The Dissertation Committee for Eun A Kim certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

English Language Education in Two Kindergarten Classes in Korea:

Pedagogical Practices and Insiders' Perceptions

Committee:

James V. Hoffman, Co-Supervisor

Stuart Reifel, Co-Supervisor

Diane L. Schallert

Anna Maloch

Christopher P. Brown

Jennifer K. Adair

English Language Education in Two Kindergarten Classes in Korea: Pedagogical Practices and Insiders' Perceptions

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Eun A Kim, B.A.; M.A.

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Dedication

For my husband and son

For my parents and parents-in-law

For all my research participants

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English Language Education in Two Kindergarten Classes in Korea: Pedagogical Practices and Insiders' Perceptions

Eun A Kim, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2014

Co-Supervisors: James V. Hoffman & Stuart Reifel

This study explores English education in two local private kindergarten classes in Korea. The purpose of this study is to understand English education in private kindergartens in Korea by closely looking at pedagogical practices in two kindergarten classes and the insiders' perceptions of the pedagogical practices. The research questions guiding this study are as follows: (a) What are the pedagogical practices relative to English education in two private kindergarten classes in Korea?; and (b) How do the members of the two classes (i.e., the child participants, ECE teacher, and English instructors) perceive the language, language teaching and learning, and the pedagogical practices?

The study was conducted as a qualitative study through the fieldwork using such methods as participant observations, interviews, questionnaires, and collection of documents and artifacts. The study took place in private kindergartens located in two separate communities in Korea. In each kindergarten, I focused on a particular class:

The fieldwork in the two research sites spanned a two-and-a-half-month period, between May and July 2011.

Regarding the first research question, I found that members of each class co-constructed the pedagogical practices relative to English education in a locally specific way. Within their particular context, the members of Red Class were involved in creating a caring classroom environment consisting of English lessons, learning, learners, and reciprocal relationships among them. The members of Green Class played their respective roles as leaners, ECE teacher, or English language instructors. However, many of the learners tended to care little about the English lessons or learning but all the same were sure to finish their English tasks.

Regarding the second research question, the members of the two classes perceived English language, language teaching and/or learning, and the pedagogical practices based on their experiences in particular contexts. However, their perceptions, at the same time, reflected in various ways the larger culture. Red Class members tended to describe and interpret their pedagogical practices in positive ways and to consider English useful and important. Green Class members tended to talk more about their pedagogical practices with multiple voices.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Since the early 1990s, English has been taught in private kindergartens in South Korea (hereafter, Korea; Ma, 2007; H. Park, Ahn, & Ha, 1997). It started in some private kindergartens (E.A. Kim, 1996; H. Park et al., 1997; Woo & Lee, 1996), but has spread to nearly all of them (S. H. Kim, 2008; S. Kang, 2012). Nevertheless, English education had yet to be included in the Korean National Kindergarten Curriculum (Korean Ministry of Education, KMOE, 1987, 1992, 1999; Korean Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development, KMOEHRD[1], 2007). It is excluded from the most recent national curriculum, *Nuri* Curriculum (Korean Ministry of Education and Science Technology, KMOEST, 2012). In Korea, in other words, English cannot officially be taught in either public or private kindergartens (H. Jun, 2009; S. Kang 2012). Given this curious juxtaposition of real practice and official policy, this study explores English education in Korea's private kindergartens. It is a qualitative study and focuses on two kindergarten classes.

[1] The Korean Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development was a designation of the Korean Ministry of Education. It has been changed to the Ministry of Education and Human Resource Development and to the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology in Korea. However, hereafter, the designation will be unified as the Korean Ministry of Education.

Background Information

After graduating with a bachelor's in 1991, I started work as an early childhood teacher in a private kindergarten. Here English was taught during regular kindergarten hours and it was here I frequently ran into conflicts. The conflicts were between my educational beliefs (i.e., child-centeredness, developmental appropriateness) and the practices of English lessons as they were implemented by a part-time English language instructor. I found the lessons to be developmentally inappropriate and excessively teacher-directed. Furthermore, I continuously questioned whether the lessons were useful and necessary for my students. As a kindergarten teacher, I had, through pre-service and in-service teacher education, learned nothing about English education for young children. The conflicts between my educational beliefs and the practices of English lessons became a major concern for me.

Over two decades have passed since I first encountered the issue of English education in private kindergartens. What has not changed, however, is that English is taught in private kindergartens without the guidance of the Korean National Curriculum[2] (at present, *Nuri Curriculum*, announced in September of 2011 and applied to kindergartens from March, 2012; KMOEST, 2011). The importance of English proficiency is emphasized to a greater extent in Korean society today than the early 1990s. Koreans consider English to be the most powerful language, exerting significant

[2] When the field work of this study was conducted in Korea in 2011(May-July), the 7th National Kindergarten Curriculum was being applied to Korean kindergartens.

influences on academic achievement, entrance exams, employment, and even one's future socio-economic status (J.S. Park, 2009; S.J. Park & Abelmann, 2004). English education[3] is implemented in almost all private kindergartens. According to Woo and Lee's (1996) study, 45.9% of 135 private kindergartens ran English programs. In contrast, Yang, J. Kim, H. Kim, and Y. Kim's (2001a) study reported 65.1% of 680 private kindergartens taught English to their students. In 2008, an article in a major newspaper reported that 96% of nationwide private kindergartens ran English programs (S.Y. Kim, October 23, 2008).

Han, the president of the Association of Private Kindergartens, pointed out that many private kindergartens are caught in the a dilemma of following the guidance of National Kindergarten Curriculum or flouting the educational law and including in-demand English lessons to their actual kindergarten curricula (S.J. Kim, June 4, 2006). Choi, a member of the Korean Parliament, and his associates argued that, under the current law, English education performed in private kindergartens is illegal (S.Y. Kim, October 23, 2008). Under these conflicting circumstances, there has been a pronounced growth of private English language institutes (cram schools, *Hakwon)*. A newspaper reported that approximately half of all 5-year-old children enrolled in private kindergartens in Gangnam, Seoul, had recently been transferred to private English

[3] English education for Korean young children is not only performed in private kindergartens, but also in child care centers, another major early childhood education facility, in various types of private English language institutes (cram schools), at home, and through other types of programs and materials (H. Jun, 2011; Woo, Seo, & Kang, 2002).

language institutes, particularly to so-called "English kindergartens" [4] ("Transfer to English kindergartens", March 3, 2006). An internet article reported that in Gangnam, Seoul, the number of these English kindergartens surpassed that of conventional kindergartens (Chae & Huh, August 27, 2010).

