throughout the processes of socialization into the hierarchical relationships among students by tracks. This underscores that the members of the low track are socialized into the least positive ideologies, habitus, subjectivities and identities. The tracked habitus works to impose a form of symbolic violence upon low-track students and leads them to produce themselves as a source of problems in light of their low test scores, thereby maintaining the legitimacy of tracking by their complicity.

As such, the low-track class was conceived of not as a learning space but as “a playing space” (Jeongryu, high, I1: 169) which is fraught with “the mood of ‘let’s play’” (놀자 분위기) (Gain, low, I1: 47; Amin, I2: 140), “the mood of ‘not studying’” (공부 안 하는 분위기) (Ryunji, low, I1: 33) or “the mood of ‘it’s okay not to study’” (공부 안 해도 되는 분위기) (Hyeon, low, I1: 68; Jin, low, I3: 557; Julin, middle, I1: 57). Contrary to the higher-track students, the low-track students were constructed as those who have no desire to move up or invest in English. Given the sociohistorical situatedness of learners, their desires for learning are social and embodied as they relate to identity and investment (Kubota, 2011a; Motha & Lin, 2014; Norton, 1997). Motha and Lin (2014) argue that “desires are not solely our own but are intersubjectively constituted and shaped by our social, historical, political, and economic histories and contexts” (p. 333). Therefore, “no or weak desires” for English learning are jointly constructed “in powerful but invisible ways by the state through curriculum, public media control, and language policy” (p. 336), as well as by teachers’ classroom practices.

6.3.2 Teachers' Beliefs about Students, Tracking and Classroom Practices

Students: When asked in an interview to speak generally about the differences between students across tracks, what was significant was how all of the teachers oriented to self-esteem as an individual trait and juxtaposed the low-track students with their high-track counterparts who were presented in a better light (Ms. Sun, I1: 214-217; Ms. Yoon, U1: 09). Such contrastive views were highlighted during my conversations with Ms. Jang, who believed the high-track students had a high sense of self-esteem, which helped them to accomplish tasks (I1: 284-285). In contrast, Ms. Jang added, “Low-track students immediately think they can’t do anything” (하반 아이들은 이제 일단 내가 무조건 못한다고 생각해요) (287). In later interactions, Ms. Jang informed me that she often reminded low-track students of their individual potential in comparison with students from Special Education: “I told them, if you are not as intellectually impaired as special-ed kids, you can do everything if you make an effort” (너희들이 도움반 수준의 그렇게 지능이 떨어지는 애들이 아니고서는 노력만 하면 다 할 수 있다고 얘기를 하거든요) (331-332). With the ideology of “equality for all,” Ms. Jang appears to construct school as a site of equality, where all students are taught and treated in an equal manner. Such a belief validates the logic of meritocracy and reifies deficit-oriented perspectives of learning difficulties. That is, since every student in all the track levels are given an equal chance to do well, their failure to perform well is due to a lack of their sustained effort and intelligence rather than any of the school’s practices.

English levels: When asked about their beliefs about students’ English levels across the tracks, all three teachers stated that “there is not much difference except for one or two distinguishably high-performing students” (e.g., Ms. Sun, I1: 79, 88; Ms. Jang, I1:57-58). They maintained that due to its location in a low socioeconomic district, SunnyHill students’ English levels are significantly lower than those of students in schools in affluent areas (Ms. Jang I1: 236-

237; Ms. Sun, I1: 77-78; Ms. Yoon U1, 10). Because of “not much difference,” Ms. Yoon mentioned that “students don’t get stressed out by tracking practices” (U1: 10) and “they don’t feel ashamed of their track placement” (I1: 125). Given the teachers’ claim that there is not much difference in terms of English levels across the three tracks, it is noteworthy to indicate that English levels and their differences are ideologically and discursively constructed or somewhat homogenized in association with the location of SunnyHill and students’ paper-and-pencil English test scores.

Tracking: In response to my question about the need for tracking for those students who show “not much difference,” Ms. Sun still deemed tracking necessary considering some technical challenges in mixed classes (Oakes, 1992); that is, “it’s hard to manage multi levels in a class” (I1: 111). Ms. Sun’s view resonated with Ms. Jang’s on the belief that tracking enabled her to tailor lessons to meet students’ level: “In a mixed class, even if we say our teaching focus is on the middle level, in fact, we can’t help but keep up with those high-performing students who respond to our questions fast, can we.” (다 모아 놓고 하면 사실 중에 맞춘다고 하나 상 아이들이 대답을 빨리 빨리 해버리면 거기 따라갈 수 밖에 없잖아요. 우리는.) (I1: 225-227). Conversely, Ms. Yoon regarded tracking effective for high performers but “meaningless” for those significantly-falling-behind low-track students because “students, regardless of their tracks, all learn the same textbook” (I1: 146-147). For them, Ms. Yoon added, “we need to teach them basic concepts of English grammar rather than the textbook content” (149-150) and thus, “there should be an extra supplementary class designed only for those underachievers” (155-157). Ms. Yoon lamented the elimination of “the underachiever class” owing to budget reductions: “I have no class to teach them basic grammar...Now, there is no way to help them out” (380-382). Although those long-term low-track students desired appropriate support, they expressed reluctance to attending supplementary

programs because of the effects of labeling and grammar-oriented lessons which fail to meet their needs (Jin, I2: 288-296; Minseo, I1: 71-76; Sulim, I2: 304-317).

Instructional differences: What is also notable is Ms. Yoon's claim that there is no big instructional difference across the three tracks, as the teachers are expected to teach the same textbook in preparation for the same school tests. When asked about how the low-track classroom practices differ from the others', Ms. Jang also confirmed that "there is no big difference instructionwise" (I1: 46-47) except for "teaching them grammar like a math formula, without explaining it in detail" (39-40). Likewise, Ms. Sun explained, "In teaching grammar, say, gerunds, I taught low-track students how to change verbs into nouns and how their meanings change. But I didn't teach them how to distinguish gerunds from the present participle...though it was asked on the test" (I1: 139-143; see also Ms. Yoon, I1: 139-144).

On this matter, Ms. Sun shared with me the conflicts which she experienced in teaching low-track classes. When she started her career at SunnyHill, Ms. Sun was told by her coworkers not to teach enriched grammar materials in the low track, although they were included on the test: "I thought the test was so unfair because questions with higher points were ones which were only dealt with in the high track" (I1: 116-117). Despite Ms. Sun's coworkers' dissuasion, she persistently introduced the enriched grammatical materials in her low-track classes. However, it did not take long for Ms. Sun to realize that such a practice burnt her students and herself out: "I came to realize that I need to teach as far as they understand, and since then, I simplified my explanations in a knowledge-transmitting way" (저도 세태에 영입하게 되더라고요. 알아 들을 수 있는데 까지만 하자. 그 이상 하면 힘들겠구나. 심화까지는 못하고 전달식의 수업을 할 때는 그렇게 했죠)(129-131).

As such, the test was evidently biased against low-track students, working to perpetuate

their low-track identity. While appearing to maintain a stance of “scientific objectivity” and to justify students’ tracks, it seemed that the teachers had much more sway over the test in which their own subjective values were largely embedded (Apple, 2004c; Benesch, 1991; Oakes, 2005). This was a clear indication that the test was never neutral, or fair, but it was ideologically objectified as a scientific means which contributed to normalizing tracking and long-term low-track students as *yeongpoja*. In short, the teachers’ multiple discourses about tracking manifest two seemingly contradictory positions: 1) there is not much difference between students’ English levels and instructional practices by tracks; and 2) separation is necessary to raise their test scores. Given that the test-oriented system works to create a condition which hinders tracking from accomplishing its intended goals, these conflicting positions highlight that tracking as an imperative of quality education for all is an ideological myth which justifies the hidden agenda of a meritocracy.

6.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the multiple ideologies surrounding English teaching and learning practices at SunnyHill. It appears that the rosy promise of English has led students to conflate English with intelligence, and to construct its speakers as sophisticated. However, although communicative competence takes center stage in English education policies, what is actually focused on in local practices has been on the development of linguistic knowledge for the purpose of raising scores on English tests. Evidently, for the teachers, “real” situations are not communicative ones, but rather high-stakes examinations, and it is for this reason that these teachers focus mainly on grammar, vocabulary, and sentence-level translation skills to serve their students’ “real” situations. As Pennycook (2013) notes, the central focus of policy makers is not on the actual practice of language in local contexts, but “[i]t has always been a question of the

promotion of certain language ideologies at the expense of an understanding of practice, discourse, discrimination and difference” (p. 15).

Given the local significance of English, a majority of the students as well as the teachers at SunnyHill differentiated English from other subjects and naturalized tracking for English. This normalization tended to produce a social hierarchy among students germane to their track locations. While the high-track students were constructed in a better light, the low-track students were marked as less persistent and lacking a desire for learning English and for “getting out of” the low track. Despite their ambivalence about the effects of tracking, detracking was resisted by the low-track students who were concerned about their marked identity with high performers, the high-track students concerned about “noisy” low-track students disturbing a studious atmosphere and leading to a dumbing down of the curriculum, and the teachers concerned about the technical challenges of teaching mixed levels.

In the next two chapters, I conduct a close analysis of classroom interactions. As noted earlier, although I started this study observing three tracks, Ms. Yoon’s high-track class and Ms. Jang’s low-track class became the primary focus of this dissertation due to my realization that data generated in these two classes were the most important and relevant for adequately addressing my research questions. Indeed, Ms. Sun was the one who utilized the most diverse resources and methods, but influenced by washback, she also based her lessons solely on the textbook, just as Ms. Yoon and Ms. Jang did. Therefore, the ways in which the teachers implemented their lessons were highly mediated by their beliefs and expectations about the category of tracked identities. Furthermore, the shift to the two-track system led me to pay closer attention to the dynamics of the high and low tracks. Classroom interactional data from the low track is analyzed in Chapter 7 and the high track in Chapter 8 respectively.

Chapter 7: Low Track and Cultural Productions of *Yeongpoja*

7.1 Introduction

According to Pratt (1991), “the classroom function[s] not like a homogeneous community or a horizontal alliance but like a contact zone” (p. 39), which refers to “social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power” (p. 34). In these classroom contact zones, therefore, teachers’ beliefs, attitudes, and expectations closely mediate the processes of students’ academic socialization. As much the research shows, in low-track contact zones, teachers tend to locate the putative problem of low achievement in low-track students, very often associating it with their intellectual deficit, thereby lowering their expectations toward them (Gilbert & Yerrick, 2001; Hand, 2010; Watanabe, 2008).

In this chapter, I first explore Ms. Jang’s instructional patterns and her beliefs about low-track students. This is followed by an examination of how the low-track students negotiated Ms. Jang’s instructional practices and how their acts of pedagogical negotiation were recognized and accommodated by Ms. Jang. I then discuss the multidirectionality of these accommodations as the students started accommodating to Ms. Jang’s disciplinary practices to avoid consequences. However, these accommodations worked to construct the low-track class as a safe “playing” space, where the students were exempt from learning “incomprehensible” English. In this light, I suggest that resistance was jointly performed by the students who resisted the teacher’s unilateral test-oriented classroom practices as well as the teacher who dismissed students’ off-task behavior as learned helplessness and harnessed “the penalty point system” to maintain control over them.

7.2 Ms. Jang’s Low-Track Classroom Practices

Ms. Jang is a certified English teacher who has considerable experience teaching English conversation to adults in language institutes as well as approximately five years of substitute

experience in public schools. In the 2015 academic year, Ms. Jang started to work as a semester-long substitute in her first year at SunnyHill. Ms. Jang informed me that she had mostly taught low-track students, and that these experiences had shaped her instructional focus and patterns as well as her beliefs about what it would be like to teach low-track students at SunnyHill.

7.2.1 The Focus and Instructional Patterns of Ms. Jang's Class

My observation of Ms. Jang's low-track class occurred one day after observing Ms. Yoon's high-track class, and after three weeks into it, despite my experiences teaching low-track classrooms, it was still a surprise to notice substantial differences between the two tracks. Although the high-track students generally came to the class before the bell, a majority of low-track students showed up near the bell, some of whom would arrive several minutes after class had begun. Ms. Jang usually walked into the classroom three or four minutes after the bell. Attendance was checked and inquiries were made about missing students. Sometimes, Ms. Jang joined students' conversations and joked with them. Then, students would be asked to stop chatting and to open their textbooks to start the lesson.

During class, some students freely walked around the classroom to look at themselves in a mirror hung at the back of the classroom, throw away garbage, or talk with friends. When Ms. Jang asked students to read aloud, only a few out of fourteen students spoke but so quietly that I could barely hear them from the back of the classroom. With their hands in their pockets, some students did not bother copying down what was written on the board. As the teacher-led whole class instruction continued, some students overtly put their heads down on their desks and slept. When sanctioned by Ms. Jang, they responded that they were either sick or went back to sleep after waking up for a moment (Lfnmar10). Although those acts were appreciably noncompliant, the students were generally quiet, so their behavior did not significantly interfere with Ms. Jang's

instruction. Moreover, most of the students had their books and notebooks on their desks. After class, Ms. Jang told me that she had asked the students to bring their textbooks, binders and notebooks as a part of the performance tests and thus far had not seen any student who had forgotten to bring them to class (Lmar17: 660-661). Ms. Jang added, “I think SunnyHill low-track students are much nicer (*chakhan*) than low-track students in other schools” (이 학교 하반 아이들은 다른 학교 애들보다 좀 착한 것 같아요) (669). Given this context and the other interactions that I had with Ms. Jang, *chakhan* is a socioculturally-constructed image of students in light of compliant dispositions as opposed to deviant and counteractive demeanors.

In an interview conducted a week after the interaction above, when asked about her teaching focus and patterns in the low track, Ms. Jang responded that she either skipped difficult grammar rules or simplified explanations, like a math formula, because those concepts seemingly lowered their motivation (I1: 38-40). Ms. Jang further explicated that the instruction was extensively oriented to the test, focusing on grammar, vocabulary, and sentence-level translation because “students study English only for the test... That’s all they are interested in” (정말 시험치기 위해 공부를 하는 거죠... 애들은. 개들은 그것 밖에 관심이 없어요) (142-144). As discussed earlier, many students desired to improve speaking skills if the system would allow them to do so. Therefore, Ms. Jang’s belief about students’ obsession with testing seemed to not reflect their complex stances towards learning English within the competitive education system, and rather held students responsible for the phenomenon of washback prevalent in Korea.

Interestingly, Ms. Jang’s low track had less repetition, recitation, and mechanical drills than Ms. Yoon’s high track. Among the three tracks, the low-track class progressed the fastest. For instance, while Ms. Yoon and Ms. Sun spent a period on teaching a new grammar rule, associating it with other rules, Ms. Jang simplified explanations and allocated the rest of a period

to self-directed study. This individualized study session was found only in the low-track class. Ms. Jang explained that “unless students are forced to do their work, they do nothing because low-track students have given up on English completely” (시키니까 하지 아무 것도 안 해요. 아예 영어를 놔버리는 거죠. 하반 애들은) (60-61). During this self-study session, low-track students were directed to memorize key sentences or to complete their homework. Ms. Jang then gave bonus credit to those who finished their assignments.

During the course of my fieldwork, Ms. Jang mainly conducted her class in a teacher-fronted whole class structure by projecting an electronic textbook on the whiteboard; this electronic textbook was provided by the textbook publisher, which included the content of each chapter and speakers’ narrations. Over time, as I observed the low track class, I found consistent patterns in Ms. Jang’s classroom practices. For example, when teaching a main reading text, she first played the electronic textbook and directed students to repeat after the narrators. She then translated each sentence and asked students to underline or highlight new words and grammar while explaining the concepts on the board. When teaching listening, Ms. Jang first asked students to repeat after the narrators and translated each sentence to help them guess the answers to the check-up questions. Students were then assigned two or three key sentences, directed to memorize them for about ten to fifteen minutes and dictate the sentences along with translating them into Korean; bonus credit was provided to those who got all of them correct.

When teaching speaking, Ms. Jang asked students to repeat a short dialogue consisting of four lines and translated each sentence in Korean by underlying grammar and words. Bonus credit was then provided to a pair of students who was able to either read or recite the dialogue verbatim. When teaching vocabulary, Ms. Jang distributed students a list of new words during the first period of a chapter. By asking students to repeat after her, students were directed to

write the Korean meanings; they were then tested on seven words at the beginning of the following period. While providing bonus credit to those who did not miss any words, Ms. Jang had students write their incorrect answers ten times as homework. However, after two chapters, Ms. Jang stopped distributing worksheets of the reading texts and vocabulary and discontinued testing vocabulary. What was notable was the steady increase in time of the individual study session as the class gradually became less controlled.

7.2.2 Ms. Jang's Beliefs about Low-Track Students

During the first interview, which took place three weeks after the start of the new semester, when asked about low-track students' participation in class, Ms. Jang lamented that “the problem is their UNWILLINGNESS to try” (지들이 안 해서 문제지) (I1: 282): “low-track students immediately think they can't do it, so I lower achievement standards and give them something easy for them to think, ‘Ah, I can do it’” (하반 애들은 일단 무조건 못한다고 생각을 해요. 그래서 성취기준을 낮춰서 아주 쉬운 것을 주면, ‘아 할 수 있네 내가’ 이렇게 되잖아요) (I1: 287-288). When I commented, “There are some cases that low-track students can't finish even something easy” (289), Ms. Jang suddenly pointed at Minseo's seat and displayed low expectations towards the student; “I expect not much from her” (290). Given Minseo's low English test scores, Ms. Jang added that she was content with the fact that Minseo had at least been writing something in class (민서는 못하니까 아무 기대를 안 해요. 열심히 뭔가를 쓰니까 그거라도 하는 거죠) (291-295).

Ms. Jang further explained that the seating was arranged according to test scores because she had not yet figured out students' characteristics and classroom attitudes; therefore, she was concerned that “some noisy students, especially in the low track, would sit together and disturb instruction” (296-299). Considering the fact that Ms. Jang had been at SunnyHill for less than a month, it was a surprise to see how Minseo had already been positioned as a deficient learner.

This came to light more clearly when I checked the list which showed students' English test scores, on which Minseo was placed at the bottom of the low track. Based on this ranking and possibly other teachers' talk and Ms. Jang's experience teaching low tracks, her expectations seemed to have already been lowered, and consequently Ms. Jang discursively constructed the low-track students with reference to their track category despite acknowledging, "I have not figured out the students yet" (296). The seating arrangement in the classroom represents Ms. Jang's strategy to manage classroom order and to control the low-track students effectively.

In an ensuing interaction, Ms. Jang's beliefs about the low-track category became more evident. Returning to the original question, I asked Ms. Jang about whether the absence of facilitators might lead the low-track students to give up completing their tasks (310-311); she responded, "That's why I lower my expectation and don't give them such difficult tasks... involving facilitators" (그러니까 그렇게 기대할 만큼 안줍니다... 누가 이끌어 가야 할 만큼 어려운 것은 안주고요) (312-314). Ms. Jang added, "I give them very simple, so to speak, elementary-level tasks such as drawing to attract their interests. I don't give them something grandiose enough to be called a project in the low track" (아주 단순한 것 위주로 주죠. 쉽게 말하면 하반은 흥미를 끌 수 있는 것. 단순하게 초등학생들이 할 수 있을 만한 정도의 그림 그리기 위주로 주지 프로젝트라 할 만큼 거창한 이름을 붙일 만한 것은 안줍니다. 하반은) (315-316).

When asked about her views on tracking for the low-track students, Ms. Jang told me that "tracking is good for those students whose level is significantly falling behind" (이렇게 수준이 많이 떨어지는 애들에겐 괜찮은 것 같아요) as the small class size allows more attention to be paid to students (I1: 382-387). "Level" in this discourse is mediated and determined by students' English test scores. Since I noticed that the three teachers did not share their worksheets or design lessons together, despite the fact that they were using the same textbook to prepare for the same tests, I

asked Ms. Jang about their testing practices. I was told that each teacher takes responsibility for one chapter and makes test questions. After the questions have been prepared, Ms. Jang then reads through them in search of anything that has not been taught and teaches those items standalone in class. Although test hints are apparently provided to students, Ms. Jang added that they still do not study. When asked about this, Ms. Jang oriented to students' low motivation and desire for learning and replied, "It's like giving up. They are giving up on everything, like giving up on their situations" (포기죠, 모든 것에 대한 포기죠. 자기상황 이런 것에 대한 포기) (413-415).

Given students' low motivation, Ms. Jang said that she tried to approach students in a relaxed manner, and simplified the lessons in order not to confuse low-track students. Notably, Ms. Jang was less strict and more accommodating of off-task behavior than Ms. Yoon and Ms. Sun. In particular, allowing students to sleep and to leave the classroom for a bathroom break, their homerooms, or a school nurse's office was only observed in Ms. Jang's class. There was one period in which eight students asked for a bathroom break, with one returning to the classroom about thirty minutes later (Lfnjune9). This was in sharp contrast to Ms. Yoon's high-track class where there was not even one incidence of a student asking for a bathroom break. As such, the low-track category within the school hierarchy had considerable effects in shaping Ms. Jang's beliefs about its members. By associating students' affective factors such as motivation and desire for language learning with their membership in the markedly recognized category, she appeared to treat the low track as a homogenously-constituted track and to discursively produce its members as *yeongpoja*, i.e., those who had given up on English learning.

7.2.3 The Students in Ms. Jang's Class

In terms of class size, the low track was the smallest, and consisted of fourteen students, eight of whom were long-term low-track students who had never exited the low-track class since

beginning at SunnyHill; even the track crossers who had been middle-tracked were predominantly placed into the low-track class. Out of the fourteen students, eight were receiving financial support from the government, with five of them being oldtimer low-track students. There were three students who invested in the shadow education market, none of whom were receiving governmental support. Approximately two thirds of the class, then, could be considered near or at the very basic levels of English oracy, reading, and writing. As noted earlier, seating was arranged by test scores. Figure 7.1 is the low-track seating chart for the first half of the semester, in which the students were arranged to sit in a row with no peers in proximity to them. This structure reflects Ms. Jang’s attempt for classroom order and control. However, after less than a month, students started sitting according to their own choices.

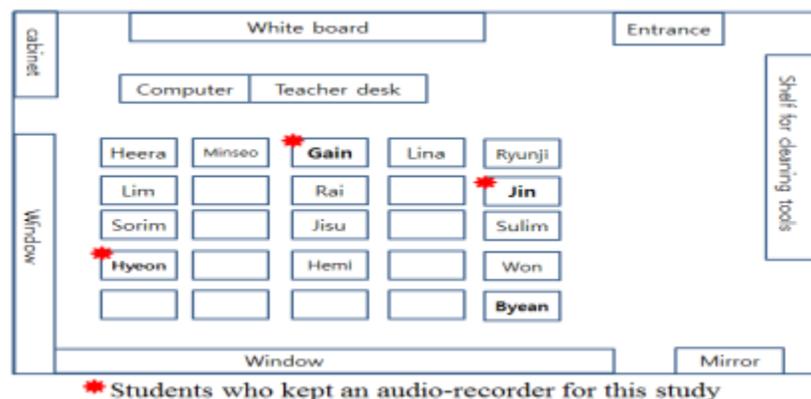


Figure 7.1 The Low-Track Seating Arrangement for the First Half of Term 1

After tracks were rearranged from the three-track system (high, middle, and low) to the two-track system (high and two general, G1/ G2), three middle-track students moved back to Ms. Sun’s G1 track by switching seats with former low-track students or negotiating with Ms. Sun. When asked about this, they showed reluctance to being placed into G2 (e.g., Hashin, I2: 247-251). For instance, Mira pleaded with Ms. Sun to be retracked into the G1 track because she was easily distracted by the noise in Ms. Jang’s G2 track (Mmay15: 04-20). Compared with the G1

track, consequently, the G2 track was four fewer students than the G1 track and composed of fifteen students, one of whom was from the high-track class, six from the middle-track class, and eight from the low-track class; in total, except for the two students, the rest had been placed in the low track previously. What was noticeable was that in spite of the combination of the two tracks, the spatial stigma associated with the low-track class was still sustained because most students equated the G2 track with the low-track class and thereby cast it as a playing space. This is a manifestation of the problem of the partial detracking by which social hierarchies were continuously perpetuated (see Burris & Garrity, 2008; Yonezawa et al., 2002). Table 7.1 shows the make-up of students in Ms. Jang's class in terms of their track placements, investment in shadow education, and receipt of financial support.

Table 7.1 The Make-up of the Students in Ms. Jang's Class

Student Pseudonym	Track experiences (Grade 7-8)	1 st half (Grade 9)	2 nd half (Grade 9)	Shadow education	Financial support
Gain	middle/ low	Low	G2	√	
Hyeon	high/middle/ low	Low	G2		√
Heera	middle/ low	Low	G2		
Won	middle/ low	Low	G2	√	
Sorim	middle/ low	Low	G2		√
Sulim	middle/ low	Low	G2		√
Rai	low	Low	G2		√
Lin	low	Low	G2		√
Ryuji	low	Low	G1		√
Lim	low	Low	G1		
Jin	low	Low	G1		
Hemi	low	Low	G1	√	
Minseo	low	Low	G1		√
Jisu	low	Low	G1		√
Nali	low/middle	Middle	G2	√	
Julin	low/ middle	Middle	G2	√	√
Amin	low/ middle	Middle	G2		√
Sinji	low/ middle	Middle	G2	√	
Bora	low/ middle	Middle	G2	√	√
Yangjin	middle/ high	Middle	G2	√	
Sinhye	high	High	G2	√	

7.3 The Joint Production of the Low-Track Learner Identity

As shown in Chapter 6, it appeared that the low-track category negatively affected the shaping of how low-track students came to understand their deepest sense of self as well as their peers in the low-track classroom. Throughout the long-term process of socialization into tracking,

they became closely implicated in the stigmatization of their own identity, for they deemed the low-track classroom as a space for learners with a lack of language competence and motivation, and tended to essentialize the low-track students as homogeneously deficient and incapable. For example, when asked about collaborative learning in the low track, Sorim dismissed it as implausible and indicated that she preferred teacher-led instruction because “I don’t know. They don’t know. We all don’t know” (나도 몰라요. 애도 몰라요. 애들 다 몰라요) (I2: 316).

Unlike high-and middle-track students, they overtly distrusted their peers’ answers and raised doubts over their competence: “Don’t lie that you have memorized this. You just copied the answer” (외웠다고? 거짓말 하지 마라. 빼 겠지) (Lmarch10, 23); “Does she look like knowing the answer?” (답을 알 것 같이 생겼어요?) (Lmarch17, 539); “Are you asking this to Gain? You really have nobody to ask” (너는 가인이 에게 물어보나. 물어 볼 사람이 없어서) (579). At the same time, they highly extolled those who responded to Ms. Jang’s initiations correctly and wondered why they were still placed in the low-track classroom: “Wo:::wow, who answered that question?” (Lmarch24, 139; Lmarch31, 72-73; 111; LApril7, 209); “Why are you so smart” (왜 이리 똑똑해) (Lmarch24, 163); “But how come you are still in the low track? It’s nonsense” (근데 너 왜 하반에 왔어? 말도 안 된다) (LApril7, 136). Nevertheless, the cultural productions of the low-track identity were never linear as they were jointly achieved by the students and teachers through resistance and accommodations in everyday school life. In this section, I discuss this complex process by presenting the data from the first half of the semester (March to April) chronologically.

7.3.1 Teaching to the Test: Exclusion, Resistance and Accommodation

As I observed the low-track class over time, I found consistent patterns in Ms. Jang’s classroom practice. The following interaction, which occurred less than ten minutes after the class had begun on the second week of my observations, epitomizes her instructional patterns.

Sick-ism: At the beginning of this period, Ms. Jang reviewed a paragraph by recruiting volunteers to translate it sentence by sentence: “Anyone who would like to read and translate a sentence? (1.5) I will give you one ● ((bonus credit))” (동그라미 줄게) (Lmar17: 65-67). In response, Gain read the first sentence, “Maddie was unhappy” and translated it with the help of Ms. Jang: “How would you translate ‘was’”? (97). After Gain, since no student volunteered, Ms. Jang encouraged, “I can help you with a mistake. Anyone?” (좀 틀려도 도와 줄 수 있다. 해 볼 사람?) (113), and then selected two students to translate a sentence. Having finished reviewing the previous lesson, Ms. Jang projected the reading content of Chapter 1 on the whiteboard. The electric textbook was played first and then students were directed to repeat after the narrators. Ms. Jang then began translating each sentence while asking the students questions and explaining words and grammar. As the teacher’s questions were mainly about the students’ linguistic knowledge, rather than say, their own perspectives on some issues, this teacher-led whole class structure was organized for teaching to the test and appeared to position some students passively, particularly those who lacked grammatical and lexical knowledge. Therefore, even though Ms. Jang’s initiations located the whole class into the second turn position, very few students provided responses. This sequential pattern alludes to many classroom aspects, one of which is the act of sleeping, which some students like Rai and Jin had done since the middle of the lesson. Because the lesson was delivered in Korean, I placed the English words in quotation marks.

Extract 7-1. Don’t highlight it yet [Lmarch17: 203-213]

01 Ms.Jang: “It’s the hardest chore for me.” Hey, don’t highlight it
 02 yet. First, underline “the est” (0.5) ((writing on the
 03 board)) Write the superlative (1.3) Copy it. Copy it.
 04 Did you copy it down? Just write the plus superlative
 05 “the hardest”. ((Walking to Rai who has put her head
 06 down)) ↓Sleeping
 07 Rai: ((keeping her head down)) ◦I have a headache◦
 08 Ms.Jang: A headache? Did you take a pill?
 09 Jin: ((raising her head from the desk)) Teacher, I also have
 10 a headache

11 Ms.Jang: Jin, >you know you are not allowed to put your head down
12 in class< Okay, everyone, what does "hard" mean?

In her first turns, Ms. Jang invokes her situational identity of teacher (Zimmerman, 1998), and makes it relevant in this particular interaction in relation to student identity. The teacher identity constitutes predicates which warrant category-bound activities (CBAs) of translating and explaining words and grammar rules, controlling what to underline and highlight, directing the students when to copy down what has been written on the board, and sanctioning problematic behavior such as sleeping (cf. Sacks, 1992; Talmy, 2009c). Accordingly, CBAs constituting student identity are listening to the teacher, responding to questions, copying when asked to do so, and not sleeping in class. Rai's act of putting her head down on the desk is therefore sanctionable as it infringes CBAs that Ms. Jang has tied to the low-track student category.

Ms. Jang's question, "↓Sleeping" (line 06) is thus indexical of a negative implication of an apparent problem that Rai, who had responded to the teacher and chatted with friends just a few minutes earlier (33, 35, 79), has overtly put her head down and slept in class. Keeping her head down, Rai responds sotto voce, "◦I have a headache" (line 07) and offers a brief account on why she has put her head down. Rai's account is accommodated by Ms. Jang as she softens her tone, asks Rai whether she has taken a pill (line 08) and leaves her to keep sleeping. Ms. Jang's affiliation with Rai is immediately followed by Jin who has also put her head down, by uttering, "Teacher, I also have a headache" (lines 09-10). Jin asks Ms. Jang's official permission to sleep in class. Ms. Jang treats Jin's request as disaffiliative as she evokes her of an important CBA of the student, "you are not allowed to put your head down in class" (lines 11-12). Resuming instruction via shifting footing to the whole class (line 12) signals that Jin's negotiation for sleeping is not open for discussion. Rai might have been sick in the interaction above, but the following interaction indicated the probability of her not being sick.

A week later, I again found Rai sleeping in class. Even though she had been sleeping from the beginning of class, it was not until five minutes after class had started that Ms. Jang finally oriented to Rai sleeping in class.

Extract 7-2. Sick-ism[Lmarch24:48-50]

01 Ms.Jang: This Rai person, who is putting her head down, is she
02 sick.
03 Gain: Sickism
아픈니즘 ((Apheon-ism))
04 Jin: I am sick, too

Contrary to the preceding interaction, Ms. Jang shifts a word from “sleeping” to “sick” and selects the whole class as a second-pair part in the first turns, “This Rai person, who is putting her head down, is she sick.” (lines 01-02). The way Ms. Jang addresses Rai coupled with the downward intonation signifies Ms. Jang’s skeptical or cynical stance with respect to Rai being sick. Gain’s next turn, “apheon-ism” which can be translated into “sick-ism” (line 03) and Jin’s utterance, “I am sick, too” (line 04) are evidence that Rai may have feigned illness and used it tactically to sleep in class many times. Despite this, and the absence of Rai’s uptake, Ms. Jang does not display an orientation to the problematicity of Rai sleeping any longer and continues with instruction. Since this accommodation to the act of *apheon-ism*, I had often found Rai putting her head down on the desk as soon as she came into the classroom and sleeping for a whole period. Moreover, Rai often missed class to go to the school nurse’s office.

In an informal talk, Rai positioned herself as *yeongpoja* and attributed her ritualized practice of *apheon-ism* to the teacher’s undifferentiated instruction which failed to recognize and factor in the variations and differences of individual learners and accommodate the levels of low-performing students like her (Lfnjune9). Given a good number of students like Rai and Jin in the low-track classroom, *apheon-ism* or sleeping is not passive withdrawal from learning but an indication of their enactment of agency and a tactic of resistance to test-oriented instruction, the

curriculum, and more broadly learning, “incomprehensible” English at school. Illuminating the unexpected and complex processes of L2 socialization (Duff & Talmy, 2011), the cultural performance of sickism manifests part of the much larger discursive and identity struggles of low-track students with their marked representations within the school hierarchy.

No Bingo, Yes Copy: A few minutes after the interaction in Extract 7-1, Lina and Sulim came into the classroom. They were about fifteen minutes late. When asked about it, they told Ms. Jang that they went to the school nurse’s office to find Won, another low-track student who was absent on that day. With a softened voice, Ms. Jang asked them to not be late again without permission. Otherwise, they would receive penalty points. Conforming to the request, the two students went to their seats. Ms. Jang then continued the grammar-translation lesson by drawing students’ attention: “Hey, everyone. I told you that I will give you one ● ((bonus point)) if you can read and translate, so listen up” (자 애들아, 내가 읽고 해석하면 동그라미 준다고 했는데 좀 잘 들어봐라) (Lmar17: 342). As students gradually became inattentive to the lesson, Ms. Jang suddenly broached the topic of changes on the summative tests. Given that “it’s getting harder for you to get good grades on those tests” (너희들은 좀 치기 힘들어 지겠지) (360), students were encouraged to make an effort to get bonus points on the performance-based assessment: “So, when I ask you to volunteer in class, do volunteer. Don’t just sit like dumb” (그래서 수업 시간에 ‘자, 읽어 볼 사람’ 이럴 때는 읽어봐라. 그냥 멍하게 앉아있지 말고) (384).

After spending two thirds of the class period on instruction, Ms. Jang allocated the rest of the period to self-directed study. Jin then asked to play Bingo and others joined to support the idea, but their negotiation was flatly refused by Ms. Jang: “I don’t play such a thing as Bingo. It’s for preschoolers” (빙고 그런 거 안 한다. 초딩들이 하는 거잖아) (468-473). Instead, Ms. Jang asked the students to write the paragraphs that had been taught along with Korean translation.

When Lina complained about the difficulty of the task, Ms. Jang reiterated, “You should KNOW this to take an exam” (알아야 시험을 칠 것 아냐) (600). Shortly after this, the following interaction involving Jin took place.

Extract 7-3. It' TOO:: DIFFICULT [Lmarch17: 608-623]

01 Jin: Teacher, am I supposed to write up to page twenty?
02 Ms. Jang: Yes, just one page
03 Jin: DONE
04 Ms. Jang: How come you didn't translate this page.
05 Jin: >I don't know<
06 Ms. Jang: I don't know?
07 Jin: It's TOO:: DIFFICULT (너무 어려워요)
08 Ms. Jang: Ah, everybody is doing it, why is it too difficult only
09 to you?
10 Jin: ((putting her head down)) Ahaa my back ((to Sulim)) Did
11 you finish translating?
12 Sulim: But you might not be able to read my handwriting
13 Jin: No, thanks anyway((to ?S)) Did you finish translating?
14 ?S: Yes
15 Jin: Show it to me later
16 Ms. Jang: Write it now
17 Jin: I will copy it later
18 Ms. Jang: I will do the translation. You copy it down now. 메디는 불
행했다 ((Maddie was unhappy))

Ms. Jang's question, “How come you didn't translate this page.” (line 04) indexes that Jin's prior turn, “DONE” (line 03) is problematic. Jin's next turn, “>I don't know<” (line 05) is sanctionable given that Ms. Jang had already translated by sentence during this period. By revoicing Jin's utterance, “I don't know?>” (line 06), therefore, Ms. Jang treats it as disaffiliative. Jin's amplified and high-pitched response, “It's TOO:: DIFFICULT” (line 07) signals that the student has oriented to Ms. Jang's negative assessment towards her and thus morphs the problem of not doing the work from herself to the assigned translation work. However, Ms. Jang refuses to ratify Jin's orientation by employing extreme case formulation with the use of the word, “everybody”, that is, “everybody is doing it” (line 08). According to Pomerantz (1986), extreme case formulation is “to defend against or to counter challenges to the legitimacy of complaints, accusations, justifications, and defenses” (p. 219).

In this light, while legitimizing the given translation work as appropriate, Ms. Jang shifts the source of the problem back to Jin. With the question, “why is it too difficult only to you” (lines 08-09), Ms. Jang holds Jin accountable for not completing the work and constructs Jin as a deficient student—the only student who does not understand what has been taught in this specific period. In the next lines, the absence of Jin’s uptake to Ms. Jang’s question, her embodied actions such as ((putting her head down)) in the teacher’s presence (line 10), and explicitly asking others to show their work (lines 10-15) are indexical of Jin’s disaffiliative stances towards Ms. Jang’s candidate categorization as a deficient learner. Jin is thus resisting Ms. Jang’s tacit positioning. This resistance is further substantiated in the ensuing turns in which Jin does not heed Ms. Jang’s imperative, “write it now” (line 16) by refusing to do the work at the moment, “I will copy it later” (line 17). Orienting to Jin’s resistance, Ms. Jang softens her speech and suggests, “I will do the translation. You copy it down now” (line 18). Compared with previous turns, this implies that Ms. Jang has accommodated Jin’s noncompliant acts. This interaction involving Jin’s resistance to the negatively imposed identity and Ms. Jang’s accommodation to it illuminates that language learning is “one of a multitude of in-flux, contested, and ever-changing social practices” (Duff & Talmy, 2011, p. 96) by which the consequences of socialization are always manifested within reciprocal relations between students and teachers.

Moreover, this interaction highlights that Ms. Jang’s beliefs about the positive effects of low-track instruction on *significantly-falling-behind-students* are at odds with those students’ feelings of inadequacy or indifference in the low-track classroom. That is, the teacher-led whole-class grammar translation approach failed to meet the desire of students like Jin and thus reinforced their exclusion even in the low-track classroom. Contrary to Ms. Jang’s discourse, “everybody is doing it, why is it too difficult only to you?” (lines 08-09), I found that many of

the low-track students were engaged in off-task activities such as drawing pictures, scribbling in the margins of their books, and sleeping (Lfnmarch17: 633-637). In this light, Jin's endeavor to play Bingo and Ms. Jang's rejection project notable discrepancies between Ms. Jang's test-oriented approach and the students' expectations. A week after this period, the students asked to play Bingo again when they overheard Ms. Sun playing Bingo in the middle-track class; Ms. Jang rejected their negotiation again, "I told you that Bingo is for the preschoolers" and continued instructing (Lmarch24: 212-220). Shortly after that, the students pleaded again to play Bingo only one time, but were again rejected, "Cut it out! I don't do such a thing" (249-259). Instead, Ms. Jang allocated a self-directed study session and had students memorize key sentences for the rest of the class period.

The teacher's classroom practice could be accounted for by Ms. Jang's endeavor to cover more content and help students improve their test scores and beliefs that low-track students learn better from teacher-led lectures than activities and games like Bingo. In this regard, Ms. Sun's pedagogical approach to teaching English was markedly different from Ms. Jang's. In contrast to Ms. Jang, Ms. Sun designed middle-track lessons with many kinds of activities, group-based tasks, and games including Bingo. One day, Ms. Sun played a jeopardy quiz show game in groups to review what had been taught in class; the students became so excited that they started raising their voices gradually to gain the floor. In the middle of the activity, I suddenly saw Gain, a low-track student, come into the class and observe the lesson for a while. When asked about it later, Gain told me that she became so curious about what was happening in the middle track because it sounded like so much fun (Mfnmarch27).

Given the discrepancies between Ms. Jang's classroom practices and the students' demands, the teacher's beliefs that low-track students benefit from the teacher-led test-oriented

approach and the self-study sessions are ideologically constructed in association with the low-track category. These ideologies hinder Ms. Jang from attending to learners' desires, and they serve as a sociocultural condition to maintain classroom order and justify the pedagogical approach; a lesson which occurred three weeks into the new semester substantiates this. At the beginning of the lesson, Ms. Jang distributed a list of new words from Chapter 2 and directed students to repeat after her and write the Korean meanings. About twelve minutes after this decontextualized vocabulary exercise, Won complained to Ms. Jang, "Teacher, we already did it twice. It's so boring" (쌤, 두 번 해서 지루해요) (Lmarch31: 104). Ms. Jang then responded, "huh? I can't help it when we study the new words" (응? 단어 하는 날에는 그럴지 뭐) (105) and continued instruction. Fifteen minutes after the class started, as more and more students, including Won, overtly put their heads down, Ms. Jang finally allocated two thirds of the class period to self-directed study and asked the students to complete a set of Chapter 1 worksheets, which are included in Appendix H. The worksheets are concerned with the main reading text of Chapter 1 and include filling-in-the-gaps, sentence scrambling, and translating in either Korean or English. Although the worksheets were due that period, many of the students did not bring them to class; in response, Ms. Jang allowed students to go to their homerooms to get their worksheets and to complete them in class (Lmarch31: 118-123).

During this self-study session, I found some students openly copying their assignments out of resource books⁷ in Ms. Jang's presence. Unlike high- and middle-track classroom practices, Ms. Jang did not treat copying as problematic as long as the students completed the

⁷ In Korea, all of the textbooks, electronic textbooks or CDs are provided free of charge, and there is no need for students to return them to the school after an academic year. However, the resource books need to be purchased individually at bookstores because they are additional texts which provide translations, explanations, and answers to the questions posed in the textbooks.

given work and met the due date. When asked about such work, Jin responded, “It’s NOT AT ALL helpful” (절대 도움 안돼요) (Lmarch31: 165). What matters was whether Jin had finished the homework or not because the teachers, including Ms. Jang, had not checked for any spelling errors or the answers. Therefore, Jin maintained that she always completed the work by copying others’ because it was a part of the performance assessment, bemoaning deeply, “English is just beyond my ability” (영어는 안될 것 같아요) (176); Jin’s work is included in Appendix K.

As Ms. Jang made it clear in the interview, her classroom practice evidently showed that the goal was increasing the students’ grades by teaching to the test and making the low-track students finish their assignments in class. Nonetheless, the test-oriented lesson is not necessarily effective in resolving the low-track students’ struggles on the summative tests. Given the crucial role that the major tests play in determining the students’ tracks, Ms. Jang’s accommodations to acts such as copying and sleeping, and failure to consider the students’ pedagogical negotiation and to differentiate lessons to meet their diverse levels and needs seemed like a short sighted way of supporting what she called *significantly-falling-behind-students*, but instead like ideological practices mediated by multiple discourses about the low-track category and English teaching. Accordingly, dismissing students’ pedagogical negotiation and holding on to the teacher-led approach could account for Ms. Jang’s resistance to the students in return for classroom order.