In relation to English education, private kindergartens have faced numerous challenges, under the Korean Ministry of Education's opposition to English education in kindergartens. These challenges include social arguments that the kindergartens lack legal, philosophical, or theoretical foundations for English education **(**Seo, Youn, Cha, & Kim, 2009**);** the inadequacy of educational programs and materials (M. Cho & Lee, 2009); and the losses of their existing and prospective students which has induced an existential (S.H. Kim, 2010).

Regarding academic attention paid to English education for young children or kindergarteners, Ma (2007) reported that English education had, until 2000, received little attention from Korean early childhood education (ECE) scholars. In fact, studies on English education for young children or in kindergartens began in the mid-90s (e.g., E.A. Kim, 1996; H. Park et al., 1997; Woo & Lee, 1996) and it was not until after 2000 that they increased considerably (E. Ahn & Kim, 2009). Korean studies on English education for young children or kindergarteners have mainly focused on the current state of the English education, the perceptions of adults (e.g., teachers, parents)

[4] "English kindergarten" refers to a type of private English institute for young children. It is not an educational institution under the current educational law, but often called by ordinary people.

concerning the English education, the correlations between English education and child developments, the effects of the English education on child development, and the search for effective English instructional methods or English programs.

As for the research methods, many researchers have used survey, correlational, and experimental or quasi-experimental studies (E. Ahn & Kim, 2009; Chun, Choi, Joa, & Seo, 2002; D. Lee, Back, & Jung, 2006). In terms of research participants, the survey studies have mainly focused on adults (e.g., teachers, parents), excluding for the most part children. In contrast, children have been the main research subjects in correlational and quasi-experimental studies (E. Ahn & Kim, 2009). In addition, English education in private kindergartens has often been examined and interpreted based on the idea of developmental appropriateness[5]that has been influencing on Korean early childhood education (Y.M. Kim & Shu, 2006).

In summary, English education, without the guidance of the National Kindergarten Curriculum, got underway in private kindergartens in Korea in the early 1990s. The Korean Ministry of Education has continually opposed the practice. Since 2000, studies on English education for young children have increased considerably,

[5] According to the first edition of "Developmentally Appropriate Practices"(DAP) guidelines (Bredekamp,1987), the meaning of "developmental appropriateness" has two dimensions, age appropriateness and individual appropriateness. In the second edition of the DAP guidelines (Bredekamp & Copple, 1997) another dimension "social-cultural appropriateness" was added. The DAP will be addressed further in Chapter 2.

with many of them having been conducted by using survey, correlational, and quasi-experimental research methods.

Research Problem

As stated earlier, English education, in opposition to the Korean Ministry of Education, is implemented in most private kindergartens. Thus, for nearly 25 years a large discrepancy has obtained between the National Kindergarten Curriculum and the operational curriculum of private kindergartens.

A majority of Korean ECE scholars or researchers have conducted the studies regarding English education with a positivist research paradigm and by using empirical research methods such as experiment or quasi-experiment. According to E. Ahn and Kim (2009), over 50% of 34 journal articles issued in 1996-2008 were conducted for the verification of hypotheses by experimental research methods. In these studies, English teaching and learning were examined as if they were independent of social relations and contexts. This trend is subject to Bloch's (1992) critique of the American ECE field, of the continuing reliance on positivist research paradigm during the 1980s and the early 1990s. However, these studies offer no detailed information or in-depth understanding about what happens in everyday English education in a local private kindergarten class or classes. Indeed, they focus on observable, measurable separate variables and disregard specific contexts and social relations that surround the English education.

As Jahng (2011) and Y.M. Kim and Shu (2006) noted, many Korean existing studies on English education for young children or in kindergartens have been interpreted based on developmental knowledge. This is particularly related to developmental appropriateness reflected in the DAP guidelines (see, Bredekamp, 1987; Bredekamp & Copple, 1997; Copple & Bredekamp, 2009) and "Critical Period Hypothesis" [6](CHP; see, Johnson & Newport, 1989).

Based on the discourse of developmental appropriateness, problems related to English education (e.g., developmentally inappropriate English instructional methods) have been reported in many existing studies (H. Park et al., 1997; H. Jun, 2009; S.H. Kim, 2008, 2010). S.H. Kim (2008) argued that Korean-speaking English instructors failed to run their lessons in a developmentally appropriate way, although they used a variety of instructional methods and materials. In relation to developmental appropriateness, Yang and her colleagues (2001a) stated that English education in kindergartens should meet developmental appropriateness and its social appropriateness needed to be discussed within developmental appropriateness. In these studies, the meaning of developmental appropriateness seemed to adhere to "age appropriateness" (see, Bredekamp, 1987), one of the dimensions of developmental appropriateness in DAP (Y.M. Kim & Shu, 2006). This trend is similar to K. Lee's (2010) critique regarding the heavy reliance on old developmental perspectives in the fields of early

[6] The CHP states there is a critical period or limited period of time for language acquisition (Lightbrown & Spada, 2006, see more in Chapter 2).

childhood education and early special education in the U. S.. In her article, K. Lee (2010) claimed that many American policies and practices related to early childhood education (e.g., all versions of DAP) were still based on developmental perspectives that were combined with Piagetian perspectives and Maturationism, and that many educators had maintained the notions of developmental stages and readiness.