Furthermore, despite the allocation of the self-directed study session, I found that approximately half of the low-track students did not complete their homework by the due date, nor did they bring their unfinished worksheets to class. In response, while Ms. Jang simplified the instruction to a large extent, the self-directed study time was gradually increased and deadlines were extended for homework. I also started noticing that whenever confronted with students’ noncompliant acts, Ms. Jang shifted the teacher-led whole class structure to the self-

directed study session and had the students either do the work or study for the tests. Nevertheless, the ways in which Ms. Jang prepared the students for tests were very different from both Ms. Yoon and Ms. Sun; the following interaction illuminates these differences.

The Grade 8 test paper: This interaction took place a month into the new semester in preparation for the upcoming National English Listening Test, which was included as a part of the performance assessment. Unlike Ms. Yoon and Ms. Sun who reviewed the previous Grade 9 test paper, Ms. Jang distributed the Grade 8 test paper, included in Appendix L.1, which the students had taken the preceding year. Co-present to this interaction are Rai, Gain, Jin, and Hyeon, all of whom are long-term low-track students; Gain is the student with the recorder.

Extract 7-4. Is this grade eight test paper? [Lapril7: 47-54]

01 Rai: What? GRADE EIGHT GRADE EIGHT
02 Ms.Jang: Let's do something easy. You seemed incapable of solving
03 grade nine one=
04 Gain: =Is this grade eight test paper? Ah, [CRA:::ZY.
05 Jin: [You are hurting
06 our self-pride=
07 Gain: =Ri::ght.
08 Hyeon: Teacher, we did it before.
09 Ms.Jang: Then, shall I test you whether you get a perfect score.
10 Hyeon: Nope. hee hee hee

In the first turn, Rai's outbreak of exclamations with amplified volume and high pitch, "What! GRADE EIGHT GRADE EIGHT!" (line 01) is indicative of unambiguous disapproval towards tackling the Grade 8 test paper in the Grade 9 classroom. Orienting to Rai's negative stance, Ms. Jang makes reference to the low-track students' English competence, "You seemed incapable of solving grade nine one" (lines 02-03), and justifies the use of the Grade 8 paper in the Grade 9 low track. This is latched onto by Gain, who cries out in consternation, "Is this grade eight test paper? Ah, [CRA:::ZY." (line 04), along with Jin's overlapped account, "You are hurting our self-pride" (lines 05-06) followed by Gain's latched turn, "Ri::ght." (line 07), all

indicate that they take a disaffiliative stance towards the grade eight paper. Despite this, Ms. Jang does not make relevant Gain and Jin's utterances to this interaction as no uptake is provided.

It is to this point that Hyeon shows the grade eight paper as inappropriate by reminding Ms. Jang of the fact, "we did it before" (line 08), but this bid is sanctioned by Ms. Jang who recruits the students' low test grade as a candidate resource to legitimize the choice in an ensuing turn, "shall I test you whether you get a perfect score." (line 09). By referring to the "objectified" authority of the test score, Ms. Jang appears to defend the stance and rejects any possibility of negotiation for this classwork. However, the ways in which Ms. Jang achieves legitimacy for the use of the Grade 8 test paper in the Grade 9 classroom implicitly and explicitly position the low-track students as deficient learners whose language competence is not good enough to solve the test for Grade 9. Given the low-track students' display of disaffiliative stances to the work in association with their affective dimensions, Ms. Jang's discourses and practices have a negative effect in shaping their subjectivities and identities, thereby socializing them into being members of the least positively desired learner category.

Despite Ms. Jang's intentions, this class period was significantly undermined by a series of students' noncompliant acts such as sleeping, zoning out, loud chatting, singing, scribbling, just to name a few. In addition, as soon as the final bell rang, the students left the classroom without Ms. Jang's official dismissal. This is emblematic of the way in which the cultural production of low-track students is jointly achieved with the teacher who discursively produces them as candidates for academic deficit, and the students who agentively resist this tacit positioning by not investing in class (Hand, 2010; Levinson & Holland, 1996; Page, 1991; Talmy, 2008; Willis, 1977). Considering that their noninvestment in English learning is uncondusive to transforming their low-track identity but rather consolidating it, "[a]gentive

stances and actions can potentially *facilitate* or *impede* the development of greater normative communicative and cultural competence” (Duff & Doherty, 2015, p. 61, emphasis in original).

Equally significant was the way in which the three teachers prepared their students for the summative tests. Both Ms. Yoon and Ms. Sun reviewed for the tests in class, and in the case of Ms. Sun, worksheets were provided, which focused on the key points of each chapter and solved them with students in class; the worksheets are included in Appendix J. Though Ms. Jang also allotted time for test preparation in class, it was a self-directed session in which the low-track students were asked to study alone; interestingly, during this period, I only found one student studying English (Lfnjune30). With respect to these different practices for test-preparation, Ryunji, a long-term low-track student, responded, “The other track teachers gave their students test clues, but low-track teachers didn’t as if they had given up on us” (I1: 65-66), and being treated as *yeongpoja*, she added, “I have given up on English several times” (63) because “I didn’t feel like studying in that class” (70). Aligning with Ryunji regarding being treated as *yeongpoja*, many low-track students complained about this unfair practice as well as test questions that were too difficult for them to tackle (e.g., Gain, I2: 701-720; Sulim, I2: 283-293).

What took me by surprise was that while problematizing the fairness of testing as illusive, they also confirmed their laziness by not asking their higher-track peers for the test clues as well as by their lack of persistence and motivation in learning English. Within these discourses, the students produced multiple and conflicting ideologies about testing and tracking rooted in their lived experiences of the school hierarchy. These situated beliefs and their membership of the low-track category led them to legitimize tracking as inevitable in light of their low English competence, thereby complying with the logic of meritocracy which characterizes one of the rationales for the tracking policy and practice. However, what is important to note is that the

students' multiple discourses underscore that they are not merely controlled by ideology but produce and (re)constitute multiple ideologies in complex and contradictory ways.

Student resistance to the teacher's test-oriented approach illuminates these complex processes of language learning and teaching. Despite Ms. Jang's desire to improve the students' grades by maintaining the test-oriented approach, resistance to the students' negotiation for fun activities, e.g., playing Bingo, appeared to be counterproductive as it was met with resistance from the students, who performed "sick-ism," "late-ism," or absenteeism. Every Korean school has an infirmary room with multiple beds in which a nurse attends to ill students during the school hour, and students are required to present to the nurse a permission slip from their teachers if they wish to stay in bed during class. As shown in the interaction below, however, this school nurse's office serves as a safe house (Canagarajah, 2004) to resist "incomprehensible" English classroom practices and curriculum which have little relevance to their knowledge and interests. Below is a part of an interview that I had with Jin. It shows that the ritualized practice of going to the nurse needs to be conceptualized as a tactical agentive act to resist learning English rather than learned helplessness.

- Jin: I go to English class to sleep. Once I slept two hours in a row.
Byean: When English class comes up
Jin: I immediately go to the school nurse's office
Byean: Although you are not sick
Jin: I just sleep there
Byean: Although you are not sick. But you need teachers' permission slip.
Jin: They give you one if you *play sick*
Byean: Without checking ((your condition))
Jin: No. I then sleep there
Byean: Have you played sick and slept very often?
Jin: ((nodding)) *Because English class is no fun, I feel like 'I have to sleep in English class.' Even if I am in class, I don't understand it anyway.*

[I2: 394-406]

7.3.2 Resisting Low Expectations by Self-Positioning as *Yeongpoja*

The interactions that I analyze in this section involve Lina and Jisu, both of whom were long-term low-track students who were categorized by Ms. Jang as “troublemakers” (문제아) due to their prevalent practices of “late-ism” and absenteeism as well as their lack of desire and motivation to learning English (I1: 359-361). Considering that both students were from families with low socioeconomic backgrounds, Ms. Jang said, “I was told that we should appreciate that they are still coming to school at least, so rather than rebuking them, I admonished them to come to the class” (가정 환경이 너무 불우해서 학교에 오는 것만으로도 다행이라고 하더라구요. 그런 애들은 억박지른다고 학교 올 아이들도 아니고 그래서 좋게 얘기 해줬어요) (377-378). While Ms. Jang wanted Lina and Jisu to be successful academically, it seemed that her expectations towards the students had been lowered in association with their poor home environments, which Ms. Jang believed negatively impacted their learning and dispositions towards school.

The interaction below took place approximately seven weeks into the new semester and a week before the mid-term test. By this time, the low-track students had already flouted the seating chart that had been arranged in order for them to sit alone in accordance with their test scores. Despite their infringement of the seating plan, Ms. Jang did not problematize it unless it significantly disturbed the class. A week before this interaction, in fact, Lina told me about a confrontation which she had with Ms. Jang in class. When penalized for chatting, Lina told me that she argued with Ms. Jang about it being unfair because a majority of the other low-track students were also engaged in conversation (Lina, I1: 368-370). After this denotative confrontation, Ms. Jang told me that she officially made a referral to the vice principal to take charge of Lina and Jisu during English class, a request which was accepted (LfnApril21). Upon entering the classroom, therefore, Ms. Jang notified the whole class, “You no longer need to

bring the student attendance books of Class 1 and 2” because the two students would no longer be coming to the class (Lapril21:32-44). About two minutes later, however, Ms. Jang seemed surprised when Lina and Jisu entered the classroom. When Ms. Jang pointed out, “you guys haven’t even brought your textbook” (76), Jisu responded that she would go to her homeroom class to get it, but Ms. Jang stopped her and instead asked both of them to go to their seats.

Shortly after this interaction, Ms. Jang began to teach short dialogues from the speaking section of Chapter 3 and tried hard to draw the students’ waning attention to the class by calling their names and beating the board: “Heera, did you move your seat to disturb the class?”; “Copy this. Stop making noise” (86). Although Lina and Jisu were chatting the loudest, and with nothing on their desks, Ms. Jang remained unoriented to the two students and provided no uptake to any of their off-task behavior. Having translated each dialogue along with briefly explaining the grammar for four minutes, Ms. Jang had the students repeat after her once and then told the students that bonus credit would be provided if they read a dialogue in pairs. During this process, Lina and Jisu were completely disengaged from the class, undermining the classroom practices by walking around, chatting, waving their hands to a passing helicopter, singing, and dancing.

As a growing number of the students co-participated in their acts, only then did Ms. Jang call Jisu and try to maintain classroom order by using the penalty-point system; “Jisu, although you haven’t received any bonus credit, I can take away your grade” (177). However, it was not until four seconds after Ms. Jang had called Jisu that she finally responded. Even more, the response that Jisu provided, “I am not Jisu. I changed my name to Jisu Jo” along with a laugh (180-182), was implicative of her not taking Ms. Jang’s disciplinary practice seriously. Providing no uptake to Jisu’s turn, Ms. Jang immediately shifted frame (Goffman, 1974) from Jisu to the

whole class (189) and continued her instruction; this action may indicate that Ms. Jang has oriented to Jisu's playfulness and accommodated it in order to complete the planned work.

Despite Ms. Jang's warning, nobody seemed to listen to their peers' presentations, and what is worse, Jisu and Lina began dancing and singing louder than before. As the class became out of control, Ms. Jang finally gave penalty points to two students. Surprisingly, Heera and Hyeon, who were sitting together in the back of the classroom were sanctioned, not Jisu and Lina. This caused the following interaction in which they challenged Ms. Jang's decision as unfair. A microphone was pinned on the lapel of Hyeon's jacket during this interaction.

Extract 7-5. Will you give me all of the Xs [Lapril21:187-204]

01 Ms.Jang: Over there, those who kept chatting loudly. Hyeon, you
02 get one **X** and Heera, you also get one **X**=
03 Heera: =>WHY<
04 Ms.Jang: Why? >Why do you think you get one **X**.<=
05 Hyeon =Teacher, we are not the only ones [who chatted loudly
06 Ms.Jang: [>Then who else?<
07 Heera: Teacher, haven't you confused our voice with voice
08 coming [from over there?((pointing at Jisu's neighbors))
09 Lina: [((laughing))Teacher, we chatted loudly
10 Ms.Jang: No, I haven't.((to Heera and Hyeon))You chatted loudly.
11 Heera: D:::UH. °let's chat louder than before°
12 Ss: ((laugh))
13 Jisu: I am the one who talked loudly
14 Ms.Jang: Wh::at?
15 Jisu: I talked loudly
16 Ms.Jang: Yes, you got one **X**.
17 Jisu: Will you give me all of the **Xs**?
18 Ms.Jang: No, I won't.

As soon as the penalty point, "**X**", is proffered (lines 01-02), Heera treats Ms. Jang's sanction as dispreferred, requesting for elaboration with her turn, "WHY" (line 03). This latched utterance with amplified volume, signals that Heera is not aligning with Ms. Jang's punishment. The dispute becomes more evident in the next series of turns as Ms. Jang responds to Heera's complaint with a "wh-question challenge" (Koshik, 2003; Talmy, 2009c), ">Why do you think you get one **X**.<" (line 04). *Wh*-question challenges are "implicative of a challenge to a prior utterance, generally in talk characterized by disagreement" (Talmy, 2009, p. 190). With this *wh*-

challenge question, Ms. Jang exhibits a strong disaffiliative stance to Heera's disapproval and justifies the decision as fair. However, Ms. Jang's status as a fair teacher gets challenged by Hyeon's turn which suggests that Ms. Jang make sure she has not confused their voice with the voices from Jisu's neighbors (lines 07-08).

This leads Lina, who is sitting close to Jisu, to select herself as a second pair part and to admit that they have chatted loudly (line 09). However, Ms. Jang does not make Lina's turn relevant to the interaction as she provides no uptake to it. As Ms. Jang rejects Heera and Hyeon's negotiation and gives them penalty points without orienting to Lina and Jisu's off-task acts (line 10), Heera denotatively challenges Ms. Jang with an utterance, "D::UH. °let's chat louder than before°" (line 11). Here, "duh" is my translation of "*heol* (헐)" in Korean, which is widely used among adolescents to display an affective stance of disapproval, disagreement, surprise, and bewilderment; "heol" is considered inappropriate to use when interacting with people to whom you should pay respect. Along with *heol*, Heera's following utterance, "let's chat louder than before" evidently shows that Heera deems Ms. Jang's punishment unfair and is thus resisting it. In response to Heera's complaint, Jisu self-positions as a noisy student (line 13, 15), and casually asks to be given all of the Xs (line 17). This turn is indicative of Jisu not taking the penalty point system seriously and this playfulness possibly indexes her resistance to the way in which Ms. Jang controls students to maintain classroom order.

This interaction shows that students were not merely governed by the mechanism of control, but instead, they agentively negotiated and challenged it if deemed unfair. Despite Ms. Jang's desire to help students' language learning by harnessing such measures as the bonus-penalty point system, students' nonconforming acts grew more denotatively and collaboratively, from talking out of turn to joking around, ignoring the teacher's directives, and talking back to

the teacher. The prevalence of these off-task acts indicates clashes of teachers' and students' expectations, thereby resulting in diminished access to meaningful engagement in class. In this light, the use of the bonus-penalty point system worked for the teacher to structure lessons to effectively maintain control over students' behavior, signaling that Ms. Jang dismissed student resistance as deviant or learned helplessness rather than acts for negotiating the teacher's classroom practices. Moreover, what is also noticeable is that Ms. Jang remained unoriented to any of Lina's acts and activities, including singing, dancing, and walking around the classroom, even if Lina's acts disturbed the lesson significantly.

Ms. Jang's indifferent attitudes to Lina and Jisu became more explicit in later interactions in which worksheets were not provided to them, nor did Ms. Jang display an orientation to any of their acts, for example, when Jisu suddenly raised a hand in the middle of class and asked Ms. Jang, "Is it okay if I sing?" (224), and when Lina overtly put her head down and slept through the rest of the class, and even when Lina cursed loudly to Sulim who tried to wake her up at the end of the class (252). By not sanctioning them, it seemed that Ms. Jang was attempting to manage classroom order and finish the planned work. Conversely, however, Ms. Jang's non-orientation worked to aggravate their classroom behavior as they continuously broached off-task topics throughout the lesson. Given this behavior, it is likely that Jisu and Lina were resisting their exclusion through self-disruptive acts in class, despite the fact that their resistance resulted in reinscribing their marginal position rather than subverting it (cf. Talmy, 2009c, 2015). The counterproductive effects of their resistance were further substantiated by Ms. Jang in the final interview conducted at the end of the semester, who strongly advocated the segregation of low-track students from others on the grounds that "I purposely ignored deviant students like Lina and focused only on a few students who studied in the low-track classroom" (별난 애들 리나 같은

애들은 있어도 그래도 하반 일 때는 공부 안 하는 애들은 제켜 놓고 이 애들만 놓고 봤을 때는 내가 맞춰 주니까 하는 애들은 몇 명은 있거든요) (I2: 477-479). This is a strong indication that *yeongpoja* identity was jointly (re)produced by the students who had resisted investing in class as well as by the teacher who had lowered her expectations towards these students by “ignoring them” in class.

In contrast to Ms. Jang’s construction of Lina and Jisu as “unmotivated” *yeongpoja* who had no desire to study because of their poor backgrounds, both of them aspired to reinvest in English and wished to have lessons which sincerely met their needs. At the beginning of the semester, though she was late, Lina, sitting in front, did classwork and homework to obtain bonus points, and even got praised by Ms. Jang.

- Lina: Teacher, I was absent yesterday because I was sick.
Ms. Jang: Then, how did you know about this homework?
Lina: My friends told me about it.
Ms. Jang: ((checking Lina’s notebook)) Did you do this?
Lina: Why? Why?
Ms. Jang: Because your handwriting is so neat. [Lmarch17: 485-491]

When the students complained to Ms. Jang about too many English classes in a week, Lina was the one who consoled Ms. Jang with a pep-talk: “Teacher, were you hurt...shall I apply some ointment to your wound?”(쌤, 상처 받았어요... 쌤, 약 발라 드릴까요?) (Lmar17: 568-571).

Both Lina and Jisu were receiving financial support from the government and had never had any shadow education. Jisu had just left her Korean father to live with her Filipino mother who worked a nightshift. In Korea, Jisu’s family is labelled as a Multicultural Family or *damunhwagajeong* (다문화가정), a stigmatized category, which represents poverty and linguistic deficiency (Kang, 2015). In Lina’s case, she had been living with only her five siblings since her parents passed away when she was in third grade. The absence of adult supervision was a factor which contributed to their late-ism and absenteeism, but it was only one of many, as indicated in the following interaction with Lina.

Byean: What time do you come to school?
 Lina: Around lunch time or eleven-ish.
 Byean: Do you sleep in?
 Lina: Sometimes. But I intentionally come late because I want to skip English class.
 Byean: Can you tell me more about why you want to skip the English class?
 Lina: Why? That's because English is no fun
 Byean: Do you also skip other subject classes?
 Lina: Yes, but a few of them.
 Byean: Are they more fun than English?
 Lina: Not really.
 Byean: Then, why do you often miss the English class?
 Lina: Because I can't miss every class.
 Byean: Is there any specific reason why you are skipping the English class?
 Lina: English classroom is too cold, and I can't understand English after all...even if I miss the class, the teacher doesn't seem to care about it anyway. [11: 01-25]

Just as many long-term low-track students have indicated, the test-oriented instruction based on the same English textbook failed to meet what Lina really needed to learn, thereby “pushing” her to withdraw from English class. As long as the competition-fraught system persists, therefore, the intended goals of tracking seem hard to achieve. In many cases, as Fine (1991) argues:

‘[F]amily problems’ is offered as the reason students drop out of high school precisely because the high school experience has been discouraging, unengaging, and disinviting and because schools have been structured in ways that do not accommodate students experiencing family problems. (p. 79)

In this light, Ms. Jang’s orientation to Lina and Jisu’s family problems as a primary reason for their noninvestment in English implies that schools have little influence on such problems. By using the term, “troublemakers” in light of their social class, Ms. Jang appeared to warrant the categorization of these students as *yeongpoja* and to justify her low expectations towards them.

7.4 Negotiating the “Non-Negotiated” System of Classroom Control

In this section, I examine the classroom data of the second half of the semester (May to July) chronologically. The interactions I discuss here occurred after the track rearrangement, by which time Ms. Jang’s low-track class was renamed as G2 track, and her classroom practices were substantially undermined by students’ off-task behavior. However, what interested me was that not only was Ms. Jang accommodating the students’ acts and stances for classroom control, but the students were also accommodating the teacher’s disciplinary practices in a collaborative and more or less pretentious manner: Ms. Jang simplified the lessons and extended the self-oriented study session in exchange for students’ compliance on the one hand; and the students tried to avoid denotative confrontations with Ms. Jang by “playing” compliance with her disciplinary practices in exchange for bonus credit and free time, on the other. These bidirectional accommodations manifest the joint production of low-track students, in need of academic and behavioral remediation.

7.4.1 Accommodating Disciplinary Practices: “Playing” Compliance

The interactions I discuss here occurred two weeks after the track rearrangement. At the inception of G2 track, Ms. Jang rearranged the seating into four groups according to mid-term test scores and assigned one or two paragraphs from the main reading texts to each group. After giving them about 15 to 20 minutes, Ms. Jang had one member read, translate, and analyze the assigned sentences at the front of the class and provided bonus credit for all of the group members. However, as the ‘hows’ and ‘whats’ of this approach were not explicated, nor were any supplementary resources offered, such as word and grammar worksheets, the students not only had difficulty completing their grammar-translation group assignments but also deemed this group work as individual work. Each group designated one student as a presenter and had the

presenter do all the work, while the rest of them simply “played” in class. In terms of presenting, furthermore, Ms. Jang frequently intervened in the presentations by telling students what to underline and write and how to translate (Lmay12: 38-76).

The first interaction I analyze involves Won, who moved back to Ms. Jang’s class from G1 track. At the beginning of the semester, Ms. Jang categorized Won as a troublemaker mindful of her deviant behavior such as resisting teachers’ disciplinary practices and skipping classes in preceding years (I1: 357-363). Even though Won was still engaged in off-task behavior, she displayed strong interest in the test and also participated in class when bonus credit was offered. In an informal talk with her friend, Hyeon, who was carrying a microphone, I learned that Won’s reinvestment was a way to accomplish her goal of attending college in Seoul and to become free of her father’s overprotection (G2june2). The interaction commences as Ms. Jang is at the front of the classroom, playing the audio file of the electronic textbook for the last two pages of the main reading texts of Chapter 4. Prior to this interaction, Ms. Jang had Yangjin translate her group assignment, but as Yangjin’s presentation was disturbed by the constant talking of other students, including Yangjin’s own group members, Ms. Jang warned them, “from now on, those noisy students in each group will be sitting alone in the back of the classroom” (G2may19:114). Despite the warning, the class increasingly became out of control, and Ms. Jang eventually sent Gain to the back of the classroom (191). Nonetheless, Ms. Jang was still having a hard time continuing instruction. About two minutes before this interaction, Ms. Jang called on Won to stand up (213), but Won kept chatting with Heera and Lina about the side effects of contact lens.

Extract 7-6. Yes ↓nope & I will be quiet [G2may19: 227-254]

01 Ms.Jang: Won Lee. (0.3)did you change your class to act like
02 this.=
03 Won: =>↓Nope<
04 Ms.Jang: You didn’t even bring your book
05 Won: Ah it’s at home

06 Ms.Jang: Is it okay to leave your book at home.=
 07 Won: =[Yes ↓nope
 08 Lina =[↓Nope
 09 Ms.Jang: Huh?
 10 Won: ↓Nope=
 11 Lina =[↓Nope
 12 Ms.Jang: Are you gonna keep chatting.
 13 Won: =[↓Nope
 14 Lina: =[↓Nope Ha [ha ha ha ha
 15 Ms.Jang: [at least you answer quickly
 16 Lina: ha ha [Won got cold feet ha ha
 17 Ms.Jang: [let's not do this, let's not chat=
 18 Won: =YEAH
 19 Ms.Jang: Okay "many [film makers" >chatting again< aha:::::
 20 Ss: [((chatting loud))
 21 Ms.Jang: Okay, what does "may" mean ["may"
 22 Sinji: [Lina, your hair [is
 23 Ms.Jang: [Sinji
 24 Sinji: °Yes°
 25 Ms.Jang: Take your book and go to the back of the classroom
 26 Sinji: °I will be quiet°
 27 Ms.Jang: When are you gonna be quiet.
 28 Sinji: °I will sit still°
 29 Ms.Jang: (2.0) Okay ((to the whole class)) what does "may" mean?

In Ms. Jang's first turns, Won is called by her full name and asked, "did you change your class to act like this." (lines 01-02). Given the negative implication, falling intonation and context, this question can be understood as "a reversed polarity yes/no question" (Koshik, 2002), which is intended to display a disaffiliative stance towards Won. By latching Ms. Jang, Won immediately provides the sequentially-projected reply, ">↓Nope<" (line 03), but Ms. Jang makes relevant another apparent problem, Won not bringing her book to class (line 04). Without a hedge, Won states, "Ah it's at home" (line 05). However, this reply is nonaligning in that leaving the book at home breaches acts associated with the student identity. By projecting disapproval, therefore, Ms. Jang asks Won another reversed polarity yes/no question, "Is it okay to leave your book at home." (line 06). This time, latching Ms. Jang, Won and Lina respond at the same time. Of note here is that Lina is imitating the ludic intonation of Won's "↓Nope" (line 03), and Lina's "↓Nope" (line 08) leads Won to immediately shift her own answer, "Yes ↓nope" (line 07).

Although Ms. Jang does not make Lina's utterance relevant to this interaction as there is no orientation to her reply, Lina's co-participation by revoicing Won's "↓Nope" and Won's shift in response are indicative of their playfulness in this disciplinary practice, and this joking key (Goffman, 2001) is instantiated in Won's following turn in which she latches Ms. Jang's question, "Are you gonna keep chatting." (line 12) and repeats the unelaborated answer, "↓Nope" (line 13). Whether Ms. Jang orients to this joking key or not, she affiliates with Won by uttering "at least you answer quickly" (line 15), and with a mitigated tone, she suggests, "let's not do this, let's not chat" (line 17). Orienting to Ms. Jang's accommodation, Won also aligns by replying loudly, "YEAH" (line 18). Nevertheless, given Won's playful intonation in her unelaborated utterance, "↓Nope" which is produced iteratively as well as Lina's co-presence and laughter, it seems that both Won and Lina are not serious in this interaction. Rather, it appears that they have oriented to Ms. Jang's disapproval and are therefore accommodating the disciplinary practices by "playing compliance" so as not to be relocated to the back of the classroom.

Immediately after this interaction, they again begin to chat (line 22), and this time, Ms. Jang sanctions Sinji who is sitting in Won's neighboring group by commanding, "Take your book and go to the back of the classroom" (line 25). Sinji is a student shuttling between the low and middle tracks and had been placed in Ms. Sun's middle-track classroom for the first half of the semester. By uttering sotto voce, "◦I will be quiet◦" (line 26), Sinji displays affiliation with Ms. Jang. In the next turn, however, Ms. Jang formulates "a *wh*-question challenge" (Koshik, 2003), "When are you gonna be quiet." (line 27) and exhibits distrust and nonalignment with Sinji's prior utterance. Sinji, who has oriented to Ms. Jang's negative implication, quietly ensures Ms. Jang, "◦I will sit still◦" (line 28) and indexes conformity to the order. Ms. Jang then

shifts a frame to the whole class (line 29) and continues the lesson. Nevertheless, Sinji and others started chatting again; Ms. Jang's instruction could barely be heard in the back of the classroom.

This interaction clearly demonstrates that the students play compliance to accommodate the teacher's disciplinary practices. It is likely that such tactical conformity (Scott, 1990) is a defensive means to avoid complex situations such as prolonged reprimanding, referral, being sent to the back of the classroom, or getting penalty points. In this sense, their tactical conformity can be understood as an agentive act and a form of resistance to Ms. Jang's classroom practices. Moreover, their tactical conformity was accommodated by Ms. Jang who refrained from harshly sanctioning the repeated violations of the code of classroom conduct. Ms. Jang's accommodation suggests a recognition that the unmitigated display of discipline would result in reinforcing student resistance. However, it became clear that such tactical conformity and accommodations were not conducive to their English learning. A month prior to the end of Term 1, Ms. Jang asked Won whether she had finished copying down an assignment. With her book closed, Won replied, "Yes". When Ms. Jang refuted, "Won, don't you open your book?", Won responded that she had forgotten to bring a pencil. Although Won's accounts were evidently sanctionable, Ms. Jang gave her a pencil by ensuring its return with, "give it back to me after the class" (G2june16, 243-247). Their conformity and accommodations used to avoid complicating consequences indicate how power and resistance were locally negotiated by the teacher and students.

7.4.2 Group Work as an Individual Practice

During the class period of Excerpt 7-6, despite the allocation of ten minutes to group-based work, what surprised me was that there was no group in which members worked collaboratively in preparation for their group presentation. In the case of Won's group, for example, they designated a student to take charge of the presentation and "played" for the whole

time, and when I offered them help, they pointed at the designated presenter and replied, “She is the presenter” (427) and refused to work together because “it’s only for one person” (444). It seemed that they cast the group work as an individual practice.

In the case of Sinji’s group, all of the members were engaged in different work: Sorim was talking with Ms. Jang; Julin was overtly copying a resource book; Sinji and Hyeon were chatting about hair styles with their books closed. After the group work activity, Ms. Jang selected Sinji as a presenter because the group had not designated anyone as a presenter. Sinji defied the teacher’s directive and strongly refused it. Ms. Jang then reiterated to the whole class that penalty points would be given to all of the group members even if one person did not do her work (526-527). As Sinji walked to the front uttering an intensified turn, “You make me feel uncomfortable” (528), Ms. Jang softened her voice and reassured Sinji, “I told you that it’s okay to make mistake” (529). Accordingly, although Sinji’s question, “from which part should I do?” (530) was sanctionable as it indicated that she had not invested in the group work, nor did she even know which part had been assigned to her group, Ms. Jang did not sanction it and rather accommodated it by informing Sinji, “from ‘remember’” (531). However, even before Sinji finished a sentence, the presentation was halted by the closing bell, and without Ms. Jang’s dismissal, the students promptly left the classroom.

After this period, Ms. Jang told me, “Ah, this class is particularly hard to teach” (아, 이반이 유달리 수업이 안돼요. 수업이) (G2may19, 545), and then added that this class epitomized the typical low-track classroom. At the beginning of the semester, Ms. Jang continued, “the students were quiet to test me because I was new and you ((the researcher)) were in class, but they are finally revealing their true colors” (원래 하반은 이런 분위기인데 학년 초에는 처음으로 보는 선생님 간을 본다고 또 연구자가 있었기에 조용했죠. 지금은 그 본성을 드러내는 거죠) (G2fnmay19,

546-547). Interestingly, although the current class was not the low-track classroom, Ms. Jang equated G2 track with the low track, just as others at SunnyHill did, and shifted her initial stance of the low-track students who “are much nicer (*chakhan*) than low-track students in other schools” (Lmarch17, 669) to those who are conforming to the nature of the low-track class. This shows that the identity of *chakkan* low-track students is a relational, provisional and sociocultural construct emerging and shifting in interaction.

As the semester advanced towards its close, the bonus-penalty-point system served more powerfully as a socializing resource in Ms. Jang’s class in terms of controlling the students’ noncompliant acts, activities, and stances, retaining their waning attention, and helping the students promote their grades. For classroom control, for example, Ms. Jang sanctioned all members of a group by giving penalty points for being noisy, suggesting that the penalty point would be offset with a bonus point if they participated in class. In response to the prevalence of overdue homework, moreover, Ms. Jang shifted from writing assignments to pair reading exercises in order to provide students with additional bonus points to help raise their grades: “You don’t like writing, do you? So, pair up and read it. Just like before, I will give you bonus points if you can read it” (G2june2:496-498). Nevertheless, a majority of the students were inattentive to their peers’ presentations and treated listening to others as not studying. For instance, in the middle of pair reading, Won asked Ms. Jang, “Let’s study now, not listening”, (이제 공부해요. 듣지 말고) (612), while Sinhye, Bora and Sorim took out the resource book and copied it to finish their assignment during the presentation. (G2june2: 515-521).

Having found them copying the resource book with the teacher standing in their vicinity, I approached them silently, and when asked about it, Sinhye told me that “listening to others is so annoying and unnecessary” (귀찮아요, 들을 필요 없어요) (531) and kept “copying” the resource

book. Sinhye then added that, “What matters is my group work for my grade” (저희만 잘하면 되잖아요) (537). Even more, in an informal talk with Bora, I was told that she had already completed her group work individually at home by “copying” the resource book, and in response to my question about it, Bora said, “Even if I take lessons, I don’t understand English after all, so I did the work in advance by copying to play in class” (아니 공부 안 하는데 어차피 들어봤자 아무 것도 모르고 그래서 그냥. 적어와서 그냥 미리 하고 빨리 끝내고 놀자)(G2june9: 465-467). Although Bora had been in the middle track for the first half of the semester, she was a student who had mostly been placed in the low track. When asked about any change in her attitude between the two tracks, Bora told me, “At least I tried there ((Ms. Sun’s)), but here ((Ms. Jang’s)), I just play” (여기는 그냥 노는 것 같고 저기는 그나마 하기라도 하는 것 같은데) (390). By positioning herself as *yeongpoja*, she displayed ambivalent stances towards advancing to the next level.

Byean: Do you want to move back to Ms. Sun’s class?

Bora: No

Byean: Why?

Bora: I don’t study English anyway, so I am afraid that I won’t be able to understand the lesson. [G2june9: 495-499]

What is striking was that, although Bora deemed Ms. Jang’s class as an academically-inconsequential “playing” space and admitted that she at least made an attempt to study English in Ms. Sun’s middle-track class, Bora refused to move back into Ms. Sun’s class out of anxiety that “[she] won’t be able to understand the lesson” (499). For this student, it seemed that Ms. Jang’s class was a safe space in which she could protect herself from within-class comparisons with well-performing peers, face-losing occasions, and most importantly, the pressure of learning “incomprehensible” English. Nevertheless, it is apparent that the G2-track class practice does not seem conducive to Bora’s English learning; thus, it was more like a safe playing space than a learning one.

Apart from Bora who was predominantly placed in the low track, however, it is important to discuss how Sinhye used her former high-track identity for the production of distinction and positioned herself in the G2 track differently.

7.4.3 Achieving Distinction: Track Crosser's Identity Work

For Sinhye, who had always been a high-track student, it was her first time to be positioned with a different learner identity; therefore, she showed ambivalent stances towards this new identity. These stances can be seen in an interaction which occurred two weeks after Sinhye's track relocation, and in which Ms. Jang directed Sinhye to teach Sorim, who missed the last lesson due to sickness.

Extract 7-7. I am a high track [G2may26:191-197]

01 Ms.Jang: Sinhye, you teach her ((Sorim))
02 Sorim: Ah, she is too dumb to teach me=
03 Ms.Jang: [=But you are from the high-track classroom.
04 Sinhye: [=I am not dumb. ((using a honorific form)) I am a high
05 track. I've always been a high track since grade seven.
(나 바보 아니거든. 저 상반이에요. 1학년때부터 이때까지 쪽 상반이었어요)
06 Sorim: Don't lie
07 Sinhye: Seriously, this is my first time to move down, so I feel
08 very (1.0)
(나 진짜 처음 내려왔어. 그래서 너무 (1.0)
09 Sorim: "What?"

Ms. Jang's first turn, "Sinhye, you teach her" (line 01) positions Sinhye as a student with academic expertise, but this positioning is instantly disapproved by Sorim, who orients to Sinhye's learner identity in relation to the current track location and constructs Sinhye as a student who is "too dumb to teach [her]" (line 02). Selecting Sinhye as a second-pair part, however, Ms. Jang makes references to her former high-track identity, "But you are from the high-track classroom" (line 03) and with this utterance, shifts Sinhye's positioning from "dumb" to "capable". Latching Sorim's turn and overlapping Ms. Jang's, Sinhye resists Sorim's categorization, "I am not dumb" (line 04), and then shifts footing to Ms. Jang via the use of the polite register and reaffirms her long-term membership in the high-track category, "I am a high

track. I have always been a high track since grade seven” (lines 04-05). Interestingly, Sinhye uses a present form and equates herself with the high-track classroom. By invoking her former high-track identity with a present form, Sinhye repositions herself as capable but also displays her distinction from other students in G2 track. In the next turn, “Don’t lie” (line 06), however, Sorim again refuses to orient to Sinhye’s identity negotiation, and at this point, Sinhye projects her affective stance towards her non-high-track identity, “Seriously, this is my first time to move down, so I feel very (1.0)” (lines 07-08). The sentence incompleteness and one-second-long silence coupled with the absence of any uptake to Sorim’s remedy-pursuit repair for clarification, “what” (line 09) possibly indicate Sinhye’s anxiety and the negative implications over her new learner identity.

Interestingly, when Sinhye was placed in the high-track classroom, she did not draw my attention much because she was taciturn and rarely singled out by Ms. Yoon. In this sense, it came as a big surprise to see such a dramatic shift in Ms. Jang’s class, where Sinhye had been positioned as one of the noisiest students and often sanctioned by Ms. Jang for chatting. A month after the track relocation, I had a chance to interview Sinhye, and when asked about this attitudinal change, she first and foremost juxtaposed “a dark learning space” with “a peaceful playing space” and depicted the high-track classroom as a “dark” space replete with competitive dispositions among peers as well as Ms. Yoon’s high expectations and tight control. Due to the domination of high-achieving students, Sinhye told me that she was often self-conscious about participating in the high-track class: “It’s like they [high-achieving students] are dominating the class. The teacher cares about nobody but them. All you have to do is not disturb the lesson, just keep quiet. It’s just like killing forty five minutes” (그러니까 재네가 말을 하잖아요. 대답하고. 그냥

개네만 수업하는 분위기라고 할까. 그런 거. 개네만 수업해요. 쌤은 아무도 신경 안 쓰잖아요. 그냥 조용히만 하고 있으면. 조용히만 하면 되요. 그냥 45 분 때 우는 거) (I1: 233-239).

What is most notable is that Sinhye’s narrative regarding her silence in the high-track classroom is very much in parallel with the long-term low-track students’ lived experiences in the low-track classroom, and this consistency is a strong indication of the myth of homogeneity which leads to the conflation of one track with one same ability and obscures the existence of learners with multiple levels and interests in one spatial track (Anderson & Oakes, 2014; Benesch, 1991; Watanabe, 2008). Sinhye’s narrative also shows that tracking is not necessarily beneficial to the high-track students owing to the competitive dispositions, within-comparisons, and public humiliations prevalent in the high-track classroom (Gamoran, 2010; Oakes, 2005).

In sharp contrast, consequently, Sinhye called Ms. Jang a “nice” or *chakhan* teacher (245) in light of her accommodating and lenient approach, and conceived of the class as a “peaceful” space in which she could “play” safely (249), while being positioned as a top student given the generally low English competence in G2 track. Put another way, Sinhye appeared to regard the lower-track students not as learning partners but as playmates, and for this reason, refused to work with them on group-based tasks as shown in the following interaction with me.

Extract 7-8. And we just don’t do it [I1:99-120]

01 Byean: What do you think of sitting in a group?
02 Sinhye: It’s fun because I can get to sit with my close friends.
03 Byean: It’s a way of learning [together
04 Sinhye: [but my friends and I hate a
05 studious mood
06 Byean: You hate the studious mood
07 Sinhye: Yes
08 Byean: When you are asked to work together
09 Sinhye: I hate it. Working together is so annoying.
10 Byean: When Ms. Jang asks you to work with your group members
11 Sinhye: I don’t do it
12 Byean: You don’t? What do you mean by that?
13 Sinhye: I don’t do the group work
14 Byean: When you are asked to work with your group members
15 Sinhye: Nobody does it

16 Byean: Nobody?
 17 Sinhye: Nobody
 18 Byean: Why not?
 19 Sinhye: That's because they are all not interested in it
 20 Byean: Not interested?
 21 Sinhye: No. You know, like those students who make efforts but
 22 get low grades, they can't do the work by themselves
 23 even if they want to do it. And we just don't do it.
 그런 애들은 하고 싶은데 못해요. **지네가 (they)**. 혼자 못하고. **저희는(we)** 안하고 그럴죠.

In her turns, Sinhye makes explicit that sitting in a group is “fun” because she get to sit and “play” with close friends (line 02), not because she can work with those same friends; this positioning is made clear considering her accounts, “my friends and I hate a studious mood” (lines 04-05), “Working together is so annoying” (line 09), and “I don’t do the group work” (line 11, 13). In response to my recursive questions regarding working together (line 8, 10, 14), which might position her as a self-centered student, Sinhye justifies her stance by using extreme case formulation (Pomerantz, 1986), “Nobody does it” (line 15), and “That’s because they are all not interested in it” (line 19). With the question, “Not interested?” (line 20), I ask for elaboration. Sinhye’s next turns (lines 21-23) indicate that she has oriented to the evaluatory implication and is thus defending her stance by shifting from the first-person singular, “I” to the first-person plural, “we” (line 23) without a specific naming of who is included in “we”. According to Kitzinger (2005), the invocation of oneself as part of an unspecified collective *we* is commonly deployed as a resource to reflect and reconstitute the taken-for-granted heteronormative social order, thereby producing distinctions through the invocation of another as part of a collective *they*. That said, Sinhye’s use of “we” is likely to be understood as invoking her former high-track identity and deployed to construct the high-track identity as a norm and display distinctions of “we” who “just don’t do it” from “they” who “can’t do the work” despite their efforts (lines 21-23). With this “us/them” dichotomy, accordingly, Sinhye reinscribes lower-track students as

academically and linguistically deficient learners, reproducing the social hierarchies among students at SunnyHill.

In the following interaction, Sinhye told me that she only participated in work involving bonus credit for her grade on the performance-assessment (178). Interestingly, despite the delights and pleasure associated with Ms. Jang's class, Sinhye told me that Ms. Yoon's high-track instruction is more explicitly test-oriented and thus helpful in promoting test scores (315-328). When asked about the effects of this different practice on lower-track students, Sinhye responded, "it's their fault" (지가 못 치면 못 친 거지) (343), "they should do better" (지가 잘하면 되죠) (347), and "in fact, the teachers give you test clues, so their low grades mean that they did not make enough efforts. Or they made a mistake. They have no thoughts about learning" (솔직히 쌤이 시험에 나올 것을 말해 주잖아요. 지가 열심히 안 했다는 거잖아요. 솔직히 실수 했거나. 개들은 별로 아무 생각이 없어요) (351-352). By holding low-track students accountable for their low performance, Sinhye disregarded them as learning partners, buttressing the need of "separating those who study from those who don't study" (387) for the academic progress of the high-track students, despite her exclusion from the high track.

Shinhye: It's just better to separate those who study from those who don't study.

Byean: You think that's better.

Shinhye: I think so, at SunnyHill at least.

Byean: At SunnyHill?

Shinhye: Yes. I heard that because low-track students were too noisy, teachers mixed the low and middle tracks together.

Byean: You said it's better to separate those who study from those who don't study. Then, do you think that that separation will help low-track students to progress?

Shinhye: No

Byean: Then, do you mean that tracking only works for high-track students?

Shinhye: Isn't it its purpose? [I1: 387-398]

Sinhye's beliefs about tracking and low-track students are emblematic of how the micro-politics of tracking is constitutive of and constituted by the macro-politics of the meritocratic rhetoric of neoliberalism, and how this nexus of the micro and macro works to prompt boundary-shaping beliefs and practices, and stratification of students by their numerical scores.

Naturalizing tracking only for the high-track students and holding the low-track students accountable for their failure reflects a normalized school order and exacerbates the social marginalization of the low-track students. Understanding tracking from within sociocultural and ideological domains allows my analysis to move beyond criticizing such individual students and teachers and instead highlights the detrimental effects of the neoliberalization of education on social actors' academic socialization and its implications for educational equity and equality.

A month after the semester had commenced, Jeongryu and Ryumin, high-track students, came to the low-track class during a break in order to talk to me. Having found a microphone pinned on Jin's jacket, Jeongryu was surprised and asked Jin about it with a quizzical glance.

Extract 7-9. Crazy You [Lmarch31:155-159]

01 Jeongryu: ((to Jin)) You are carrying thi::↓ this ((microphone)).
02 Jin: >°yes°<
03 Jeongryu: >CRAZY< (0.2)>YOU?<
04 Ryumin: It has NOTHING to do with ENGLISH COMPETENCE

Jeongryu's embodied actions and lowered pitch (line 01) all signal that Jeongryu treats Jin carrying a microphone—just as she does—as problematic. Given Jin's quick, short and quiet response, “>°yes°<” (line 02), without additional comments to Jeongryu's question, it seems that Jin has also oriented to Jeongryu's disaffiliation to her carrying a microphone. The higher voice and pitch, “>Crazy< (0.2) YOU?” (line 03) suggests Jeongryu's disapproval towards Jin being a focal participant—just as she is. Ryumin's next turn, “It has NOTHING to do with ENGLISH COMPETENCE” (line 04) indicates that Ryumin has oriented to Jeongryu's affective stance of

disapproval in light of Jin's low achievement. Jeongryu is rejecting Jin's membership of the microphone keeper category to which she has attached high academic performance as an important component. With the intensified volume, therefore, Ryumin is possibly protecting Jin or herself from Jeongryu's candidate disaffiliation given her non-membership in that category. This interaction cogently indicates the circulating moral hierarchy in which many low-track students are tacitly positioned as unmotivated *yeongpoja* who have no desire for learning English.

7.5 “Unmotivated” *Yeongpoja* vs. “Motivated” *Yeongpoja*

SunnyHill students, regardless of track locations, did not differ in how important they believed English to be in their future lives. Nevertheless, a majority of the low-track students had accounted for their noncompliant acts, activities, and stances in English class in remarkably similar terms, asserting that their nonparticipation was due to the fact that the English curriculum and test-oriented instruction were too difficult for them to keep up with, that low-track classroom practices were tailored only to meet a few track-crossers' needs, and that they had been stuck on the bottom rung and treated as “unmotivated” *yeongpoja* who have no thought and desire for learning. Oxymoronically speaking, conversely, I found that they were “motivated” *yeongpoja* with an aspiration for English lessons in which they could participate as legitimate members.

As shown earlier, for instance, Minseo was the one of whom Ms. Jang expected nothing because she was thought to be able to do nothing (I1: 290-295). In contrast to Ms. Jang's positioning this student as an unmotivated *yeongpoja*, my interview demonstrated that Minseo was a “motivated” *yeongpoja*. Minseo had been making efforts in learning English and desired to have appropriate support (I1:53-54). In Grade 3, Minseo lost her parents in a car accident and had lived with an uncle's family who was receiving governmental support. She also spent some time at a hospital school to recover from the trauma, and even after coming back to SunnyHill,

she regularly had sessions with a school counsellor (Ms. Sun UI5: 406-407). When asked about her English learning experiences, Minseo responded quietly: “I don’t know English at all” (영어를 아예 모르니까) (I1: 23); “I have never attended any private institute” (30-31); “I have no self-confidence in English” (영어엔 자신이 없어요) (33); “I gave up on English completely” (포기해버렸어요) (70).

While positioning herself as *yeongpoja*, what Minseo told me is deeply etched onto my mind: “Ah, English! I just can’t get out of the low-track class” (영어, 영어는 특히 더 안돼가지고. 하반에서 벗어나지 않거든요) (I1: 105-106). To my question, “how did you feel when you were first placed in the low track (128), she responded, “I was sad...I tried at first by asking people to teach me even in hospital because I was so afraid that I couldn’t read English forever” (슬펐어요...영영 영어를 읽을 수 없을까 봐 병원에서 처음엔 사람들에게 가르쳐달라고 부탁도 했어요) (129-133). Minseo then displayed desire to get professional help, such as from teachers rather than from peers (114-117), because she was concerned that her classmates might make her feel inferior as well as ashamed of herself (119-123). For this reason, when she was relocated into Ms. Sun’s G1 track, she displayed a high degree of anxiety towards working with group members by putting her head down or even skipping the class to have a counselling session because she felt that she did not have much to offer to the other group members in terms of linguistic knowledge. Therefore, Minseo’s silence and avoidance in class and self-positioning as *yeongpoja* need to be conceptualized as a tactic of resistance to her powerless positioning in English class.

In an interview, Ms. Jang stated that tracking was effective for those “significantly-falling-behind” students because the small class allowed lessons to be tailored and for more attention to be paid to them (I1: 382-387). However, my analysis has shown that they were generally excluded, even in the low-track class, where Ms. Jang’s test-oriented instructions failed

to meet the students' learning needs. As Oakes (2005) argues, it is clear that “occasional defensive responses and appearances of special privilege—i.e., small classes, programmed learning, and the like for slower students—rarely mask the essential fact that they are less preferred” (p. 3). Two weeks before the end of Term 1, Ms. Yoon asked the other two teachers to complete Chapter 6 in preparation for the mid-term test for Term 2. While Ms. Yoon and Ms. Sun barely finished the chapter just before the summer vacation, Ms. Jang completed it within two periods and showed movies, which were by the students' own choice. In interviews, the three teachers necessitated tracking on the grounds that students learn better in groups with others like themselves and teachers teach better with groups of similar students. However, these different classroom practices clearly indicate that their beliefs about tracking being beneficial for all students are ideological and instead affected many students in ways contrary to their intentions and deepened the school hierarchy at SunnyHill.

Nevertheless, the cultural productions of the low-track students were not simply determined by the system of control, given that they negotiated Ms. Jang's practices through counteractive measures such as participating in class only when bonus credit was offered, completing group assignments simply by copying, and even sanctioning Ms. Jang with penalty points for showing up late: “Teacher, you are late. You get one **X**” (G2june30:08-14). This is indicative of a form of student agency and at the same time the noxious consequences of their socialization into “learning not to learn” (Eckert, 1989, p. 181) or what Atkinson (2003) calls, dys-socialization to English.

Through the teacher-led whole class structure, Ms. Jang attempted to structure the class for control and to create a distraction-free learning environment in which students could focus on English learning. However, even though students' acts of noncompliance increased considerably,

there was not much change in classroom practices. For Ms. Jang, therefore, the students' academic failure was a consequence of their off-task behavior and lack of persistence and motivation. My analysis has shown that the range of teaching strategies deployed by Ms. Jang in the face of the low-track students' noncompliance was also accommodated by the students. Such mutual accommodations worked to reinscribe their markedness with the forever low-track identity and to co-construct the low-track classroom as a safe playing space, where Ms. Jang and students jointly disengaged from teaching and learning. Accordingly, resistance was co-performed and gradually reinforced by the teacher and the low-track students through diminishing access to meaningful engagements and positioning them as *yeongpoja*.

Taken together, Ms. Jang's test-oriented instruction along with the bonus-penalty point system worked in contradictory ways. While it served as a condition to defend the low-track students effectively from the test-oriented system, it was also used to control the students and defend the grammar-translation instruction as Ms. Jang resisted students' negotiation for differentiated, diversified, and fun instructions in light of their interests and needs. Therefore, Ms. Jang's desire to ensure students' success by teaching to the test indexes a resistance to attending to what the students really need to learn. This resistance to student resistance is a way to "structure lower-track lessons for control" and to avoid anticipating trouble (Page, 1991, p. 52).

7.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown that despite Ms. Jang's intentions for helping students improve their grades, the test-oriented practices resulted in the exclusion of "significantly-falling-behind-students", thereby "pushing" them to position as *yeongpoja* (see Fine, 1991; Foley, 1996). My analysis has thus revealed that the test was recruited as a resource to resist the students' acts of pedagogical negotiation and to defend the grammar-translation instruction,

which had little relevance to students' knowledge, abilities, and needs. I have also shown that not only did Ms. Jang accommodate the students' acts, activities, and stances in order to maintain classroom order and to retain students' waning attention, but the students also accommodated Ms. Jang's disciplinary practices by "playing compliance" in order to avoid confrontations. Furthermore, I have delineated a former high-track student's identity work to achieve distinction from her lower track peers.

In short, my analysis has suggested that socialization into tracking contributed to setting institutional barriers among students and gradually building these barriers higher. As a result, tracking functioned to "track" not only their ability but also their habitus, subjectivities, and identities. Students' low-track habitus figured significantly in shaping their understanding of where they fit within the structure of tracking, affecting their emotion (Benesch, 2013) and desire (Motha & Lin, 2014), thereby leading them to track themselves as academically and linguistically inferior learners to their high-track counterparts. It is therefore likely that becoming *yeongpoja* is a manifestation of their resistance to "incomprehensible" English, test-oriented instruction, the curriculum, and educational policies, all of which failed to include the students as legitimate members in their classes.

In the next chapter, I explore high-track classroom practices and show how the logic of meritocracy in which students have equal chances to succeed works to reward students unequally by competence, social standing and other types of student merit.

Chapter 8: High Track and Entrepreneurial Self for Distinction

8.1 Introduction

As discussed in previous chapters, education has become a key site for the perpetuation of the neoliberal discourses surrounding individual freedoms and the entrepreneurial self, and such market-based discourses have mediated not only domestic competition but also subjective dimensions by associating self-managing skills to the image of the ideal neoliberal subject (Apple, 2006; Dolby et al., 2004; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). It is crucial to demystify the effects of neoliberal ideology in constituting educational policies such as tracking. Tracking, as it involves the categorization of students by test scores in a norm-referenced fashion, has a powerful influence on the shaping of high-track teachers' beliefs and pedagogical approaches in association with the high-track category, which is often produced as a norm in discursive spaces.

In this chapter, I first explore Ms. Yoon's approach to teaching high-track students and provide general information about the students in the high-track class. Through the discourse analysis of interactional data, I then discuss the ways in which Ms. Yoon locally constructs the high-track students with the image of entrepreneurial self, who bears the burdens of their circumstances and predicaments, and who rigorously accepts those stumbling blocks as stepping stones for their self-development. Although the high-track students' socialization into neoliberal subjectivity can be understood as Ms. Yoon's attempt to support their academic success, I argue that it also works to reinscribe the school hierarchy as she constantly orients to the high-track category's normative status and produces the distinctions of its members from their lower track peers. By illuminating the students' subtle resistance to socialization into self-managing high-

track students, I delineate the contingency and multidirectionality of L2 socialization (Duff & Anderson, 2015; Duff & Talmy, 2011)

8.2 Ms. Yoon's High-Track Classroom Practices

Of the three English teachers, Ms. Yoon was the only regular teacher who had over twenty-eight years of teaching experience, and this positionality allowed her to act as a department head even though it was her first year at SunnyHill. Despite Ms. Yoon's valorization of English, in particular communicative competence, as an essential skill for personal branding in the future market (see Kubota, 2011b; J. S.-Y. Park, 2016), she stressed that what her students urgently need for academic success was not being able to speak English, but rather, scoring high on language tests in order to be accepted into top-tier SKY universities. Ms. Yoon added that students should work hard for the development of communicative competence in a bid to self-manage their time to prepare for the competition of the job market. In this regard, while necessitating tracking to better serve high-performing students, Ms. Yoon maintained a "strict" approach to teaching, along with a teacher-fronted whole-class participation structure the most effective for delivering the "difficult" but very important linguistic knowledge of English (Hjune22:334-343).

8.2.1 Ms. Yoon's Class: Her Beliefs about English and Instructional Focus

Ms. Yoon delivered lessons predominantly in Korean and harnessed a great deal of oral repetition, recitation, and mechanical drills. On my first day of fieldwork, Ms. Yoon directed the students to participate in a whole-class oral drill, suggesting it as a way to remedy their Konglish pronunciation: "Open your mouth. I speak Konglish. I have never been to America, but I am trying hard. You also open your mouth and speak it out" (입을 열어본다. 선생님은 콩글리쉬이고

미국에 가 본 적도 없다. 그런데 콩글리쉬이지만 하려고 노력해 본다. 너희들도 입을 열어서 해본다)
 (Hmarch9, 197-198). Students were urged to pronounce “ticket” as [tikit], not [tiket] because the latter is the way that many Koreans will pronounce it: “Konglish! ‘e’ is pronounced as [e]”
 (Konglish! ‘e’ 를 [e]로 발음) (841-852). Students were also encouraged to speak a Korean city name, *Jangseong*, in what was apparently the same way that Americans pronounce it. Quotation marks are used to indicate the use of English.

Extract 8-1. how do Americans pronounce it? [Hmarch9:882-893]

01 Ms.Yoon: I said there is no intonation in Korean. I mean our
 02 Korean language has no ups and downs. So we say
 03 *jangseong* but how do Americans pronounce it?
 04 ?S: JANGseong
 05 Ms.Yoon: Placing an accent on the first syllabus, all together,
 06 JANGseong
 07 Ss: JANGseong
 08 Ms.Yoon: All together, “I like” JANGseong
 09 Ss: “I like” JANGseong
 10 MS.Yoon: All together, “I like” JANGseong. Start
 11 Ss: “I like” JANGseong
 12 Ms.Yoon: 나는 장성출신이다 ((I am from *jangseong*)) all together, “I am
 13 from”
 14 Ss: JANGseong
 15 Ms.Yoon: I didn’t say *jangseong*, but I said JANGseong.

According to Rampton (2009), speech stylization involves “communicative action in which speakers produce specially marked and often exaggerated representations of languages” (p. 149). Such a non-habitual speech practice, Rampton maintains, is a way to “invite attention to creative agency in language use, and often also contribute to *the denaturalization of hegemonic language ideologies*” (p. 149, emphasis added). In Ms. Yoon’s case, conversely, the shift into stylized American English serves as a resource to achieve sameness or “adequation” with Americans but distinction from a Konglish accent, even if the word itself is Korean. By posing a question, “how do Americans pronounce it?” (line 03) and asking the students to mimic “JANGseong,” as possibly spoken by Americans in the following turns, it appears that Ms. Yoon

not only validates Americans as legitimate speakers of English, but also consolidates hegemonic language ideologies by which good pronunciation is equivalent to an American one.

Ms. Yoon's beliefs about American English became more evident in an interview that I conducted after the class. Defining Konglish as "words pronounced by spelling, like in a Koreanized manner" (942), Ms. Yoon added, "If words are pronounced in Konglish, Americans would think they sound extremely unsophisticated, so the students need to learn exact pronunciation" (Konglish 로 발음하면 미국사람들이 굉장히 촌스럽게 여기니까 정확한 발음을 배워야 되지) (944-946). When asked as to which pronunciation is 'exact', the response was, "Of course, American English. We teach American pronunciation, all about American pronunciation" (우리는 당연 미국영어지. 미국영어잖아. 우리는 전부 미국식 발음이지) (951-952). By providing the students with a worksheet of the American phonetic alphabet, included in Appendix I, she told me that she attempted to help students to change their Konglish pronunciation into American (956-958).

Ms. Yoon's beliefs about English, along with acts of stylization cogently convey her epistemic stance which privileges American accent, thereby reinforcing "a more specific phenomenon in which a particular imaginary of the U.S. and American cultural symbols is being seen as the forefront of globalization and the real key to upward global mobility" (Blommaert, 2009, p.245). However, privileging American English as sophisticated operates simultaneously with the ideology of self-deprecation, leading Ms. Yoon to disclaim the ownership of English (J. S.-Y. Park, 2009). Positioning herself as an illegitimate speaker of English, Ms. Yoon persistently conducted the practices of "safe talk" (Pérez-Milans, 2012) as a whole class: "Repeat after the narrator of the electronic textbook because her accent is better than mine" (Hapril6: 46); "My pronunciation is not good" (Hmay18: 93); "Keep repeating. Because it is not our language" (Hmarch23: 33); "All together, we are NOT AMERICANS" (Hjune1: 170-173). Having

positioned me as a quasi-expert of American English, I was often asked pronunciation-related questions such as, “how do Americans pronounce /th/ in ‘thanks’?” (Hmay11: 337).

Contrary to locating herself on the margin in terms of pronunciation and oral competence, Ms. Yoon positioned herself as an expert in association with English grammar: “If you ask Americans such questions as ‘where is a conjunction?’ and ‘where is a subject?’ they have no idea about them” (Hjune8: 169-170). When asked about a returnee student, Shannel, moving into the class, Ms. Yoon also authenticated her teacher identity with reference to her own linguistic knowledge. This testifies to the complexity of a teacher’s identity work, particularly when their L2 proficiency is problematized by themselves, or others, in classrooms where students often have better oral competence in English (see Duff, 2017; K. S. Lee, 2014).

When teaching grammar, accordingly, I noticed that Ms. Yoon provided more explanations about grammar rules than did the other two teachers because one rule was often connected with others and mnemonic explanations were added to help students understand them better. In explaining a transitive verb, for instance, Ms. Yoon introduced it as a mother who can give birth to a baby, that is, an object, and then compared it with other verbs such as causative verbs (Hmarch9). Based on the rules that were provided, she also directed students to translate three or four sentences into English on their notebooks and provided bonus credit to those who completed the task. Unlike the low-track students, I found that the high-track students finished the work either alone or collaboratively and were able to meet the due date. What was apparent was that Ms. Yoon made more directive statements and maintained tighter control on the students than the other teachers. This could be accounted for by Ms. Yoon’s attempt to cover more content to prepare students for the tests as well as beliefs that students benefit from lectures and constant control. It is also possible that the reason has to do with the normative status of the

high-track category. In class, she constantly asked the high-track students to self-manage their learning and differentiated them from their lower-track peers.

8.2.2 The Students in Ms. Yoon’s Class

For the first half of the semester, there were a total of twenty students, all of whom had been involved in shadow education in diverse ways and three of whom had received governmental financial support. While six of them had shuttled between the middle and high tracks, the rest of them had always been placed in the high track. Figure 8-1 is the seating arrangement of the high track for the first two weeks. Contrary to the low track, the students could sit according to their choices as there was no seating chart. Due to their peer relationships, the seating shown below persisted until Ms. Yoon relocated some students from the back to the front, and finally decided the seating by lots in response to their nonparticipation in classwork. Moreover, Ms. Yoon diversified the arrangement of desks, such as in groups, as a way to implement Learning Community and to help students to be more attentive in class.

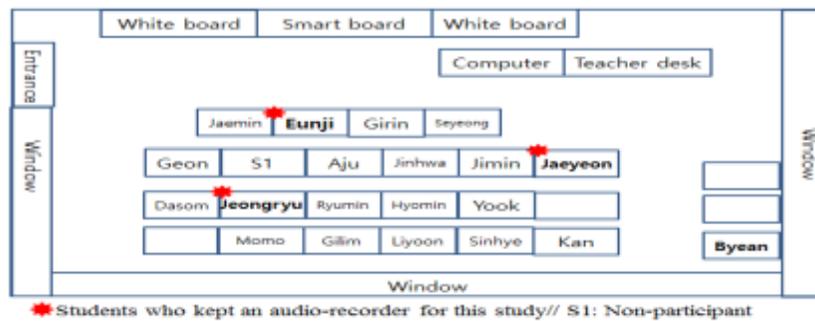


Figure 8.1 The High-Track Seating Arrangement for the First Two Weeks

After the mid-term test, four high-track students moved down to the general tracks, with three students moving into Ms. Sun’s G1 track and one student, Sinhye, into Ms. Jang’s G2 track. There were three students who moved up to the high track, all of whom were originally from the middle track. One student, Kyeong, joined the high track through negotiation after finding that she was placed in the G1 track by a difference of one point. However, Jinhee volunteered to

move to Ms. Sun’s G1 track after one day in the high track. This led some high-track students such as Jeongryu and Ryumin to negotiate their track relocation into the G1 track, but their efforts proved unsuccessful when faced with Ms. Yoon’s disapproval. However, what is notable was that there were no high-track students who negotiated to move into Ms. Jang’s G2 track. It is likely that the spatial stigma still produced the G2 track as the least privileged. Accordingly, the high track ended up with a total of eighteen students for the second half of the term, two less than during the first half. Table 8.1 is the make-up of the students in Ms. Yoon’s class in terms of their track experiences in grade 7 and 8, track placements in grade 9, investment in shadow education, and whether they received governmental support. Significant is that there is only one student, Somin, who had experienced the low track.

Table 8.1 The Make-Up of the Students in Ms. Yoon’s Class

Student Pseudonym	Track experience (Grade 7/8)	1 st half (Grade 9)	2 nd half (Grade 9)	Shadow education	Financial support
Jeongryu	High	High	High	√	
Eunji	High	High	High	√	√
Seyeong	High	High	High	√	
Jimin	High	High	High	√	
Dasom	High	High	High	√	
Gilim	High	High	High	√	√
Hyomin	High	High	High	√	
Liyoan	High	High	High	√	
S (non-participant)	High	High	High	√	
Girin	High	High	High	√	
Aju	High	High	High	√	
Kan	High	High	High	√	
Yook	middle/ high	High	High	√	
Ryumin	middle/ high	High	High	√	
Jinhwa	middle/ high	High	High	√	
Jaeyeon	middle/ high	High	High	√	
Momo	middle/ high	High	G1	√	
Jaemin	middle/ high	High	G1	√	√
Geon	High	High	G1	√	
Sinhye	High	High	G2	√	
Somin	low/middle	Middle	High	√	
Kyeong	High	Middle	High	√	

8.3 Neoliberal Subjectivity as a Resource for Distinctions

Throughout my observation in the high-track classroom, the most common discourse that I heard from Ms. Yoon was, “You are a high-track student, so act like one” (상반이면 상반답게

클어). This discourse manifested the teacher's beliefs about the normative status of the high-track category, and imposed social pressure upon its members to carry out category-bound activities and to achieve distinction from their lower-track peers in terms of linguistic knowledge, classroom attitudes, and self-management skills. With an emphasis on competition as a driving force for higher achievement and social success, Ms. Yoon encouraged students to set their goals high and to imagine themselves attending one of the SKY universities. Given the location and poor performance at SunnyHill, Ms. Yoon told me that she was determined to help the students win the academic competition. For this, students were mainly taught to the test, tight control of classroom attitudes were maintained, and attempts were made to try and socialize students into being self-regulating learners. Nevertheless, the cultural productions of the high-track category unfolded in unexpected ways as Ms. Yoon's practice was often met with subtle resistance. In this section, I explore this complex process of socialization chronologically while juxtaposing classroom practices of the high track with the low track.

8.3.1 "This is the High-Track Class"

In order to highlight the instructional differences between the low track and the high track, I selected the high-track classroom data which dealt with the same content taught in the low track. Therefore, it would be helpful to compare section 7.3.1 in Chapter 7 with the analysis of the following interaction, which occurred one day prior to the low-track classroom data and two weeks after the new semester had commenced. I include the time frame spent in each activity during the forty-five-minute long class period.

At the beginning of this period, Ms. Yoon explained some changes in the tests and urged the high-track students to enhance their understanding of the basic principles of English sentences rather than simply memorizing them (1'20"-7'10"). Then, Ms. Yoon reviewed new

words from the main reading text of Chapter 1 by asking students their meanings in Korean and to repeat the words after her (7'10"-7'58"). After the word review, the reading content was projected on the white board using the electronic textbook and the teacher had students read the first paragraph three times by repeating after the narrators (8'00"-10'40"). Students were then asked to volunteer for reading and translating: "We did the words and reading. Is there anyone who would like to read and translate one or two sentences? Anyone? Raise your hand" (Hmarch16, 77-78). Two seconds later, Ms. Yoon nominated Jaeyeon as the presenter even though she did not raise her hand. While sitting, Jaeyeon read a sentence quietly, then, Ms. Yoon offered a microphone⁸ to Jaeyeon and ensured that she spoke loudly so that everyone could hear. While Jaeyeon was reading, the class became very quiet and everyone seemed to be very attentive. After Jaeyeon, Ms. Yoon selected Jimin who was sitting right behind Jaeyeon. Jimin read a sentence, "'This is the worst chore in the world' she thought to herself," and quickly translated it into Korean. Ms. Yoon then passed the microphone to Jinhwa, who had difficulty translating the sentence, "Suddenly, she saw Mr. Valdez standing in this yard next door," Ms. Yoon explained, "'saw' is the past tense of 'see', and it means 보았다. All together, 'see saw seen'" (102-104). Despite this help, Jinhwa could not finish the task, so Ms. Yoon asked Aju to do the translation, and Aju completed it successfully (10'50"-14'20").

After the students' translations, Ms. Yoon again translated seven sentences from the same paragraph into Korean while explaining grammar rules: perception verbs; "hate"+ gerund; present participle; passive voice; comparative and superlative. Unlike Ms. Jang who directed the low-track students to underline and write "the + superlative," Ms. Yoon explained both the

⁸ Ms. Yoon used a wireless microphone, which was as small as a cigarette case. She said that the gadget was helpful in easing her vocal strains and allowing the students to hear her better.

comparative and superlative rules and had the students practice them through mechanical drills and cloze activities. Ms. Yoon then asked Seyeong to read the whole paragraph alone. This teacher-led instruction lasted for approximately twenty-two minutes (14'30"-36'30"). Then, Ms. Jang wrote three sentences on the board, "I hate __, I saw him __, I like __" and directed the students to complete them by using the phrase, "clean the yard" (36'37"-38'30"). The following interaction took place two minutes later. Although it is very long, I include it because it epitomizes Ms. Yoon's usual instructional patterns. A microphone was pinned on the shirt of Eunji, who was sitting in the front of the classroom. Seyeong, who responds to most of Ms. Yoon's initiations, is one of the top-performing students.

Extract 8-2. This is the high-track class[Hmarch16:178-218]

01 Ms.Yoon: You are not grade seven nor eight, but grade nine. And
02 this is the high-track class. What comes after "hate".
03 Ss: "ing"
04 Ms.Yoon: How many "ing" are there in Korean.
05 Seyeong: (2.0) Three.
06 Ms.Yoon: Three. Then, how many "ing" are there in English.
07 Seyeong: (1.2) Two?
08 Ms.Yoon: A verb changing into a noun.
09 Ss: Gerund
10 Ms.Yoon: What else?
11 Ss: Present participle
12 Ms.Yoon: What is changed into what. A verb changing into a noun.
13 That's a present particle. What else? All together, an
14 absolute participle. Every usage is different. Then look
15 here. All together, "I hate"
16 Ss: "I hate"
17 Ms.Yoon: "I hate cleaning the yard" All together
18 Ss: "I hate cleaning [the yard"
19 Ms.Yoon: [what is this ing. Which ing is it.
20 Seyeong: Ger[und.
21 Ss: [ger[und
22 Ms.Yoon: [Gerund. A noun becomes an object. All together,
23 subject verb object, subject verb object
24 Ss: Subject verb [object
25 Ms.Yoon: [which can come into this subject position.
26 Seyeong: Noun=
27 Ms.Yoon: =Noun. What comes in the object position.[Noun
28 Ss: [Noun
29 Ms.Yoon: Then all together, "I hate"
30 Ss: "I hate"=
31 Ms.Yoon: =Who hates what.
32 Seyeong: Cleaning the yard=

33 Ms.Yoon: =Cleaning the yard. This ing is an object. All together,
34 object
35 Ss: Object
36 Ms.Yoon: In this sentence, "I hate cleaning the yard", which ing
37 is it.
38 Seyeong: Gerund=
39 Ms.Yoon: =All together, gerund
40 Ss: Geru[nd
41 Ms.Yoon: [All together, gerund
42 Ss: Gerund

In her first turns, Ms. Yoon makes the Grade 9 high-track category relevant to the interaction and deploys it as a resource to produce the students' distinctions from not only lower-grade students but also lower-track students in terms of linguistic knowledge (lines 01-02), more specifically their knowledge for differentiating the use of gerunds, the present participle, and the absolute participle, making correct sentences based on those 'ing' rules, and participating in a chorus-like collective recitation or "safe talk" technique (Chick, 1996; Pérez-Milans, 2012) (lines 03-15). With the use of a cue, "All together" (다같이) (lines 13, 15, 17, 22, 29, 33, 39, 41), Ms. Yoon signals the students when to repeat, but their repetition turns are often overlapped (lines 18-19, 21-22, 24-25, 40-41) or latched (lines 30-31) by Ms. Yoon's hasty following turns. Ms. Yoon also selects herself as a respondent to her questions (line 12, 13, 27) in initiation-response-evaluation (IRE) exchanges (Mehan, 1985); moreover, Seyeong is the one who responds to most of Ms. Yoon's initiations (line 05, 07, 20). When Seyeong provides correct responses to the initiations, Ms. Yoon latches Seyeong's turns and completes third-position evaluation in the form of a repeat of her responses (lines 26-27, 32-33, 38-39). This suggests that Ms. Yoon uses repetition as a cue for positive assessment in IRE exchanges (Hellermann, 2003) and ratifies group membership and affiliation by means of active participation in the practice of repetition (Duff, 2000). These sequences show that only a few students dominate the lesson, possibly indexing the anxiety and exclusion some students feel in this teacher-led whole-class structure. The interactional organization of Ms. Yoon's lesson, specifically with regard to the

second turn position of IRE sequences, seems to generate interactional environments that constrain some students' opportunities for participation.

After this instruction (38'30"-43'02"), Ms. Yoon projected the Korean translation of the paragraph on the board and directed the whole class to translate each sentence into English (43'10"-45'08"). Having explained the key points of the lesson, Ms. Yoon finally dismissed the class at the closing bell (45'10"-45'40"). As shown in this interaction, there was not much difference in instructional materials and focus between the high and low tracks. By employing the grammar-translation approach, both Ms. Yoon and Ms. Jang taught to the test in a teacher-fronted whole-class structure. However, Ms. Yoon introduced more grammatical rules and had more repetition, recitation, and mechanical drills than Ms. Jang, who either simplified instruction or skipped difficult concepts and allocated the rest of a period to self-study. Given that test questions with high points—e.g., the different usages of gerunds and the present participle—were not extensively practiced, or not even taught in the low track, the low-track students' inability to advance to a higher track seemed inevitable.

This difference illuminates that the teachers' classroom practices are directly implicated in and mediated by their beliefs about the track categories in discursive spaces in which the high-track students are imagined and produced more positively than the low-track students. Accordingly, Ms. Yoon attached to the high-track category category-bound activities that warrant membership in that category. In the next sections, I explore how Ms. Yoon produced the high-track students as members of the normative category and how the high-track students responded to socialization into an entrepreneurial self that Ms. Yoon has tied to the category.

8.3.2 “Sleep or Wake Yourself Up”

The following interaction occurred on the first day of my observation, near the end of the class period. In this class, Ms. Yoon was teaching the listening section of the textbook. While playing the audio file of the electronic textbook sentence by sentence, she explained the usage of auxiliary verbs, transitive verbs, compound verbs, causative verbs, gerunds, objective complements and the passive voice, and continuously encouraged students to open their mouths to improve their pronunciation. Thirty minutes after the teacher-fronted lesson, I started to notice that more and more students gradually withdrew from participating in the whole-class recitation practice. Some students were zoning out, yawning, dozing off, or scribbling in the margins of their books. Unlike the low-track students, however, they did not overtly put their heads down on their desks. In response, Ms. Yoon sanctioned those students sitting in the back, including Jeongryu and Ryumin, for “not opening their mouths in language class,” adding that their grades would be lower than those of the students sitting in the front such as Seyeong (Hmarch9, 718).

This interaction involves Jeongryu, who was sitting in the back and carrying a microphone, and had, to this point, spent most of the class time participating in the class-based audiolingual drills before finally falling asleep. This act of sleeping was a clear violation of the high-track classroom conduct and therefore occasioned Ms. Yoon’s visit to her desk. Like Seyeong, Jeongryu was a high achiever who had been engaging in shadow education since elementary school in preparation for an elite science high school.

Extract 8-3. You manage yourself to wake up [Hmarch9:895-909]

01 Ms. Yoon: ((to jeongryu)) there, you. The drowsy one. If you want
02 to sleep, put your head down on your desk and sleep
03 comfortably, or you go outside and wake yourself up. If
04 you keep dozing off, I will subtract your credit of
05 classroom attitude. I will surely write “the drowsy
06 student” on your evaluation sheet. You wake yourself
07 up. (2.0) Stand up ((walking to Jeongryu))
08 Jeongryu: ((standing up)) (3.0)

09 Ms. Yoon: Are you dozing off because it's too warm here?
 10 Jeongryu: >No<
 11 Ms. Yoon: Why?
 12 Jeongryu: (3.0)
 13 Ms. Yoon: Why are you dozing off?
 14 Jeongryu: (3.5)
 15 Ms. Yoon: This is not a class where you keep silent. When you
 16 should open your mouth, why are you sleeping?
 17 Jeongryu: (2.0)
 18 Ms. Yoon: You should open your eyes as widely as possible and
 19 also open your mouth to practice English hard. You
 20 self-manage to wake yourself up.
 21 ((As soon as Ms. Yoon turns around, Jeongryu makes a
 22 funny face, smiles at her friends, and sits down))

In the first seven turns, Ms. Yoon treats Jeongryu's sleeping as disaffiliative and warns that she will subtract from Jeongryu's grade if she keeps falling asleep (lines 04-06), and finally orders her to stand up (lines 07-08). Ms. Yoon identifies the room temperature as the reason for Jeongryu's sleeping (line 09), thus attributing the behavior to an environmental factor and Jeongryu herself. Jeongryu then quickly rejects Ms. Yoon's orientation to the room temperature as inadequate (line 10). Ms. Yoon then asks again for the reason she was sleeping (line 11, 13), but Jeongryu provides no uptake to those questions (line 12, 14). While continuously pursuing an account of Jeongryu's sleeping in class (line 16), Ms. Yoon elaborates high-track category-bound activities (CBA) such as "open your eyes," "open your mouth," and "self-manage to wake yourself up" (lines 15-16, 19-20), which Ms. Yoon has attached to the high-track student category. The teacher's association of these CBAs to the high-track category indicates that individual learners are responsible for keeping the CBAs, with negative implications for those who fail to carry them out. Therefore, Jeongryu is evidently constructed as a member of an irresponsible high-track student category.

Indeed, it is possible that Jeongryu might doze off due to a lack of sleep, and her silence in the interaction can be understood as a consequence of "the socialization of respect" (K. Howard, 2004; Talmy, 2009a) which indexes compliance to teachers' authority as a virtue in a

Confucian society like Korea. However, a growing number of inattentive students, Jeongryu's following acts, such as, "((makes her face and smiles at her friends))" (lines 21-22), and the absence of uptakes to Ms. Yoon's questions as opposed to the quick rejection to her orientation to the room temperature may suggest that Jeongryu refuses to orient to herself as a source of the problem. Rather, by providing no uptake to the sequentially-projected turns, she displays her disaffiliation with membership as an irresponsible high-track student and is thus subtly resisting it. Jeongryu's silence, hence, can be understood as tactical conformity to avoid complicating consequences such as getting penalty points.

Two weeks later, Jeongryu was again singled out for sleeping in class. Prior to this, Ms. Yoon explained how to make a participle construction such as "*Surprised*, Tom turned around" for about twenty minutes and constantly urged the students to open their mouths and responsibly self-manage their learning: "SPEAK >no matter your pronunciation is good or not<...If you are incapable of reading well, practice at home over ten times...you wake yourself up" (Hmarch23: 106-114). With an emphasis on the students' ownership of the class, Ms. Yoon positioned herself as an assistant for their language learning and encouraged them to be responsible for the class (161-162). Ms. Yoon's construction of herself as a responsible assistant was achieved in relation to a candidate irresponsible student category of which Jeongryu was constructed as a member. Ms. Yoon urged Jeongryu, either to "put your head down and sleep" (168) or "go and wash your face" (170) rather than "keep sitting" (171) and doing "neither sleeping nor studying" (172). Similar to Excerpt 8-3, Jeongryu provided no uptake to Ms. Yoon's questions and remained silent for almost ten seconds (173).

While having Jeongryu keep standing up, Ms. Yoon said to the whole class, "Because you are not a genius, you must repeat and repeat over and over again" (178-179). Then, at the

end of class, Ms. Yoon detained Jeongryu: “Over there, the one who dozed off some time ago, don’t return to your homeroom. I am not trying to scold you, but I am teaching you about classroom attitude. Is the class mine or yours?” (356-357). These turns reflect the teacher’s beliefs about the ideal image of a high-track student—that is, those who realize their limitations and make efforts to overcome them autonomously. In comparison with Ms. Jang who remained indifferent to students’ sleeping in the low track, Ms. Yoon’s practices seemed to represent high and positive expectations towards the high-track students. Nonetheless, there were disparities between Ms. Yoon and the students in terms of what constitutes the high-track category.

In an interview, when asked about sleeping in class constantly, Jeongryu displayed a negative stance towards the teacher-led grammar-translation instruction and the whole-class recitation: “Though my classmates repeat after the teacher, they do it not because they want to do it but because they are forced to do it. So, I think it’s not very effective (애들이 읽어도 자기가 원해서 읽는 것이 아니기에 별 효과가 없고 그냥 강압적으로 하기에 별 효과가 없는 것 같아요) (I1: 85-99, 252-253). As Losey (1997) showed in her ethnography on silence, the content and structure of whole class interactions eventually silenced the students despite their high motivation for learning. By highlighting silence as a sociocultural phenomenon, Losey argued that “the teacher—well-meaning, well-educated, and very experienced—seemed unaware of how the structure of interaction in her classroom excluded students by silencing them” (p. 192, see also Duff, 2002a; Foley, 1996; Hall, 2007; Reda, 2009). Seen in this light, it makes more sense that Jeongryu’s silence and sleeping in class indicate a performance for pedagogical negotiation or a resistance to the teacher’s sequential patterns and instructional approach. Therefore, the absence of uptakes to Ms. Yoon’s questions represents a tactical and defensive reaction out of an anxiety of losing credit as a high-performing student preparing for an elite high school.

My conversation with Ryumin who was also sanctioned for not repeating informs us of student silence. Ryumin was a track crosser who was placed in both the high and middle tracks. She said that she did not speak loudly not only because she found repetition meaningless when she did not fully understand what she was reciting, but also because she was afraid of making mistakes in the whole-class structure (Hmarch23: 405-414). That is, Ryumin used silence as a resource to avoid being tacitly positioned as an academically weak student by her well-performing peers in the high track. This is emblematic of the discursive, sociocultural and affective functions of whole-class oral repetition in classroom interactions as well as the complexity of identity work among high-achieving students.

A week after this interaction, Ms. Yoon distributed worksheets and had students fill in the gaps after listening to the audio file of the electronic textbook for about twenty-five minutes. I noticed that the high-track students were much more diligent about working with peers than they were with the teacher-led choral drills. By discussing with their neighbors, they completed the given worksheets, and even initiated questions in English as shown in the following interaction. It was the only English-led interaction that I observed during my fieldwork in the high-track class. A microphone was pinned on the shirt of Jaeyeon who was sitting near Jinhwa and Jimin. Quotation marks indicate turns in English.

Extract 8-4. "One more time please" [Hmarch30:179-198]

01 Jinhwa: ((after listening to narrators)) "One more time"
 02 Ss: ((laugh))
 03 Jimin: Ah: why can't I get the answer.
 04 Jinhwa: "LAST one more time"
 05 Ss: [((laugh))
 06 Ms.Yoon: ["Last one more time"?
 07 Jinhwa: "Yes"
 08 Ms.Yoon: "Is one more time, are you okay?"
 09 Ss: "YES"
 10 Ms.Yoon: "One more time, just one more time?"
 11 Ss: "YES" ((laugh))
 12 Jinhwa: ((while listening)) "Thank you"
 (Around Jaeyeon's neighbor after two minutes)

13 Ms.Yoon: Next, let's move [to listen and act
14 Jinhwa: [twelve minutes are left
15 Jaeyeon: Already? Time flies
16 Jimin: Don't you feel like time goes fast as we study like this
17 Jinhwa: Yes. I wish we study like this everyday
18 Ss: ((laugh))

After listening to the audio file of the electronic textbook, Jinhwa suddenly switches from Korean to English and asks Ms. Yoon to play the electronic textbook “One more time” (line 01). This sudden shift causes the students to laugh (line 02), possibly indicating that the use of English in class is rare. In her next turn, “why can't I get the answer” (line 03), Jimin displays her alignment with Jinhwa, indexing a desire to listen to the narrations again. Jinhwa then asks Ms. Yoon to play the electronic textbook “LAST one more time” in English (line 04). This shift to English leads Ms. Yoon to respond in English (line 06) and to address the whole class in the second turn position (line 08, 10). The students' intensified “YES” (line 09, 11) along with laughter exhibits their alignment with Ms. Yoon. Jinhwa's turn, “Thank you” which occurs before the end of the narrations (line 12) indicates that she heard the answer. After this interaction, Ms. Yoon shares the answers with the students for two minutes and moves to the next page (line 13). To her neighboring friends, Jinhwa quietly utters that “twelve minutes are left” (line 14). Then, the following turns, “Already? Time flies” (line 15), “Don't you feel like time goes fast as we study like this” (line 16), and “I wish we study like this every day” (line 17) are all implicative of their affiliation with “studying like this”, that is, doing something in which they can collaborate and participate meaningfully.

In this sense, the whole-class oral work might allow the students to avoid face-losing situations and protect their identities in the case that they offered incorrect responses to teacher initiations. However, given their ambivalence and anxiety over this teacher-led institutional ritual, the mechanical and excessive repetition is counterproductive (Chick, 1996; Duff, 2000; Pérez-

Milans, 2012; Rampton, 2006). Moreover, contrary to Ms. Yoon's beliefs about the grammar-translation approach, the high-track students told me that too many grammar rules in one class period lowered their motivation to learn English and thus displayed a desire for meaningful activities and tasks in which they could participate.

Taken together, the teachers' instructions, regardless of track location, have continuously insisted on decontextualized grammar and vocabulary exercises and translation skills in return for their students' success on high-stakes tests and classroom order. Despite their well-meaning practices, it appears that neither high-track students nor low-track students seem to have benefited from the teachers' grammar-translation approaches. In this regard, tracking within the test-oriented system drew the teachers' attention away from recognizing individual learners' differences and rather homogenized learners by their track locations and English test scores. The hierarchical relationships between students steered Ms. Yoon to imagine and produce the high-track category differently by attaching linguistic knowledge and entrepreneurial self-management as essential skills to its membership.

8.3.3 Commodifying Subjectivity and SKY Elitism

The classroom practice analyzed in this section occurred a week prior to the mid-term test, less than two months into the fieldwork. This class period illuminates the effect of neoliberalism in education on subjective dimensions as it "seeks to bring all human action into the domain of the market" (Harvey, 2005, p. 3) through "the commodification of everything" (p. 165) in terms of entrepreneurial virtues for competition.