In addition, Woo, Seo and Kang's (2002) study which has significantly influenced Korean educational policy (i.e., prohibition of English education in kindergartens) was based on developmental knowledge, particularly CHP (e.g., Johnson & Newport, 1989), although the study showed evidence refuting CHP. In this study, Woo and her associates concluded that English education starting at preschool ages (in kindergartens) was less effective than started at later school ages. However, this study has played a significant role in maintaining the Korean policy, under the conflicting results reported in the studies on CHP conducted in many other countries (see more Marinova-Todd, Marshall & Snow, 2000).

English education in private kindergartens has also been frequently criticized for its not being sanctioned by any versions of the Korean National Kindergarten Curriculum[7] (KMOE, 1987, 1992, 1999; KMOEHRD, 2007). Thus, critics say it has been implemented in a crippled way. English education has often been called or thought of an "extra-curricular activity" in the studies on English education in Korean

[7] Although *Nuri* Curriculum has been applied to bot h Korean kindergartens and child-care centers since March of 2012, most Korean existing studies regarding English education in kindergarten have been discussed in relation to the National Kindergarten Curriculum. English education is not included in *Nuri* Curriculum.

kindergartens (H. Jun, 2009; S.H. Kim, 2008, 2010). English lessons or programs have been reported as an extra-curricular activity in the studies on extra-curricular activities (J. Lee & Chung, 2004; K.S. Lee, Chang, Chung, & Hong, 2002).

According to J. Lee and Chung (2004), "extra-curricular activity" originally refers to activities implemented outside regular kindergarten hours and not included in the kindergarten curriculum. Today, however, it means special curricular activities that build for young children's skills in a certain area. S.H. Kim (2008) reported that English lessons are mostly given during the regular kindergarten hours, even though they are an extra-curricular activity in Korean kindergartens. Studies on English education or on extra-curricular activities tend to continuously problematize English education: something twisted by parents' unreasonable demand (M.-Y. Cho & Lee, 2009; H. Jun, 2009; J. Lee & Chung, 2004) and decided by kindergarten directors without thoughtful educational consideration (Seo, Yoon, Cha, & Kim, 2009; J. Lee & Chung, 2004).

In these studies, the meaning of curriculum seems to be based on the Tyler's rationale (Kliebard, 1987/ 1995). In her study, H. Jun (2009) highlighted, citing Tyler's (1949) work, the importance of early childhood scholars' knowledge and role in curricular decisions relative to English education. Tyler's rationale has been criticized since the 1970s (e.g., Pinar, 1978/ 2004) for many reasons (e.g., decontextualized conception of curriculum, Cornbleth, 1990). Nevertheless, many Korean ECE scholars tend to examine English education in private kindergartens, with its grass roots origins, based on the Tyler's rationale, ignoring its social milieu and local variations.

Consequently, in many existing studies, parents are frequently described not as beings with whom the early childhood scholars or teachers must integrate for better education for young children, but as beings whom the scholars or teachers have to guide toward an appropriate way of administering early childhood education.

In summary, many existing studies on English education for young children or in kindergartens have relied heavily on the positivist research paradigm, empirical research methods, developmental knowledge (e.g., age appropriateness), and the National Kindergarten Curriculum. Nevertheless mainstream Korean ECE scholars seem to have rarely questioned such reliance. This kind of academic atmosphere may limit the view of English education in private kindergartens, as some American ECE scholars (e.g., Bloch, 1992; New, 1994; Spodeck, 1988; Stott & Bowman, 1996) have argued that the continuing reliance on the positivist research paradigm and child developmental knowledge will prevent us from seeing situations differently and make us keep blaming individuals while ignoring larger contexts.

Given the above circumstances, this study focuses on what occurs in two particular kindergarten classrooms regarding English education and how the members of two classrooms understand the English education. Thus, this study considers the kindergarten curriculum to be "an ongoing social process comprised of the interactions of students, teachers, knowledge, and milieu" (Cornbelth, 1990, p. 5), in contrast to the curriculum based on the Tylor's rationale. Pedagogical practices relative to English education in two particular classroom settings were observed, analyzed, and interpreted.

Also examined were the perceptions of classroom members who co-construct the pedagogical practices. Although this study is related to kindergarten curricular issues relative to English education, the study refrains from using word "English curriculum" for the following reasons: (a) subject-matter is integrated through surrounding themes or projects, rather than taught separately, in the ECE field in Korea (K.S. Lee, 2008) as well as in the U. S. (Bredekamp & Rosengrant, 1995; Copple & Bredekamp, 2009); and (b) "language," in the Korean National Kindergarten Curriculum, is written as an area of the kindergarten curriculum, not as a separate "language curriculum."

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this study is to understand English education in Korea by scrutinizing the pedagogical practices relative to English education in two local private kindergarten classrooms and the perceptions of two classroom members. The study also aims to provide, in concrete detail, a concrete picture of English education as an ongoing social process.

Research Questions

The research questions guiding this study are as follows:

1. What are the pedagogical practices relative to English education in two private kindergarten classes in Korea?

2. How do the members of the two classes (i.e., the children, ECE teachers, and English language instructors) perceive the language, language teaching and learning, and the pedagogical practices?

Significance of the Study

This study is significant for its close look (for a two-and-a-half-month period) at the pedagogical practices and insiders' perceptions at two private kindergarten classrooms in Korea, under the research trend in Korea's ECE field that survey-type study and/or experimental study are prevalent among the studies on English education for young children (E. Ahn & Kim, 2009; Chun et al., 2002). In addition, it has significance for informing the importance of social interactions, classroom learning environments, and larger social culture surrounding English education in Korean kindergartens, beyond the disputes over the effectiveness (e.g., Shin, 2007) and appropriateness (e.g., Woo et al. 2002) of the English education and the individual English Instructors' qualification (e.g. S.H. Kim, 2010).