At the beginning of this period, Ms. Yoon asked students to sit before the bell and review the previous lessons while stressing their self-managing skills as one of the distinctive traits of high-track students (Hapril20, 63-71). Students were then directed to write the Korean translation

of sentences in the review section of Chapter 2. While walking around the class, Ms. Yoon said, “Don’t copy your friends’ work. You should translate the English sentences by yourself. Then, you will be able to find the answers” (친구 답을 베끼라는 것이 아니라 자 번역해줘. 그래야 답을 알지) (98-100). Having found that some students were not able to complete the work, Ms. Yoon again foregrounded entrepreneurial self-management skills as a requirement for students’ legitimate membership in the high-track category, “Once I give you these as test clues, YOU should responsibly study them. Don’t wait for me to teach you everything.” (이걸 답이라고 주면 그걸 너희들이 챙겨서 먹어야지. 내가 다 먹여줘야 하나) (110).

Shortly after this, the following interaction occurred. With a focus on the possessive relative pronoun, “whose,” Ms. Yoon had students translate sentences into Korean. A microphone was pinned on the jacket of Jeongryu, who was sitting next to Ryumin.

Extract 8-5. *I am a translation machine* [HApril20:151-160]

01 Ms.Yoon: Write a Korean translation next to “I have a sister
 02 whose name is Sally”
 03 Jimin: ((sighing))
 04 Ms.Yoon: ((To Jimin)) why do you sigh when I asked you to
 05 translate
 06 Ss: ((laugh))
 07 Ms.Yoon: There are many translating questions on the upcoming
 08 test. (1.0) You do a following sentence WHAT?
 09 S?: Translate=
 10 Jeongryu: =Translate
 11 Ryumin: ◦“*I am*” a translation machine◦ (I am 번역기)
 12 Ms.Yoon: Hey, you guys (0.4) why are your hands so lazy.
 13 Ss: (6.5)
 14 Ms.Yoon: Why on earth can’t you do the translations after
 15 learning grammar. Once I taught you grammar hard,
 16 shouldn’t you be able to translate English into Korean.

Jimin’s sigh (line 03) in response to Ms. Yoon’s directive of writing Korean translations (lines 01-02) indexes her likely orientation to the given work as nonaligning, and this occasioned Ms. Yoon to orient to the sigh. In Ms. Yoon’s next turns, the pursuit of an account of “why do you sigh when I asked you to translate” (lines 04-05), justifies the legitimacy of the work with

reference to “many translating questions on the upcoming test” (lines 07-08), thereby indicating that the given work is not open for negotiation. However, Ms. Yoon’s emphasis on translation skills for the test triggers Ryumin to commodify her subjectivity as “a translation machine” (line 11) which automatically produces “bundles of skills” (Urciuoli, 2010), in this context, skills of grammar, vocabulary, and translation in preparation for the test. Ms. Yoon’s last turns show her emphasis on the self-regulating high-track students (lines 12-16). The emphasis on translation skills for the test, the attempt to socialize students into entrepreneurial selves for competition, and Ryumin’s mechanization of the self all illuminate “how neoliberalism commodifies even our deepest sense of belonging and identity” (Shin & Park, 2015, p. 3).

Another resource that highlights the intersection between Ms. Yoon’s educational visions and the rhetoric of neoliberalism is SKY elitism. As described in earlier chapters, SKY is an acronym which represents the three most prestigious universities located in Seoul: Seoul National University; Korea University; Yonsei University. The academic elitism of SKY is a consequence of the nation’s excessive education fever (Seth, 2002) and school ties, i.e., *hakbeolism* (학벌주의), which represents that “people judge each other on the basis of educational background rather than on ability or point of view” (Y. C. Kim, 2010, p. 543). Such an academic credential has become one of the most powerful forms of symbolic capital in South Korea and has resulted in a growing shadow education market and the valorization of SKY as conduits for material success and social inclusion, naturally obscuring escalating academic hierarchies and social stratification across universities (Abelmann, Park, & Kim, 2009; Byean, 2015; Byun, 2014; J. S.-Y. Park, 2013; S.-J. Park, 2007).

Of the three teachers, Ms. Yoon was the only one who topicalized SKY academic elitism in class and often drew students’ attention to these top-tier universities. By orienting to this

elitism, students were urged not to complain about the competitive education system, but to embrace competition as an opportunity to enhance self-motivation and take much greater responsibility and initiative for their self-improvement (Hmay11: 160-162; HJune1: 131-153; HJune8: 118-123; HJune15: 181-206; HJune22: 283-296; HJune29: 309-315). One day, for example, Ms. Yoon talked about a Korean singer who graduated from Seoul National University and recently appeared on a TV show in which he failed to solve both English and sociology test questions. In reference to the singer's criticism of the emphasis on knowledge transmission in Korean education, Ms. Yoon sanctioned the singer for blaming the system rather than his own lack of persistence and ability (오로지 내 잘못이 아니라 어디를 탓해. 한국교육의 잘못이라고만 돌려) (HJune22: 279-298). Accordingly, Ms. Yoon legitimized the test as an inevitable instrument to "filter" students (어쨌든 시험으로 걸러야 해) and necessitated tracking to reward well-performing students' efforts in this competition-fraught modern society (Hmay11: 162; HJune29: 315).

SKY elitism might index Ms. Yoon's high expectations towards high-track students, and can be understood as a strategy to promote students' motivation to learn English and produce them as ideal neoliberal subjects who self-manage their learning for endless competition. However, given that distinction often operates in the binary oppositions which validates hierarchical relations (Bourdieu, 1984), the display of affiliation with the SKY universities entails the denigration of other universities. In responding to my question regarding SKY, therefore, Ryumin complained, "I wonder whether it is really necessary to keep talking about SKY. I feel uncomfortable because she seems to think SKY as the only universities" (굳이 저 이야기를 해야 되나 싶고. SKY 아니면 대학 아닌 것처럼 이야기하니까 별로 기분이 안좋아요) (I2: 449-450). Due to the significantly low possibility of being accepted into one of these top three universities, a majority of the students that I interviewed did not make Ms. Yoon's orientation to

SKY relevant to their circumstances. However, the pervasiveness of SKY elitism, along with neoliberal discourses about self-management for competition, led students to a greater internalization of the academic hierarchy in which members of the SKY categories are constructed as being in a superior position.

After the track rearrangement, Ms. Yoon tightened classroom controls more than before by such measures as making inattentive students leave the classroom and starting the lesson five minutes early and finishing it five minutes late. These measures were deployed as powerful socializing resources to facilitate high-track students' competitiveness and produce distinctions from their lower-track peers.

8.3.4 Self-Manage Your Study Time

During my fieldwork, Ms. Yoon always came to the classroom earlier than students and prepared for the lesson or had a conversation with me about education, particularly about the difficulties of keeping students' attention throughout the forty-five-minute class period. As a high-track teacher, Ms. Yoon was determined to help students enhance their linguistic skills as well as self-managing skills in preparation for entering high school next year. Having made "Save five minutes before and after English class" (Hjune1: 08) a norm in the high track, Ms. Yoon legitimized this practice not only by differentiating English from other subjects—"English is different from other subjects" (12)—but also by differentiating high-track students from their lower-track peers—"you, who are in the grade nine high-track class, come to the class without previewing and memorizing new words at home." (40-41). In this sense, Ms. Yoon's socialization of high-track students into the image of the self-regulating student for competition worked to maintain classroom order and to ratify the high-track category's normative status from which the other tracks diverge (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005).

However, as the rule of “start early and finish late” was imposed unilaterally without discussion, students that I interviewed problematized it as undemocratic. For example, Jeongryu responded, “Honestly speaking, aren’t the high-track students humans as well? Ten-minute break is not for studying but for taking a rest” (솔직히 상반이라고 저희는 사람 아닌가? 10 분은 쉬어 라고 하는 건데 왜 굳이 공부를 해야 되는지) (I2: 379-381). Similar to Ryumin’s mechanization of the self as “a translation machine,” it appears that Ms. Yoon’s emphasis on the entrepreneurial high-track identity caused Jeongryu to believe that the high-track students were treated not as humans but rather as studying machines, who automatically study as soon as they enter the class, without taking a break.

In class, as a consequence, I started noticing that more and more students displayed their disaffiliation with socialization into the self-managing high-track student and subtly resisted Ms. Yoon’s classroom practices by not participating in oral drills and not copying down or silently exchanging hand signs. The following interaction took place approximately four months into the school year and involved Dasom and Kyeong who were sitting in the back of the classroom and were often sanctioned for not repeating after the teacher. While Dasom was a high achiever, Kyeong was the student who moved from the middle track after the mid-term test. During the break, I noticed Ms. Yoon waking up students who had put their heads down on their desks and asking them to study for the upcoming final test (Hfnjune22). As class began, Ms. Yoon asked students to read aloud from the main reading text of Chapter 5. Responding to their lethargic participation and sleeping, Ms. Yoon constantly singled out those students who did not open their mouths, particularly Dasom (200-203; 224-225) and reminded them of their membership in the Grade 9 high-track category (253-269). About five minutes later, Dasom was again singled

out, this time, for exchanging a sign with Kyeong. Dasom showed two fingers to indicate that two minutes were left before the closing bell.

Extract 8-6. English is not a fun subject [Hjune22:334-343]

01 Dasom: ((showing two fingers to Kyeong))
02 Ms.Yoon: Dasom two minutes
03 Ss: ((giggling))
04 Ms.Yoon: We are going to study two minutes more because of you.
05 >stop counting how many minutes are left< Be sorry that
06 we only have two minutes to go.
07 Dasom: (5.5)
08 Ms.Yoon: If you are that bored in class, why don't you just stay
09 at home after the middle school. TWO MINUTES ARE LEFT?
10 Dasom: (6.0)
11 Ms.Yoon: Why does time go so fast. We have many things to cover.
12 Dasom: (9.5)
13 Ms.Yoon: ((to the whole class)) English English is not a fun
14 subject. For some people, coffee is too bitter to drink.
15 Ss: (3.0)
16 Ms.Yoon: English is difficult difficult difficult. Teacher, why
17 is English more difficult and why is the class much
18 stricter. If I don't teach in that way, English won't go
19 into your brain. You want me to teach you tenderly.
20 Ss: (9.0)

Given the fact that Ms. Yoon had penalized Dasom for not participating in oral drills prior to this interaction, the act of exchanging a sign (line 01) is indeed sanctionable. As the intensified turns (lines 05, 09) indicate, Ms. Yoon, thus, treats it as problematic and extends the class time two more minutes (lines 04-06) as a way to teach the value of the learning time (lines 05-06, 11-12). The silence in the three turns (line 07, 10, 12) is attributable to Dasom as Ms. Yoon's turns have made an account of counting the class time as relevant to this interaction and admonished Dasom for not paying attention to the class.

With a mitigated tone, Ms. Yoon shifts a frame from Dasom to the whole class and displays her epistemic stance towards English as “not a fun subject” (lines 13-14). Because English is a difficult but important subject (lines 16-17), Ms. Yoon stresses that it needs to be taught strictly to make it “go into [the students'] brains” (lines 16-19). Accordingly, Ms. Yoon's next turn, “You want me to teach you tenderly.” (line 19) is “a reversed polarity yes/no question”

(Koshik, 2002) which is intended to exhibit a negative evaluation towards students' acts and stances, such as checking the clock, rather than asking their opinions. Ms. Yoon's beliefs about English and its role in high-stakes exams legitimize her pedagogical approach to teaching English and construct herself as a caring teacher who exerts her best efforts to make students understand the difficult but important knowledge of English. Ms. Yoon's self-categorization as a caring teacher relationally produces students, particularly Dasom, as the members of an uncaring student category, unappreciative of the teacher's caring endeavor.

After this period, Ms. Yoon detained Dasom. When asked about what she did in class, Dasom told me that she scribbled song lyrics on the textbook. As Canagarajah (1999) notes, discursive data from the margins of a textbook provides significant insights into the lived culture and hidden agendas of students. To capture multiple tensions underlying students' oppositional behavior, Canagarajah stresses the need for situating the marginalia in the larger context of classroom behavior in light of the range of motivations and expectations of the student community. As discussed in Chapter 6, in general, high-track students, including Dasom, envisioned the function of English for testing and intra-community competition and displayed a high interest in learning it to keep their high-track learner membership. Given that, their nonconforming behaviors such as scribbling on the textbook and not repeating after the teacher were not generated by the language itself but by curriculum, instructional materials, and Ms. Yoon's pedagogical approaches and discourses. This suggests that although both the teacher and students adopted a product-oriented and examination-focused learning strategy and desired academic success by scoring high on the test, Ms. Yoon's beliefs about high-track students and the pedagogical approach that English is best taught through lectures, recitation, and constant control ran into conflict with students' needs and expectations from the teacher.

In this sense, while the students resisted the teacher, the teacher also resisted the students; their resistance such as sleeping and scribbling was deemed as a lack of motivation, persistence, and self-responsibility. Indeed, a sense of responsibility to learn is a crucial sensibility for academic advancement, but it should not be reduced merely to an individual domain. Rather, it needs to be understood as a sociocultural concept and recognized in relation to contextual factors (Duff & Talmy, 2011; Miller, 2016). From this view, students' noncompliant acts such as sleeping, not opening their mouths and checking the time do not simply index their lack of responsibility to learn, but could also be conceptualized as a performance of their agency to resist Ms. Yoon's classroom practices. Seen in this light, Ms. Yoon's desire for supporting students' success by maintaining strict control over their behavior seemed to work counterproductively, indicating Ms. Yoon resisting student resistance.

The construction and development of language teacher identity is influenced by various factors, including personal biography, institutional policies, the curriculum and system, and circulating ideologies around teachers' roles and English (Duff, 2017). This macro-micro interrelationship leads my analytic focus to move beyond criticizing the individual teacher and to unpack the pernicious impact of neoliberal reforms in education and institutional practices such as tracking on the shaping of Ms. Yoon's educational visions and pedagogical approaches. Ms. Yoon's classroom practices are closely mediated by neoliberal logic, for example, asking students to view competition as an opportunity for self-development; necessitating testing to filter students and to reward high-performing students differently; deploying SKY elitism; and stressing self-management skills for competition. These discourses underpin Ms. Yoon's attempts to socialize high-track students into neoliberal personas, i.e., students who self-manage

their learning and develop themselves as human capital in education and job markets (J. S.-Y. Park, 2016).

In the next section, I discuss the ways in which the ritual of track reorganization becomes a key site for reinscribing the distinction of the high-track student identity, thereby (re)producing and perpetuating the social hierarchies in circulation at SunnyHill.

8.4 Reinscribing Distinctions: Hazing Events

Two weeks after the mid-term test, tracking was reorganized into one high track and two general tracks. During break, high-track students were comparing their English grades and teasing each other: “You are gonna be expelled” (Hmay11: 25, 27,32), “What are you gonna do?” (43), “Good bye” (38, 48), etc. Jeongryu, for instance, kept teasing Yook that she would get expelled from the high track (23-27), and Yook also responded playfully. Considering “contextual cues” (Gumperz, 1982) with verbal and nonverbal resources such as giggling, laughter, and embodiments and their social proximity, the students did not seem to cast teasing about the track replacement as a malicious practice. Involving several students, they collaboratively participated in this event as a ritual of peer socialization (cf. Tholander & Aronsson, 2002). For reference, Jeongryu is the student who scored the highest on the mid-term English test; therefore, she already knew that her high-track identity would be fully secured. In this interaction, when Ms. Yoon started to call out the names of the high-track students, Jeongryu became bewildered by the fact that Somin would move up to the high track. Somin was a middle-track student who had been also placed in the low track, but never in the high track.

Extract 8-7. You are gonna be expelled [Hmay11:83-138]

01 Yook: ((to Jeongryu)) You are gonna be expelled ((laugh))
02 Jeongryu: HEY
03 Yook: You, expel you, expel ((giggling)) (너 추방 너 추방)
04 Jeongryu: ((laugh)) If I were expelled, you would be gone for
05 fifteen years ((laugh))

06 Ms. Yoon: Okay I call the students who stay in the high track
 07 Ss: ((becoming quiet))
 08 MS.Yoon: ((calling names)).....Eunji, Somin, Yo[ok
 09 Jeongryu: [SOMIN?=
 10 Gilim: =yeah [yeah
 11 Ms.Yoon: [Yes, Somin is in the list.
 12 Gilim: Yes. She achieves higher than me, ha ha [ha ha
 13 Ms.Yoon: [Jimin
 14 Jeongryu: ((to Hyomin)) Your name is not yet called=
 15 Ryumin: =Really? What are you gonna do?=
 16 Ms.Yoon: =Hyomin=
 17 Hyomin: =((to Jeongryu)) You see. I am in the list.
 18 Ms.Yoon: Except those who are in the list, raise your hand
 19 Jaeyeon: ((sighing)) Whew
 20 Aju: Ah we have survived
 21 Jaeyeon: Yeah we have survived
 ((Some students sing a Korean song about parting; 'this
 is our last moment'))
 22 Gilim: ((to Somin who was entering the classroom))SOMIN
 23 Ms. Yoon: ((to Geon))You go to G1 track
 24 Jinhwa: ((to Geon)) NOOOOOO
 25 Gilim: ((to Jinhee who was entering the classroom)) JINHEE
 26 JINHEE [JINHEE
 27 Jeongryu: [Why is Somin coming here. (소민이 왜 음)
 ((after several interactions of Ms. Yoon directing the
 students to sit))
 28 Jeongryu: That the dude ((Somin)) is here is a miracle. Shit.
 29 This is crazy.
 (전 마가 여기 있다니 기적이다. 씨, 미치겠다)

In the first five turns (lines 01-05), nonverbal strategies such as laughter, or parodic tone of voice indicate that both Yook and Jeongryu have oriented to the playful mode of teasing in this interaction. That is, given “the alignment patterns for laughter (who laughs with whom) is an important aspect of the architecture of teasing” (Tholander & Aronsson, 2002, p. 584), Jeongryu’s laugh (line 04) indexes intimacy and affiliation with Yook’s ludic stance (line 03), signaling that they are not seriously attacking each other (see also Jefferson, Sacks, & Schegloff, 1987). However, the expression, “expel” (lines 01, 03, 04) tends to establish the high-track classroom as the norm from which other tracks are represented as marked oppositions, thereby ratifying the vertical relations of tracked classrooms. This interaction emphasizes that the track rearranging event has been ritualized, and that such a ritualization works to produce and reinforce the relational hierarchy among tracks.

With a transition-implicative token “okay” (line 06), Ms. Yoon draws the students’ attention and makes an announcement of those students who have been placed in the high track. Shortly after Ms. Yoon calls Somin’s name (line 08), Jeongryu orients to it, “[SOMIN::?” (line 09). The higher voice and intensified stress along with a stretch signals Jeongryu’s likely orientation to Somin as unexpected in the high track. Latching Jeongryu, Gilim affiliates with Jeongryu’s orientation to Somin (line10), and these reactions lead Ms. Yoon to check and make sure that “Somin is in the list” (line 11). Through Gilim’s turn with a laughter token, “Yes, she achieves higher than me, ha ha ha” (line 12), she indicates her sarcasm and possibly conveys her disaffiliative stance towards Somin coming to the high track.

At the end of the ritual (line 18), Jaeyeon’s relieved sigh (line 19), and Aju’s “Ah we have survived” (line 20) followed by Jaeyeon’s alignment (line 21) are all indicative of their anxiety over losing the high-track membership. Through the ritualized practice involving rewarding those who pass the gate-keeping test while having those who fail the test raise their hands and leave (line 18, 23), it is evident that the high-track students who remained are explicitly and implicitly positioned superior to the leavers in this event which contributes to reinscribing distinctions across students and their tracks. Accordingly, Jeongryu’s turn, “why is Somin coming here.” (line 27) is a clear indication that she has oriented to the distinctive status of the high-track identity and is thus illegitimizing Somin’s membership in the high track. Jeongryu’s illegitimation becomes more explicit in her next turns, “That the dude ((Somin)) is here is a miracle. Shit. This is crazy” (lines 28-29). According to Bucholtz and Hall (2004), the illegitimation is one of tactics of intersubjectivity in the formation of identity. In this context, Jeongryu recruits it to achieve distinctions from Somin and secure the privileging status of the

high track; that is, the membership of the high track is not for everyone, particularly Somin who has also been in the low track, but never in the high track.

After this interaction, high-track students opened a hazing event or *singosik* (신고식) in which the newcomer students were asked to perform their talents such as singing, rapping, or dancing and to make their pledges and to commit to learning English in the high-track class. Hazing has roots in rites of passages and is often used as a symbolic process by which oldtimers of a group require newcomers to endure a physical, mental, and emotional ordeal as a way to prove their worthiness and to mark a shift in their status, from outsiders to full-fledged members of the group (A. Howard & EnglandKennedy, 2006; Lipkins, 2006; Nuwer, 2004). Within systems of power, it is indispensable that hazing functions as a performance of power and privilege, working to maintain and reproduce the social hierarchy. At SunnyHill, even though hazing was performed differently, this event occurred only in the high-track class and appeared to work to reinscribe the social hierarchy of tracking. For instance, in response to Ms. Yoon's request for elaborating her pledge as a high-track student, Kyeong said, "I was originally placed in the middle track. But I could barely move up into the high track because I wanted to be in the high track and I wanted to study. I will do my best." (원래 중반인데 턱걸이로 상반 올라왔는데, 상반에 있고 싶어서, 공부도 하고 싶어서 왔는데, 열심히 하겠습니다) (271-273). Evidently, Kyeong's account positions herself as an academically weak student and acknowledges the high track as the only space for studying, thereby naturalizing it as a norm from which the other tracks diverge.

This social hierarchy also prevailed in the following interaction. During the prior hazing event, when Somin performed rapping in front of the class, Jeongryu again questioned Somin's legitimacy in the high-track category, "((whispering)) Honestly, that dude, that dude" (솔직히

재가, 재가) (181). Jeongryu's problematization of Somin's high-track legitimacy became more explicit as soon as Ryumin oriented to it. A microphone was pinned on Jeongryu's shirt.

Extract 8-8. Honestly Somin [Hmay11:356-361]

01 Ryumin: Honestly Somin.=
02 Jeongryu: =Right
03 Ryumin: ((giggling))how possibly Somin=
04 Jeongryu: =That's what I am talking about
05 Ryumin: ((giggling))how possibly Somin
06 Jeongryu: ((giggling)) SOMIN AH:: SOMIN

Ryumin's problematization of Somin's legitimacy as a high-track member leads Jeongryu to disapprove of it more explicitly. Their turns, "Honestly Somin" (line 01), "how possibly Somin" with giggle (line 03), and Jeongryu's last high-pitch turn, "SOMIN AH:: SOMIN" (line 06), all index that they have oriented to Somin's long-term membership in the marked tracks, and thus conveys their negative evaluation of Somin's new high-track identity. Such illegitimation was made possible due to the ideological ranking characterizing tracking.

For Somin, it was the first time being placed in the high track, having been primarily placed in the low and middle tracks. Therefore, Somin seemed very excited about her new high-track identity. In an interview, she told me that although she did not study hard in Grade 7 and 8, she had made resolutions to reinvest in studying English upon the advancement to high school and college afterwards; thus, Somin even skipped dinners and spent more than six hours a day at a private institute, not to mention studying on the weekends. In this light, Somin attributed her success at "jumping" tracks to her investment in the shadow education market rather than classes in public education (I1: 07-50). When Somin was placed in the middle track, she actively interacted with her group members and asked questions to both Ms. Sun and myself. Prior to the mid-term test, for example, Ms. Sun distributed a worksheet which contained key points of what might be asked on the test. Somin asked Ms. Sun about the usage of a verb, e.g., *stay home* vs. *stay at* a hotel and taught it to her group members (Mapril20: 195-214). In the middle-track class,

moreover, it was Somin who often raised questions regarding test questions such as, “Teacher, are you going to ask this on the test?” (Mapril3: 154).

In contrast, in the high track, Somin rarely interacted with her peers and sometimes zoned out in the middle of the lesson. Even more, Ms. Yoon made Somin leave the classroom because she did not copy anything down (Hjune29, 227-248). When she was outside, I noticed that Somin fixed her eyes on Ms. Sun’s G1 track and gradually moved her body towards it (Hfnjune29). When asked about the effects of tracking on learning, Somin responded negatively because “which class you are in, it all depends on you” (어디를 가나 공부는 알아서 하기 나름이죠) (I1: 117). In response to my question regarding the differences between the middle and high tracks, Somin replied, “you are not allowed to talk in the high track” (121). Because of the strict control over talking and physical movement in the high track, Somin added, “I want to move down. This place is much like a prison” (내려가고 싶어요. 여기 너무 감옥 같아요) (I1: 146-148).

Indeed, Somin’s desire for high-track membership is influenced by the school hierarchy, but her dissatisfaction and nonparticipation in it seems to be intertwined with many sociocultural aspects, including membership and pedagogical practices which are shaped by the teacher’s desire to legitimize the hierarchy as well as other high-track students’ desire to maintain it by gatekeeping the high-track membership’s exclusivity. For this reason, there was no case of the high-track category’s normative status being problematized. This suggests that the logic of meritocracy contributes to rationalizing the legitimacy of tracking and perpetuating the hierarchical relations of the students in discursive spaces.

8.5 A Post Note: Care Ethics in Education

When I negotiated my entry into SunnyHill, having been rejected by six schools previously, including my own, it was Ms. Yoon who warmly welcomed me into SunnyHill and

encouraged the other two teachers to support this “uncommon” research practice of ethnography for the development of Korean English education. In class, Ms. Yoon occasionally reminded the students of the importance of my research, while inviting me to share my trajectory of language learning and study abroad experiences. I am very conscious that Ms. Yoon’s “strict” approach was aimed at increasing the students’ English test grades and entrepreneurial skills to meet the demands of the neoliberal education market. Nevertheless, I was often troubled by Ms. Yoon’s top-down, authoritative approach. Prior to embarking on an in-depth data analysis, therefore, I became concerned that my analysis could damage Ms. Yoon’s good intentions and violate my ethical commitment to her, as someone who took the risk of being portrayed critically.

Every case, including Ms. Yoon’s, is unique. However, this case is also unusual when compared to descriptions of typical high-track classrooms found in the tracking literature. Some might question that my analysis tends to demonize the individual teacher by positioning her in a negative light, and I admit it as a valid concern. It is for this reason that I shared a summary of my analysis with the teacher participants, suggesting the need for reconceptualizing resistance as a sociocultural phenomenon. As a classroom teacher who was educated in the Korean education system, I do not think that Ms. Yoon represents an extreme case. When I shared my analysis with other teachers in Korea, they also told me that there are still many teachers who take ideological stances towards education similar to Ms. Yoon’s. In this regard, they added, although Ms. Yoon’s approach is different than their practices, there is no doubt that Ms. Yoon is a devoted and dedicated teacher trying to make a difference in students’ lives.

As my analysis has shown, Ms. Yoon was indeed a caring teacher, who committed herself to helping students in low socioeconomic residential districts. Ms. Yoon was the teacher who always waited for students in class, implemented lessons with enthusiasm, and even spent

ten more minutes on class by giving up her breaks. Whenever Ms. Yoon found students being inattentive in class, she oriented to the significance of English in high-stakes exams and encouraged students to self-manage and invest in class rigorously. In interviews, Ms. Yoon shared with me that her stringent approach was a response to the central role English plays in the competitive education system.

Nevertheless, mindful of high-track students' subtle resistance to Ms. Yoon's practice, her "caring" ethic is more likely unidirectional. In her framework of caring ethics in education, Noddings (2011) argues, "if B does not acknowledge A's attempt to care, there is no caring relation. This does not mean that A should not be given credit for trying, but the effort to care does not make the encounter or episode a caring relation" (2011, p. 9). Like A in this example, Ms. Yoon is indeed caring for the students' learning. Rather than "relation-caring," however, Ms. Yoon seems to be a "virtue-caring" teacher (p. 9) whose pedagogical direction is from curriculum to students as she has already decided what should be taught and how the high-track students should behave in class. As Noddings notes, "[t]here are two parities in a caring relation" and as the primary, thus, "care ethics is oriented towards needs, not rights" (p. 9). In other words, the caring relations exist not in a class with a high degree of punitiveness for compliance but in a class where the teacher and students see one another as mutually and respectfully involved in the project of learning and teaching.

Interestingly, Ms. Yoon's "caring" practice bears many similarities with Mr. Bradley, an ESL teacher in Talmy's (2009) study, who adopted a "tough love" approach to help students achieve their educational goals. In analyzing "the admittedly troubling data" (p. 248), Talmy (2009) claims that dismissing Mr. Bradley's lessons as malpractice is "simplistic and in fact obscures a larger point" (p. 249), arguing for conceptualizing his actions as social practices:

This allows Ms. Bradley's conduct to be situated socially, politically, and historically, so that it can be viewed as a local, agentic—and without question, problematic—manifestation of hegemony, language ideologies, assimilationism, and linguisticism in circulation in the wider school and societal context. It would also provide means to challenge and *transform* such conduct. (Talmy, 2009, pp. 249-250, emphasis in original)

It is therefore important to note that my analysis is not made to accuse Ms. Yoon and the other teachers in regards to their practices, but rather to illuminate the effects of tracking, more broadly neoliberalism, on our ways of thinking, caring, teaching, and educating, and to seek alternatives to potential pedagogical problems and frustrations. Because I find my own beliefs and assumptions reverberating through the teachers' narratives, my critical analysis is also intended for self-scrutiny and self-criticism. Therefore, I hope this study allows classroom teachers, including myself and the participants, to be more reflexive regarding our normalized beliefs and practices and to broaden our pedagogical visions.

8.6 Conclusion

Much tracking literature has documented disparities across tracks in terms of classroom focus and practice issues, with higher tracks having more open-ended discussion, increased critical reasoning, a more in-depth curriculum, and more project-based learning (Anderson & Oakes, 2014; Carbonaro, 2005; Caughlan & Kelly, 2004; Oakes et al., 1992). Conversely, this study has shown that Ms. Yoon's high-track class concentrated on close-ended questions, linguistic knowledge, recitation and behavior issues, and this was the teacher's response to the neoliberalized education system in which high-stakes tests figure prominently. Even though there was not much difference across the tracks in terms of instructional focus, I found that there was more explicit test preparation and tighter control of classroom behavior for the high-track

students than their peers in the low-track classroom. In this regard, as long as the competition-driven education system persists, tracking is unlikely to contribute to accomplishing the government's desired goals: narrowing the achievement gap; and facilitating communicative competence. Rather, it works to lead teachers to more overtly teach to the test and dismiss student resistance as a lack of motivation, desire and self-managing skills.

The socialization of neoliberal subjectivity, despite Ms. Yoon's good intentions and high expectations for students' academic success, turned out to be in conflict with high-track students' beliefs about the high-track class. The more Ms. Yoon incorporated language learning into a project of human capital development with an emphasis on self-managing skills for endless competition, the more saliently I could observe high-track students' resistance through such embodied actions as sleeping, not repeating after the teacher and asking Ms. Yoon's approval to move down to the G1 track, albeit unsuccessfully. In response, Ms. Yoon attributed their disengagement to individual problems and controlled their physical movements more firmly. Such contradictions of control indicate that "the students appeared to acquiesce to the pattern of classroom knowledge, *only silently to resist believing it*" (McNeil, 1986, p. 160, emphasis added). High-track students' resistance manifests their agency, but it did not lead to problematizing the hierarchical relations underlying tracking. Even if they complained about the teacher's classroom practices and negotiated to move down, nowhere in the data was the high-track identity itself treated as problematic. Rather, they deployed their high-track identity as a "seen-but-unnoticed" resource (Kitzinger, 2005, p. 224) and reinscribed it for the production of distinctions from their lower-track counterparts, thereby reproducing the hierarchical relations across students.

Chapter 9: Discussions and Implications

9.1 Introduction

Situated within the theoretical frameworks of cultural production, language socialization, and ideologies about English, tracking, and neoliberal competition, I have explored ninth-grade EFL learners' language learning experiences in tracked English classrooms. In this final chapter, I first present a summary of chapters with a recapitulation of the primary findings of this study. This is followed by discussion on how this study contributes to applied linguistics and education, in terms of theories, methodology, and the literature on language teaching and learning by ability tracks. After that, I outline the practical and pedagogical implications of this study and discuss its limitations in order to suggest directions for future research. With a reflection on this research experience, I then elucidate this four-year long doctoral journey as a starting point to begin a critical discussion over the cultural politics of learning and teaching English by tracks in public education.

9.2 Overview of Chapters and Recapitulations of Findings

This study was a direct result of my participation in, and responsibility for propagating tracking while working as an English teacher in the Korean public school system as well as my desire to gain a greater understanding of tracking and its effects on students' language learning trajectories, in particular low-track students. By exploring the "hows" and "whats" through a critical ethnographic lens, I aimed at illuminating the complex process of language socialization through which some of the low-track students produced themselves and were produced as *yeongpoja* in conjunction with multiple ideologies in circulation in society.

In Chapter 2, I presented a brief genealogy of English education in South Korea and delineated the country's sociolinguistic context. By locating English against the backdrop of the

neoliberalization of education, I discussed how the local significance of English worked to perpetuate English fever as the most crucial skill for the development of human capital in the education and job market, and how tracking practices are closely intertwined with the neoliberal logic of entrepreneurial self-management which holds low-performing students accountable for their lack of motivation and persistence. I also explained how this discourse of meritocracy obscured resources and affordances unevenly distributed to students in accordance with their socioeconomic and sociocultural backgrounds, thereby aggravating a class-based education that is both polarized and stratified. This was then followed by a literature review of tracking with regard to identity, resistance, and cultural production.

Chapter 3 concerns the theoretical frameworks that guide this study. I situated this study within two main frameworks, cultural production and language socialization. While the cultural production framework offered a critical lens to demonstrate how unequal power relations ultimately affect socialization among disenfranchised students, language socialization provided a robust methodological and analytic lens to illuminate the process of students' cultural production in language learning contexts. I then outlined the situatedness of ideology, identity, agency, and resistance that I used in this study. In the context of this study, these frameworks helped demonstrate how the labels that had been assigned to students by their tracks were implicated in (re)producing high-track students as the norm from which others diverge. They also showed how these representations mediated the socialization of teachers and students into particular cultural norms, ideologies, stances, and identities according to track locations.

In Chapter 4, I situated the study as a critical ethnographic multiple case study and described how this methodological approach allowed me to triangulate a bank of data gleaned from multiple sources and methods, including participant observation, field notes, audio-

recording of classrooms, the collection of site documents, multimodal artifacts, and interviews. This data triangulation was a way of ensuring the credibility of the study while enhancing catalytic validity of the critical work (Lather, 1986a). Moreover, I discussed the compatibility of critical ethnography and critical discourse analysis “particularly in terms of analytic accountability (how defensible or warranted an analysis is) and demonstrability of research claims (how warrants for research claims are demonstrated)” (Talmy, 2010b, p. 128), as microanalytical discourse approaches afforded me a useful set of tools to make emic-oriented claims and to provide evidence and warrants with respect to the discursive co-construction of students’ identity categories in association with a system of hierarchical oppositions embedded in tracking practices.

In Chapter 5, I delved into the ways in which tracking was implemented and naturalized by social actors as a viable policy at SunnyHill. My findings showed that along with the local significance of English, neoliberal ideologies and educational policies such as the nationwide standardized tests, i.e., *iljegosa* worked to ratify the institutional practice of “tracking English” to promote students’ English test scores, and specifically to serve high-performing students from low socioeconomic backgrounds. However, a careful analysis of the local tracking practices and the teachers’ as well as the students’ representations of each track demonstrated that the high-track students had greater affordances and resources than lower-track students to perform well academically. In this light, I argued that tracking was closely implicated in the meritocratic logic of neoliberalism and reinforced social hierarchies across the tracks while obscuring the dynamics of social class. The intersection between track spaces and language teaching and learning, therefore, needs to be understood with greater sensitivity to ideological implications and material conditions.

Chapter 6 focused on students' beliefs about English and tracking and their narratives of learning English by track. I first investigated the language ideologies concerning English at SunnyHill and how these ideologies worked to authenticate American English as a norm and to equate a good command of English with sophistication, elitism, and coolness. In this regard, I also delineated that despite the acknowledgement of the local significance of English as an imperative of neoliberal globalization, these multiple and shifting language ideologies invoked a sense of inferiority to English and compelled SunnyHill social actors to raise questions over valid reasons for studying English in Korea, where English is not a primary tool for communication. Having explored the intersection of language ideologies surrounding English and neoliberal dispositions of competition within the Korean education system, I articulated that this ideological complex was contradictory and open to contestation by SunnyHill's teachers and students as they displayed ambivalent attitudes towards cosmopolitan identities as well as English policies such as Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) and Teaching English only in English (TEE).

These findings also parallel Kubota's (2015b) claim that despite the possible economic benefits associated with English skills, "what actually leads to socioeconomic success may be one's ability to raise scores on English tests, such as TOEIC (Test of English for International Communication), rather than being able to use English in real situations" (p. 46, see also J. S.-Y. Park, 2011, 2016). As such, although communicative competence played a pivotal role in macro-level English education policies, I showed that what was actually focused on in local practices was developing linguistic knowledge to enhance scores on English tests as a way to serve students' "real" situations and the students, hence, conceived of learning English not for communicative purposes but instead for high-stakes examinations. As a result, students deemed

the English learned through K-12 public education as inappropriate for border-crossing communication and displayed a desire to enhance their communicative competence, that is, if the education system would allow them to do it. I argued that “under the yoke of neoliberalism, English plays a more crucial role in boosting intra-national competitiveness for local competition in Korea than it does inter-national competitiveness for global competition worldwide” (Byean, 2015, p. 875).

Furthermore, I discussed the students’ beliefs about tracking and narrative accounts of lived experiences in learning English by tracks. My analysis has shown that the high-track students were positioned in a less recognized and unmarked category, whereas some low-track students were treated as *yeongpoja* who had given up on English learning. What was striking was that a majority of SunnyHill students, including the low-track students themselves, blamed the low-track students for their low performance and forever low-track learner identities (cf. Talmy, 2009b). For this reason, both the high-track students and low-track students displayed ambivalent stances towards detracking, even if they dismissed tracking as uncondusive to language learning.

Chapters 7 and 8 included an analysis of classroom interactional data in a low-track and high-track class. These chapters also addressed the findings in relation to the research questions concerning the ideologies that mediate teachers’ instructional practices by track; students’ identity negotiation within tracked classrooms; and the effects of tracking on language learning.

In Chapter 7, I highlighted the ways in which the low-track class was jointly constructed not as a learning space but as a playing space by the low-track students’ noncompliant acts, stances, and activities as well as Ms. Jang’s teaching strategies to accommodate them. The microanalysis of classroom interactions illuminated Ms. Jang’s recruitment of the test as a resource to help the low-track students to perform well on the test. Despite her good intentions,

however, those washback strategies appeared to hinder Ms. Jang from adequately responding to each individual student's needs and differences within the low-track class, as she did not differentiate her instruction. My analysis showed that the teacher's discourses, grammar-translation classroom practices, and display questions in IRE sequences resulted in the exclusion of the long-term low-track students and positioning them as having deficits, thereby "pushing" them to self-position as *yeongpoja*. With the use of the oxymoron, "motivated" *yeongpoja*, I encapsulated students' awareness of the local significance of English, their desire to (re)invest in English, and their aspiration to be provided with instruction and curricula, which meet their needs and levels. In this light, I discussed that the students' off-task behavior and their *yeongpoja* identities are a manifestation of their resistance to the teacher's unilateral instruction, imposed curricula, learning "incomprehensible" English, and more broadly, the competition-driven education system. Furthermore, I elaborated how one student, Sinhye, used her former high-track learner identity as a resource to achieve distinction from her lower-track classmates.

In Chapter 8, I analyzed the interactional data of the high-track classroom practices, and discussed how the local prevalence of neoliberal logic mediated Ms. Yoon's educational visions, pedagogical approaches, and beliefs about high-track students, and how these multiple discourses and ideologies worked to ratify the normative status of the high-track category and reinscribe the school hierarchy at SunnyHill. My analysis showed that Ms. Yoon often referred to academic elitism, testing, and competition within the neoliberalized education system, and legitimized separating high-track students from others as indispensable to raise their competitiveness in high-stakes examinations. By constructing the high-track students with the image of the entrepreneurial self, Ms. Yoon encouraged them to "act like the high-track

students”, who are distinguishable from the lower-track students in terms of linguistic knowledge, classroom attitudes, and self-managing skills.

Despite Ms. Yoon’s high expectations for students’ academic success, the microanalysis of classroom interactions illuminated how Ms. Yoon’s attempt to socialize the high-track students into an entrepreneurial self for facilitating their competitive edge ran into conflict with the high-track students, who subtly resisted Ms. Yoon’s instruction denotatively (e.g., by explicitly asking the teacher’s approval to move down to the middle track or by refusing to move up to the high track), interactionally (e.g., the absence or delay of sequentially-projected turns), and in embodied actions (sleeping, scribbling, not repeating after the teacher, not copying, etc.). Moreover, Ms. Yoon’s whole-class structure, display questions, IRE sequences, and undifferentiated lessons allowed a few students to dominate the class while resulting in the exclusion of some students who were concerned about their membership in the high track and peer comparisons.

Nevertheless, this study showed that Ms. Yoon’s high-track class concentrated more on linguistic knowledge in association with other grammar rules and had more repetition, recitation, and test-preparation drills and tighter control of classroom behavior than Ms. Jang’s low-track class. Given marked differences in learning experiences and opportunities, the low-track students were less likely to do well on tests, and as a result, their inability to get out of the low track seemed inevitable. This raised questions about the fairness of the test as a major mechanism for student track placement, unraveling a disparity between intentions and effects with respect to tracking students. Furthermore, even if the high-track students showed resistance to Ms. Yoon’s classroom practices, nowhere in the data was the high-track identity itself treated as problematic.

By making distinction from their lower-track peers, these students maintained high-track membership as exclusive and perpetuated the school hierarchy.

Furthermore, I discussed that SunnyHill teachers' classroom practices were not atypical cases within the test-oriented Korean education system. In this vein, I argued that as long as the competition-driven education system persists, tracking is unlikely to contribute to accomplishing its desired goals: narrowing the achievement gap and facilitating communicative competence. Consistent with much tracking research, therefore, this study reached a similar conclusion: "*no group of students has been found to benefit consistently from being in a homogeneous group*" (Oakes, 2005, p. 7, emphasis in original), illuminating the ideological underpinning of "a homogenous grouping."

9.3 Discussion of Contributions of the Study

In this section, I discuss the three domains to which this study has made contributions: theory, methods, and the literature.

9.3.1 Contributions to Theory

This study highlighted the implications of social class in language learning by focusing on the significant role that English plays in neoliberal educational policies and practices in Korea. Through an analysis of the interplay of English and market-based education reforms such as tracking within and between schools, this study demonstrated that students' English competence and track placements intersected with their investment in the shadow education market and their parents' sociocultural and socioeconomic backgrounds; therefore, tracking served as a locus to exacerbate the class-based stratification in the K-12 public education system and raised issues over unequally distributed affordances and resources for language learning. In this light, this study demonstrated that the neoliberalization of education worked as a gate-keeping mechanism

which legitimized the systematic structuring of students, schools, districts, and provinces through policies such as tracking, the nationwide standardized tests, and merit-based incentive pay.

Situated in theories of cultural production and language socialization, this study showed the processes whereby the members of each track category were socialized into particular ideologies, cultural norms, values, subjectivities, and identities. Within multiple discourses in which students accommodated or resisted their social positioning via socialization into tracking, students and teachers produced multiple and conflicting ideologies about English learning, testing, and tracking in light of the individual experiences of the school hierarchy. The situatedness of ideologies underscored that students and teachers were not merely controlled by macro-level ideologies as they were agentively navigating hegemony, local constraints, lived experiences, and identities. This allowed for theorizing identities as social positioning as self and others in interaction (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005b) and agency as a socioculturally mediated capacity to act (Ahearn, 2001), which worked to facilitate or impede language learning (Duff & Doherty, 2015).

For example, when teachers' discourses and practices tacitly positioned low-track students as having deficits, students then agentively resisted the imposed identity positions by not investing in class. Therefore, low-track students' nonparticipation in class is not simply a lack of motivation or learned helplessness but evidence of their identity struggles within the school hierarchy. That said, this study advocated that the cultural production of low-track students as *yeongpoja* was jointly achieved by the teacher who resisted the students' pedagogical negotiation and the students who resisted learning English in class. The joint construction of resistance shed critical light on an asymmetry of knowledge and power that characterizes the dynamics of socialization, which is inherently a complex, contingent, and multidirectional

process. Moreover, given that the teachers and students in this study taught and learned English primarily in Korean, this study is distinguishable from typical classroom-based L2 socialization studies in which English is used as the key medium of instruction and communication. Even though socialization did not take place in the target language, this study demonstrated that talking about English with respect to its status in education and the job market, and learning and teaching about English grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation had significant implications for L2 practices, ideologies, and identities.

9.3.2 Contributions to Methods

In terms of contributions to methods, this study proved the significance of critical ethnography in exploring the power of ideologies in shaping language education policies and practices and the trajectories of English learners. In second language education, critical ethnography has been relatively underrepresented despite the fact that it has much to offer in securitizing the politics of language learning and teaching (Talmy, 2012; Toohey, 2008). Moreover, although previous research brought to light the implications of inequality embedded in tracking policies, none of them showed how inequality was produced in moment-by-moment interactions. This study used various discourse analytic techniques and attended to the micro analysis of interactions with a focus on stance taking, participation framework, IRE patterns, indexicality, tacit positioning, embodied actions, etc. These analytic techniques distinguished this study in both theoretical and methodological ways from previous research in Korea, and elsewhere, that focused on tracking. Therefore, the particular significance of this study is its contribution of emic-based accounts of how multiple ideologies have consequences in shaping teachers' classroom practices and students' language learning trajectories.

Another contribution of the study was its investigation of the category of *yeongpoja* from cultural production and language socialization perspectives, and how it highlighted the joint construction of this identity positioning as indexical of long-term socialization into the low-track class. The existence and wide use of the term, *yeongpoja* cogently epitomizes the local significance of English in education and the job market in much of Korean society. In this regard, becoming *yeongpoja* has a considerable impact on students' future education and career trajectories. Despite students' nonparticipation in class, however, this study demonstrated their desires to (re)invest in English and therefore argued that students were not simply "unmotivated" *yeongpoja*, but instead were "motivated" *yeongpoja* who desired appropriate curricula and instruction, which would fulfil their needs and interests.

9.3.3 Contributions to the Literature: Tracking and L2 learning

In this section, I discuss how this study makes a contribution to the literature in two areas: language learning and tracking. Despite the significance of English in neoliberal globalization, there has been a gap in the literature on the local struggles of EFL learners in K-12 public school settings, specifically focusing on how the intersection of language ideologies and neoliberalism has an impact on language teaching and learning. As discussed earlier, the focus of this study on social class has brought to the surface the benign myth of cosmopolitanism embedded in the Korean National English Curriculum, as it was entangled with transnational identities and experiences, possibly accrued through early educational migration or *jogiyuhak*. In this study, except for one returnee from America, there were no other local students, who had studied abroad and imagined themselves as global citizens within a global milieu.

While asserting the improvement of communicative competence, the government maintains control of social actors by filtering them through linguistic-knowledge-based high-

stakes examinations and constantly recalibrating what counts as good competence in English, thereby placing the burden of the development of communicative competence on English teachers as well as individual learners. As Joseph Park (2011) points out, “English is never a transparent key to social inclusion, because what counts as good competence is determined by the structure of the linguistic market, which is in turn controlled by institutions of power” (p. 446; see also Jang, 2015). In this respect, this study unveiled tracking students by their English ability as a reproductive mechanism, which perpetuates a class divide in English and sustains the dominant hegemony and status quo.

This study also suggested that neoliberal competition steered SunnyHill teachers to teach to the test based on the same textbook which had little relevance to students’ knowledge, interests, or levels, and to legitimize tracking with reference to the students’ English test scores, motivation, and classroom behavior. Despite the teachers’ well-meaning practices to ensure students’ success, it appeared that this competition-driven social phenomenon drew their attention away from recognizing students’ aspirations for more differentiated and diversified instruction, handouts, materials, and curriculum. Contrary to much of the tracking literature, this study showed that there was not much instructional difference across the three tracks—for instance, in terms of high-level thinking, discussion, and enriched materials—because students were assessed using the same tests grounded in the same textbook. What differed saliently across tracks were the teachers’ expectations towards students, their depth of grammar explanations, and students’ classroom attitudes. As a consequence of SKY academic elitism in circulation in wider Korean society, the high-track teacher focused more on linguistic knowledge and tighter control of classroom behavior than the teacher in the low-track class in order to help the high-track students prepare for high-stakes examinations.

Nonetheless, this study illuminated discrepancies between the teacher's practices and students' desires and needs. It is for this reason that some high-track students negotiated to move into the middle-track class, albeit unsuccessfully, when high-track classroom practices were deemed as neither conforming to their expectations nor contributing to enhancing their test scores. Moreover, this study also demonstrated that the high-track class was not necessarily a safe space, specifically for high-middle track crossers. Owing to within-class comparisons and institutional positioning, these students displayed a sense of anxiety and insecurity about raising questions, answering the teacher's initiations, and participating in whole-class drills.

Conversely, this study demonstrated that low-track students showed a low sense of anxiety over their track placement and within-class comparisons. Because all low-track students were positioned as homogeneously under-performing, the low-track class was cast as a safe "playing" space exempt from peer comparisons and anxiety over academic performance. Due to the markedness of the low-track category as the lowest and least privileged track, many of the low-track students informed me that the longer they were placed in the lowest track, the more they socialized themselves and were socialized into becoming *yeongpoja* and not investing in English. It became clear that withdrawing from learning English and becoming *yeongpoja* was a manifestation of their resistance to the stigmatized social positioning as well as "incomprehensible" English, teachers' instructions, curricula, policies, and the neoliberal education system, all of which failed to include them as legitimate members of the school. Even if the low-track class was a safe space, it was not a transforming space, given the teachers' low expectations towards low-track students, social hierarchies in circulation at school, and their forever low-track identity.

What was notable was that despite their claims over the ineffectiveness of tracking on language learning, students, irrespective of tracks, displayed a preference to tracking over detracking: high-track students deemed low-track classes as a playing space and desired to achieve distinction from the “noisy” low-track students; low-track students viewed the high-track class as an “unreachable” imagined community and projected an uneasiness at being mixed in with “studious” high-track students. Apparently, the recursive practice of tracking contributed to setting up an institutional barrier among students and gradually building it higher, thereby tracking not only their abilities but also their habitus, subjectivity and identity. In this regard, this study demonstrated that the socialization into academic hierarchies steered lower-track students to self-track as academically and linguistically inferior learners to their high-track peers, and such a negative self-image had an influence on the cultural production of their *yeongpoja* identities and the taking of ambivalent stances towards detracking.

Even though this study was situated in a Korean public middle school, its findings have universal implications for language policy and planning in other contexts, especially where tracking has been pervasively practiced over several years. This study, thus, contributes a deeper understanding of the mechanisms of tracking in language classrooms and their impacts on educational outcomes in tandem with students’ academic, sociocultural and socioeconomic backgrounds around the world.

9.4 Implications of the Study

This study is starkly instructive in unpacking the underlying mechanisms of tracking in conjunction with competitive disposition, neoliberal subjectivity, and the promise of English in the Korean context, which all work to reproduce and further perpetuate unequal social relations in schools. One of the rationales for tracking is that students learn better in homogenously-

constituted tracks, and this discourse implies two ideological stances: it is possible to accurately sort students into homogenous groups; and homogenous grouping is more efficacious than mixed grouping in enhancing students' academic achievements (Benesch, 1991). As this study and previous research have demonstrated, however, students suffer in a learning environment in which they are presumed to be the same (Anderson & Oakes, 2014; Clandfield et al., 2014; Oakes, 1985). In this light, the belief of the homogenous class is an ideological and delusive myth which reinforces the conflation of student identities with their track categories and draws teachers' attention away from attending to students' individual differences.

In this study, thus, the notion of representations which is "the images, archetypes, or even stereotypes of identity with which students are labeled" (Harklau, 2000, p. 37) has lent useful insights in construing how given labels had consequences for students' language socialization, as it related to their identity development, investment in language learning, and educational aspirations. Given that the school hierarchy remains relatively immune to change due to the symbolic power which reinforces the categorical relations in the field of education (Bourdieu, 1990), the labeling of the low-track students had a significant influence in shaping not only teachers' and other tracked students' understanding of them but also their own understanding of themselves and their low-track peers vis-à-vis their counterparts in the other tracks.

As Toohey (2000) points out, "[t]he community, in a sense, produces success and failure for the children" (p. 75) because "the power/knowledge of the adults (at least) in the system" (p. 78) assigns different identity positions to them with respect to their academic achievement. That is, teachers wittingly and unwittingly make representations of students in their classrooms, in discussions with colleagues and parents, in writing on report cards and tracking them by their scores, and such a practice of representation functions to privilege or stereotype the students at

school (see Lin, 1999, 2013). Through this institutional positioning, schools not only position students, but force them to account for their own behavior and therefore position themselves, by implication, as having deficits. Apparently, tracking worked to create vertical relations among students explicitly and to widen academic gaps between high-track and low-track students. It served not only to ratify such a deficit-oriented learning model and propel teachers to cast students' resistance as an individual problem rather than as an act for pedagogical negotiation, but also to defend their unilateral and undifferentiated test-oriented instruction which failed to meet their students' knowledge and interests. Student resistance, claims Auerbach (2000), provides teachers with an important pedagogical lens in creating participatory learning environments:

The first is making space for student resistance—inviting students to express their discomfort either with the content or the process of instruction. The surest way to make any theme or activity wither on the vine is to impose one's own analysis or to expect unanimity of response. It is critical to expect and welcome resistance to what you (as the powerful teacher) are orchestrating—including resistances to participatory learning itself. Once resistances have been named, they can become the object of collaborative reflection and dialogue. (p. 161)

This study suggests the need for critically reexamining the tracking system and the government-approved textbooks in order to improve educational practices, which respond to students' needs, interests, and knowledge. Most importantly, this study has demonstrated that tracking through segregation does not serve as a solution for narrowing the achievement gap among students from diverse backgrounds. I believe that public education should be a space in which students can learn how to embrace differences through collaboration. Therefore, the

critical reexamination of tracking in juxtaposition with detracking is essential to help students envisage learning as a collaborative practice and to move beyond competitive dispositions and environments.

As much detracking research (Burris & Garrity, 2008; Oakes & Wells, 1998; Rubin, 2008; Yonezawa et al., 2002) and this study indicate, if detracking is viewed merely as a process of mixing students, detracked classrooms will continuously be an unsafe space for low-performing students, thereby exacerbating their exclusion to a greater extent. For instance, those low-track students who moved into Ms. Sun's G1 track, which was previously the middle-track class, displayed a high degree of anxiety and insecurity about interacting with their peers in group-based work. Because there was no instructional change to accommodate them, they felt that they did not have much to offer to their group members in terms of linguistic knowledge; consequently, some high-middle track-crossers complained that they learned nothing from their peers whose tracks were lower than theirs.

While tracking was a top-down policy, imposed by teachers and administrators, this study also found that many students had a desire to maintain tracking practices. A close analysis of classroom interactional data has shown the complex power relations that mediate tracking. Out of a concern of being dumbed down or tacitly positioned as having deficits, a majority of SunnyHill students, regardless of their tracks, projected ambivalent stances towards detracking. However, I have argued that the discourse of dumbing down has more to do with teachers' classroom practices than detracking itself in that many students deemed tracking uncondusive to English learning. Therefore, their ambivalence to learning in mixed classes pertains to affective, subjective, and ideological dimensions as a consequence of socialization into the hierarchical practice of tracking. As the teachers and students agreed, and my analysis has shown, there were

very few differences in instructional foci and materials used across tracks because of the test-oriented classroom practices; therefore, the benefits of tracking seemed to remain in theory, particularly for the low-track students' learning.

Nevertheless, the ways in which the teachers implemented their lessons appeared to be highly mediated by their beliefs and expectations about the category of tracked identities. Seen in this light, their beliefs that tracking allows them to tailor lessons to meet students' needs are ideologically constructed and ratified by a kind of misrecognition (Bourdieu, 1990), which makes it difficult for the teachers and students to have reflexive and critical discussions over this taken-for-granted practice. Therefore, of paramount importance is first and foremost deconstructing prevalent hierarchical-shaping practices, government-authorized curricula and textbooks, test-oriented instruction, and taken-for-granted practices, knowledge, and beliefs. In fact, a textbook can be a great resource for raising students' critical language awareness due to the hidden meanings and inequality embedded in texts and pictures and issues about what is included and what is not included in a text. Rather than teaching as it is, teachers need to problematize and deconstruct a textbook in order to reconstruct it more democratically. For this, Wallerstein and Auerbach (2004) suggest an inquiry-based approach which consists of the cyclical model of *listening* for generative issues and themes, *problem-posing dialogue* for critical discussion and reflection, and *action* for connecting the classroom to the real world (p. 13). More specifically, they encourage teachers to undergo a five-step questioning strategy⁹: 1) describe what you see; 2) see what is hidden under the picture; 3) share similar experiences of your own

⁹ The five-step procedure is based on Shaffer's (1983) SHOWeD: **S**ee, **H**appen, **O**ur lives, **W**hy & **e**valuate, and **D**o.

lives; 4) analyze the problems in a wider social context; and 5) develop effective strategies for change (pp.37-38). In my language class, for instance, I adopted this model in teaching with a picture of the Taj Mahal and words such as beautiful and romantic used to depict it in a Grade 7 textbook. First of all, I asked my students to describe the picture and then to problematize it by researching historical facts about the royal tomb, the Indian social caste system, and people who were victimized through the process of its construction. After that, I asked them to perform a skit and to describe the Taj Mahal again, and finally I directed them to identify other historical sites in their community, country, and around the world, which have similar historical backgrounds as the Taj Mahal. While achieving the government-sanctioned learning goals by teaching linguistic knowledge, I also attempted to relate this knowledge to the students' interests and the local community in order to facilitate low-performing students' participation.

Furthermore, it is important to negotiate the tracking policy agentively. In fact, the deployment of an additional instructor allows us to downsize the class and pay more attention to individual students. Rather than tracking students by ability, teachers can mix two homerooms and divide them into three mixed classes. Moreover, I suggest the allocation of at least one period a week to a special lesson in which teachers discard the textbook and utilize multiple resources to provide enhanced means to meet the needs of students. Given many students' ambivalence towards detracking as well as extracurricular supplementary lessons, it is also important to offer lessons directly requested by students during regular class periods. By surveying students' needs and interests, I suggest that teachers create three classes which focus on the development of specific language skills and which allows students to select their class according to their needs. This may invite those students who have been excluded in test-oriented classrooms to reinvest in English.

What matters is not whether or not teachers achieve government-sanctioned learning objectives but how they are achieved. While focusing on, say, a grammatical rule of the passive voice, teachers can still bring other materials, which bear more relevance to the students' lives and maximize their participation and autonomy. During my fieldwork, I often observed SunnyHill students practicing rapping and singing pop songs, some of which were taught in music class. Collaboration with music teachers in teaching pop songs might have increased students' motivation to English. Although the teacher-participants showed some interest in merging intertextual resources such as skits, games, pop songs, and movies into their teaching practices, they told me that what hindered them from adopting those multimodal resources was a lack of class time as well as the test-driven system in which the knowledge learned through pop culture was inconsequential for increasing the students' test scores. Even after the final-term exam, therefore, they continued teaching subsequent chapters in preparation for the mid-term test of Term 2.

As Duff (2004) notes, the infusion of intertextual hybridity with reference to pop culture in educational settings could be "a site of tension and ambivalence" (p. 231) for those who are unfamiliar with it, but "a potentially rich, powerful and engaging classroom resource" (p. 261) in maximizing students' language learning. Duff's claim resonates with Lin and Man (2011) who explored the pedagogical possibility of hip hop in English learning, especially for those without cultural capital and habitus for school success:

[I]f given the right role models and scaffolding (e.g., hip hop artists with bilingual cultural capital who can share with students both rapping and creative bilingual verbal skills), students coming from working class backgrounds can be helped to break through

the learned helplessness acquired through years of negative experience with language learning in the local schooling system. (p. 218; see also Pennycook, 2007)

For the success of students' English learning, therefore, I argue that teachers move beyond unilateral and top-down perspectives on the functions of textbooks and tests, and learning and teaching. Most of all, testing should be reconceptualized as a way to support students' learning, not as a hegemonic tool to intensify competition by stratifying them (Benesch, 1991; Shohamy, 2007).

Moreover, rather than viewing students as recipients or consumers of education, teachers should acknowledge them as co-partners in an educational community, and invite them to co-develop classroom practices. Opposed to a one-size-fits-all pedagogy (Freire, 1970), the pedagogical direction should be "*from the students to the curriculum*" rather than "*from the curriculum to the students*" as a way to encourage them to "discover their own knowledge, create new knowledge, and act on this knowledge" (Auerbach, 1995, p. 16, emphasis in original). In this classroom praxis, the curriculum is never predetermined but instead emerges through ongoing negotiation with students. That is, teachers and students collaborate and co-develop curriculum, materials, and even evaluation rubrics around their knowledge, interests, current issues, local community and a wider society (see Shor, 1992, 1996). I also suggest that teachers have regular meetings with a group of their students in order to seek their advice on their teaching skills and to gain insight into the difficulties that they may face in class.

When lessons are designed with topics concerning students' knowledge and struggles and delivered in a problem-posing dialogical approach, it might be possible for teachers to enhance their students' participation, autonomy, and language learning in class as well as their critical awareness on the social and political issues that surround them. Crucial to this praxis are

teachers' greater openness, hyper-reflexivity, and active engagement with students, parents, and other teachers (Auerbach, 2000; Kubota, 2014b; Kumaravadivelu, 2016; Pennycook, 2001; Ramanathan & Morgan, 2007). In order not to impose their ideologies upon students as norms, teachers need to introduce diverse conflicting views on issues and create a safe space in which difference is embraced, negotiated, and respected. For this, teacher collegiality is one key to success. Teachers need to build a community in which they can exchange their visions to help prevent them from being dogmatic and to co-develop curriculum and materials around local and global issues.

For developing practice-based policies, moreover, teachers' willingness to open their classroom doors to researchers and establish a teaching and research network is indeed indispensable. As this study has discussed, finding a research site in K-12 EFL settings is significantly challenging, and it is possible that this has to do with the paucity of classroom ethnography in Korea. In this respect, it is worth incorporating the findings of this study into pre- and in-service teacher education and professional development programs, and posing them as topics for discussion to raise teachers' critical awareness of them. It is for this reason that I argue that teachers' professional development programs need to move beyond merely focusing on the improvement of linguistic skills and CLT methods (see Hawkins & Norton, 2009; Kumaravadivelu, 2003). Discussion over how to understand teaching should be put ahead of how/what to teach. The programs should function as a locus for teachers to discuss the ideological issues around English and education policies such as CLT, TEE, and tracking, be more reflexive about their own practices and broaden their educational horizons and pedagogical visions in teaching English. More importantly, the government should take into

account the experiences, struggles, and knowledge from the grassroots level in designing curriculum, educational policies and the testing system.

9.5 Limitations and Directions for Future Research

In this study, I have examined the regime of tracking at one Korean middle school situated in a low socioeconomic catchment area and transcribed and translated all of the cross-cultural data. This dual role of researcher-translator can be viewed as a limitation in terms of the trustworthiness of the findings of the study. With this respect, I attempted to be highly reflexive in regards to the politics of translation as it was inextricably intertwined with my sociocultural and sociopolitical positioning. In representing and analyzing cross-cultural ethnographic data, especially through a microanalytic discourse lens, therefore, I went through a complex process of translation: the researcher's own translation; Korean speakers' feedback; and a native-English-speaking editor's feedback. If deemed necessary, I thickly described contexts and added elaborated explanations to Romanized Korean words along with *Hangul* in order to enhance readability for speakers from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds and to establish some degree of transferability to other similar contexts (see Duff, 2006; Polkinghorne, 2007). Although it took quite a considerable time, I found that this iterative process was crucial to keeping the richness of data and taking "good" care of my rigor. In this sense, I deem the dual role of researcher-translator as a limitation and at the same time as a strength of this study.

Another limitation of this study concerns delimiting data generation within the three English classrooms. Owing to my positionality as a public school teacher working at a neighboring school, I was afraid that my presence would increase SunnyHill teachers' anxiety and uneasiness, and I thus withdrew from collecting data outside of the English classrooms. In fact, my decision to define my data collection in this way was an attempt to eschew any potential

distress with which the teacher-participants might be confronted due to my presence. Mindful of the formidable obstacles that I encountered in finding a research site—I was even criticized for bringing Western research methodologies into Korean classrooms—I tried to be extremely careful not to put into conflicting situations any of the teacher-participants who opened their classrooms to me.

In future research, therefore, I suggest that researchers not only expand their observation to places such as teachers' offices, cafeterias, and homerooms, but to also embark on exploring schools located in more affluent residential areas. By studying up (De Costa, 2011a; Howard, 2008), they can show the politics of middle class parents in negotiating tracking and English learning and illuminate the way in which social privilege is deeply bound up with the neoliberalization of education. Finally, I hope that more EFL teachers become classroom ethnographers and address local circumstances, neoliberal pressures, and dilemmas faced by them daily in English classrooms, thereby demystifying the ideological aspects of language education policies and their discrepancies with local practices in EFL contexts.

9.6 Epilogue: Critical Ethnography as a Starting Point

Tracking embodies the ongoing tension between two powerful but inherently conflicting ethics of public education: the ethic of “commonality” by providing equal educational opportunities to all students through universal access to education; and the ethic of “differentiation” by differentiating the rewarding of their initiatives and achievements in the meritocratic system (Gamoran, 2010; Harklau, 1994b; Oakes, 1985). The latter ethic was a driving force which steered students to be submerged into tracking early on in their education and led teachers, including “myself” to believe tracking was a viable choice. Through this doctoral journey, I have realized that a lot of what we do in schools is done more or less out of

deep-seated beliefs and long-held assumptions about school cultures. It is therefore my hope that this inquiry into school tracking and its relationship to issues of equity and excellence will attract attention from students, parents, teachers, and policy makers and generate a discussion over how tracking may inhibit the learning of many students, adding momentum to detracking initiatives. As discussed earlier, however, detracking alone will not solve any problem unless teachers have greater awareness and effective strategies of how to teach multi-level classes.

As Shor (1992) notes, “[k]nowledge is the power to know, to understand but...[it becomes] power only for those who can use it to change their conditions” (p. 6). As a researcher who marches to the critical ethnographic drum, it is important to take action for the mobilization of knowledge through, for instance, performance (Denzin, 2003; Goldstein, 2001), and form-breaking representational practices. For producing more accessible work, I plan to work on publishing the findings of this study in nonacademic journals geared towards classroom teachers in Korea and present them at local teacher conferences and in professional development programs. Furthermore, I will also try to create a platform where teachers can discuss and reflect on their classroom practices and engage in participatory ethnography or ethnographic action research (Holliday, 1994; Ulichny, 1997) with like-minded teachers.

Tracking dovetailed in myriad ways with the neoliberal ideologies prevalent in Korea and raised serious concerns for how we think about and pursue equity and equality, inclusion and fairness in and through public education. As “public intellectuals” (Giroux, 2008), we, classroom teachers, are responsible for supporting our students to take up desirable identities and educating them with democratic values to become social agents who recognize the multiple ideologies, discourses, policies, and social conditions that shape their lives and engage critically with the larger world. A large number of students who marched in the large-scale candlelight protests

aimed at the impeachment of President Park, and the uncovering of possible hidden truths regarding the sinking of *Sewol* seem to serve as a signpost, which guides our pedagogical directions. While investing our practices more reflexively to shun our patronizing attitudes and to embrace different and often conflicting perspectives, we should reconstitute our pedagogy in more inclusive, responsive, and democratic terms. Otherwise, we may run the risk of silencing our students, producing more and more *yeongpoja*, and keeping the hegemonic ideology of English and neoliberalism alive through classroom practices, which only pay lip service to social equity and justice.

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Appendices

Appendix A Introductory letter and consent and assent forms

1. Introductory letter



a place of mind
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
Faculty of Education

Department of Language & Literacy Education
100 – 2034 Lower Mall
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Tel: (604) 822-5788
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Invitation to Research Participation

Why are we doing this study?

You are invited to participate in this study entitled “Critical ethnography of Tracked Grade 9 English classrooms: Class, identity and L2 Learning in a Korean Middle School”. We are interested in learning more about your views and experiences about teaching and learning English within the tracked classroom. To explore the effects of tracking on English learning, we will observe three tracked Grade 9 English classrooms and interview students, teachers and administrators for a semester from March to August in 2015.

What will your participation involve?

Your participation entails our class observations and collection of site documents and written materials such as handouts, test, and hands-on resources from each tracked classroom. It also involves answering a short questionnaire and participating in informal interviews as well as three formal individual interviews, conducted by Hyera concerning your beliefs, experiences, and opinions about the tracking policy in English education in South Korea. The interviews will last approximately 40-50 minutes and will be held in classrooms at your school. With your permission, the class practice and interview will be audio-recorded, but you have the right to opt out for it; this recording will help us create a more accurate transcript of data. You will have

access to a copy of the transcript and have the opportunity to correct anything you wish. Only the researchers will have access to the audio-recordings, and these will be securely stored at all times.

Confidentiality

Your identity as well as your school identity will be kept confidential and pseudonyms will be used in the final report. The researchers will be the only people who have access to the information.

Risks and Benefits

Our priority is protecting our participants from potential risks. We will be highly reflexive to our research process in order to do no harm to you. Through the process of interviews, we will avoid too sensitive and personal questions. This study may offer you an opportunity to reflect not only on your perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs about the tracking policy, but also on the development of policies and curricula which serve students from diverse backgrounds.

If you are interested or have further questions, please feel free to contact Hyera Byean, the co-investigator, by email.

Yours kindly,

Dr. Ryuko Kubota
Professor
Department of Language and Literacy Education
University of British Columbia

Dr. Steven Talmy
Associate professor
Department of Language and Literacy Education
University of British Columbia

Hyera Byean
PhD candidate
Department of Language and Literacy Education
University of British Columbia



여러분을 현장 연구조사에 초청합니다.

연구의 내용 및 목적

안녕하십니까? 저는 캐나다 밴쿠버에 위치한 브리티시 컬럼비아 대학교 (UBC), 영어교육 박사과정에 재학 중인 변혜라입니다. 현재 저는 박사논문으로 영어과 수준별이동수업에 대한 교사와 학생의 인식 및 수업실태 등을 연구하고 있으며, 이에 여러분의 현장조사 연구 참여를 간곡히 부탁드립니다. 대부분의 수준별이동 수업에 대한 연구는 설문조사 및 성적 비교 등으로 이루어졌기에, 실제 교실현장에서의 교사와 학생, 또는 학생과 학생의 상호작용에 대한 연구는 전무한 편입니다. 따라서, 저는 상반, 중반, 하반에 따라 실제 수업이 어떻게 이루어지고 있으며, 교사와 학생들은 수준별이동수업에 대해 어떻게 인식하고 있는지, 또한 수준별 이동수업이 학생들의 정체성 형성, 영어학업성취도 향상 등에 어떠한 영향을 미치는지에 대해 조사하려고 합니다. 이 연구는 영어교육의 수월성과 형평성을 동시에 극대화 시킬 수 있는 교수법, 교육과정, 및 교육정책 개발에 실질적으로 기여하는 것을 그 목표로 두고 있습니다.

연구 조사방법 및 연구 참여자의 역할

본 연구는 중학교 1학년 영어과 상반, 중반, 하반 학생들과 영어교사들을 대상으로, 2015년 3월 2일부터 8월 31일까지 진행될 것입니다. 본 연구는 교사의 동의 하에 두 반을 합쳐 수준별로 나눈 세 반의 영어를 가르치시는 세 분의 영어교사를 주요 교사 참여자로 선정할 것입니다. 더불어, 주 교사 참여자가 가르치는 세 교실에 속한 학생들이 학생과 부모의 동의 하에 학생참여자로 선정 될 것입니다. 본 연구는 수업관찰, 인터뷰, 학습자료수집 등을 통해 진행될 것이며, 보다 정확한 데이터 분석을 위해 연구참여자의 동의 하에 수업과 인터뷰는 녹취될 것입니다. 수업은 1 주일에 1 회, 인터뷰는 연구가 진행되는 동안 3 회 실시되며, 40 분에서 50 분 정도 소요될 것으로 예상됩니다. 필요 시는 연구종료 후, 이 메일을 통해 연구참여자와 소통할 수도 있습니다.

연구참여자의 인권보호

본 연구는 가명을 사용할 것이므로, 학교뿐 아니라 참여자의 기밀성은 엄격하게 유지될 것입니다. 모든 녹취된 내용은 오직 연구 조사자들만 접근 가능하며, 5 년동안 UBC

문서함에 보관한 후, 폐기될 것입니다. 저희는 연구 대상학교의 명성이나 연구참여자의 지위 및 정체성, 인권을 침해하지 않도록 최선을 다 할 것입니다

연구의 혜택

본 연구는 연구 참여자들에게 수준별이동수업뿐 아니라 영어학습에 대한 자신들의 인식, 태도, 믿음 등에 다시 한번 생각해보는 계기가 될 것입니다. 또한, 본 연구에 참여함으로써, 학생 중심의 영어교육 교수법, 교육과정, 및 교육정책 개발에 실질적으로 기여하게 될 것입니다.

본 연구에 대해 문의 사항이 있으시거나, 참여하실 의향이 있으시다면, 언제든지 연락 주시기 바랍니다.

감사합니다.

Dr. Ryuko Kubota

Professor (교수)

Department of Language and Literacy Education (언어어문교육학과)

University of British Columbia

Dr. Steven Talmy

Associate professor (조교수)

Department of Language and Literacy Education (언어어문교육학과)

University of British Columbia

변혜라

PhD candidate (박사과정)

Department of Language and Literacy Education (언어어문교육학과)

University of British Columbia

2. Consent form for administrators



a place of mind
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
Faculty of Education

Department of Language & Literacy Education
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Tel: (604) 822-5788
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Email: lled.educ@ubc.ca

Consent Form for Administrators

Title of the Study:
*Critical Ethnography on Tracked Grade 9 English Classrooms:
Class, Identity and L2 Learning in a Korean Middle School*

I. Who is conducting the study?

Principal Investigator: Dr. Ryuko Kubota

Department of Language and Literacy Education, UBC

Co-investigator: Dr. Steven Talmy

Department of Language and Literacy Education, UBC

Co-investigator: Hyera Byean

Department of Language and Literacy Education, UBC

II. Why are we doing this study?

This study will help us learn more about the range of views among students, teachers and administrators concerning the role of tracked-English classrooms in English teaching and learning. Tracking refers to placing students into high, middle, and low-track classrooms in accordance with their academic abilities. To explore the effects of tracking on students' English learning, we will observe three tracked Grade 9 English classrooms and interview students, teachers and administrators for a semester from March to August in 2015.

III. What happens if you say “Yes, I want to be in the study”?

If you decide to take part in this research study, here are the procedures we will use:

Interview: You will be asked to participate in one individual interview (at the beginning of the study), conducted by Hyera Byean concerning your beliefs, experiences, and perceptions about

the tracking policy in English education in South Korea. The interview will last approximately 40 to 50 minutes and will be held in your office at your school. With your permission, the interview will be audio-recorded, but you have the right to opt out of it; this recording will help us create a more accurate transcript of data. You will have access to a copy of the transcript and have the opportunity to correct anything you wish. However, only the researchers will have access to the audio-recordings, and these will be securely stored at all times.

IV. Is there any way being in this study could be bad for you?

Our priority is protecting our participants from potential risks. We will be highly reflexive to our research process in order to do no harm to you. Through the process of interviews, we will avoid too sensitive and personal questions. Also, you can choose not to answer any questions you do not feel comfortable replying.

V. What are the benefits of participating?

Taking part in this study might help you become more aware of your own perceptions, attitudes and beliefs about the tracking policy. Also, in the future, others may benefit from what we learn in this study with respect to the development of policies and curricula which serve students from diverse backgrounds.

VI. Measures to maintain confidentiality

Your identity as well as your school identity will be kept confidential and pseudonyms will be used in the final report. The principal investigator and the co-investigators will be the only people who have access to the information which will be kept for at least 5 years within a UBC facility (either a locked cabinet or a password-protected computer in the office of the principal investigator) then destroyed (paper copies shredded and electronic files erased).

VII. Who can I contact if I have questions about the study?

If you have any questions or concerns about what we are asking of you, please feel free to contact Dr. Ryuko Kubota, Dr. Steven Talmy or Hyera Byean. The names and telephone numbers are listed at the top of the first page of this form.

VIII. Who can I contact if I have complaints or concerns about the study?

If you have any concerns about your rights as a research subject and/or your experiences while participating in this study, you may contact the Research Subject Information Line in the UBC Office of Research Services at 604-822-8598 or if long distance e-mail RSIL@ors.ubc.ca or call toll free 1-877-822-8598.

IX. Participant consent and signature page

Your rights not to participate: Taking part in this study is entirely up to you. You have the right to refuse to participate in this study. If you decide to take part, you may choose to pull out of the study at any time without giving a reason.

I have received a copy of this consent form for my own records. I have read the above letter and consent to participate in the effects of tracked-English classrooms. I agree to allow the transcript of my class interaction, interview, and site documents to be used in this research, understanding that my name will be replaced by a pseudonym.

Your signature indicates that you consent to participate in this study.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Printed Name of the Participant signing above: _____



연구 참여자 동의서 (행정가용)

연구제목:

영어과 수준별이동수업에 대한 문화기술적 연구

I. 연구조사자는 누구인가요?

지도교수: Dr. Ryuko Kubota

언어어문교육학과 (Department of Language and Literacy Education), UBC, Canada

지도교수: Dr. Steven Talmy

언어어문교육학과 (Department of Language and Literacy Education), UBC, Canada

연구 조사자: 변혜라

언어어문교육학과 (Department of Language and Literacy Education), UBC, Canada

II. 연구의 목적 및 조사내용은 무엇인가요?

안녕하십니까? 저는 캐나다 밴쿠버에 위치한 브리티시 컬럼비아 대학교 (UBC), 영어교육 박사과정에 재학 중인 변혜라입니다. 현재 저는 박사논문으로 영어과 수준별이동수업에 대한 교사와 학생의 인식 및 수업실태 등을 연구하고 있으며, 이에 여러분의 현장조사 연구 참여를 간곡히 부탁드립니다. 대부분의 수준별이동 수업에 대한 연구는 설문조사 및 성적 비교 등으로 이루어졌기에, 실제 교실현장에서의 교사와 학생, 또는 학생과 학생의 상호작용에 대한 연구는 전무한 편입니다. 따라서, 저는 상반, 중반, 하반에 따라 실제 수업이 어떻게 이루어지고 있으며, 교사와 학생들은 수준별이동수업에 대해 어떻게 인식하고 있는지, 또한 수준별 이동수업이 학생들의 정체성 형성, 영어학업성취도 향상 등에 어떠한 영향을 미치는지에 대해 조사하려고 합니다. 이 연구는 영어교육의 수월성과 형평성을 동시에 극대화 시킬 수 있는 교수법, 교육과정, 및 교육정책 개발에 실질적으로 기여하는 것을 그 목표로 두고 있습니다.

III. 연구 참여자가 되면 어떤 일을 하게 되나요?

본 연구에 참여하신다면, 다음과 같은 일에 참여하셔야 합니다.

인터뷰: 연구가 진행되는 동안 1 회 (3 월 내지 4 월)의 개인인터뷰에 참여하셔야 합니다. 인터뷰는 수준별이동수업에 대한 선생님의 인식 및 경험 등에 대한 내용으로 40 분에서 50 분 정도로 연구자 (변혜라)에 의해 개인 집무실에서 실시되며 녹음될 것입니다. 또한, 선생님께서 요청 시, 문서화된 녹취 내용은 공개될 것이나, 녹취 테이프는 공개할 수 없음을 알려 드립니다. 녹취 테이프는 오직 연구조사자만 접근 가능하며, UBC 문서 보관함에 안전하게 보관 될 것입니다.

IV. 본 연구의 위험성은 무엇인가요?

본 연구의 최우선 순위는 연구참여자를 보호하는 것입니다. 인터뷰 실시 시, 지나치게 민감한 주제는 피할 것이며, 연구참여자가 원하지 않을 시는 질문에 응답하지 않으셔도 됩니다. 연구가 진행되는 동안, 저희는 연구참여자에게 피해가 가지 않도록 최선을 다할 것입니다.

V. 본 연구는 참여자에게 어떤 혜택을 주나요?

본 연구는 연구 참여자들에게겐 수준별이동수업뿐 아니라 영어학습에 대한 자신들의 인식, 태도, 믿음 등에 다시 한번 생각해 보는 계기가 될 것입니다. 또한, 본 연구에 참여함으로써, 학생 중심의 영어교육 교수법, 교육과정, 및 교육정책 개발에 실질적으로 기여하게 될 것입니다.

VI. 본 연구는 연구참여자를 어떻게 보호할 것인가요?

본 연구는 가명을 사용할 것이므로, 학교뿐 아니라 참여자의 기밀성은 엄격하게 유지될 것입니다. 가명은 연구 참여자가 선택가능하며 연구가 진행되는 동안 언제든지 변경 가능합니다. 모든 녹취된 내용은 오직 연구 조사자들만 접근 가능하며, 5 년동안 UBC 문서함에 보관한 후, 폐기될 것입니다. 저희는 연구 대상학교의 명성이나 연구참여자의 지위 및 정체성, 인권을 침해하지 않도록 최선을 다 할 것입니다.

VII. 본 연구에 대해 문의 사항이 있을 시는 어떻게 해야 하나요?

본 연구는 대해 문의 사항이 있으시면, 저희에게 언제든지 연락 주시기 바랍니다. 이름, 전화번호 및 이 메일 주소는 첫 장을 참고로 하세요.

VIII. 본 연구에 대해 불만사항이 있을 시는 어떻게 해야 하나요?

본 연구는 대해 불만 사항이나 여러분의 권리 등에 대해 궁금하실 시는 캐나다 밴쿠버에 위치한 UBC 연구조사 기관 (RSIL)에 언제든지 연락 주시기 바랍니다.

전화번호: 604-822-8598/ 수신자 부담: 1-877-822-8598/ e-mail:

RSIL@ors.ubc.ca

IX. 연구조사 참여자 동의서

본 연구 참여 여부는 본인의 동의 하에 결정될 것입니다. 참여에 동의하신 후에도, 언제든지 연구 참여를 거부할 수 있는 권리가 있음을 알려드립니다.

저는 동의서 양식의 사본을 받았습니다. 위 연구 내용은 다 숙지하고 있으며, 이에 본 연구에 참여하는 것을 동의하는 바입니다. 저의 이름이 가명으로 대체된다는 조건 하에 인터뷰 내용의 분석을 허락하는 바입니다.

싸인: _____

날짜: _____

성명: _____

3. Consent form for teachers



a place of mind
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
Faculty of Education

Department of Language & Literacy Education
100 – 2034 Lower Mall
Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6T 1Z2
Tel: (604) 822-5788
Fax: (604) 822-3154
Email: lled.educ@ubc.ca

Consent Form for Teachers

Title of the Study:

*Critical Ethnography on Tracked Grade 9 English Classrooms:
Class, Identity and L2 Learning in a Korean Middle School*

I. Who is conducting the study?

Principal Investigator: Dr. Ryuko Kubota

Department of Language and Literacy Education, UBC

Co-investigator: Dr. Steven Talmy

Department of Language and Literacy Education, UBC

Co-investigator: Hyera Byean

Department of Language and Literacy Education, UBC

II. Why are we doing this study?

This study will help us learn more about the range of views among students, teachers and administrators concerning the role of tracked-English classrooms in English teaching and learning. Tracking refers to placing students into high, middle, and low-track classrooms in accordance with their academic abilities. To explore the effects of tracking on students' English learning, we will observe three tracked Grade 9 English classrooms and interview students, teachers and administrators for a semester from March to August in 2015.

III. What happens if you say “Yes, I want to be in the study”?

If you decide to take part in this research study, here are the procedures we will use:

Class observation: You will be asked to allow us to observe and audio-record classroom interactions between you and your students during the English lesson once a week.

Documents: You will be asked to share your syllabus, lesson plans, teaching resources and others.

Interviews: You will be asked to participate in informal interviews before or after class about some events which have just happened, only lasting for a short period time. You will be also asked to take part in three formal interviews (March, April and July), conducted by Hyera Byean concerning your beliefs, experiences, and perceptions about the tracking policy in English education in South Korea. Each interview will last approximately 40 to 50 minutes and will be held in a classroom or wherever convenient for you at your school. With your permission, the interview will be audio-recorded, but you have the right to opt out of it. You will have access to a copy of the transcript and have the opportunity to correct anything you wish. However, only the researchers will have access to the audio-recordings, and these will be securely stored at all times.

IV. Is there any way being in this study could be bad for you?

Our priority is protecting our participants from potential risks. We will be highly reflexive to our research process in order to do no harm to you. Through the process of interviews, we will avoid too sensitive and personal questions. Also, you can choose not to answer any questions you do not feel comfortable replying.

V. What are the benefits of participating?

Taking part in this study might help you become more aware of your own perceptions, attitudes and beliefs about the tracking policy. Also, in the future, others may benefit from what we learn in this study with respect to the development of policies and curricula which serve students from diverse backgrounds.

VI. Measures to maintain confidentiality

Your identity as well as your school identity will be kept confidential and pseudonyms will be used in the final report. The principal investigator and the co-investigators will be the only people who have access to the information which will be kept for at least 5 years within a UBC

facility (either a locked cabinet or a password-protected computer in the office of the principal investigator) then destroyed (paper copies shredded and electronic files erased).

VII. Will you be paid for your time/ taking part in this research study?

If you wish, the co-investigator, Hyera Byean can help your class as an assistant or sometimes a substitute. She can also provide your students with a consulting session about their English learning, future study opportunities and others.

VIII. Who can you contact if you have questions about the study?

If you have any questions or concerns about what we are asking of you, please feel free to contact Dr. Ryuko Kubota, Dr. Steven Talmy or Hyera Byean. The names and telephone numbers are listed at the top of the first page of this form.

IX. Who can you contact if you have complaints or concerns about the study?

If you have any concerns about your rights as a research subject and/or your experiences while participating in this study, you may contact the Research Subject Information Line in the UBC Office of Research Services at 604-822-8598 or if long distance e-mail RSIL@ors.ubc.ca or call toll free 1-877-822-8598.

X. Participant consent and signature page

Your rights not to participate: Taking part in this study is entirely up to you. You have the right to refuse to participate in this study. If you decide to take part, you may choose to pull out of the study at any time without giving a reason.