Theoretical Framework

This study is broadly shaped by sociocultural theory that draws heavily on the work of Vygotsky (1978, 1981) and that of Wertsch (1985, 1991) who have studied, interpreted, and extended Vygotsky's work. It is also generally influenced by the work of other sociocultural theorists (e.g., Bruner, 1986; Rogoff, 1990; Tudge & Rogoff,

1989) and that of education scholars who have studied Vygotsky's works and searched for applications of his theory to research and practices in early childhood education (e.g., Berk & Winsler, 1995; Bodrora & Leong, 1996; File, 1995; Graue & Walsh, 1998; Walsh, 1991) as well as in second language education (e.g., Lantolf & Pavlenko, 1995; Lantolf, 2007; Moll, 1990; Moll & Whitmore, 1993).

Being much different from Western psychology (e.g., Piaget's constructivism), which has tended to view individual development as independent of social relations and contexts, Vygotsky's work emphasizes sociocultural origins and mediation processes in human's higher mental functions such as knowledge construction or voluntary attention (Wertsch, 1991). According to Vygotsky (1978), "Every function in the child's cultural development appears twice: first, on the social level, and later, on the individual level; first, between people (interpsychological) and then inside the child (intrapsychological). This applies equally to voluntary attention, to logical memory, and to the formation of concepts. All the higher functions originate as actual relationships between individuals " (p. 57).

Vygotsky (1978) believed that the child's knowledge construction begins in social interactions and later is internalized psychologically: thus, knowledge construction is not an individual's single construction, but is his or her co-construction through relationships with others, often more capable peers or adults. It is related to Vygotsky's notion of "zone of proximal development" (ZPD). Vygotsky (1978) defined the concept of ZPD as: "the distance between the actual developmental level as

determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined though problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (p. 86).

That is, Vygotsky's notion of ZPD focuses on the sociality of learning and on the child's potential in future learning through necessary assistance or *scaffolding* (Wood, Bruner, & Ross, 1976, cited in Tudge & Rogoff, 1989) provided by adults or more competent peers. Vygotsky (1978) viewed learning as leading developments and these two (i.e., learning and development) as occurring within the ZPD. His view of learning and development is related to establishing shared thinking or inter-subjectivity (File, 1995; Rogoff, 1990; Wertsch, 1984) between the child and his or her more capable partner.

In explaining social influences on human's higher mental functions, Vygotsky (1978) turned to the concept of mediation. He believed that what is social (social processes) is not simply transferred into what is individual; instead, the process proceeds through cultural tools, including real tools (e.g., printing presses, rulers) and symbolic tools (e.g., signs and codes and language), which are created by societies and have changed over its historical and cultural development. For Vygotsky, the child's knowledge construction is viewed as "products of *mediated* activity" (Kozulin, 1986).

These perspectives of sociocultural theory are important to the formation of this study. They provide me an alternative lens (File, 1995; Graue & Walsh, 1998; Toohey, 2000; Walsh, 1991) with which to look at the pedagogical practices and perceptions

relative to English education and to their relation to the research trend in Korean early childhood education based on individualistic assumptions underlying many developmental theories. They allow me to examine classroom practices as situated in larger contexts and the ways in which particular teachers and/or children participate in these. Based on sociocultural theory, I view teaching and learning as being always situated in a particular time and place and as one inseparable, unified social activity (File, 1995); I care about social relations and contexts including both the immediate learning environment and the larger culture; I give careful consideration to how pedagogical practices are influenced by the larger culture (e.g., societal discourse that surround pedagogical practices), as well as what happens in the classroom.

In this study, I understand pedagogical practices relative to English education as ongoing social processes in which teaching and learning can be facilitated by interactions between adults and children In addition, I consider pedagogical practices as being situated in larger cultural, historical, and social contexts, shaped, and reshaped by social-culturally influenced pedagogical concepts and the larger contexts. As for perceptions relative to English education, I understand them not as psychological processes occurring in individuals, but as being co-constructed by individuals or groups, mediated by tools, signs, and practices, and situated in larger cultural, historical, political, and social contexts, reflecting instructional circumstances and dominant discourses.

Outline of the Study

This study consists of five chapters. In Chapter 1, I provide the background information, research problem, purpose statement, research questions, significance of the study, and theoretical framework. Chapter 2 reviews the literature on the English language, English education, and early childhood education in Korea, including the literature of other countries. Chapter 3 describes the research methodology. It includes the research settings, research participants, data collection methods, and data analysis. Chapter 4 delineates the findings in association with the two research questions. It includes comparisons and discussions of the research findings. Chapter 5 offers summary, further discussions, and suggests educational implications.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

My research interest is in English education in private kindergartens in Korea. In this section, I review studies selected from a fairly broad scope of literature including English as a second language, a foreign language, and an international language education. The studies are not only associated with English education for young children in Korea, but also related to English education in other countries. In addition, I review studies on the Korean kindergarten curriculum, as English education should be examined within the curricular issues.

To provide a broader accounting of English education in private kindergartens in Korea, I first begin by addressing English and English education in Korea. Then I describe early childhood education and kindergartens in Korea. In the following, I explore English education in private kindergartens and review the existing Korean studies on English education for young children especially those attending Korean kindergartens. Next, I review the theories and claims that have often been utilized by the Korean advocates of early English education, as well as critiques and concerns stated by the mainstream Korean ECE scholars. Finally, I present a review of studies regarding English (ESL/ EFL) education which were conducted in other countries with

the consideration of particular contexts and larger contexts in which the English education is situated.

English and English Education in Korea

As stated in Chapter 1, in this study, to understand English education in private kindergartens in Korea, I focus on two classes. However, I don't think that pedagogical practices relative to English education are limited only to the classrooms. English is embedded and situated in political, historical, cultural, and socioeconomic contexts that extend beyond traditional linguistic knowledge (Tollefson, 1995; Pennycook, 1994, 1999, 2000). Thus, I start this chapter by (a) offering an overview of Korea, (b) describing English in Korea, and (c) explaining English education in Korea.