I have received a copy of this consent form for my own records. I have read the above letter and consent to participate in the effects of tracked-English classrooms. I agree to allow the transcript of my class interaction, interview, and site documents to be used in this research, understanding that my name will be replaced by a pseudonym.

Your signature indicates that you consent to participate in this study.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Printed Name of the Participant signing above: _____



연구 참여자 동의서 (교사용)

연구제목:

영어과 수준별이동수업에 대한 문화기술적 연구

I. 연구조사자는 누구인가요?

지도교수: Dr. Ryuko Kubota

언어어문교육학과 (Department of Language and Literacy Education), UBC, Canada

지도교수: Dr. Steven Talmy

언어어문교육학과 (Department of Language and Literacy Education), UBC, Canada

연구 조사자: 변혜라

언어어문교육학과 (Department of Language and Literacy Education), UBC, Canada

II. 연구의 목적 및 조사내용은 무엇인가요?

안녕하십니까? 저는 캐나다 밴쿠버에 위치한 브리티시 컬럼비아 대학교 (UBC), 영어교육 박사과정에 재학 중인 변혜라입니다. 현재 저는 박사논문으로 영어과 수준별이동수업에 대한 교사와 학생의 인식 및 수업실태 등을 연구하고 있으며, 이에 여러분의 현장조사 연구 참여를 간곡히 부탁드립니다. 대부분의 수준별이동 수업에 대한 연구는 설문조사 및 성적 비교 등으로 이루어졌기에, 실제 교실현장에서의 교사와 학생, 또는 학생과 학생의 상호작용에 대한 연구는 전무한 편입니다. 따라서, 저는 상반, 중반, 하반에 따라 실제 수업이 어떻게 이루어지고 있으며, 교사와 학생들은 수준별이동수업에 대해 어떻게 인식하고 있는지, 또한 수준별 이동수업이 학생들의 정체성 형성, 영어학업성취도 향상 등에 어떠한 영향을 미치는지에 대해 조사하려고 합니다. 이 연구는 영어교육의 수월성과 형평성을 동시에 극대화 시킬 수 있는 교수법, 교육과정, 및 교육정책 개발에 실질적으로 기여하는 것을 그 목표로 두고 있습니다.

III. 연구 참여자가 되면 어떤 일을 하게 되나요?

본 연구에 참여하신다면, 다음과 같은 일에 참여하셔야 합니다.

1) **수업관찰:** 저희는 선생님의 영어수업을 1 주일 1 회 관찰할 것이며, 수업내용은 교사와 학생의 상호작용 분석을 목적으로 녹음될 것입니다.

2) **학습자료 수집:** 저희는 선생님의 학습지도안, 수업 자료, 시험지 등을 수집할 수도 있습니다.

3) **인터뷰:** 저희는 수업 전/후 5 분정도 간단한 인터뷰를 실시 할 수도 있습니다. 인터뷰는 수업 중에 일어난 내용에 대한 것으로 녹음을 할 수도 있고 하지 않을 수도 있습니다. 또한 연구가 진행되는 동안 3 회 (3 월, 5 월, 7 월)의 개인인터뷰에 참여하여야 합니다. 인터뷰는 수준별이동수업에 대한 선생님의 인식 및 경험 등에 대한 내용으로 40 분에서 50 분 정도로 연구자 (변혜라)에 의해 빈 교실이나 교사 연구실 등에서 실시되며 녹음될 것입니다. 또한, 선생님께서 요청 시, 문서화된 인터뷰 녹취 내용은 공개될 것이나, 녹취 테이프는 공개할 수 없음을 알려 드립니다. 녹취 테이프는 오직 연구조사자만 접근 가능하며, UBC 문서 보관함에 안전하게 보관 될 것입니다.

IV. 본 연구의 위험성은 무엇인가요?

본 연구의 최우선 순위는 연구참여자를 보호하는 것입니다. 인터뷰 실시 시, 지나치게 민감한 주제는 피할 것이며, 연구참여자가 원하지 않을 시는 질문에 응답하지 않으셔도 됩니다. 연구가 진행되는 동안, 저희는 연구참여자에게 피해가 가지 않도록 최선을 다할 것입니다.

V. 본 연구는 참여자에게 어떤 혜택을 주나요?

본 연구는 연구 참여자들에게 수준별이동수업뿐 아니라 영어학습에 대한 자신들의 인식, 태도, 믿음 등에 다시 한번 생각해 보는 계기가 될 것입니다. 또한, 본 연구에 참여함으로써, 학생 중심의 영어교육 교수법, 교육과정, 및 교육정책 개발에 실질적으로 기여하게 될 것입니다.

VI. 본 연구는 연구참여자를 어떻게 보호할 것인가요?

본 연구는 가명을 사용할 것이므로, 학교뿐 아니라 참여자의 기밀성은 엄격하게 유지될 것입니다. 가명은 연구 참여자가 선택가능하며 연구가 진행되는 동안 언제든지 변경 가능합니다. 모든 녹취된 내용은 오직 연구 조사자들만 접근 가능하며, 5 년동안 UBC 문서함에 보관한 후, 폐기될 것입니다. 저희는 연구 대상학교의 명성이나 연구참여자의 지위 및 정체성, 인권을 침해하지 않도록 최선을 다 할 것입니다.

VII. 연구 참여하면 교사와 학생에게 어떤 이득이 있나요?

원하신다면, 연구자 (변혜라)는 보조교사 등의 역할을 할 수 있으며, 대강도 해드릴 수 있습니다. 또한 주 연구 참여 학생들에게 현장연구 조사 진행 중이나 종료 후에

상관없이, 학생의 영어학습뿐 아니라 미래 설계, 유학 등 여러 주제에 대해서 언제든지 상담을 해 드릴 것 입니다.

VIII. 본 연구에 대해 문의 사항이 있을 시는 어떻게 해야 하나요?

본 연구는 대해 문의 사항이 있으시면, 저희에게 언제든지 연락 주시기 바랍니다. 이름, 전화번호 및 이 메일 주소는 첫 장을 참고로 하세요.

IX. 본 연구에 대해 불만사항이 있을 시는 어떻게 해야 하나요?

본 연구는 대해 불만 사항이나 여러분의 권리 등에 대해 궁금하실 시는 캐나다 밴쿠버에 위치한 UBC 연구조사 기관 (RSIL)에 언제든지 연락 주시기 바랍니다.

전화번호: 604-822-8598/ 수신자 부담: 1-877-822-8598/ e-mail:

RSIL@ors.ubc.ca

X. 연구조사 참여자 동의서

본 연구 참여 여부는 본인의 동의 하에 결정될 것입니다. 참여에 동의하신 후에도, 언제든지 연구 참여를 거부할 수 있는 권리가 있음을 알려드립니다.

저는 동의서 양식의 사본을 받았습니다. 위 연구 내용은 다 숙지하고 있으며, 이에 본 연구에 참여하는 것을 동의하는 바입니다. 저의 이름이 가명으로 대체된다는 조건 하에 인터뷰 내용의 분석을 허락하는 바입니다.

싸인: _____

날짜: _____

성명: _____

4. Consent form for parents



a place of mind
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
Faculty of Education

Department of Language & Literacy Education
100 – 2034 Lower Mall
Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6T 1Z2
Tel: (604) 822-5788
Fax: (604) 822-3154
Email: lled.educ@ubc.ca

All Students Consent Form for Parents

Title of the Study:

*Critical Ethnography on Tracked Grade 9 English Classrooms:
Class, Identity and L2 Learning in a Korean Middle School*

I. Who is conducting the study?

Principal Investigator: Dr. Ryuko Kubota

Department of Language and Literacy Education, UBC

Co-investigator: Dr. Steven Talmy

Department of Language and Literacy Education, UBC

Co-investigator: Hyera Byean

Department of Language and Literacy Education, UBC

II. Why are we doing this study?

This study will help us learn more about the range of views among students, teachers and administrators concerning the role of tracked-English classrooms in English teaching and learning. Tracking refers to placing students into high, middle, and low-track classrooms in accordance with their academic abilities. To explore the effects of tracking on students' English learning, we will observe three tracked Grade 9 English classrooms and interview students, teachers and administrators for a semester from March to August in 2015.

III. What happens if you say “Yes, I want my child to be in the study”?

Your child can take part in the study as either a “**regular**” participant or a “**focal**” participant. The “focal” participant will be requested greater participation than the “regular” participant. This is because the focal participant will do things “in addition to” what the regular participant will be asked to do.

If your child is a “REGULAR” participant in this study, here are the procedures we will use:

1) Questionnaires: A questionnaire will be given to your child in order to collect data related to her educational backgrounds, English learning history and future dreams. Filling out the questionnaire will take about 15-20 minutes.

2) Class observations: We will observe and audio-record classroom interactions between the teacher and students including your child during the English lesson once a week.

3) Informal interviews: We will sometimes interview your child before or after class about some events that have just happened, only lasting for a short period time. The interviews will be either recorded or unrecorded.

4) Documents: We will sometimes collect your child’s class work such as handouts, homework, textbooks, etc.

If your child is a “FOCAL” participant in this study, here are the procedures we will use in addition to the above:

5) An audio-recorder carrier: We will ask your child to carry an audio-recording gadget during class.

6) Formal Interviews: Your child will be asked to take part in three formal interviews (March, April and July), conducted by Hyera Byean concerning her learning experiences within the tracked English classroom. Each interview will last approximately 40 to 50 minutes and will be held in an empty classroom at her school. The interviews will be audio-recorded.

IV. Will you be paid for your time/ taking part in this research study?

If your child takes part in this study as a “focal” participant, we will provide her with a consulting session about her English learning, future study opportunities and others. We will also offer your child a gift card for books (\$20) to appreciate her participation. Your child will still be given a gift card, if she withdraws before completion of the study.

V. What will happen if your child does not take part in the research?

If your child does not participate, data related to her will not be included in this study. We will do our best not to disturb her study during class and infringe on her human right.

VI. What will happen after the research?

Upon your request, the researcher will e-mail you a copy of the transcript and a summary of the research in Korean.

VII. Is there any way being in this study could be bad for your child?

Our priority is protecting our participants from potential risks. We will be highly reflexive to our research process in order to do no harm to your child. Through the process of interviews, we will avoid too sensitive and personal questions. Also, your child can choose not to answer any questions she does not feel comfortable replying.

VIII. What are the benefits of participating?

Taking part in this study might help your child think about her own attitudes and beliefs concerning learning English within the tracked classroom. Also, in the future, others may benefit from what we learn in this study with respect to the development of student-friendly policies and curricula.

IX. Measures to maintain Confidentiality

The identity of your child as well as her school identity will be kept confidential and pseudonyms will be used in the final report. The principal investigator and the co-investigators will be the only people who have access to the information which will be kept for at least 5 years within a UBC facility (either a locked cabinet or a password-protected computer in the office of the principal investigator) then destroyed (paper copies shredded and electronic files erased).

X. Who can you contact if you have questions about the study?

If you have any questions or concerns about what we are asking of you, please feel free to contact Dr. Ryuko Kubota, Dr. Steven Talmy or Hyera Byean. The names and telephone numbers are listed at the top of the first page of this form.

XI. Who can you contact if you have complaints or concerns about the study?

If you have any concerns about your rights as a research subject and/or your experiences while participating in this study, you may contact the Research Subject Information Line in the UBC Office of Research Services at 604-822-8598 or if long distance e-mail RSIL@ors.ubc.ca or call toll free 1-877-822-8598.

XII. Participant consent and signature page

Your rights not to participate: Taking part in this study is entirely up to you and your child. You and your child have the right to refuse to participate in this study. If you allow your child to take part, you may choose to pull her out of the study at any time without giving a reason.

I have received a copy of this consent form for my own records. I have read the above letter and consent my child, _____ (name of your child) to participate in this study. I

agree to allow the transcript of the class interaction, interview, and site documents of my child to be used in this research, understanding that her name will be replaced by a pseudonym.

Focal participant

If you agree your child to become a focal participant, please, check a box below.

- I allow my child to take part in this research as a focal participant.
- I do **NOT** allow my child to take part in this research as a focal participant.

Your signature indicates that you consent to participate in this study.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Printed Name of the Participant signing above: _____



학생 참여자 동의서 (학부모용)

연구제목:

영어과 수준별이동수업에 대한 문화기술적 연구

I. 연구조사자는 누구인가요?

지도교수: Dr. Ryuko Kubota

언어어문교육학과 (Department of Language and Literacy Education), UBC, Canada

지도교수: Dr. Steven Talmy

언어어문교육학과 (Department of Language and Literacy Education), UBC, Canada

연구 조사자: 변혜라

언어어문교육학과 (Department of Language and Literacy Education), UBC, Canada

II. 연구의 목적 및 조사내용은 무엇인가요?

안녕하십니까? 저는 캐나다 밴쿠버에 위치한 브리티시 컬럼비아 대학교 (UBC), 영어교육 박사과정에 재학 중인 변혜라입니다. 현재 저는 박사논문으로 영어과 수준별이동수업에 대한 교사와 학생의 인식 및 수업실태 등을 연구하고 있으며, 이에 여러분의 현장조사 연구 참여를 간곡히 부탁드립니다. 대부분의 수준별이동 수업에 대한 연구는 설문조사 및 성적 비교 등으로 이루어졌기에, 실제 교실현장에서의 교사와 학생, 또는 학생과 학생의 상호작용에 대한 연구는 전무한 편입니다. 따라서, 저는 상반, 중반, 하반에 따라 실제 수업이 어떻게 이루어지고 있으며, 교사와 학생들은 수준별이동수업에 대해 어떻게 인식하고 있는지, 또한 수준별 이동수업이 학생들의 정체성 형성, 영어학업성취도 향상 등에 어떠한 영향을 미치는지에 대해 조사하려고 합니다. 이 연구는 영어교육의 수월성과 형평성을 동시에 극대화 시킬 수 있는 교수법, 교육과정, 및 교육정책 개발에 실질적으로 기여하는 것을 그 목표로 두고 있습니다.

III. 연구 참여자가 되면 어떤 일을 하게 되나요?

학부모님의 자녀분은 “일반” 참여자나 “주” 참여자로 본 연구에 참여할 수 있습니다. “주” 참여자는 “일반” 참여자가 하는 일과 더불어 조금 더 많은 일을 하게 됩니다.

저희가 “일반” 참여자가 대상으로 할 일은 다음과 같습니다.

- 1) **설문지:** 저희는 학생의 교육배경, 영어학습 방법, 장래희망 등에 대한 간단한 설문을 15 분에서 20 분동안 실시할 것입니다.
- 2) **수업관찰:** 저희는 학생의 영어수업을 1 주일 1 회 관찰할 것이며, 수업내용은 교사와 학생의 상호작용 분석을 목적으로 녹음될 것입니다.
- 3) **짧은 인터뷰:** 저희는 수업 전/후 5 분정도 간단한 인터뷰를 실시 할 수도 있습니다. 인터뷰는 수업 중에 일어난 내용에 대한 것으로 녹음을 할 수도 있고 하지 않을 수도 있습니다.
- 4) **학습자료 수집:** 저희는 학생의 학습지, 숙제, 필기내용 등을 수집할 수도 있습니다.

“주” 연구 참여자는 위 사항과 더불어 다음과 같은 일을 하게 됩니다.

- 5) **녹음기 소지:** 주 연구참여자는 수업 중 녹음기를 지니고 다닐 수도 있습니다.
- 6) **인터뷰:** 연구가 진행되는 동안 3 회 (3 월, 5 월, 7 월)의 개인인터뷰에 참여하여야 합니다. 인터뷰는 수준별이동수업에 대한 학생의 인식 및 경험 등에 대한 내용으로 40 분에서 50 분 정도로 방과 후에 실시되며 녹음될 것입니다.

IV. 연구 참여시 어떤 혜택을 받게 되나요?

“주” 연구참여자로 연구에 참여하는 학생에게 학생 및 학부모의 요청 시에는 현장연구 조사 진행 중이나 종료 후에 상관없이, 연구 조사자가 학생의 영어학습뿐 아니라 미래 설계, 유학 등 여러 주제에 대해서 언제든지 학생 및 학부모 상담을 해 드릴 것 입니다. 더불어, 주 연구참여자는 2 만원 상당의 도서상품권을 받게 될 것입니다.

V. 연구에 전혀 참여하지 않을 시는 어떻게 되나요?

학부모님의 자녀분이 연구에 참여하지 않을 시에는 학생과 관련된 모든 자료는 연구에 전혀 포함되지 않을 것입니다. 저희는 자녀분의 학습이나 인권을 침해하지 않기 위하여 최선의 노력을 기울일 것입니다.

VI. 연구조사 종료 후에는 어떻게 되나요?

학생 및 학부모의 요청 시에는 연구조사 한국어 요약 분을 이 메일로 보내드릴 수 있으며, 연구조사자가 필요 시에는 연구종료 후에도 학생에게 이 메일을 보낼 수도 있습니다.

VII. 본 연구의 위험성은 무엇인가요?

본 연구의 최우선 순위는 연구참여자를 보호하는 것입니다. 인터뷰 실시 시, 지나치게 민감한 주제는 피할 것이며, 연구참여자가 원하지 않을 시는 질문에 응답하지 않으셔도 됩니다. 연구가 진행되는 동안, 저희는 연구참여자에게 피해가 가지 않도록 최선을 다할 것입니다.

VIII. 본 연구는 참여자에게 어떤 혜택을 주나요?

본 연구는 연구 참여자들에게 수준별이동수업뿐 아니라 영어학습에 대한 자신들의 인식, 태도, 믿음 등에 다시 한번 생각해 보는 계기가 될 것입니다. 또한, 본 연구에 참여함으로써, 학생 중심의 영어교육 교수법, 교육과정, 및 교육정책 개발에 실질적으로 기여하게 될 것입니다.

IX. 본 연구는 연구참여자를 어떻게 보호할 것인가요?

본 연구는 가명을 사용할 것이므로, 학교뿐 아니라 학생 참여자의 기밀성은 엄격하게 유지될 것입니다. 가명은 연구 참여자가 선택 가능하며 연구가 진행되는 동안 언제든지 변경 가능합니다. 모든 녹취된 내용은 오직 연구자들만 접근 가능하며, 5년동안 UBC 문서함에 보관한 후, 폐기될 것입니다. 저희는 연구 대상학교의 명성이나 연구참여자의 지위 및 정체성, 인권을 침해하지 않도록 최선을 다 할 것입니다.

X. 본 연구에 대해 문의 사항이 있을 시는 어떻게 해야 하나요?

본 연구는 대해 문의 사항이 있으시면, 저희에게 언제든지 연락 주시기 바랍니다. 이름, 전화번호 및 이 메일 주소는 첫 장을 참고로 하세요.

XI. 본 연구에 대해 불만사항이 있을 시는 어떻게 해야 하나요?

본 연구는 대해 불만 사항이나 여러분의 권리 등에 대해 궁금하실 시는 캐나다 밴쿠버에 위치한 UBC 연구조사 기관 (RSIL)에 언제든지 연락 주시기 바랍니다.

전화번호: 604-822-8598/ 수신자 부담: 1-877-822-8598/ e-mail:

RSIL@ors.ubc.ca

XII. 연구조사 참여자 동의서

본 연구 참여 여부는 본인의 동의 하에 결정될 것입니다. 참여에 동의하신 후에도, 언제든지 연구 참여를 거부할 수 있는 권리가 있음을 알려드립니다.

저는 동의서 양식의 사본을 받았습니다. 위 연구 내용은 다 숙지하고 있으며, 이에 저의 여식 _____ (자녀이름)이 본 연구에 참여하는 것을 동의하는 바입니다. 저의 여식의 이름이 가명으로 대체된다는 조건 하에 교실수업, 인터뷰, 수업보조 자료 등의 분석을 허락하는 바입니다.

주 연구참여자 희망 여부

- 주 연구 참여자로 연구에 참여하는 것을 허락합니다.
- 주 연구 참여자로 연구에 참여하는 것을 허락하지 않습니다.

싸인: _____

날짜: _____

학부모님 성명: _____

학생 반/ 성명: _____

5. Assent form for students

Appendix I-1 (English version)



a place of mind
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
Faculty of Education

Department of Language & Literacy Education
100 – 2034 Lower Mall
Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6T 1Z2
Tel: (604) 822-5788
Fax: (604) 822-3154
Email: lled.educ@ubc.ca

Assent Form for Students

Title of the Study:

*Critical Ethnography on Tracked Grade 9 English Classrooms:
Class, Identity and L2 Learning in a Korean Middle School*

I. Who is conducting the study?

Principal Investigator: Dr. Ryuko Kubota

Department of Language and Literacy Education, UBC

Co-investigator: Dr. Steven Talmy

Department of Language and Literacy Education, UBC

Co-investigator: Hyera Byean

Department of Language and Literacy Education, UBC

II. What is a research study?

A research study is a way to find out new information about things. Students do not need to be in a research if they don't want to.

III. Why are you being asked to be part of this research study?

You are being asked to take part in this research study because we want to learn more about your thought and experiences about learning English within the tracked classroom. We are asking you to be in the study because your class has been selected as a research site. However, if you do not want to, you do not need to participate in the study.

IV. If you join the study as a participant, what will happen to you?

- You will be in the study from March to August in 2015.
- We will ask you to answer a questionnaire about your educational backgrounds, English learning history, future aspirations, etc.
- We will observe and audio-record your English classroom interactions with the teacher and other students.
- We will sometimes collect your class work such as handouts, homework, textbook, etc.
- We will sometimes interview you before or after class about some events that have just happened, only lasting for a short period time. The interviews will be either recorded or unrecorded.
- After the research, we might e-mail you if needed.

V. If you join the study as a focal participant, what will happen to you?

In addition to the above

- We will ask you to carry an audio-recording gadget during class.
- We will also interview you three times in March, May and July respectively. The interviews will take place at an empty classroom after school, lasting for about 40 to 50 minutes. We will ask you about your learning experiences within the tracked English classroom. The interviews will be audio-recorded.
- Focal participants will be given a gift card for books (\$ 20)
- We will provide you with a consulting session about your English learning, future study opportunities and others.

VI. What will happen if you do not take part in the research?

If you do not participate, data related to you will not be included in this study. We will do our best not to disturb your study during class and infringe on your human right.

VII. Will any part of the study hurt?

To protect you from possible risks, we will use a nickname for your school and ask you to choose a nickname on our own. We promise you we will delete all information which may indicate you. We will also not ask you something too personal and sensitive. Also, you can choose not to answer any questions you do not feel comfortable replying.

VIII. Will the study help you?

We will try to find whether the tracking practice is helpful in improving English. The findings of this study will help develop student-friendly policies and curriculum.

IX. Do your parents know about this study?

This study was explained to your parents and they said that we could ask you if you want to be in it. You can talk this over with them before you decide.

X. Who will see the information collected about you?

The information collected about you during this study will be kept safely locked up. Nobody will know it except the people doing the research. Upon your parents' request, the study information about you will be given to them. The researchers will not tell your friends or anyone else.

XI. Do you have to be in the study?

You do not have to be in the study. No one will be upset if you don't want to do this study. If you don't want to be in this study, you just have to tell us. It's up to you. You can also take more time to think about being in the study. If you are not in this study, data related to you will not be included in this study. We will also make sure not to disturb your study during class.

XII. What if you have any questions?

You can ask any questions that you may have about the study. If you have a question later that you didn't think of now, either you can call/ e-mail or have your parents call/ e-mail.

XIII. Other information about the study

- If you decide to be in the study, please write your name below.
- You can change your mind and stop being part of it at any time. All you have to do is tell the person in charge. It's okay.
- The researchers and your parents won't be upset.

You will be given a copy of this paper to keep.

- I will be in this research study.
- I do NOT want to do this.
- I will be a focal participant
- I will NOT be a focal participant

Student's name signature of the student Date

Person obtaining Assent signature Date



동의서 (학생용)

연구 제목:

중학교 3학년 영어과 수준별 이동수업에 대한 연구조사

I. 누가 이 연구를 하나요?

주 연구자: Dr. Ryuko Kubota (교수)

언어어문교육학과, University of British Columbia (UBC), 캐나다

공동 연구자: Dr. Steven Talmy (교수)

언어어문교육학과, University of British Columbia (UBC), 캐나다

공동 연구자: 변혜라 (박사과정)

언어어문교육학과, University of British Columbia (UBC), 캐나다

II. 연구조사 (research)란 무엇인가요?

연구조사 (research)는 어떤 현상이나 제도, 정책 등을 조사하여 그 효과를 밝혀내는 과정을 의미합니다. 연구조사의 참여는 자발성을 원칙으로 합니다.

III. 왜 제가 이 연구조사의 대상이 되었죠?

이 연구를 통해 저희는 여러분의 영어학습 경험, 수준별 이동수업에 대한 생각 등을 알고 싶습니다. 또한 여러분 영어 수준별 이동반이 저희 연구조사 대상 교실로 선정되었기 때문에 여러분의 자발적 참여를 요청하게 되었습니다. 하지만, 연구에 참여 여부는 여러분의 결정에 달려있습니다.

IV. 만약 연구에 참여한다면 어떤 일들을 해야 하나요?

- 여러분은 2015년 3월부터 8월까지 연구에 참여하게 됩니다.

- 연구자 (변혜라)는 여러분의 교육배경, 영어학습 방법, 장래희망 등에 대한 간단한 설문을 실시할 것입니다.
- 연구자는 여러분의 영어수업을 1주일에 1회 참관할 것이며, 수업내용은 녹음됩니다.
- 연구자는 때때로 여러분의 영어학습지, 숙제, 교과서 등을 복사해 갈 수도 있습니다.
- 연구자는 수업시작이나 종료 후에 잠깐 동안 여러분을 인터뷰 할 수도 있는데요. 인터뷰는 조금 전에 일어난 사건이나 행동에 관련된 내용이랍니다. 또한 인터뷰는 녹음될 수도 있습니다.
- 현장조사가 끝난 후, 필요 시, 이 메일로 연락할 수도 있습니다.

V. 만약 이 연구의 주 연구참여자가 된다면 어떤 일들을 해야 하나요?

위 내용에 덧붙여

- 주 연구참여자는 수업 중에 녹음기를 소지하게 될 것입니다.
- 연구자 (변혜라)는 3회에 걸친 개인 면담을 실시 할 계획인데 각 3월, 5월, 7월에 진행될 것입니다. 인터뷰는 학교 빈 교실에서 실시될 것이며 약 40분 내지 50분가량 진행될 예정입니다. 인터뷰는 여러분의 영어학습 경험, 수준별 이동수업에 대한 생각 등에 대한 것이며, 여러분의 동의 하에 녹음될 예정입니다.
- 주 연구자는 2만원 상당의 도서상품권을 받게 됩니다.
- 주 연구자가 요청 시 영어학습 등에 대한 개인 상담도 언제든지 해드립니다.

VI. 연구에 전혀 참여하지 않을 시는 어떻게 되나요?

여러분이 연구에 참여하지 않을 시에는 여러분과 관련된 모든 자료는 연구에 전혀 포함되지 않을 것입니다. 저희는 여러분의 학습권과 인권을 침해하지 않기 위하여 노력할 것입니다.

VII. 이 연구조사의 잠재적 위험성은 무엇인가요?

잠재적 위험성으로부터 여러분을 보호하기 위하여, 본 연구는 가명을 이용하여 학교나 여러분의 이름을 절대 밝히지 않을 것입니다. 또한 가명은 여러분이 직접 선택할 수 있습니다. 연구진행 중 여러분이 누구인지 나타내는 정보는 모두 삭제될 것입니다. 또한 인터뷰 과정에서 지나치게 개인적이거나 민감한 질문은 제외될 것입니다.

VIII. 이 연구조사는 제겐 어떤 도움이 되나요?

저희는 한국의 수준별 이동 수업이 영어학습에 미치는 영향에 대해 조사하고 있습니다. 조사결과는 학생중심의 영어교육정책, 교육과정 개발을 위한 중요한 자료로 쓰일 것입니다.

Appendix B Student questionnaire

Student Questionnaire

Name		Class	
English teacher		Current track placement	

- 1) What is your favorite/ least favorite subject in school? Why?

- 2) Do you play any musical instrument? If yes, what is it or what are they?

- 3) Have you ever been other countries? If yes, what is it or what are they?

- 4) When and where did you start learning English?

- 5) Would you tell all the places where you learnt English, except for school?
(e.g., study abroad program, kindergartens, foreign language institutes, private tutoring, with parents, and others)

- 6) Do you think your parents are interested in your English education? If so, how?

- 7) How much time do you spend on studying English by yourself a week?

- 8) Are you planning to go abroad to learn English in the future? If yes, when, how long and where?

- 9) Which high school are you planning to apply for?

- 10) What future career(s) are you interested in? Why?



학생 설문지

이름		반	1학년 () 반
영어선생님 성함		영어수준별 배정반	

- 1) 가장 좋아하는 또는 가장 싫어하는 과목은 무엇인가요? 그리고 그 이유는?

- 2) 어떤 악기들을 연주할 줄 아나요? 모두 적어주세요.

- 3) 다른 나라에 여행해 본 경험이 있나요? 있다면 나라이름이나 도시이름을 모두 적어주세요.

- 4) 언제, 어디에서 영어를 “제일 처음” 배웠나요?

- 5) 지금까지 영어를 배웠던 장소를 구체적으로 모두 적어주세요. 학원을 다닌 학생은 학원 이름도 적어주세요. (예. 00영어유치원, 00단과학원, 00영어학원, 외국인/한국인과외, 유학)

- 6) 부모님은 여러분의 영어교육에 어떤 식으로 관여하시나요?

7) 대략 일주일에 몇 시간 정도 "혼자서" 영어공부를 하나요?

8) 영어실력 향상을 위해서 조기유학을 계획 하나요? 만약 그렇다면 그 시기와 국가를 적어주세요.

9) 중학교 졸업 후, 어느 고등학교를 진할 할 예정인가요?

10) 미래 어떤 직업(들)을 꿈꾸고 있나요? 그 이유는?



Appendix C Teacher interview protocol template

Teacher interview protocol template

Beginning stage:

I will first introduce the goals of the interview and explain to interviewees about issues regarding their rights, confidentiality, and pseudonyms. I will then move on from general questions, including teaching experiences and educational backgrounds, to more specific questions, including tracking system and its purpose, classroom practices and teacher expectations depending on different track classes and students from diverse sociocultural and socioeconomic backgrounds.

The first interview

Engaging stage:

- 1) Background data: **Could you tell me about your**
 - Educational backgrounds
 - Motivation to be an “English” teacher
 - Teaching experiences
 - Teacher training / certificates (TEE)

- 2) Teaching English:
 - What do you enjoy about teaching English?
 - What role do you think English plays in Korea?
 - How much do you speak English in your class? (TEE policy)
 - What do you spend most time on teaching (listening, speaking, grammar, reading & writing)
 - What are some challenges you face teaching English?
 - Who is the most memorable student throughout your career and why?
 - What is the most memorable class practice throughout your career and why?

- 3) Tracking policy and practice
 - Advice for new teachers
 - **“If you are describing the structure of high-, middle-, and low-track English classes to a teacher new to your school, how would you explain it?”**

 - Personal views

- When did you first experience tracking?
- What was it like at first?
- What were criteria of tracking students?
- How were English teachers assigned to each class?
- Have you found tracking effective? If so, how and in what ways?
- Have you been faced with any challenge in tracking? If so, what are they? How did you deal with them?
- Can you tell me about how you get assigned into the current track class?
- Currently, what are criteria of tracking students? What do you think of them?
- Have you explained your students regarding tracking? If so, how? How did they respond to it?
- Have you informed parents regarding the tracking practice? If so, how did they respond to it?
- How do you announce tracking placements to students?
- Have you thought about some reasons/ purposes of tracking English classes?
- Do you see / or have you seen English gaps among students? If so, how and why?

- Do you think/ or have you found that tracking students might help improve their English? If so, how? / if not, why?
- Do you think that each track class differs in terms of curriculum, instruction and students? If so, how?
- How do you communicate with other English teachers teaching different tracks? Do you often share your teaching resources with them?
- Do you co-develop lesson plans, class tasks and teaching resources with other English teachers of Grade 7?
- Have you taught detracked classes? If you have, how would they differ from tracked English classes?

Closing the interview: Debriefing & wrapping up

- What else do you want to tell me regarding teachers' attitudes and struggles and students' strategies or struggles within the tracking system?
- Is there anything that you would like to share or discuss with me?
- Is there anything you would like me to do more of/ less of in your class?
- Do you have further questions regarding confidentiality?
- Do you have any questions for me?

The second interview

Based on the first interview, the second/ third interview will be further developed.

- Advice for new teachers
“What would you advise to a new teacher who is just about to teach the same track which you are currently teaching?”

● **Personal views/ experiences**

- What are the goals and objectives of your class?
- Do you have class rules? If so, what are they and how did you decide them?
- Are your students punctual to class? If not, how do they deal with it? Why do you think they are often late for the class?
- Do they bring their homework, textbooks, pencils, etc.? If not, why?
- How much do you speak English in your class? What are your rationales behind it?
- Would you describe students' English competence in your class?
- Have you seen the English gaps among students in your class? How have you dealt with it?
- Would you describe the English competence of students who are preparing for special purpose foreign language high schools?
- How do those students invest in English in class?
- Have you found students who might have difficulties in understanding your English instruction? If you have, would you describe those students and their struggles? How do you deal with those students?
- How do you decide student seating arrangement? What is your rationale behind it?
- Could you briefly explain the procedure of your classroom practice on a unit basis as well as a lesson basis? (Master/ sub-plan)
- How do you design your own lesson plans, tasks, teaching materials and activities? Do you collaborate with the other English teachers of Grade 7?
- What kinds of class activities (individual/ pair/ group work) do you usually use?
- What do you mostly focus on in your class?
- Do you use handouts? If so, what do you consider most in creating them?
- How do you negotiate with the other English teachers of Grade 7 in designing assessments?
- How would you distinguish your class from the other two tracks?
- What do students have to do to be successful in your class?
- What are some classroom behaviors you find it difficult to deal with?
- Why do you think students do such things?
- Can you describe a student in your class who you think could move down/ up to the lower/ higher track?
- What is the most memorable class practice in this year? Why?

교사 인터뷰 질문지

들어가기:

먼저 인터뷰 목적과 인터뷰 대상자의 권리, 도덕적 문제 등을 설명한 후, 인터뷰 대상자에게 가명을 고르게 한다. 인터뷰는 교사의 교직 경험, 영어 수업 진행 방식 등의 일반적 질문에서 수준별 수업 제도, 목적, 어려운 점 등의 구체적 질문으로 진행된다.

첫 번째 인터뷰

관계 맺기:

1) 배경 지식 쌓기:

- 선생님의 교육 배경에 대해 말씀해 주시겠어요?
- 영어선생님이 되신 동기는 무엇인가요?
- 교직 경력은 얼마나 되셨나요?
- 직무연수는 많이 받으셨나요? 혹 TEE 자격증을 보유하고 계신가요?

2) 영어 교사에 관련된 질문

- 영어를 가르침에 있어서, 어떤 점이 가장 좋으세요?
- 한국에서 영어는 얼마나 중요하다고 생각 하세요?
- 수업 시 영어는 얼마나 사용하시나요?
- 수업 시간 시 어떤 영역을 가장 수업시간을 많이 투자하세요? (읽기, 쓰기, 듣기, 말하기, 문법)
- 영어 가르치시는데 어려움이 있다면 어떤 것들이 있을까요?
- 가르치시는 동안 가장 기억에 남는 학생이 있다면 어떤 학생이며 왜 인가요?
- 가르치시는 동안 가장 기억에 남는 수업이 있다면 어떤 수업이며 왜 인가요?

심층면담:

3) 수준별이동수업 정책 및 수업

- 새로 전근 온 교사에게 주는 충고
"새로 전근 온 교사에게 학교의 상, 중, 하 구조의 수준별 이동수업에 대해 설명해야 한다면, 어떻게 하실 건가요?"
- 개인적 의견
 - ➔ 언제 수준별 수업을 가장 처음 접하게 되셨나요?
 - ➔ 처음 수준별 수업은 어땠나요?
 - ➔ 그때, 학생을 나누는 기준은 무엇이었나요?
 - ➔ 영어선생님은 어떻게 각 수준별 수업으로 배정되었나요?
 - ➔ 수준별 수업이 효과적이라고 생각하셨나요? 만약 그랬다면, 어떤 면에서 그렇게 생각하

- 게 되셨나요?
- 수준별 수업하시면서 어려운 점이 있었나요? 어떤 점이 어려웠으며 어떻게 난관을 극복 하셨나요?
 - 현재 가르치시는 반은 어떤 절차를 통해 결정이 되었나요?
 - 현재, 학생들을 나누는 기준은 무엇이며 그 기준에 대해 어떻게 생각하시나요?
 - 학생들에게 수준별 수업에 대해 어떻게 설명을 하셨나요? 학생들의 반응은 어떤가요?
 - 학부모님들에게 수준별 수업에 대해 어떻게 설명을 하셨나요? 학부모님들의 반응은 어떤가요?
 - 학생들에게 수준별 반 배정을 어떤 방식으로 발표하나요?
 - 혹, 영어가 왜 수준별 수업의 대상이 되었는지에 대해 생각해 보신적이 있으신가요?
 - 학생들간의 영어수준 격차가 많이 있나요? 만약 그렇다면 왜 그런 차이가 발생한다고 생각하시나요?
 - 수준별 수업이 영어격차를 좁히는데 도움이 된다고 생각하세요? 만약 그렇다면 왜/ 어떤 방식으로 수준별 수업이 격차해소에 기인한다고 생각하시나요?
 - 각 수준별 수업은 교육과정, 수업방식, 자료, 활동 등의 면에서 차이가 있나요? 어떻게 다른가요?
 - 다른 수준별 수업을 담당하는 선생님과 자주 소통하시나요? 혹, 수업자료를 함께 공유 하시나요?
 - 다른 선생님과 함께 학습지도안, 수업자료 등을 제작하시나요?
 - 혹, 수준별로 나누어지지 않은 수업 (혼합반)을 가르쳐 보신적이 있나요? 있으시다면, 그 수업은 수준별 수업과 어떻게 다른가요?

인터뷰 달기:

- 수준별 수업을 진행하시면서 겪는 고초 또는 성공전략 등에 대해서 혹, 더 하실 말씀이 있으신가요?
- 더 덧붙이실 말씀이 있으신가요?
- 수업시간 동안 제가 도와드릴 것이 있나요?
- 개인 사생활 보호에 관련하여 더 질문이 있으신가요?
- 다른 질문이 있으신가요?

두 번째 인터뷰

첫 번째 인터뷰 내용을 기반으로 두 번째와 마지막 인터뷰 질문은 보완될 것임

- 새로운 전근 온 교사에게 주는 충고
"현재 선생님이 가르치시는 수준별 수업을 맡게 될 새 교사에게 선생님의 반을 어떻게 설명하실 건가요?"
- 개인적 의견/경험
 - 선생님 반의 목표는 무엇인가요?
 - 교실규칙이 있나요? 무엇이고 어떻게 결정하셨나요? 그리고 그 이유는?
 - 학생들이 수업 시간을 잘 지키나요? 만약 그렇지 않다면 어떻게 이 문제를 해결하시나요? 아이들이 왜 수업시간에 늦는다고 생각하세요?

- 학생들은 수업 준비물을 잘 챙겨오나요? 만약 그렇지 않다면, 어떻게 하시나요? 그리고 챙겨오지 않는 이유가 뭘까요?
- 수업 중에 영어를 얼마나 사용하시나요? 영어사용에 대한 기준은 무엇인가요?
- 선생님 수업의 아이들의 영어실력은 어떤가요?
- 아이들의 영어실력 격차가 있나요? 어떻게 이 문제를 해결하시나요?
- 특목고를 준비하는 학생들의 영어실력은 어떤가요?
- 그 아이들은 영어실력 향상을 위해 어떤 노력을 하나요? 수업 중 태도는 어떤가요?
- 혹, 선생님의 영어로 진행되는 수업을 잘 이해하지 못하는 아이들이 있나요? 만약 있다면, 그 아이가 어떤 어려움을 겪고 있는지 설명해 주시겠어요? 또 어떻게 그 아이들을 도와주시나요?
- 학생들의 자리배치는 어떻게 하시나요? 그 이유는?
- 선생님 수업 절차에 대해 간단히 설명해 주시겠어요? 한 과는 어떻게 가르치시며, 한 수업은 어떻게 진행하시나요?
- 어떤 형태의 수업을 가장 많이 사용하시나요?
- 수업지도안이나 교실수업자료 등은 어떻게 만드시나요? 혹 다른 영어선생님과 공동으로 제작하시나요?
- 학습유인물을 제작 시, 가장 우선시 하는 것은 무엇인가요?
- 시험문제 낼 시는 어떻게 하시나요? 다른 영어선생님과 상의하는 과정에서 어려운 점은 없나요?
- 선생님 반과 다른 두 반은 어떻게 다르다고 생각하세요?
- 학생들이 선생님 반에서 성공하려면 어떻게 해야 하나요?
- 학생들의 어떤 행동이 해결하기가 참 힘들었나요?
- 왜 그런 행동을 한다고 생각하세요?
- 혹, 상반으로 이동할 수 있거나, 하 반으로 떨어질 것 같은 아이들의 수업태도에 대해 설명을 해 주시겠어요?
- 현재 반에서 가장 기억에 남는 수업은? 그리고 그 이유는?

Appendix D Student interview protocol template

Student interview protocol template

Beginning stage:

I will first introduce the goals of the interview and explain to interviewees about issues regarding their rights, confidentiality, and pseudonyms. I will then move on from general questions, including family relationship, educational backgrounds, to specific questions, including their perceptions towards English, tracking system and its purpose, their struggles, investment in L2 learning and finally educational aspirations.

The first interview

Engaging stage:

- 1) Background data: **Could you tell me about**
 - your educational backgrounds (kindergarten(s) and elementary school(s))
 - which district you live currently?
 - how often you have dinner with all of your family members?
 - what you usually do with your family on holidays or weekends?

- 2) School
 - Did you voluntarily apply for Sunny Hill Girls' Middle School? If you did, why?
 - What was it like when you first entered Sunny Hill Girls' Middle School?
 - What are some differences between middle and elementary schools?
 - What school activities do you enjoy most?
 - What are your favorite and least favorite subjects? Why?
 - Do your teachers help with study and other things a lot? If so, how?
 - Would you tell me about your friends? What are they like and what do you usually do with them?

- 3) English
 - Confirming the answers in the questionnaire:
“You have said in the questionnaire that... Can you tell me more about ...?”
 - ➔ When / where did you begin learning English?
 - ➔ Do you sometimes use English in and outside of class?
 - ➔ Do you think it is important to learn English? Why?
 - ➔ How much do you enjoy learning English?
 - ➔ Are your parents interested in your English education?
 - ➔ Would you tell me your English learning history?
 - ➔ Do you go to extra classes after school to improve your English? If yes, what are

they?

- How much time do you spend on studying English a week?
- What are some challenges in learning English?
- What role do you think does your school play in enhancing your English competence?
- Is English important in achieving your future dreams? If so, in what ways?
- Which high school are you planning to apply for?
- What is English to you? (you can answer in a word, sentence, picture, etc.)

4) Tracking:

- Advice for new students

“If you are describing the structure of high-, middle-, and low-track English classes to a student new to your school, how would you explain it?”