Overview of Korea

Since World War II, the Korean peninsula has been divided into two sovereign nations, South Korea and North Korea. South Korea (herein, Korea) is officially known as the Republic of Korea and comprises the southern Korean peninsula. Korea is an Asian country in which Confucianism has been deeply embedded in society. The population of Korea[8] is approximately 50 million, with around 98 % of inhabitants having Korean ethnicity (J. H. Park, 2009, August 6). The population density of Korea is high: ranking 23rd among the more than 200 countries in 2009 (the CIA world

[8] The number of foreign residents stood at 1.1 million as of May 1, 2009, accounting for 2.2 percent of the entire registered population of about 49.59 million (J.H. Park, 2009, August 6).

factbook, 2009, cited in http://www. photius.com). Seoul, the capital of Korea, is the largest city with a population of approximately 10 million; it is also the center of economy, politics, and culture. Korean is the official language of Korea. Korea is considered a highly monolingual nation (J.S. Park, 2009). *Hangul* is the Korean alphabet and consists of 24 consonants and vowels with distinctive shapes and sounds from the Latin alphabet system.

The education system[9] in Korea consists of six years of elementary school, three years of middle school, three years of high school, and two/three years of junior college, and four years of university. Elementary and middle school education is compulsory in Korea. The Korean education system has been influenced by Korean traditional values (e.g., Confucianism), Japanese influences (related to the colonial period of Japan), and Western influences (e.g., Progressive Education, globalism; J.-K. Park, 2009; K.S. Lee, 1996). Korean society has traditionally considered education to be very valuable (J.-K. Park, 2009; Seth, 2002).

English in Korea

In Korea, English is often classified as a foreign language (EFL),[10] as it is not broadly used in everyday life. Many Koreans learn English regardless of their age, but in reference to English in a formal education context, English is widely taught and

[9] The public education system begins with elementary school in Korea; Kindergarten is not included in the system.

[10] Foreign language (FL) refers to a second language in a context where the language is not widely used in everyday life (Cook, 2001; Lightbown & Spada, 2006).

learned in Korean schools[11] as a regular subject. Many Korean students also supplement the English lessons taught in school by attending private language institutes *(*cram school, *hakwon*) or private tutoring outside of the classroom.

As a classification of non- native English, the dichotomy between EFL and ESL is widely used (Lightbown & Spada, 2006): yet, this dichotomy has been questioned due to its ambiguities (e.g. Kachru, 1985; Nunan, 2003). According to Nayar (1997, p.29, cited in Nunan, 2003), "the label English as a foreign language (EFL) should be used for situations or countries where there is no history of prolonged British or U.S. political presence, where English has no special status or internal function, and where its communicative use is of low priority." The English language in Korea, however, plays important roles as a means of global communication in other countries (B.-M.Chang, 2009; Nunan, 2003; Sasaki, Suzuki, & Yoneda, 2006); and as a requirement or symbol for further education, better employment or higher social position" (J.S. Park, 2009; S.J. Park & Abelmann, 2004). Therefore, defining the English language in Korea as only EFL may insufficiently account for the characteristics of English in Korea.

As another classification of English, English language is delineated more specifically than the dichotomy between ESL and EFL by Kachru's (1985) three circles: the Inner Circle (e.g., the U.S, the U.K.), the Outer Circle (e.g., India; the Philippines), and the Expanding Circle (e.g., China, Japan). Through these circles, Kachru (1985)

[11] However, English learning is not limited in Korean school system (see more in English education in Korea').

illustrated that "the type of spread, the patterns of acquisition, and the functional domains in which English is used across cultures and languages" (p.12). English language in Korea is included in the Expanding Circle, which refers to those countries where English has no official role and history of colonization, but is nonetheless important for certain functions such as international business. In explaining the spread of English, Kachru (1986) emphasized its power: "The power of English, then, resides in the domains of its use, the roles its users can play, and – attitudinally – above all, how others view its importance" (p. 4). Kachru's three spheres have been criticized (e.g., Davies, 1995), yet his classification provides a better understanding of the functions and status of English in different countries.

Y. Kim (2006) stated that Korean recognized the importance of English as an international language and considered English learning as one of their most significant issues. Yet, English is not merely a communicative tool, either as a foreign language or an international language; it has also become a requirement for and symbol of success in Korea (Y. Kim, 2006; No & Park, 2008; Nam, 2005; J.S. Park, 2009; S.J. Park & Abelmann, 2004). J.S. Park (2009) described that English proficiency is nowadays regarded as an important key for success and the lack of English skills is seen as a crucial shortcoming in Korean society. In their study examining the practical and symbolic values of English in Korea, S. J. Park and Abelmann (2004) stated, "English has been a class marker in South Korea: namely, knowledge of and comfort with

English has been a sign of educational opportunity, and for some of the experience of travel or study abroad and of contact with foreigners" (p.646).

To help us understand English in Korea, J.S. Park's (2009) study on the conceptualizations of English in Korea provides a different idea by focusing on how English has been locally conceptualized in Korean society. J.S. Park (2009) claimed that the conceptualizations of English in Korean society were reflected mainly by three ideologies: (a) "necessitation" identifies English as a necessity, (b) "externalization" frames English as foreign to the Korean society, and (c) "self-deprecation" defines Koreans as bad speakers of English. J. M. Lee (2009) stated that these three ideologies were useful in understanding what is occurring in the field of English in Korea.

Questioning the status or role of English in Korea is a complex issue that cannot be simply described in this section. The English language in Korea is not just a foreign language or an international language used as a mere communicative tool. It is a communicative tool that holds great symbolic power, the importance of which most Koreans agree on. Thus one's knowledge of English reflects "inclusion into or exclusion from further education, employment or social position" (Pennycook, 1994, p. 14) in Korean society.

English Education in Korea

English education in Korea got underway in the late 19th century by American missionaries so as to cultivate a few ambassadors (B.-M.Chang, 2009; H. Jun, 2011).

Following the Japanese colonization of Korea, the modernization movement by the Korean government in the mid-1940s reformed the Korean educational system. Since the educational reform, English has been taught in middle (junior high) and high schools in Korea.