- Personal views

- Have your teacher(s) explained the purposes of the tracking practices? If so, how?
- Have you experienced the tracking practice before?
- How did you first feel when you found out the tracking practice in Sunny Hill Girls' Middle School?
- Have you been informed by your teachers regarding the criteria of tracking placements? If you have, what do you think of those criteria?
- If you have not, what do you think the criteria of track placements are?
- How did English teachers announce students' track placements? Were you comfortable with it?
- Do you like the location of your classroom? If so/ if not, why?
- What do you think students need to do in order to advance to the next level?
- Do you think the tracking practice will help you to improve your English? if so/not, why and how?

Closing the interview: Debriefing & wrapping up

- Is there anything that you would like to share or discuss with me?
- Do you have further questions regarding confidentiality?
- Do you have any questions for me?

The second interview

Based on the first interview, the second/ third interview will be further developed

- Advice for new students

“What would you tell a new student who is just about to join your English class?”

- Personal views

- Are you happy with your class? If so/not, why?
- Are you always punctual to class? If not, why?
- Have you missed homework so far?
- Do you often ask questions to your teacher?
- Do you voluntarily respond to your teacher's questions?
- Do you sometimes find it difficult to understand your teacher's instruction in English? If so, how do you deal with it?
- Do you want your teacher to speak English more often/ or less? If so, why?
- Could you tell me some activities or tasks you did in your class?
- What are your favorite activities in your English class?
- What are some difficult sections in the textbook? (listening, speaking, grammar, reading & writing)
- On what sections do you think your English teacher spends most of class time?
- Tell me about your peers in class. How do they participate in classwork?
- In class, are there some peers who you like to work with? Why?
- Do you want to move up to the next level? If so, how do you invest in English? If not, why?
- Do you find your class very helpful in improving English? If so, how?
- In what ways do you think your class differs from the other two tracks?
- What are some good things about being in your class?
- What are some hardest things about being in your class?
- What do you most want to get out of your class?
- Which tracks are your most friends in?
- Would you describe the most memorable class practice?

학생 인터뷰 질문지

들어가기:

먼저 인터뷰 목적과 인터뷰 대상자의 권리, 도덕적 문제 등을 설명한 후, 인터뷰 대상자에게 가명을 고르게 한다. 인터뷰는 일반적 질문에서 구체적 질문으로 진행된다.

첫 번째 인터뷰

관계 맺기:

1) 배경 지식 쌓기:

- 어느 유치원 또는 초등학교를 졸업했나요?
- 현재 무슨 동네에 사나요?
- 가족들과 저녁은 자주 먹나요?
- 주말이나 휴일에 가족들이나 주로 무엇을 하며 시간을 보내나요?

2) 학교

- 이 학교는 자발적으로 지원을 했나요? 왜 인가요?
- 학교에 처음 입학하니깐 어땠던가요?
- 중학교는 초등학교와 어떤 면에서 다른가요?
- 주로 어떤 취미활동을 하며 시간을 보내나요?
- 가장 좋아하는 과목과 가장 싫어하는 과목은? 그리고 그 이유는?
- 영어선생님이 공부나 아님 다른 면에서 많이 도와주세요?
- 친구 이야기 좀 해주세요. 친구들은 어떻게 아이들과 주로 무엇을 하며 시간을 보내나요?

심층면담:

3) 수준별이동수업 정책 및 수업

- 새로 전학 온 친구에게 주는 충고
"새로 전학 온 친구에게 학교의 상, 중, 하 구조의 수준별 이동수업에 대해 설명해야 한다면, 어떻게 하실 건가요?"
- 개인적 의견
 - ➔ 선생님께서 수준별이동수업에 대해 설명해주셨나요? 어떻게 하셨나요?
 - ➔ 전에 수준별이동수업을 받아 본적이 있나요?
 - ➔ 수준별 수업에 대한 첫 인상은? 또는 생각은?
 - ➔ 수준별 분 배정의 기준에 대해 선생님께서 설명을 해주시던가요? 만약 해 주셨다면, 그 기준에 대해 어떻게 생각하나요?
 - ➔ 만약 설명을 듣지 못했다면, 그 기준은 무엇일 것이라 생각하시나요?

- 선생님이 수준별 반 배정을 어떻게 발표하셨나요? 그리고 그 발표과정에 대해 어떻게 생각하시나요?
- 교실배치는 마음이 드나요? 왜인가요?
- 상반으로 이동하려면 어떻게 해야 된다고 생각하세요?
- 수준별 수업이 영어실력 향상에 도움이 될 것이라 생각하시나요?
- 현재 꿈이 있다면?

인터뷰 달기:

- 더 덧붙이실 말씀이 있으신가요?
- 개인 사생활 보호에 관련하여 더 질문이 있으신가요?
- 다른 질문이 있으신가요?

두 번째 인터뷰

첫 번째 인터뷰 내용을 기반으로 두 번째와 마지막 인터뷰 질문은 보완될 것임

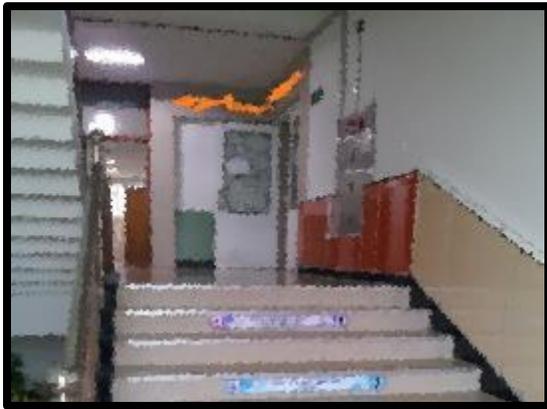
- 새로운 전학 온 친구에게 주는 충고
"새롭게 전학 온 친구에게 현재 수준별 반을 어떻게 설명하실 건가요?"
- **개인적 의견/경험**
 - 현재 반에 만족하시나요? 왜 인가요?
 - 수업시간은 잘 지키나요?
 - 수업 준비물이나 숙제는 잘 챙겨가나요?
 - 선생님에게 질문은 많이 하는 편인가요?
 - 자발적으로 선생님 질문에 답을 잘하는 편인가요?
 - 선생님의 영어로 진행하시는 수업이 이해하기가 어렵나요? 만약 그렇다면 어떻게 하나요?
 - 선생님이 영어로 수업을 더 (덜) 했으면 하나요? 그 이유는?
 - 수업 중에 했던 활동이나 프로젝트 등에 대해 이야기해 주시겠어요?
 - 가장 좋았던 활동은 무엇이었나요?
 - 교과서에 힘든 섹션은 무엇인가요? (듣기, 말하기, 읽기, 쓰기, 문법 등)
 - 선생님은 어떤 섹션에 가장 시간을 많이 투자하시나요?
 - 친구들은 수업에 잘 참여하는 편인가요?
 - 혹, 함께 수업활동을 하고 싶은 친구가 반에 있나요? 왜죠?
 - 다음 반으로 이동하고 싶나요? 그렇다면 영어를 어떻게 현재 공부하고 있나요? 그렇지 않다면, 그 이유는?
 - 현재 있는 반이 영어 실력 향상에 도움이 많이 된다고 생각하나요? 왜죠? 그렇지 않다면, 왜 인가요?
 - 현재 있는 반은 다른 두 반과 어떻게 다르다고 생각하나요?
 - 현재 반의 장점은 무엇인가요?
 - 현재 반의 단점/ 힘든 점은 무엇인가요?
 - 현재 반에서 가장 향상하고 싶은 능력은 무엇인가요?
 - 친한 친구들은 현재 어느 반에 많이 있나요?
 - 현재 반에서 가장 기억에 남는 수업을 묘사해 보시겠어요? 그 이유는?

Appendix E A list of “Broken English” posted on the noticeboard of English zone

No	Konglish	English
1	호치키스(Hotchkiss)	Stapler (호치키스는 스테플러를 만든 사람입니다) ((Hotchkiss is the name of a person who invented the stapler))
2	사이다 (Cider)	Soft drink/ soda/ pop (탄산음료)/ Sprite
3	공책 (Note)	Notebook
4	아파트 (Apart)	Apartment (영국에서는 Flat) ((flat in British English))
5	레몬티 (Lemon tea)	Tea with lemon
6	비닐하우스 (Vinyl house)	Greenhouse
7	건강 (Wellbeing)	Wellness * wellbeing: 복지 ((welfare)), 안녕, 행복 ((happiness))의 의미
8	미용실 (Hair shop)	Beauty shop (salon)
9	짝사랑 (One-side love)	Unrequited love
10	샤프 펜 (Sharp pen)	Mechanical pencil
11	콘도 (Condominium)	Resort hotel
12	애프터 서비스 (After service)	After-sale service/ warrant /
13	오토바이 (Auto-bi)	Motorcycle/ motorbike/ bike
14	드라이버 (나사 조이는 Driver)	Screw driver
15	공중전화 박스 (Telephone box)	Phone booth
16	홍차 (Red tea)	Black tea
17	썬머타임 (Summer time)	Daylight Saving Time (DST)
18	아이스 티 (Ice tea)	Iced tea
19	변압기 (Trans)	Transformer
20	고전음악 (Classic music)	Classical music
21	컨닝 (Cunning)	Cheating
22	바겐세일 (Bargain sale)	(Discount) sale
23	오픈 카 (Open car)	Convertible
24	카센터 (Car center)	Auto repair shop/ Car care center
25	자동차 앞유리 (Front glass)	Windshield
26	타이어 펑크 (Punk)	Puncture
27	헬스 클럽 (Health club)	Gym/ Fitness center
28	교차로, 로타리 (Rotary)	Intersection
29	바버리 코트 (Burberry coat)	French coat
30	남녀간 미팅 (Meeting)	Blind date
31	팬티 (Panty)	Pants/ underwear
32	유명 메이커 (Maker)	Brand name
33	콘센트 (Consent)	Socket
34	커피에 타는 크림 (Prim)	Cream
35	개그맨 (Gagman)	Comedian
36	원샷 (One shot)	Bottoms up

Appendix F English classroom photos

- Entrance of English zone & English proverbs attached to stairs



- High-track classroom & Smartboard



- Middle-track classroom & books in English

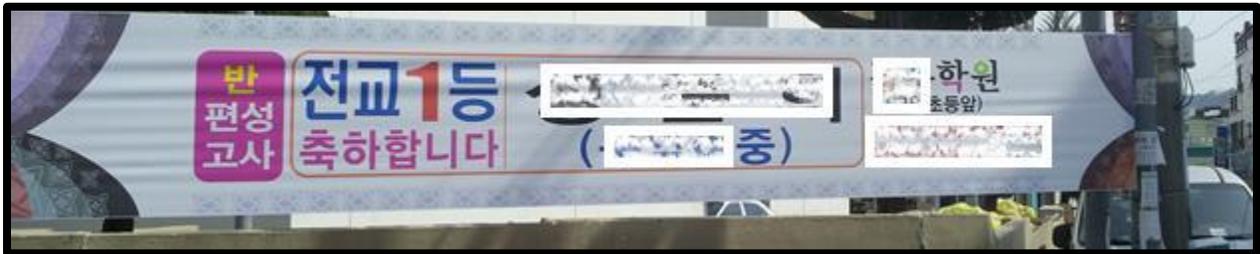


- Low-track classroom & cleaning tools



- Outside of SunnyHill:

A banner advertising a private institute was hung right next to SunnyHill, and it shows the name of a student who was ranked in the first place on the SunnyHill placement test.



A Placement Test	Number 1 on the test Congratulations	Student name School name	Institute name (Location) Phone numbers
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Appendix G The 2015 SunnyHill Curriculum & plans for tracking

8

수준별 이동수업 운영 계획

가

목적

학생들의 인성, 창의성, 개성 및 개인차를 고려한 교수·학습방법의 차별화·다양화를 통하여 학생의 기초 학력을 다지고 학습자의 능력에 맞는 수업 내용과 방법을 제공하여 교육의 질적 향상을 가져오는 데 있다.

나

방침

- 1) 수준별 이동 수업의 대상은 1·2·3학년 수학, 영어로 한다.
- 2) 수준별 이동수업의 영어, 수학 과목은 개인차를 이용한 협력학습이 되도록 분반 편성하여 실시한다.
- 3) 1학년의 1학기 1차 이동학급 편성기준은 입학 전 반편성고사의 성적으로 한다.
- 4) 2·3학년의 1학기 1차 이동학급 편성기준은 이전학년 2학기 학기말 성적으로 한다.
- 5) 1·2·3학년의 2, 3, 4차 이동학급의 편성기준은 직전 고사 성적으로 한다.
- 6) 수준별 교육과정은 교과서를 중심으로 진행하되 학생들의 능력, 학습속도, 동기 등에 맞게 재구성하여 실시한다.
- 7) 지필 및 수행평가 시 수준별 과정에 따라 다를 수 있으므로 공동출제를 원칙으로 하며, 공통 학습 내용으로 100% 출제한다.

다

유의사항

- 1) 학생간의 대인관계가 무너져 낮은 수준의 아이들이 따돌림을 당하지 않도록 하며, 이동학급 간 집단화가 되지 않도록 지도 한다.
- 2) 낮은 능력의 학생들이 지진아로 낙인 찍혀 자기 존중감을 상실하지 않도록 한다.
- 3) 수준별 수업의 의의를 학부모, 학생에게 충분히 인식시켜, 학습자의 능력과 요구에 알맞은 차별적·선택적 교육에 자발적, 능동적으로 참여하도록 한다.
- 4) 수업시간에는 이동학급별로 지정좌석제를 실시하여 학습 분위기 관리에 미흡함이 없도록 한다.

라

영어과 수준별 교육과정

수준별 교육과정의 영어과목은 이동수업을 원칙으로 하며, 이동학급을 구성하는 기준, 학급 편성, 지도방법은 다음과 같이 정한다.

- 1) 실시 학년 반 : 전교생
- 2) 학습 체제 : 수준별 이동수업
- 3) 학급 편성 : 1학년 - 2+1(상, 중, 하), 2.3학년 - 2+1(상, 중, 하), 1+1(상, 하)
- 4) 학급 구성 기준
 - 가) 1학년: 반편성 고사 결과

나) 2.3학년: 이전학년 2학기 학기말 성적을 기준으로 하되 학생의 희망을 반영하여 학급을 구성한다.

5) 지도교사는 본교 교사, 영어전문회화 강사로 한다.

6) 학습내용·지도방법

- 실생활 관련 의사소통 능력의 신장과 능동적인 문제해결력에 중점을 둔다.
- 교과서 내용을 기본으로 하여 지도하여 낙오되는 학습자가 없도록 한다.
- 단서, 힌트, 사례를 많이 제시한다.
- 학생들이 성취감을 느낄 수 있도록 적절한 강화기법을 사용한다.
- 학생들에게 발표할 기회를 많이 준다.
- 시청각 자료와 게임자료를 적극 활용한다.
- 학습내용의 활용단계에서 과제와 시간을 조절하여 학습자간 협력이 되도록 구성한다.

마

수학과 수준별 교육과정

수준별 교육과정의 수학과목은 이동수업을 원칙으로 하며, 이동학급을 구성하는 기준, 학급의 편성, 지도방법 다음과 같이 정한다.

1) 실시학년반 : 전교생

2) 학습체제 : 수준별 이동수업

3) 학급편성 : 1학년: 2+1(상, 중, 하), 2.3학년: 3+1(상, 중상, 중하, 중하)

4) 학급구성 기준 : 이전 학년 2학기 학기말 수학성적을 기준으로 하되 학생의 희망을 반영하여 학급을 구성한다.

5) 지도교사는 본교 교사와 수준별 강사로 한다.

6) 학습내용·지도방법

- 기본학습 내용을 충분히 이해한 후에 해결할 수 있는 과제로 현실 생활과 관련된 주제를 선정하여 다양한 방법으로 접근하여 학생들의 상상력, 사고력, 탐구능력을 향상할 수 있는 과제를 선정하여 지도한다.
- 교과서내의 기본원리를 이해할 수 있는 다양한 문제를 지도 한다
- 기본원리 파악 후 활용단계로까지 확장 시킨다
- 활용단계에서 협력학습이 되도록 시간을 구성 한다
- 과도한 학습과제가 부여되지 않도록 학습의 양을 조절 한다.
- 칭찬 및 격려를 통하여 긍정적 피드백을 많이 받아 자신감을 회복하고 수학에 흥미를 느낄 수 있도록 한다.

바

예상되는 성과

수준별 수업에 대한 부정적인 요인을 개선하여 교육적 효과를 높이고, 교수 학습 방법의 개선으로 학생의 흥미와 관심을 높여 학생들의 학력향상에 실질적인 도움이 되는 체계적인 수요자 중심의 수업이 될 것이다.

Appendix H Low-track worksheets

- The first set of reading worksheets: translation (graded as a performance test)

	Lesson 1 - 해석하기 < A chore chain >	이름:
--	--------------------------------------	-----

1. Maddie was unhappy. She was washing her living room windows.
2. 'This is the worst in the world' she thought to herself.
3. Suddenly she saw Mr. Valdez standing in his yard next door.
4. "Mr. Valdez, how are you?"
5. "Well, Maddie, I hate cleaning the yard." Mr. Valdez said,
6. "It's the hardest chore for me"
7. "I'll clean it for you," Maddie volunteered. "I like cleaning the yard"
8. "You will clean the yard for me, Maddie ?
9. Are you serious? Mr. Valdez asked.
10. "sure", Maddie replied. "I'll finish washing my windows later."
11. "Thank you," Mr. Valdez said, handing Maddie the broom.
12. "I'll go see Tom across the street.

- The second set of reading worksheets: ordering (graded as a performance test)

	Lesson 1 - 순서 배열하기 < A chore chain >	이름:
--	--	-----

1. Maddie 는 기분이 좋지 않았다.// 그녀는 거실 창문을 닦고 있었다.
(unhappy, Maddie, was // her living room, She was washing, windows)
2. 이것은 세상에서 가장 싫은 일이야.(the worst, in the world, This is)
3. 그녀는 속으로 생각했다.(to, though, herself, she)
4. 갑자기 그녀는 옆집 마당에서 Valdez 씨가 서있는 것을 보았다
(Mr. Valdez, next door, she saw, in his yard, Suddenly, standing)
5. Valdez,씨 안녕하세요. "Mr. Valdez, how are you?"
6. 음, Maddie, 난 마당 청소가 싫어. Valdez씨가 말했다.
(I hate, Mr. Valdez said, Well, Maddie, the yard, cleaning)
7. 그것은 내겐 가당 힘든 일이다.(the hardest, for me, It's, chore)
8. 제가 대신 청소를 해드릴게요.// Maddie가 자원했다.// 나는 마당 청소를 좋아해요.
(for you, I'll clean, Maddie volunteered, it // the yard, cleaning, I like)
9. 너가 나 대신 마당 청소를 하겠다고, Maddie?// 진심이니?// Valdez 씨가 물었다.
(the yard, You will clean, Maddie, for me // serious, you, Are // asked, Mr. Valdez)

- The third set of reading worksheets: cloze (graded as a performance test)

Lesson 1 - 빈칸 채우기 ① < A chore chain >	이름: _____
---	-----------

1. Maddie was unhappy. She _____ her living room windows.
Maddie 는 기분이 좋지 않았다. 그녀는 거실 창문을 닫고 있었다.
2. 'This is _____ in the world'
이것은 세상에서 가장 싫은 일이야.
3. she though _____.
그녀는 속으로 생각했다.
4. _____ she saw Mr. Valdez _____ in his yard next door.
갑자기 그녀는 옆집 마당에서 Valdez 씨가 서있는 것을 보았다
5. "Mr. Valdez, _____ are you?"
Valdez,씨 안녕하세요.
6. "Well, Maddie, I hate _____ the yard." Mr. Valdez said,
음, Maddie,난 마당 청소가 싫어. Valdez씨가 말했다.
7. "It's the _____ chore for me"
그것은 내겐 가당 힘든 일이다.
8. "I'll clean it for you," Maddie _____.
제가 대신 청소를 해드릴게요. Maddie가 자원했다.
9. "I like _____ the yard"
나는 마당 청소를 좋아해요.
10. "You _____ clean the yard for me, Maddie ?
너가 나 대신 마당 청소를 하겠다고, Maddie?

Appendix I High-track worksheets

- Pronunciation worksheet to teach American pronunciation

		발음 기호	
모음	단모음	[i] 이 [e] 예 [a] 아 [æ] 어 [ʌ] 어 [u] 우 [ɔ] 오	
	장모음	[a:] 아- [a:] 아- [i:] 이- [u:] 우- [ɔ:] 오-	
	이중모음	[ai] 아이 [ei] 에이 [ci] 오이 [au] 아우 [ou] 오우 [ie] 이어 [ue] 우어 [ea] 에어 [ea] 에어	
자음	무성음	[p] 표 [k] 크 [t] 툃 [f] 표 [s] 스 [θ] 쓰 [ʃ] 쉼 [tʃ] 처 [h] 흥	
	유성음	[b] 버 [g] 거 [d] 드 [v] 브 [z] 즈 [ð] 드 [ʒ] 저 [ʒ] 쉼	반모음
		[m] 머 [n] 너 [ŋ] 으 [r] 러 [l] 러 [ɹ] 러 [ɹ] 러	[j] 이 [w] 우

● Worksheet in preparation for the mid-term test

<p>※ 각 예문을 써 보세요.</p> <p>1. I hate _____ (방 청소) I enjoy _____ (TV 보기) I hate _____ (마루 쓸기)</p> <p>※ 각 단어의 형태를 바르게 해보세요.</p> <p>2. Tom had me _____ (방 청소) I will get _____ (방 청소)</p> <p>3. Which do you prefer, (방 청소 or 마루 쓸기) _____ ?</p> <p>Which do you prefer, (TV보기 or 축구하기) _____ ?</p> <p>4. I saw _____ (그녀가 방 청소하다) I want _____ (그녀가 방 청소하다)</p> <p>※ 각 문장을 최소 형태로 압축시키세요. (분사구문)</p> <p>5. When he studies math, he listen to music. = _____</p> <p>I met her as I walked on the street. = _____</p> <p>Because he was sick, he couldn't go here. = _____</p>	<p>※ 두 문장을 한 문장으로 만드시오. (관계대명사)</p> <p>6. Tom is kind. I love him very much. = _____</p> <p>Jane runs fast. Her brother is Simon. = _____</p> <p>I bought a big bag. Its cover was red. = _____</p> <p>I like a dog. It runs fast. = _____</p> <p>Jane gave a thing. I wanted it. = _____</p> <p>The thing is expensive. Mom likes it. = _____</p> <p>※ 다음 상황에서 책망이나 후회의 표현을 쓰고 그 문장을 번역하십시오.</p> <p>7. You lost my book. → _____ (_____)</p> <p>I didn't clean my room. → _____ (_____)</p> <p>You didn't leave me alone. → _____ (_____)</p> <p>I played computer games so much. → _____ (_____)</p>
---	---

Appendix J Middle-track worksheets

- Grammar worksheets created by Ms. Sun

3rd

Lesson 4. Language Focus

조 학번: 이름:

Mission 1. 다음 보기처럼 제시된 그림을 보고 "Frankly speaking ~"을 이용하여 문장을 만들어 보고 어떤 상황에 "Frankly speaking ~"을 사용하는지에 대해 유추 해 보세요.

	(know / talk about)
	Sehun seems to like Grace.
	Grace seems to understand Sehun.
	<u>Frankly speaking,</u> She doesn't know what he's talking about.

1.



(miss / pizza and chicken)

Alex seems to like Koran food.

Frankly speaking,

2.



(like / Alice's song)

Aisha seems to love Alice's song.

Frankly speaking,

3.



(be / bored)

Chan-u seems to like listening to Jay.

Frankly speaking,

4.



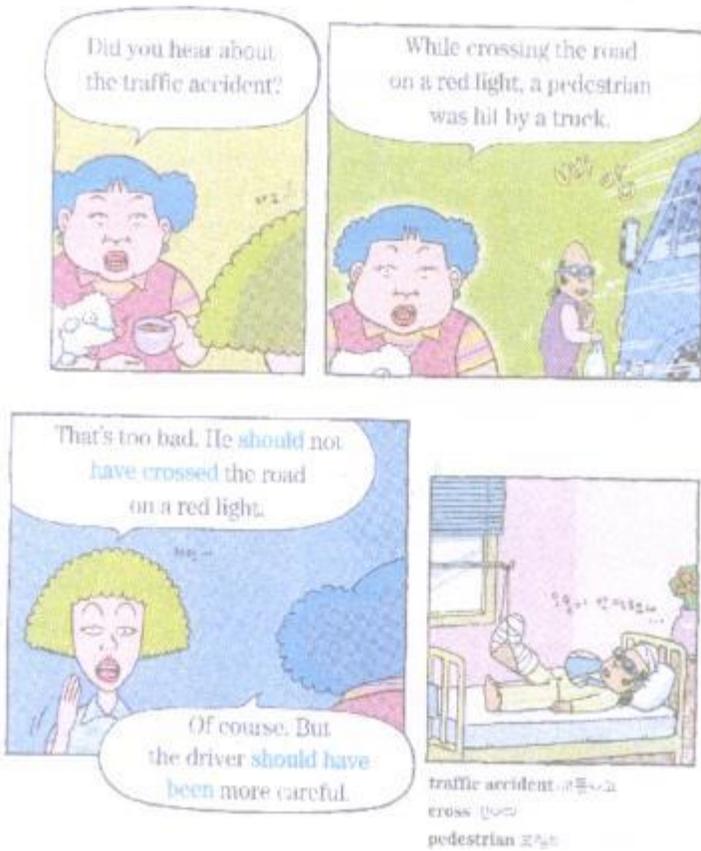
(know / his name)

Lena seems to smile at Sean.

Frankly speaking,

★ Frankly speaking 은 어떤 상황에서 사용한다고 생각하니?

< Poor Magic Arts >



※ What's mean the meaning of the following sentences in this cartoon?(1-2)

1. He(The poor conjurer) should not have crossed the road on a red light.

= I am sorry that he crossed the road on a red light. * conjurer : 마법사

→

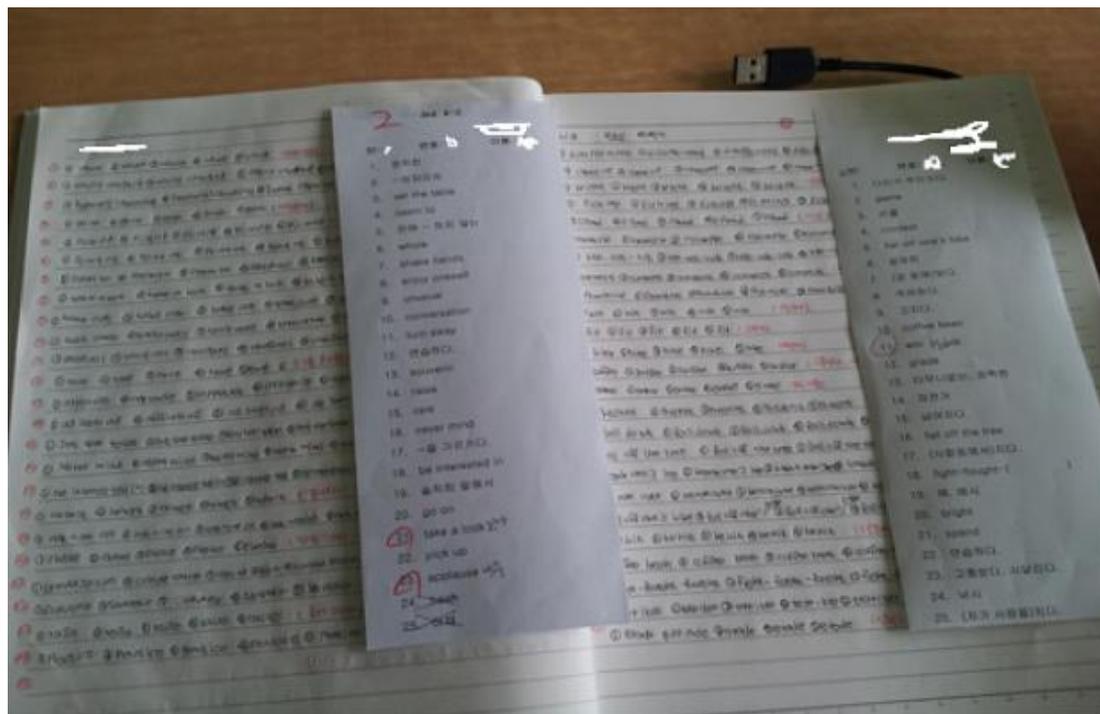
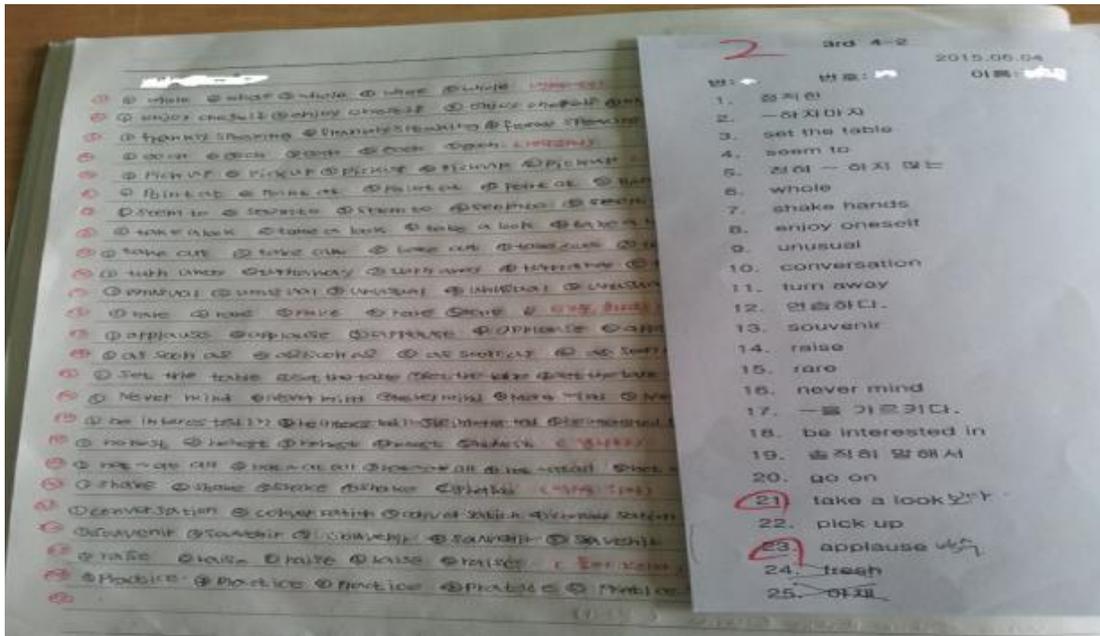
2. But the driver should have been more careful.

= I am sorry that the driver wasn't more careful.

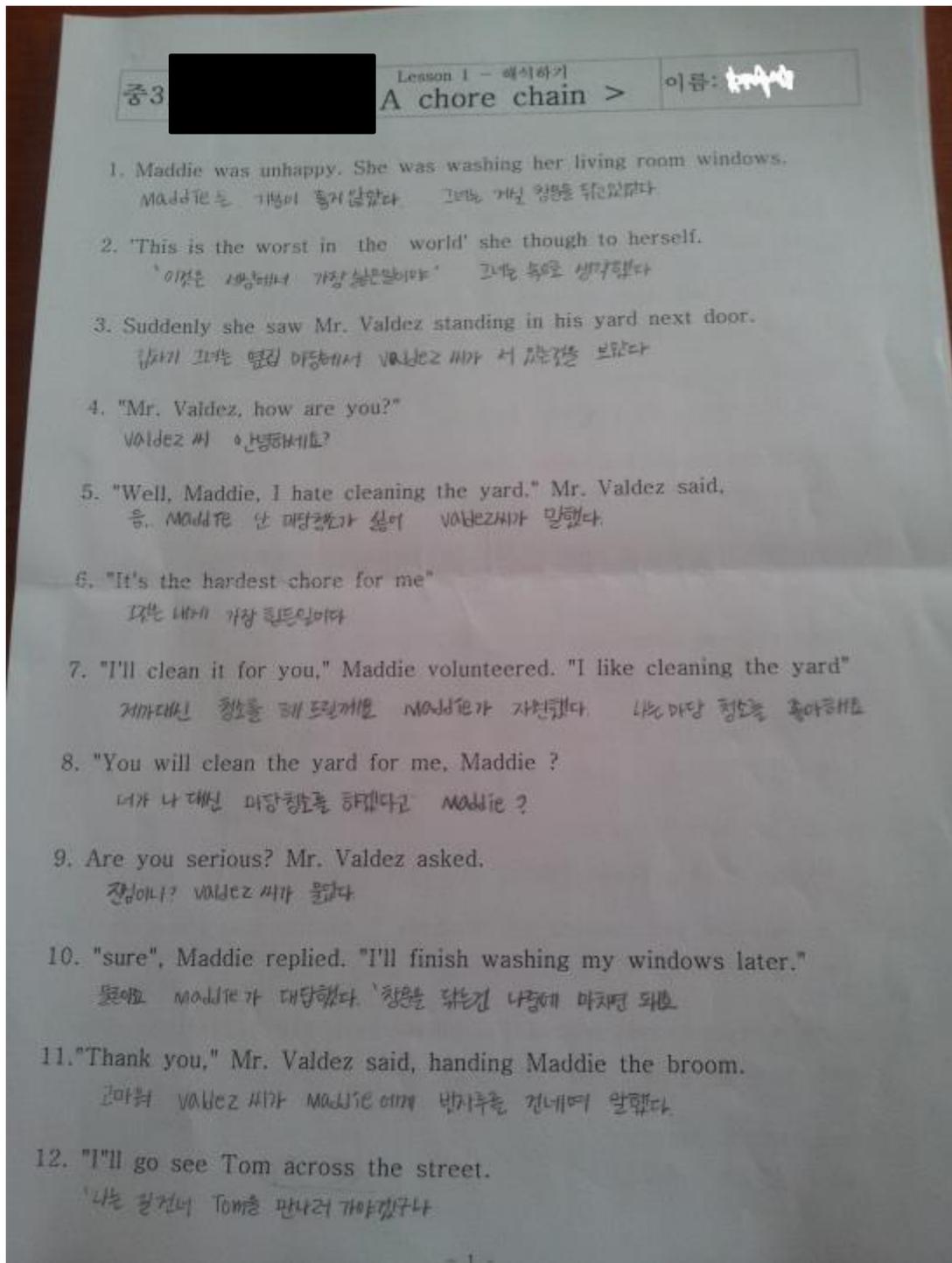
→

Appendix K Students' work

- Jin's homework in G1 track: writing incorrect words ten times



- Sorim's homework in the low track: Main reading worksheets



Appendix L Test papers

L.1 Grade 8 Listening test paper used in the low-track class

제1회 전국 16개 시·도교육청 공동 주관 영어듣기능력평가(중2)

2014. 4. 9.(수) 시행 제2학년 ____반 ____번 이름 _____

1. 대화를 듣고 남자가 받은 카드로 가장 적절한 것을 고르시오.

①


②


③


④


⑤


2. 대화를 듣고 남자의 심정으로 가장 적절한 것을 고르시오.
 ① angry ② bored ③ excited ④ relaxed ⑤ worried

3. 대화를 듣고 남자가 지난 주말에 한 일로 가장 적절한 것을 고르시오.
 ① 스포츠 관람 ② 자전거 타기 ③ 콘서트 관람
 ④ 박물관 견학 ⑤ 할머니 댁 방문

4. 대화를 듣고 두 사람이 대화하는 장소로 가장 적절한 곳을 고르시오.
 ① 은행 ② 우체국 ③ 농구장 ④ 영화관 ⑤ 기차역

5. 대화를 듣고 남자의 마지막 말의 의도로 가장 적절한 것을 고르시오.
 ① 기원 ② 허가 ③ 사과 ④ 동의 ⑤ 감사

6. 대화를 듣고 저녁 식사에 참석할 인원수를 고르시오.
 ① 4 ② 5 ③ 6 ④ 7 ⑤ 8

7. 대화를 듣고 여자가 대화 직후에 할 일로 가장 적절한 것을 고르시오.
 ① 축구공 구입하기 ② 친구에게 전화하기
 ③ 축구 경기 관람하기 ④ 체육 선생님 찾아가기
 ⑤ 축구 동아리 가입하기

8. 대화를 듣고 두 사람이 수감할 담과 후 수업을 고르시오.
 ① 기타반 ② 미술반 ③ 서예반 ④ 댄스반 ⑤ 테니스반

9. 다음을 듣고 여자가 하는 말의 내용으로 가장 적절한 것을 고르시오.
 ① 운동 경기 소개 ② 축하 행사 안내
 ③ 동아리 가입 홍보 ④ 경기 일정 변경 공지
 ⑤ 배구 선수 모집 공고

10. 대화를 듣고 여자가 구입한 물건이 아닌 것을 고르시오.
 ① 머리핀 ② 허티피 ③ 운동화 ④ 책 ⑤ 귀걸이

11. 대화를 듣고 남자가 도서관에 전화를 전 목적으로 가장 적절한 것을 고르시오.
 ① 위치를 물어보려고
 ② 이용 시간을 알아보려고
 ③ 대출 기간을 연장하려고
 ④ 봉사 활동에 대해 문의하려고
 ⑤ 도서 대출 가능 여부를 확인하려고

12. 다음을 듣고 방송의 내용과 일치하지 않는 것을 고르시오.
 ① 기장의 이름은 Brian이다.
 ② 특별로 출발이 늦어졌다.
 ③ 비행기는 New York행이다.
 ④ 목적지까지는 약 12시간 걸린다.
 ⑤ 출발 시간은 오전 3시이다.

13. 대화를 듣고 두 사람의 관계로 가장 적절한 것을 고르시오.
 ① 시민 - 교통 경찰관 ② 투숙객 - 호텔 주방장
 ③ 승객 - 버스 운전기사 ④ 고객 - 자동차 정비사
 ⑤ 관광객 - 기념품 가게 주인

14. 대화를 듣고 남자가 여자에게 요청한 일로 가장 적절한 것을 고르시오.
 ① 물 가져다주기 ② 담요 가져다주기
 ③ 감기약 가져다주기 ④ 도착시간 알려주기
 ⑤ 안전벨트 점검해주기

15. 대화를 듣고 남자가 영화를 볼 수 없는 이유로 가장 적절한 것을 고르시오.
 ① 부모님이 아프셔서 ② 생일파티에 가야 해서
 ③ 체험활동을 가야 해서 ④ 가족여행을 가야 해서
 ⑤ 여동생을 돌보아야 해서

16. 대화를 듣고 두 사람의 대화가 어색한 것을 고르시오.
 ① ② ③ ④ ⑤

17. 대화를 듣고 대화의 상황에 어울리는 속담으로 가장 적절한 것을 고르시오.
 ① 노력은 성공의 어머니이다. ② 하나를 듣고 열을 안다.
 ③ 낮 놓고 기억 자도 모른다. ④ 닭 울면 개 지붕 쳐다본다.
 ⑤ 안에서 사는 바가지 밖에서도 쎈다.

18. 다음을 듣고, 내일 오후의 날씨로 가장 적절한 것을 고르시오.

①


②


③


④


⑤


[19-20] 대화를 듣고, 남자의 마지막 말에 이어질 여자의 말로 가장 적절한 것을 고르시오.

19. Woman: _____
 ① You did a good job! ② Sure, let's go together.
 ③ Make yourself at home. ④ Wow, you're so lucky.
 ⑤ Cheer up! You can do it.

20. Woman: _____
 ① Really? Let's go there some time.
 ② They won't like the restaurant, either.
 ③ Oh, I'm glad to hear that you like this place.
 ④ Well, there isn't any Indian restaurant in this mall.
 ⑤ Hmm... many people prefer to eat out on weekends.

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1. Listen to the dialogue and choose a card which the man has created.

W: Tomorrow is Mom's birthday. Did you get a present for her?
M: Yes, and I made a birthday card for her, too. Look! This is the card.
W: Oh, you wrote 'Happy Birthday' on the card.
M: Yes, I did. What do you think about this ribbon on top?
W: It's beautiful. Mom will like it.

2. Listen to the dialogue and choose the man's emotional state

W: Hey, John. You're still awake.
M: Yes, Mom. I can't sleep because of the school trip.
W: Why? Is there something wrong?
M: No. I'm just so happy. This is my first visit to Gyeongju.
W: I know. You'll learn a lot from this trip.
M: Yeah. I'm really looking forward to seeing Cheomseongdae the most. I heard it's beautiful.

3. Listen to the dialogue and choose what the man is going to do this weekend

M: What are you going to do this weekend, Susan?
W: I'm going to visit my grandmother on Jeju Island.
M: Wow, Jeju Island! I went there last weekend.
W: Really? What did you do there?
M: I went horse-back riding. It was great!
W: Horse-back riding? That sounds wonderful!

4. Listen to the dialogue and choose a place where the dialogue takes place

W: Two tickets for *Titanic* at 5 o'clock, please.
M: Sorry, the tickets are all sold out.
W: When are the next showings?
M: At 6:30 or 6:45. The 6:45 showing is in 3D.
W: I see. Then we'd like tickets for the 3D movie.
M: Okay. Please take a look at the computer screen and choose your seats.

5. Listen to the dialogue and choose an answer which best describes the man's intention

M: Are you doing anything for your school's festival?
W: Well, my friends and I are going to give a dance performance.
M: A dance performance? That's cool!
W: You know, this is my first time. I feel really nervous.
M: Don't worry. I know you'll do great.
W: Thanks a lot.
M: I wish you good luck!

6. Listen to the dialogue and choose the number of people who are joining dinner

M: Honey, I'm going to make a dinner reservation now.
W: Are we going to the Chinese restaurant?
M: Yes. There are eight of us, right?
W: Oh, Mr. and Mrs. Brown called and said they can't come.
M: Okay. Hmm... there will be six, then.
W: Yes, that's right.
M: Okay. I'll make a reservation right away.

7. Listen to the dialogue and choose what the woman is going to do immediately after the dialogue

W: Daniel, what do you usually do on weekends?
M: I usually play soccer with the school soccer club. How about you?
W: I play table tennis. But I would love to play soccer.
M: We play soccer every Saturday. Why don't you join the club?

W: Wonderful! How can I join?
M: Just go and ask Mr. Kim, our P.E. teacher.
W: Okay! I'll go to see him right away. Thanks.

8. Listen to the dialogue and choose the afterschool class which the two people are going to take

W: You know what? There will be an after-school tennis class this summer!
M: Great. I heard there will be a guitar class, too.
W: I know. Which one do you like more?
M: I'd really like to learn how to play the guitar this summer. What about you?
W: Well, at first I wanted the tennis class. But I'll take the guitar class, if you take it.
M: Okay. Let's go and sign up for it.

9. Listen to the dialogue and choose an answer which best describes the woman's intention

W: Good morning, everyone! I have wonderful news. Our girl's volleyball team won the local championship last night. To celebrate the victory, we've cancelled afternoon classes today. Instead, we're planning to have a special party at 2 o'clock this afternoon. Please come to the gym and enjoy free snacks and drinks. Thank you.

10. Listen to the dialogue and choose an item which the woman did not purchase

M: How was the new shopping mall?
W: It was huge and very crowded.
M: What did you buy there?
W: I bought a hairpin, a belt, and presents for Parents' Day.
M: You mean presents for your parents?
W: Yes, I bought a book for my dad and earrings for my mom.
M: Oh, you're so sweet.