In 1996, the 6th National Elementary School Curriculum of Korea adopted English as a regular subject starting in 3rd grade; it has been taught in elementary schools since 1997 (O. Kwon, Boo, Shin, Lee, & Hyun, 2006). According to B.-M.Chang (2009), starting English education in elementary schools was one of the most noticeable innovations in formal English education in Korea since the early of 1990s. As other distinguishable innovations, Korean scholars (e.g., B.-M.Chang, 2009; Y. Kim, 2006) have pointed out: (a) the emphasis of communicative competence of English and Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) and (b) the employment of many native English-speaking foreign teachers as English teachers since the early 1990s[12].

It can also be noted that English education is not just restricted to the Korean school system. Many Korean students also learn English outside their schools through private language institutes *(hakwon*), private tutoring, English camps, and even English learning abroad. English education is also operated in early childhood educational institutions such as kindergartens and childcare centers, as well as various types of private language institutes for young children (e.g., so-called "English kindergarten"[13]).

[12] Before that point, "Grammar-Translation" teaching had been prevalent in Korea (B.-M.Chang, 2009).
[13] The so-called "English kindergarten" is currently very popular in Korea; it provides an English-only instruction or half-English and half-Korean instruction for young children. Yet, it is registered as an

Regardless of their age or occupation, many Koreans learn English in various places and with various types of programs or educational materials. Thus, the English education market[14] is booming in Korea (J.-K. Park, 2009) and running private English language institutes are considered a lucrative business.

Early Childhood Education and Kindergartens in Korea

Early childhood education and kindergartens in Korea have been influenced by Western philosophers and educators (e.g., Freobel, Dewey), developmental studies (e.g., Hall, Piaget) or curricular studies (e.g. Tyler), yet they have evolved in a nationally distinctive way under the influences of Korean traditional values and cultures and its own history (Jahng, 2013; K.S. Lee, 1996, 2008). Thus, in this section, I present early childhood education in Korea along with the four subsections: (a) early childhood education in Korea, (b) kindergartens in Korea, (c) kindergarten curriculum in Korea, and (d) major influences and ideas in Korean ECE.

Early Childhood Education in Korea

Korean early childhood scholar K. S. Lee (1982, 1992, 2000, 2004, 2008) defines Early Childhood Education (ECE) as an education for children between ages zero and eight operated in educational institutions such as nursery schools,

English language institute for business, not an educational institution. The instructors working there are usually from English-speaking countries such as the United States, Canada, and the Philippines.

[14] The English education market in Korea estimated at over 10 billion us dollars per year (S.-W. Kang, 2009, February, 27).

kindergartens, childcare centers, and even elementary schools (lower grades such as 1st and 2nd grades). In addition, she states that ECE in Korea is widely known as an education for children between the ages of three and five.

There are two main types[15] of early childhood education institutions in Korea: One is kindergartens (*yuchiwon*) for children aged three to five supervised by the Ministry of Education (at present, KMOEST) and the other is childcare centers (*uhreenijeep*) administrated by the Ministry of Health and Welfare for children who are kindergarten-aged and younger (K.S. Lee, 2008; Sheridan, Giota, Han, & Kwon, 2009). According to a newspaper article (C. Cho, 2011, May 2), in 2010 approximately 90% of five-year-old Korean children attended kindergartens or childcare centers.

Early Childhood Education in kindergartens or childcare centers is not compulsory in Korea, so parents must pay out-of-pocket for their child's education[16]. However, in 1991, the Korean government started to supplement a certain amount of expenses for children's education of low-income parents. Since that time, the government has gradually increased the amount of the subsidy and expanded its beneficiaries (C. Cho, May 2, 2011; I. J. Lee, 2010). Under current educational law (No. 11690, proclaimed on March 23, 2013), the government covers, regardless the parents'

[15] However, the Korean government announced a plan for providing a common curriculum for five-year-old children enrolled both in kindergartens and in childcare centers (C. Cho, May 2, 2011)

[16] In the period of the first academic semester of 2011 when this study was conducted, the Korean government supported 70% of parents whose child was enrolling at kindergartens or childcare centers by approximately $170.00per month. Average tuitions except the cost for meals in Korean private kindergartens is reported approximately $310.00 per month (C. Cho, May 2, 2011). So, the subsidy from the government to the parents would be equivalent to approximately the half of expenses for their child education.

incomes, a certain amount of educational expenses (approximately the equivalent of U.S. $200) for parents whose children are 3 to 5 years old and enrolled in kindergartens or child-care centers.

Kindergartens in Korea

Kindergarten in Korea usually refers to an early childhood educational institution for children between the ages of three and six. In the U. S., it often means a class within an elementary school for children between five and six. Additionally, the kindergarten in Korea is considered a preschool; it usually comprises three age levels, three-, four-, and five-year-old classes[17]. In the U. S. it is included within the school system and often denotes kindergarten-grade.

The kindergartens can be classified into three types depending on the founder and the source of financing: (a) national, (b) public, and (c) private kindergartens. National kindergartens are very small in number and they are affiliated with national universities of Korea. Public kindergartens are mostly affiliated with public elementary schools and receive public subsidies allowing parents to pay only a small amount of the tuition. Private kindergartens are established and owned by individuals, religious organizations, or educational foundations. Major financial recourse of private kindergartens is tuitions paid by parents, although the kindergarten obtains a little financial aid from the government

[17] The enrollment rate of nationwide Korean kindergartens for children aged 3 to 5 in 2009 was reported 39.5%; that for children aged 5 was 52.9% (Korean Educational Development Institute, 2009).

In Korea, the history of the public kindergarten is rather short, approximately 20 years; the private kindergarten has a relatively long history.[18] Private kindergartens make up a high proportion of Korean kindergartens in terms of their number and enrollment. For example, in September of 2009, Seoul had 735 private and 138 public kindergartens; 69,253 children were enrolled in private kindergartens to the public's 10,451 (Korean Educational Development Institute, KEDI, 2009). Since the establishment of the first Korean kindergarten in the early 1900s, Korean kindergartens have been developed in the private sector (K.S. Lee, 1996; Y. Kwon, 2004). Until recently Korean kindergarten education has relied on private resources in many parts of the country (Sheridan et al., 2009). Considering the history, number, and role of private kindergartens in Korea, we can recognize that English education implemented in private kindergartens has an important bearing upon early childhood education in Korea. English education in private kindergartens in Korea is not limited to the small number of kindergartens, or a minor issue, because private kindergartens have a longer history than do public ones and more students.

Kindergarten Curriculum in Korea

In Korea, all kindergartens (i.e., private, public, and national kindergartens) are registered in their school districts and guided by the National Curriculum as formulated by the Korean Ministry of Education. In relation to planning, implementing, evaluating

[18] The first kindergarten for Korean children in Korea was founded in 1914 (K.S. Lee, 1996).

curriculum, and administering kindergartens, the government—through local educational authorities—inspects Korean kindergartens once or twice a year.

September 2011 occasioned the most recent version of the National Curriculum for kindergarten education and is called "*Nuri* Curriculum." The *Nuri* Curriculum is for both kindergartens and child-care centers, whereas all earlier versions of the National Kindergarten Curriculum were applied to kindergartens only. Beginning in March of 2012, the Curriculum was applied only to classes of 5-year-olds. Since March 2013, it has been applied to classes of 3-, 4-, and 5- year-olds. Prior to the *Nuri* Curriculum, the National Kindergarten Curriculum had been used for over 40 years prior: it was first introduced in 1969 and has been revised six times (1979, 1981, 1987, 1992, 1998, and 2007; K.S. Lee, 2008). None of these versions included English language, and it is excluded from the *Nuri* Curriculum.

During this study's fieldwork (conducted in May-July 2011), the 7th National Kindergarten Curriculum was applied to all Korean kindergartens. Thus below, I focus on the 7th Curriculum. The 7th Curriculum was proclaimed in 2007 (KMOEHRD, 2007) and applied to Korean kindergartens from March 2009 to February 2012 (for 5-year-olds' classes) and to February 2013 (3- and 4-year-olds' classes). It provided the official guidance over the Korean kindergartens and emphasized child's interest, play, and integration (K.S. Lee, 2008).

On the front pages of the 7th Curriculum, the characteristics of this curriculum are described as follows:

1. This curriculum seeks both a common standard on the national level and diversity on the regional, kindergarten, and individual levels.
2. This curriculum pursues whole-person development and happiness of young children.
3. This child-centered curriculum promotes the development of autonomy and creativity of young children.
4. This curriculum is realized through the integration of activities and play in the daily life of young children.
5. This curriculum takes shape through the cooperation of district offices of education, local communities, teachers, young children, and parents.
6. This curriculum aims to maintain and control the quality standards of kindergarten education (KMOEHRD, 2007).

The 7th Curriculum is comprised of two chapters: (a) curriculum organization and implementation and (b) areas of the curriculum. The first chapter "curriculum organization and implementation" contains five sections: the framework of curriculum design, goals and objects of kindergarten, areas and hours of the curriculum, guidelines for organizing and implementing curriculum, and teaching-learning methods and evaluation. The second chapter "areas of the curriculum" consists of five areas: health, social relationship, expression, language, and inquiry; and each area has two levels: level I and level II (KMOEHRD, 2007).

As stated in the characteristics of the 7th Kindergarten Curriculum, the Curriculum stressed child-centeredness. It also highlighted the child's age-related characteristics and individual level and differences (Jahng, 2013). Although the National Kindergarten Curriculum provided guidance for Korean kindergarten education, each kindergarten managed its own curriculum, only basing it on the National Curriculum (Y. Kwon, 2004; K.S. Lee, 2008).

Major Influences and Ideas in the Korean ECE

With regard to prevalent influences on the Korean ECE, scholars have pointed out Korean traditional values as well as Japanese and Western influences (Bailey & G-H. Lee, 1992; Y. Kwon, 2002; K.S. Lee, 1996; McMullen, Elicker, & Wang, 2005; S.K. Park & Parks, 2010). Korea has developed its values and culture based on Confucianism, Buddhism, and Shamanism (K.S. Lee, 1996). Confucianism, particularly, is deeply rooted in Korean society. One manifestation of it is Korea's deep tradition of respect and obedience to teachers and elders. Japan's colonial period (1910-1945) also left an imprint on Korean kindergartens. The early kindergartens in Korea were established by either Japanese, Koreans educated in Japan, or American missionaries. These kindergartens were usually based on Freobel's theory transmitted via Japan. Dances, songs, finger plays, and conversation were the main curriculum contents in kindergartens during that period (S.G. Lee, 1987), and they still linger in many ways in Korean kindergartens (Jahng, 2013).

The Korean ECE literature is populated with such Western philosophers, educators, or scholars as Freobel, Dewey, Montessori, Piaget, and more recently Vygotsky. These educators are taught in teacher education courses. Particularly salient in the Korean kindergarten curriculum and the ECE field are American influences (Jahng, 2013; Y. Kwon, 2002). E. Lee and Yang (1988) pointed out that the trend of kindergarten curriculum studies in Korea has traced that of the U. S. This is due, to a considerable extent, to so many Korean ECE scholars having studied in the U. S. since the end of Japan's colonial period. The continued dominance of American influences in the Korean ECE field mirrors the continued prevalence of Korean scholars studying in America.

One great influence from the U. S. to the Korean ECE field is Developmentally Appropriate Practices in Early Childhood Programs (Bredekamp, 1987; Bredekamp & Copple, 1997; Copple & Bredekamp, 2009), commonly known as the "DAP guidelines". DAP was first published in 1987[19] and revised in 1997 and 2009. Although DAP has changed in each edition in response to critiques and shifting contexts, all its versions (1987; 1997; 2009) are largely based on learning theories focusing on how children develop and learn; they maintain, to a certain extent, a basic framework regarding developmental appropriateness (File, 2011). In the original version (Bredekamp, 1987), developmental appropriateness was described as having two dimensions—age

[19] The National Association for the Education for Young Children's (NAEYC) position statement in 1986 was expanded into the book (DAP guidelines) published in 1987.

appropriateness and individual appropriateness. In the first revised edition (Bredekamp & Copple, 1997), a third dimension was added—socio-cultural appropriateness.