11. Listen to the dialogue and choose an answer which best describes the man's purpose of calling the library

[Telephone rings.]

W: Hello. Green Star Library. How may I help you?
M: Hi. Is it possible to volunteer at your library?
W: Yes. We always welcome volunteers.
M: That's great.
W: If you're interested, visit our website. On the website, you'll find information about volunteering.
M: Oh, I see. Thank you for the information.

12. Listen to the dialogue and choose which is inconsistent with the announcement

M: Hello, everyone. My name is Brian Smith, and I'm the captain of this flight. We're sorry that we departed a little late because of the heavy snow this morning. This flight is for New York. It'll take about 12 hours to get there. We'll land in New York at 9 o'clock in the morning. Please enjoy the flight. Thank you.

13. Listen to the dialogue and choose an answer which best describes the relationship of the two people

W: Excuse me. Does this bus go to Victoria Station?
M: Yes, it does. We're about to leave. If you want to take this bus, you'd better get on now.
W: Okay, thanks. *[pause]* How long will it take to get there?
M: About half an hour.
W: Okay. Can you tell me when we get there please? I'm not from around here.
M: Sure, no problem. Take a seat please.

14. Listen to the dialogue and choose what the man asked a woman to do

W: Excuse me, sir. Please fasten your seatbelt. We'll take off soon.
M: Sure. But, can I get a blanket? I feel a little cold.
W: Of course. Can I bring you some hot water, too?
M: That's okay.
W: Please wait a moment. I'll be right back.
M: Thank you so much.

15. Listen to the dialogue and choose why the man cannot go to a movie

[Cellphone rings.]

M: Hi, Nancy.

W: Hi, Henry. Can you go to the movies with me tomorrow?

M: I'd love to, but I can't.

W: Why? Do you have other plans?

M: I have to stay home and take care of my younger sister.

W: Really? Aren't your parents home?

M: No, they're out of town on a trip.

W: Then, maybe next time.

16. Listen to the dialogues and choose the most awkward one

1) W: How often do you play soccer? M: Once a week.

2) W: What do you want to wear? M: I want to wear blue jeans.

3) W: Can you fix my skateboard? M: Let me see. I'll try.

4) W: How do you get to the library? M: I don't feel well.

5) W: Thank you for your help. M: Sure, anytime!

17. Listen to the dialogue and choose a proverb which best describes the situation

W: Congratulations on winning the MVP award, Mr. Park.

M: Thank you.

W: How did you become such a great player?

M: Actually, I was not really good when I first started playing baseball, but I practiced a lot.

W: What did you do?

M: When my team practiced, I was always the first player to arrive and the last player to leave.

W: Oh, I see. That's why you became such a good player.

18. Listen to the dialogue and choose an answer which best describes the weather by tomorrow afternoon

W: Hello. This is the weather report for tonight and tomorrow. The rain that started this morning has stopped for the moment. And it's very likely to be sunny tomorrow morning. In the afternoon, it'll be partly cloudy with no strong winds. Still, the temperatures will be lower than usual all day tomorrow. Thank you.

【19-20】 Listen to the dialogue and choose the best response to the man's question

19.

W: Hey, Mike. How is it going?

M: Good. Oh, have you heard about James?

W: No. Did something happen to him?

M: He broke his leg yesterday. He's in the hospital now.

W: Really? That's terrible.

M: How about going to visit him after school?

W: _____

20.

M: Helen, this is such a nice dinner.

W: Yes, it is. This restaurant is really great.

M: How is your food?

W: It is so delicious. I really love Indian food.

M: Oh, do you? Actually, there's another nice Indian restaurant in this mall.

W: _____

L.2 Mid-term and Final test papers

- The first and last pages of the mid-term paper

* 총 (5)면, 선다형 (8)문항, 서술형 (15)문항이나 반드시 확인하고, 물음에 맞는 정답을 표기하시오. 배정은 각 문항에 표시함.

* 차분히 읽고 답하시오.

1. 대화의 빈곳에 가장 알맞은 대화는? (3점)



① How is the weather?
 ② Do you find the story interesting?
 ③ Which movie do you want to see?
 ④ Are you worried?
 ⑤ How are you doing now? ✓

2. 대화의 밑줄 친 의미와 같은 것은? (5점)

A: Do you like your birthday gift?
 B: Yes.
 That's exactly what I wanted.



① What do you want to eat?
 ② What kind of movie is "Ghost Hunters"?
 ③ I don't know what time it is.
 ④ What is your bag?
 ⑤ Is this what he gave?

* 다음을 읽고 물음에 답하시오. (3-4)

Boy: Yuna, let's make our classroom pretty.
 Girl: Great! What should I do, Dannie?
 Boy: You can either paint the wall or hang the new curtains.
 (A 페인트칠과 커튼 달기 중 어느 것을 더 좋아하니?)
 Girl: I hate working with paints.
 I'd like to hang the curtains.
 Boy: No problem. I'll paint the wall.
 Girl: What about cleaning this room?
 Do we have to do that, too?
 Boy: We don't need to do that. The other students are going to do it tomorrow.
 Girl: Really? That's fair enough. Let's get started.
 Boy: OK.

3. 위 글을 읽고 답할 수 없는 질문은? (3.5점)

① Who will paint the wall?
 ② What does the girl hate?
 ③ What are they talking about?
 ④ Do they have to clean the room?
 ⑤ Who will bring the books?

4. (A)에 들어갈 우리말에 알맞는 것은? (3.5점)

① Which do you prefer, painting the wall or hanging the curtains?
 ② Why don't you paint the wall or hang the curtains?
 ③ Do you like paint or curtain?
 ④ Can you paint the wall or hang the curtains?
 ⑤ What do you want, paint the wall or hang the curtains?

● The first and last pages of the final paper

* 총 (4)면, 선다형 (7)문항, 서술형 (17)문항이니 반드시 확인하고, 물음에 맞는 정답을 표기하시오. 배점은 각 문항에 표시함.

* 선다형 정답은 OMR카드에 마킹하세요.
서술형 정답은 서술형문항 답안지에 기재하세요.

* 다음을 읽고 답하시오. (1번, 서술1)

M: (A) 네가 왔어서 기쁘구나)
W: Thanks for inviting me to your house.
M: Would you like some tteokbokki?
W: Thanks, it looks delicious.
M: I hope you enjoy it.

1. Where are the speakers? (3점)



<서술형>1. 위글 (A)의 우리말을 주어진 단어를 사용하여 영어로 쓰시오. (5점)

glad / could

답: _____

2. 다음 대화가 어색한 것은? (4점)

- ① A: My mom is suffering from a headache.
B: I don't know where to study.
- ② A: What's your special way of studying English?
B: I keep an English diary every day.
- ③ A: Tell me what to buy.
B: The red one looks better.
- ④ A: I didn't do well in the music contest.
B: Practice hard, and you will do better next time.
- ⑤ A: Why are you so sad?
B: I got a bad grade in math.

3. 그림을 보고 표현한 문장이다. ⓐ에 들어갈 알맞은 어구는? (3점)



I wrote it very slowly. (ⓐ 한 줄씩).

- ① one by one ② day by day
- ③ step by step ④ side by side
- ⑤ line by line

4. 다음 중 단어의 의미가 바르게 짝지어진 것은? (4점)

- ① besides : 옆에
- ② fall down : 넘어지다.
- ③ special effects : 특수 개념
- ④ right away : 멀리
- ⑤ scene : 간식

Appendix M Transcription conventions (Jefferson, 2004)

.	falling intonation
,	continuing intonation
?	rising intonation
<u>underline</u>	emphasis, stress
-	abrupt sound stop
Capital	louder than surrounding talk
(.)	pause less than 0.2 second
(n.n) inbreath	pause of more than 0.2 second
[overlapping talk
=	latched speech
:	sound stretch
()	questionable transcription
(())	Nonverbal / transcriber comments
><	faster than surrounding talk
°°	quieter than surrounding talk
↑↓	rising/falling intonation shift
Hh	outbreath
.hh	inbreath

Appendix N Korean versions of transcriptions

N.1 Chapter 5

교감선생님: 136-143

당연히 해야 된다고 생각하고. 처음에 교과교실제가 제 들어오기 전에 2012년도 교과교실을 리모델링을 해가지고 교과교실제를 했더라구요. 그래서 학교를 믿고 따라주는 분위기였던 것 같아요. 학교에서 이렇게 하니깐 이렇게 해야 되는구나 싶고. 따라주고. 학부모님들도 수준별 수업을 왜 이런 식으로 하느냐 이렇게 부정적인 이야기를 하는 분은 한 분도 없는 것 같고. 단지 공개수업 이런 것 할 때 상이 있고 중이 있고 할 때 상에 있는 부모님들이 관심이 많다고 보니까 그 분들은 많이 오시고 그 다음에 다른 그룹에는 안 오시고. 그렇지. 수준별 수업에 대해서 크게 불만은 없는 것 같더라고요.

교감선생님: 159-162

그러니까 이제 영어 상반에 들어가 있는 학부모들은 수학도 해달라고 요구를 했었고, 영어 이제 중이나 이런 반에 들어가 있는 학부모들은 “우리 아가 왜 상반에 못 들어 갔느냐?”라는 불만에서 시작해 가지고 “우리 아 영어 잘하는데 왜 굳이 수준별을 만들었느냐?” 학부모도 있었고.

교감선생님: 16-21

아이들은 굉장히 거 순순하다고 해야 되나. 좀 그런 면이 있고. 교육적으로 이야기하자면 OO 중학교와 우리가 똑 같은 가정이잖아요. 그쵸? 그런데 옆에 학교는 굉장히 공격성을 띠는다고 그러더라고요. 그런데 우리학교는 여성이라서 그런지, 불만은 대개 많아도 선생님을 잘 따르고, 선생님을 좋아하고, 사랑에 굶주려 있다고 해야 하나? 쌤들이 조금은 잘해주면 굉장히 선생님한테 얹어지가지고 말 잘 듣고 하는 이런 스타일.

윤선생님(Hapril6: 376-379)

지금 너희들 보고 수업을 하라고 하는데 선생님 지금 너희들이 참여를 안 하면 이 수업도 사실은 실패하는 것 금년에 쌤도 처음 시도해보고 너희들이 나와서 번역해야 한다. 다만 너희들이 이해 안 되는 문법 부분 조금만 쌤이 첨가해줄 뿐이야. 너희들도 직접적으로 손들어서 ‘쌤, 한번만 더 설명해주세요’ 안 하면은 쌤도 지금 넘어가게 되어있어요.

N.2 Chapter 6

한국교육과정 영어교육 목표 (2011)

영어 교과는 영어 의사소통 능력을 교육 목표는 능력을 길러 주는 것이 중요한 목표이지만 인성 교육과 창의성 교육도 중요하므로, 영어 교육을 통해 인성을 함양하고, 시민의식, 공동체 의식을 제고하며, 남을 배려하는 모범적인 시민 의식과 창의적 사고력을 배양시킬 수 있도록 한다. 또한, 외국 문화를 바르게 이해하고 세계인으로서의 자질과 소양을 길러 줄 수 있도록 한다. (p. 3)

소림, 하반기, 첫인터뷰: 182-190

변: 굳이 영어를 수준별로 나는 이유가 뭘까?

소림: 영어는 중요하니까

변: 중요해? 우리나라에서 영어는 뭐야?

소림: 취직할 때

변: 취직할 때 필요해? 너한테 영어는 뭐야?

소림: 나한테 영어는 다른 나라 말. 한국에선 그나 한국말 쓰면 되는데 왜 영어를 배워야 될지 모르겠고.

변: ((거리에 있는)) 영어 간판 보면 어떤 생각이 들어?

소림: 아, 한글! 한글! 한글이 많이 없구나. 이러다 우리나라 사람들 계속 영어만 쓰는 게 아닌가.

한국어는 안 쓰고.

소림 (하)/ 양진 (중) Pair 인터뷰: 415-435

변: 영어를 왜 배운다고 생각해?

양진: 그냥 기본. 살려면 필요한 뭐 그런 것.

변: 우리나라에서 영어는 왜 필요해?

소림: 유익해 보이려고

...

변: 지금 이 순간 너희에게 영어는 왜 필요해?

양진: 미래를 위해서

소림: 지금 이 순간 필요한 이유는 없는데.

변: 지금 이순간 영어 공부 하는 이유가 뭐야?

소림: 국가가 시켜서 (웃음)

양진: 좋은 대학 갈려고.

변: 영어가 너희에게 많이 필요할 것 같아?

소림: 많이 필요할 것 같은데요.

변: 어떤 점에서?

소림: 회사 취직할 때 영어 해야 되고. 3 개국어 잘해야 된다고 하고.

Ms. Jang 첫 인터뷰: 115-120

변: 한국에서는 영어는 얼마나 중요하다고 생각하세요?

장: 저는 항상 생각하는 게 영어가 중요하기 보다는 영어는 이제 기본으로 한국어 다음에 플러스 영어 그 위에 뭔가를 더 해야 된다고 생각해요.

변: 영어 위에 플러스?

장: 그렇죠. 저는 그렇게 생각해요.

변: 플러스라는 것이 흔히 말하는 중국어를 말씀하시는 건지

장: 그렇죠. 언어가 아니라 하더라도 다른 것을 전공 하더라도.

Ms. Yoon 첫 인터뷰: 306-315

변: 아이들이 영어를 못하면 나중에 직업을 얻을 때 이럴 때 어떤 영향이 있을까요?

윤: 지금 애들보고 그래 내가 지금 그 방과 후 수업 같은 것. 제발 외국어를 배워라. 일본어를 배우든지, 중국어를 배우든지 이번에 중국어는 굉장히 많이 선택했어. 판매원이라도, 이제는 판매원이 15 억 되는 옆의 인구에게 제대로 판매하려면 지금 너희들 중국어를 배워놓아야 한다. 그리고 공통어는 영어니까 영어를 해야 된다. 그리고 너희가 알아야 되는 것은 개인사업을 하려면, 취직이 아니라 개인 사업을 해도 외국인에게 팔려면 설명을 해주려면 영어를 조금 해야 된다. 공부하기 싫더라도 자영업을 하더라도 영어를 꼭 해서 한국인만 대상으로 우리 5 천만명 가지고 안 된다. 외국어를 배워 사업을 해라. 애들에게 그것을 강요를 하지. 공부하기 싫은 게 아니라 공부해서 대학가라고 영어하는 것이 아니라 사업을 해야 한다. 사업을 하려면 영어 배워서 외국인들과 해야 되고 이제 인터넷이 잘되니까 직영으로 바로 1:1 로 거래를 하려면 영어로 설명을 하고 해줘야 되니까 영어를 해라.

Ms. Yoon 첫 인터뷰: 283-288

변: 그러니까 한국 노래에 영어단어가 들어 있는 것 말씀이신가요?

윤: 좀 우리 순수 우리 국어 노래가 아니고, 왜 그런가 하면 남편은 옛날에 한자어가 들어온 것처럼 지금 우리 나라 말이 또 외국어로 수출 해서 돈을 벌어야 하니까 그 사람들의 관심을 끌려면 영어를 넣어야 한다. 외국인의 관심을 끌려고 그러는 거지. 지금은 우리나라 말에 영어가 자꾸 들어가는 이유는 우리나라 사람이 영어를 좋아하는 게 아니라 외국인이 오니까 외국인이 좀 더 이해 하기 위해서 간판이나 모든 설명이 영어가 들어가는 그 경향이 아닌가 싶고.

Ms. Yoon 첫 인터뷰: 291-301

윤: 어차피 외국인들에 많이 팔게. 영어가 필요하다고 느낀 것은 작년에 프랑스 여행을 갔는데

변: 네

윤: 프랑스는 프랑스에 대한 자부심이 굉장히 강하더라고요. 특징은 지하철에 영어가 없는 거야.

변: 네. 없어요.

윤: 근데 내가 지하철을 타고 어디를 가야 되는데 문패가 다 영어로 되어 있으니까 대충 영어 스펠링과 비슷한 거는 대충 알아듣지 영어가 없는 거야. 남편이랑 다니면서 여보 이거는 너무 했다. 그래도 외국인들이 관광을 오는 나라니까 이게 영어를 조금 공통되는 언어를 써놓아야 우리가 볼 수 있는데 전부 다 붙어 밖에 없으니까 진짜 이 사람들이 자존심 강하다.

변: 네

변: 하지만 우리는 지금 약소국가니까 우리도 강한 전통을 가지고 그랬다면 모르겠지만 우리는 지금 약소국가니까. 외국인이 워낙 많이 들어오니까 판매하는 것들이 ((영어를 많이 사용하고))그렇게 되지 않나 싶다.

Ms. Sun, 첫 인터뷰: 219-224

변: 한국에서의 영어의 위치는 어떨까요?

썸: 제일 어려운 질문입니다. (웃는다) 한국에서의 영어요?

변: 네.

썸: 사실 환상이 좀 입혀져 있는 것 같아요. 영어가 사회의 상위권 진출을 위한 교두보 역할을 한다는 것 때문에 안 그래도 한국이 교육열이 높은 나라인데. 과열되어 있는 것은 생각해 볼 문제죠. 아이를 낳자마자 영어유치원을 예약을 해야 할 판이라니.

샤넬, 첫 인터뷰: 684-693

변: 다른 나라에서 교육을 받아온 것을 봤을 때 영어 교사가 어떻게 수업을 하는 것이 가장 효과적일까?

샤넬: 바라는 것은 많은데 한국 입시 체계에 전혀 맞지는 않아요. 그렇게 되면

나: 이야기 해 봐

샤넬: 저는 약간 한국의 입시를 완전히 벗어났을 때, 입시의 영향을 전혀 받지 않는다고 가정했을 때는 너무 막 문법에나 문법에 너무 치중하지 않았으면 좋겠어요. 제가 미국 가서 느낀 게 이 친구들은 말 아무것도 맞춤법에 맞춰서 쓰지를 않거든요. 맞춤법에 맞춰서 쓰면 교양 있긴 하죠. 근데 저희도 말할 때 맞춤법에 맞춰서 쓰진 않잖아요. 그래서 굳이 그것을 막 너무 이렇게 문법을 위주로 하는 영어공부는 재미가 없다고 생각하거든요 그래서 오히려 듣기라든지, 해외에 나갔을 때 그런 외국인을 두려워하지 않고 말하고 듣고 할 수 있는 능력이 먼저 되어야 영어가 재미있어 지는 거고. 그래야 읽고 싶어지고, 문법을 배우고 싶어지는 거잖아요. 그래서 그런 걸 먼저 했으면 좋겠어요.

소림, 하반, 첫 인터뷰: 24-31

변: 중 1 때 수준별 이동수업에 대해 상세히 설명해 주셨나?

소림: 상세하게 설명은 안 해주고, 그냥

변: 뭐라고 얘기 해 주셨어?

소림: 그냥 시험 성적이 있으면 잘하는 애들 있고, 못하는 애들 있으니까 잘하는 애들은 빨리빨리 하면 다 알아듣잖아요 근데 성적이 좀 떨어지는 애들은 선생님이 이렇게 설명을 해줘야 되니까 수준별로 해야 되는 거라고.

변: 그 설명을 들었을 때 너는 어떤 생각이 들었어?

소림: 아, 그냥 나뉘는구나. 나 공부 못하니까 공부 못하는 반 가겠네 이려고.

진, 하반, 첫 인터뷰: 79-89

변: 1학년때 하반 이라고 선생님이 어떻게 알려주셨어?

진: 처음에 입학하고 처음에 초등학교에서 중학교 올라올 때 시험 쳤는데 그게 그런 수준으로 나누는 것을 모르고 그냥 쳤어요. 치니까 쌤이 갑자기 반 배정하고 며칠 지나니까 영어 수업이 있는 거예요.

그래서 우리는 초등학교는 가만 앉아 있으면 되니까 있었죠. 그런데 어떤 모르는 선생님이 들어와서 이름 부르면서 어떤 상중하 반 이렇게 나누는 거예요. 그래서 그때부터 수준별 수업이 있구나 이러면서
 변: 그러면 선생님이 명부를 가져와서 상반 애들 이름 부르고
 진: 중반 애들 부르고, 아니면 나머지는 하반이라면서 그냥 가고.
 변: 하반 가라 말씀 하셨어?
 진: 네.
 변: 그럴 때 어떤 기분이 들었어?
 진: 그냥 좀 차별하는 기분. 초등학교는 그런 거 없잖아요

류민, 상반, 첫 인터뷰: 14-25

변: 처음 상중하로 나뉘었을 때는 상반 이었겠네.
 류민: 네.
 변: 그때는 어떤 생각이 들었어.
 류민: 처음에 상반이니까 나중에 제가 90 점 대가 아니니까 중반으로 떨어지면 좀 대개 그런 거 많았어요. 중반 떨어지면 내가 너무 못한다는 이런 생각. 그래가지고 점수보다는 그런 쪽에 신경 많이 썼던 것 같아요.
 변: 어떤 쪽?
 류민: 그러니까 상반에서 떨어진다는 그런 거
 변: 부끄러움.
 류민: 네.
 변: 자존심 상함.
 류민: 네. 뭐 그런 거 있었어요. 중반으로 가면 좀 그렇게 안 좋게 공부 못한다. 너무 못한다고 그럴까 봐.

정류, 상반, 첫 인터뷰: 129-138

정류: 예전에 기말고사 때 영어를 일단 평균은 넘었기는 넘었는데 엄마가 계속 이대로 가면 영어 떨어진다고 또 잘하는 애들은 성적이 다 오른 거예요 그래서 이번 평균은 높는데 내가 떨어지는 것은 아닌가? 라고 생각했죠.
 나: 중반으로 가는 것은 아닌가?
 정류: 네
 나: 중반으로 가면 어디가 어땠어?
 정류: 중반으로 가면 가~면 괜찮긴 괜찮은데, 원~가~
 변: 원가가 뭐지?
 정류: 갑자기 제가 상반 계속했다가 떨어지면 자존심도 상하고 왜 이렇게 되지? 왜 갑자기 이렇게 되지?
 변: 네가 너에게 자존심이 상하는 거야? 다른 사람 시선을 생각하게 되는 거야?
 정류: 저 저의 자존심이 강해서.
 변: 다른 사람 시선도 생각하고.
 정류: 네. 다른 사람 시선도 생각하죠.

진, 하반, 첫 인터뷰: 91-99

변: 그러고 나서 차별한다는 기분이 들었었어? 그리고 그 기분을 가지고 하반 수업을 가지고 들어갔어. 수업에선 어땠어, 넌? 정말 차별하는 것 같아서. 쌤들이?
 진: 그거 안에서 또 수준이 있잖아요. 잘하는 애들은 확실히 좀 올리려고 많이 가리키고, 저처럼 안하고 자는 애들은 그냥 냅뒀어요.
 변: 1학년때부터 그냥 냅뒀어?
 진: 네. 그냥 냅뒀어요.
 변: 너도 해야 되겠다는 생각은?
 진: 이미 접었어요. 그 쌤들이 그때부터 했으니까 그냥 접었어요. 냅뒀도 냅뒀도 어차피 내 알아서 니 알아서 하라는 식으로 그냥 해서 저도 그냥 안 했어요.

리윤, 상반, 첫 인터뷰: 324-329

변: 선생님들이 서로 도와서 수업해라고 말씀 하시나?

리윤: ((웃으며)) 잘해주라고 해요.

변: ((웃으며)) 잘해주라고 무슨 뜻이야?

리윤: 그러니까 과학 선생님 같은 경우는 ((하반 아이들)) 불쌍하다고 잘해주라고 하고 ((웃는다))

나: 불쌍하다고? 그럴구나 ↓

리윤: ((웃음))

N.3 Chapter 7

Extract 7-1. 야, 형광 펜 나중에 할게 우선 밑줄부터 그을까 [하반, 3월 17일: 188-213]

장: 그렇지. 말했다. 자, 메디 나는 마당 청소하는 것을 싫어해 라고 발데즈씨가 말했습니다. It's the hardest chore for me. 야 형광 펜 나중에 할 때. 우선 밑줄부터 그을까? The est 밑줄부터 그어 봐 (1.3) the 플러스 최상급. 써놓고 써놓고 썼어? The 최상급 만 써. The hardest ((엎드려 있는 라이에게 가서)) 자나.

라이: ((엎드린 채로)) 머리 아파요

장: 머리 아파? 약 먹었나

진: ((엎드렸던 고개를 들며)) 쌤, 나도 머리 아파요

장: 고개 숙이면 안 되는 것 알지, 진. ((전체 학생에게)) hard 의 뜻이 뭐야? 애들아, hard 의 뜻이 뭘까요?

Extract 7-2. 아프니즘 [하반, 3월 24일: 48-50]

장: 이 엎드려 있는 이 길라 아이가 아프나↓

가인: 아프니즘

진: 나도 아프다

Extract 7-3. 너무 어려워요 [하반, 3월 17일: 608-623]

진: 쌤 20 페이지 까지만 쓰면 돼요

장: 음 한 바닥만 쓰면 돼

진: 끝

장: 해석은 안 씬?

진: >몰라요<

장: 몰라↓요.

진: 너무:: 어려워요

장: 야, 다 쓰고 있는데 니만 어렵나?

진: ((엎드리며)) 아 허리아 ((수림에게)) 야, 나 좀 보여줘 해석 해놨나?

수림: 니가 글씨를 못 알아 볼걸

진: 응 그래 고맙다 야, 누가 한글 번역해 놓은 사람, ((한 학생에게)) 니 했나?

?학생: 응

유진: 내 좀 보여줘 나중에

장: 써라

진: 빼껴써요 나중에

장: 불러 줄게 써라 '메디는 불행했다'

Extract 7-4. 2학년 시험지 미친 [하반, 4월 7일: 47-54]

라이: 뭐? 2학년 거? 2학년 거

장: 좀 쉬운 걸로 하자. 너 3학년꺼 하니까 못하대

가인: 2 학년꺼 해요? 아 [미친::
 진: [자존심 상하게=
 가인: =맞:::아
 현: 이거 쌤 이거 예전에 했던 거 짱아요
 장: 자, 예전에 했던 거 100 점 나오는가 한번 해 볼까
 현: 아니요 히 히 히

[진, 하반기, 두번째 인터뷰: 394-406]

진: 그냥 수업 시간에 자러 가요, 두 시간 연달아 잔 적도 있어요
 변: 영어 수업이다 하면은?
 진: 바로 보건실 내려가요
 변: 아프지도 않는데
 진: 자요
 변: 아프지도 않는데
 진: ((웃는다))
 변: 쌤한테 도장 받아야 되잖아?
 진: 아프다고 하면 쌤이 종이 주잖아요
 변: 확인도 안하고
 진: 그러고 자요
 변: 그러고 잔 적이 많았나?
 진: ((고개를 끄덕이며)) *그 시간 재미가 없으니까. 그 시간 자야겠다. 어차피 못 알아 들이니깐 해봐야.*

Extract 7-5. 저한테 X 다 주세요 [하반기, 4월 21 일: 187-204]

장: 저기 자꾸 떠드는 사람 누구였어? 현, 자꾸 떠들제. 현 X 나간다. 히라 X 하나 나간다=
 히라: =>왜요<
 장: 왜? >왜 나갈까↓<=
 현:= ((통명한 목소리로)) 쌤:: 왜 우리만 [떠들었어요
 장: [그럼 누가 또 떠들었는데?
 히라: 쌤 저희 목소리를 ((리나와 지수 쪽을 가리키며)) 저쪽 목소리하고 선생님이 착각하신 것 아니 예요
 리나: ((웃으면서)) 쌤 저도 여기 떠들었어요
 장: 아니 ((히라와 현을 가리키며)) 여기도 ((떠들었다))
 히라: 헐 진짜 떠들어 버릴까
 Ss: ((웃음소리))
 지수: 제가 말했는데요
 장: 뭐?
 지수: 제가 말했는데
 장: 그래 지수 너도 X 받았다
 지수: 저한테 다 X 해 주세요
 장: 아니 싫어

[하반기, 3월 17 일: 485-491]

리나: 쌤, 저 하루 빠졌어요, 어제 아파서
 장: 빠졌는데 다 썼는가 안 썼는가 어떻게 알아?
 리나: 애들이 가르쳐 줬어요
 장: ((리나의 노트를 뒤척이며)) 니 이거 니 꺼가?
 리나: 왜요 왜요?
 장: 아니, 필기를 너무 잘해서

[리나, 하반기, 첫 인터뷰: 01-25]

변: 학교에 늦게 오나?

리나: 네

변: 몇 시쯤?

리나: 점심시간이나 11 시쯤

변: 늦잠 자나?

리나: 늦잠 잔 것도 있고, 영어 시간 빠지고 싶어서 그런 것도 있고

변: 영어 수업을 고의적으로 빠진 이유를 좀 더 자세히 이야기 해 줄래?

리나: 이유요? 재미 없어서

변: 다른 과목은 안 빠지나?

리나: 다른 과목 시간은 조금 빠지는데

변: 그 과목들은 더 재미있나?

리나: 아뇨

변: 근데 그 과목들은 잘 안 빠지는데 왜 영어는 빠지는데?

리나: 그래도 들어가야죠. 다 빠질 순 없으니까

변: 영어를 빠진 이유가 특별하게 있을까?

리나: 영어실 너무 좁고, 어차피 이해도 안가고... 어차피 나 빠져 봤자 신경도 안 쓸 것 같아서

Extract 7-6. 조용히 할게요 [하반기, 5월 19일: 227-254]

장: 이 원 (0.3) 니 이러려고 반 바꿨나? =

원: =>아니↓요<

장: 책도 안 들고 오고

원: 아 책은 집에 있어요.

장: 책이 집에 있으면 되↓나 =

원: = [네 아니↓요

리나: [아니↓요

장: 응?

원: 아니↓요 =

리나: = 아니↓요

장: 니 자꾸 떠들 거↓가

원: [아니↓요

리나: [아니↓요 하 하 [하 하

장: [대답은 잘 한다

리나: 하 하 하 원 쫓았다 하 [하 하

장: [하지 말자 떠들지 말자 =

원: =네

장: 자, [many film makers 또 떠든다. 와:::

원: [((바로 다시 떠들기 시작))

장: may 뜻이 뭘니까? may

원: ((웅성거리는 교실)) 리나, 니 머리가 [있잖아

장: [신지

신지: ◦네◦

장: 니 저기 책 들고 저리 뒤로 가라

신지: ◦아 조용히 할게요◦

장: 언제 조용히 할 건데?

신지: ◦가만히 있을 게요◦

장: 자, ((전체 학생들에게)) may 의 뜻이 뭘니까?

[하반, 6 월 9 일: 492-499]

변: 중반에서 ((G2 반으로)) 온 아이들은 ((수업 태도가)) 어떤 것 같아?
보라: 그냥 지금은 하반에 친한 애가 있으니까, 그냥 그리고 쌤도 그렇게 많이 뭐라고 하지 않고 그래서 그냥 노는 것 같은데
변: 너의 수업태도는 선생 반에서와 비교했을 때 분위기를 많이 타는 것 같아?
보라: 네
변: 다시 돌아가고 싶은 생각이 들어? 선생 반으로
보라: 아뇨
변: 왜?
보라: 어차피 공부도 안 하는데 올라가도 들어도 원 말인지 모르고

Extract 7-7. 저 상반이에요 [하반, 5 월 26 일: 191-197]

장: 신혜, 니가 가르쳐 줘라
소림: 아, 애 바보예요. 못 알아 들어요=
장: [=그래도 니는 상반에서 왔잖아
신혜: [=바보 아니 거던. 저 상반 이에요. 1 학년때부터 이때까지 쪽 상반 이었어요
소림: 뽕까지마
신혜: 나 진짜 처음 내려왔어. 그래서 너무 (1.0)
소림: what?

Extract 7-8. 우리 그냥 안 해요 [신혜, 첫인터뷰: 99-120]

변: 지금 심샘 반에 가면 조별로 앉아 있잖아. 그건 어때?
신혜: 재미있어요. 친하니까. 애들이랑
변: 그것도 일종의 배공이라 [같이
신혜: [그런데 이거는요 애들이랑 저는 공부하는 분위기가 너무 싫어요. 저는
변: 공부하는 분위기가 싫어?
신혜: 네
변: 아이들끼리 말을 많이 해서 문제 풀어 보라고 하시면
신혜: 그게 너무 싫어요. 너무 귀찮아요. 다 귀찮아요.
변: 근데 심샘도 너네 조별로 앉혀놓고 조별끼리 해보라고 하잖아.
신혜: 안 해요.
변: 안 해요 그게 무슨 말이야?
신혜: 저 안 해요. 조별로 하면 저 안 해요
변: 같이 조별 활동 해라 하면
신혜: 애들 다 안 해요.
변: 안 해?
신혜: 네
변: 왜 안 해 애들이
신혜: 애들 지들도 다 관심 없으니까
변: 관심 없어?
신혜: 네. 지네들 그러니까 뭐지? 노력하는 애들인데 성적 안 나오는 애들?
변: 응
신혜: 그런 애들이 하고 싶는데 못하잖아요. 지네가. 혼자. 못하고 저희는 안하고 그렇죠.

[신혜, 상반, 첫 인터뷰: 387-398]

신혜: 그냥 공부하는 애들은 공부 하는 애들끼리 집어 넣고, 공부 안 하는 애들은 공부 안 하는 애들끼리 집어넣고. 그런 것.
변: 그게 더 편한 것 같아?
신혜: 그런 것 같아요. 저희 학교에서는

변: 너네 학교에서는?

신혜: 네. 좀 하반 애들이 너무 시끄러워서, 중하 섞은 거라고.

변: 그러니까 공부 하는 애들끼리 집어 넣고, 공부 안 하는 애들은 공부 안 하는 애들끼리 집어넣는다고 니가 얘기했잖아. 그럼 안 하는 아이들이 하반에 가면 잘해질 가능성이 있어?

신혜: 없죠.

변: 그럼 상에 있는 아이들만 완전 잘해지겠네 그러면 수준별 취지가 그 취지인가?

신혜: 그런 거 아니예요?

Extract 7-9. >미친< (0.2) 니가↑ [하반 5 월 31 일: 155-159]

정류: ((진에게)) 니가 그거 저거 하였음↓ ((마이크를 가지고 있느냐?))

진: >응<

정류: >미친< (0.2) 니가↑

류민: 상관없데. 영어 실력이랑

N.4 Chapter 8

Extract 8-1. 우리는 장성이라고 하지만 미국사람들은 어떻게 해? [상반,3 월 9 일: 882-893]

윤: 자 우리 국어에서는 억양이 없다고 그랬다 한국 말에는. 한국 말의 특징은 억양. 올리고 내리고가 없어. 우리는 장성인데 영어 미국 사람이 장성을 읽으면 어떻게 해?

학생: 장성

윤: 다 같이 앞에 강세를 두고 다 같이 장성

학생들: 장성

윤: 다 같이 I like 장성

학생들: I like 장성

윤: 다 같이 I like 장성. 시작

학생들: I like 장성.

윤: 나는 장성 출신이다. 다 같이 I am from

학생들: 장성

윤: 저는 장성 안해요. 저는 장성 이랬어요.

Extract 8-2. 그리고 여기는 상반이야 [상반,3 월 16 일: 178-218]

윤: 너희는 1, 2 학년도 아니고 3 학년이야. 그리고 여기는 지금 상반이야. hate 다음에 무슨 형이 온다?

Ss: ing=

윤: =ing. 우리 국어에도 ing 가 몇 가지가 있다?

세영: (2.0) 세가지

윤: 세가지. 영어에는 ing 가 몇 가지 있다?

세영: (1.2) 두 가지?

윤: 동사가 명사로 변하면 뭐야?

Ss: 동명사

윤: 또 뭐가 있어?

Ss: 현재분사

윤: 현재분사는 뭐가 뭐로 된 거야? 동사가 형용사로 변한 것. 현재분사도 있고. 또 어떤 것? 다 같이 분사구문. 각각 다르다. 자 여기 본다. 다 같이 I hate

Ss: I hate

윤: I hate cleaning the yard. 시작

Ss: I hate cleaning [the yard.

윤: [여기 ing 는 제 세 개 중에 어디에 들어갈까?

세영: 동명[사

Ss: [동[명사
 윤: [동명사다 명사만이 목적어가 된다. 다 같이 주어 동사 목적어 주어 동사 목적어
 Ss: 주어 동사 [목적어
 윤: [이 주인 자리엔 누구만 들어온다?
 세영: 명사=
 윤: =명사만 들어오고. 목적어 자리엔 누구만 들어온다? [명사만 들어오고.
 Ss: [명사
 윤: 자 다 같이 I hate
 Ss: I hate
 윤: 누가 뭐를 싫어한다.
 세영: 마당 청소하는 것=
 윤: =마당 청소하는 것, 무엇을 목적어이다. 다 같이 목적어
 Ss: 목적어
 윤: I hate cleaning the yard 에서 ing 는 무슨 용법으로 쓰인 거야.
 세영: 동명사=
 윤: =다같이 동명사
 Ss: 동명[사
 윤: [다 같이 동명사
 Ss: 동명사
 윤: ((I saw him cleaning 의 saw 에 밑줄 치며)) 지각동사 다음에는 동명사가 안 와요. 이미 자기
 목적으로 누가 들어왔어. ((him 에 밑줄 치며)) 이미 목적어가 있어 없어? 우리는 보충해주는 보어가
 필요해요. 이미 목적어가 있으니까 또 써야 되나? 그건 아니예요. 그럼 이 ing 는 뭘까?
 Ss: (3.5)
 윤: 현재분사. 다 같이 현재분사
 Ss: 현재분사

Extract 8-3. 잠은 스스로 깨운다 [상반 3 월 9 일: 895-909]

윤: ((정류에게)) 자, 저기 졸고 있는 친구 자, 아예 자고 싶으면 옆드리세요. 그리고 잠이 오면 내 스스로
 판단해서 '잠이 와요'하고 내 스스로 나가든지, 잠을 깨든지. 그대로 있으면 쌤이 나중에 체크해.
 수행평가에 수업 자세에 '조는 친구'라고 답을 적어 놓을 거예요. 잠은 내가 깨운다 (2.0) 친구, 한번
 일어나봐요 ((정류에게 걸어간다))
 정류: ((일어서면서)) (3.0)
 윤: 친구 너무 더워서 자나?
 정류: >아니요<
 윤: 왜?
 정류: (3.0)
 윤: 왜 지금 졸려?
 정류: (3.5)
 윤: 지금 조용히 있는 시간도 아니고 너희들 입을 열어서 해야 하는데 졸고 있는 이유는?
 정류: (2.0)
 윤: 눈을 동그랗게 떠서 열심히 해서 내 잠은 내가 깨운다.
 정류: ((쌤이 돌아서자마자 유정이는 친구를 보며 장난스런 표정을 지으며 앉는다.))

Extract 8-4. "One more time please" [상반 3 월 30 일: 179-198]

진화: ((CD 를 들은 후)) One more time please
 Ss: ((웃음))
 지민: 아, 왜 이리 안 들려?
 진화: Last one more time

Ss: ((웃음))
 윤: Last one more time?
 진화: Yes
 윤: Is one more time, are you okay?
 Ss: YES
 윤: One more time, just one more time?
 Ss: YES ((웃음))
 진화: ((CD 듣기 도중)) Thank you
 ((2 분 후 재연이 주위 아이들))
 윤: 그 다음 마지막 listen and act
 진화: 12 분 남았어.
 재연: 벌써? 시간 빠르다
 지민: 이렇게 하니까 ((시간)) 좀 빨리 가는 것 같지 않나?
 진화: 응. 맨날 이랬으면 좋겠다.
 Ss: ((웃음))

Extract 8-5. I am 번역기 [상반 4 월 20 일: 151-163]

윤: ((CD 를 튼 후)) 다 같이 “whose”
 Ss: °whose°
 윤: whose
 Ss: °whose°
 윤: 자, I have sister whose name is Sally 그 옆에 번역 한 번 적어봐.
 지민: ((한숨 소리))
 윤: ((지민을 보며)) 공주야, 왜 번역을 하라는데 한숨이 나와
 Ss: ((몇 몇 아이들 웃는다))
 윤: 이번 시험에 번역하는 게 많아서 그래.
 Ss: (1.2)
 윤: 다음을 뭐하시오?
 S: 번역하시오=
 정류: =번역하시오
 류민: ((조원들만 들리게)) 이 am 번역기 °
 윤: 야 이 놈들아 (0.4) 손이 왜 이리 게을러?
 Ss: (6.5) ((정류는 류민과 함께 문제 풀고 있음))
 윤: 도대체 문법을 해 놓고 번역을 못해. 문법 열심히 해줬으면 이젠 우리말로 어떻게 번역 되는지 알아야 될 거 아냐?

Extract 8-6. 영어는 재미없는 시간이야 [상반 6 월 22 일: 334-343]

다숨: ((두 손가락을 들어 경에게 보여준다))
 윤: 자 다숨 2분?
 Ss: ((웃음))
 윤: 너 때문에 더하기 2 분이 더 된다 시간이 얼마 남았는가 계산 하지만. 2 분이 가는 걸 아까워해.
 Ss: (5.5) ((조용함))
 윤: 그렇게 지켜워서 중학교 졸업하고 그만 두면 되지. 2 분 남았어.
 Ss: (6.0)
 윤: 왜 이렇게 시간이 빨리 가. 해야 될 내용은 많은데.
 Ss: (9.5)
 윤: 영어 영어는 재미 없는 시간이야. 어떤 사람에게겐 커피 써서 못 먹어.
 Ss: (3.0)

윤: 어려움 어려움이라 했어요. 영어 시간은 어려워. 왜 다른 과목보다 영어 시간이 더 어렵고, 쌤, 영어가 왜 이렇게 딱딱해요? 그렇게 안 하면 제대로 대갈통에 안 들어가니까. (0.3) 왜 부드럽게 해 줄까?

Ss: (9.0)

Extract 8-7. 야, 니 추방 니 추방 [상반 5 월 11 일: 83-138]

욱: ((정류에게)) 야, 니 추방 니 추방

정류: 야

욱: 니 추방 니 추방

정류: 내가 추방이면 너는 15년

윤: 자, 지금 ((상반아이들)) 이름 불러줄게 ...은지, 소민, [욱

정류: [소민::?]=

길림: =응 응

윤: 소민이 있네

길림: 응 개 나보다 더 잘한다 하 하 [하 하

윤: [리윤

정류: ((효민에게)) 니 이름 안 불림=

류민: =정말? 어, 어떡해? =

윤: =효민=

효민: ((정류에게)) 봐라, 저 안에 있제?

윤: ((이름 불린 사람)) 외에는 한번 손들어 본다. 안 불린 사람?

재연: ((안도의 한숨쉬며)) 휴::

아주: 아, 살아 남았어

재연: 응, 살아 남았다

((몇몇의 노랫소리: '여기까지가 끝인가 보오'))

길림: ((교실로 들어오는 소림에게)) 소민

윤: ((건에게)) 1반 ((으로 가라))

진화: ((나가는 건에게 고향치며)) 안 돼:::::

길림: ((교실로 들어오는 진희에게)) 진희 진희 [진희

정류: 소민이 왜 옴

((교사가 아이들을 자리를 앉히는 대화 후))

정류: ((소민을 보며)) 전 마가 여기 있다니 기적이다. 씨:: 미치겠다

Extract 8-8. 진짜 소민 [상반 5 월 11 일: 356-361]

류민: 솔직히 소민=

정류: =응

류민: ((웃으며)) 소민이가 올 줄은

정류: 나도

류민: ((웃으며)) 소민?

정류: ((웃으며)) 소민 아 소민