The most recent edition (Copple & Bredekamp, 2009) has preserved the three. It added, however, the following five interrelated significant areas of practices: (a) creating a caring community of learners; (b) teaching to enhance development and learning; (c) planning curriculum to achieve important goals; (d) assessing children's development and learning; and (e) establishing reciprocal relationships with families.

DAP was introduced to Korean ECE at the end of 1980s (K.S. Kang, 1992) and has been significantly influential in the formulation of National Kindergarten Curriculum (Y. Kwon, 2002) and the way early childhood teachers are educated (McMullen et al., 2005). Many scholars have conducted studies related to DAP in Korea (e.g., French & Song, 1998; J. Kim, S. Kim, & Maslak, 2005; Y. Kwon, 2004; McMullen et al., 2005; S. K. Park & Parks, 2010). One example of its influence can be found in the National Kindergarten Curriculum (6^{th} ed.; KMOE, 1999): the Curriculum is formulated "to optimize the volume and level of the content of learning and to introduce a differentiated curriculum in order to provide children with developmentally appropriate education."

Also salient in the Korean ECE field and throughout all versions of the Korean National Kindergarten Curriculum is the notion of "child-centeredness" (see, Rugg & Shumaker, 1928) (Jahng, 2013; Y. Kwon, 2002). For instance, in the National Kindergarten Curriculum (7th ed.; KMOEHRD, 2007), the third item of characteristics

of the curriculum is: "This child-centered curriculum promotes the development of autonomy and creativity of young children." McMullen et al. (2005) pointed out that Korean ECE stressed child-centered philosophy, along with the traditional Korean values such as respect and obedience to teachers and elders. These two influential ideas (i.e., developmental appropriateness and child-centeredness) in Korean ECE are similar to those in mainstream American ECE. Graue and her colleagues (2003) stated that early childhood practice in the U. S. was framed by two ideas: a commitment to a developmental approach to learning and a strong belief in a child-centered curriculum.

These two notions—developmental appropriateness and child-centeredness—have impacted on the development of Korean ECE. It cannot be denied that developmental appropriateness has played important roles in early childhood teachers' decision making for their classroom practices and that the child's interests and needs are central to early childhood education. However, it is also important for us to recognize that they do not provide information as to why and what to be taught, as Spodek (1988) stated, "What young children need to know is not solely determined by what certain children are capable of knowing" (p. 207).

Pedagogical Practices in Korean Kindergartens

As stated earlier, each kindergarten managed its own curriculum, only basing it on the National Curriculum, whereas the National Kindergarten Curriculum provided guidance for Korean kindergarten education (Y. Kwon, 2004; K.S. Lee, 2008). French

and Song (1998) stated that many Korean kindergarten teachers were familiar with the National Curriculum but neglected to closely adhere to it. Jahng (2013) claimed that despite the official application of the National Kindergarten Curriculum to all kindergartens, local kindergartens have interpreted it variously due to the diverse local demands, situations, and limitations.

S. Shim and Herwig's (1997) study, which they conducted via the survey method in Korea, revealed kindergarten classroom practices that were distanced from teachers' beliefs on DAP. Their samples were private kindergarten teachers, public kindergarten teachers, and child-care center teachers. S. Shim and Herwig (1997) reported that the three groups of early childhood teachers wanted to follow DAP but in fact did a low proportion of developmentally appropriate practices. Of the three groups, the public kindergarten teachers employed developmentally appropriate practices most often.

In their comparative study of five countries regarding teachers' beliefs on DAP, McMullen et al. (2005) pointed out that the field of Korean early childhood education stressed child-centered philosophy and methods but that these were often in conflict with Korean parents' thinking. Consequently, in Korean early childhood teachers' beliefs, two approaches prevailed: the child-centered and the curriculum-centered.

To examine the relationship between the Korean National Kindergarten Curriculum (6^{th} ed.) and kindergarten teachers' practices, Y. Kwon (2004) conducted a study by combining quantitative and qualitative methods. The results of this study

revealed discrepancies between the National Curriculum and teacher's practices. For example, the National Curriculum emphasized integrated instruction rather than separate subject instruction. In reality, many kindergartens operated as separate subjects, physical education, science experiments, and English conversation. In addition, the Korean kindergarten teachers exhibited some ambivalence. They were very positive about the Curriculum's guidelines related to child-centered activities, integrated learning, and children's intrinsic motivation. At the same time, they supported instructional methods related to extrinsic motivation and the use of worksheets.

In short, these studies showed gaps between early childhood teachers' beliefs and practices, as well as between the National kindergarten curriculum's recommendations and classroom practices; that is, developmentally inappropriate characteristics (e.g., curriculum-centered, teacher-directed activities) were found in the practices. In contrast, French and Song's (1998) study provided a different interpretation of the teacher-directed approach observed in Korean kindergartens' practices.

According to French and Song (1998), a typical day in Korean kindergartens consisted of both highly teacher-directed activities (e.g., a special project such as an art activity, a group game, a large-group conversation regarding a special topic) and child-initiated activities (e.g., free play in well-equipped activity centers). French and Song (1998) argued that the teacher-directed activity in Korean kindergarten practices differed from that in the U. S. , which was often criticized in such U.S. literature as the

DAP (Bredekamp, 1987; Bredekamp & Copple, 1997) in terms of the quality of teachers' discussion and children's participation and discussion. Based on their observations of teacher-directed activities in Korean kindergartens, French and Song (1998) suggested another possibility of developmentally appropriate practices: that is, how teacher-directed approaches may foster children's development and learning in a developmentally appropriate way.

Undoubtedly, the pedagogical practices across Korean kindergartens vary widely, depending on time, place, and context. Thus, we cannot simply describe pedagogical practices in Korean kindergarten classes as a single-dimensional, decontextualized term such as either developmentally appropriate or inappropriate practices. However, the studies like above ones have uncovered coexistence of contradictory beliefs, values, and practices (e.g., child-centered vs. curriculum-centered) in Korean kindergarten education; and discrepancies between the National Kindergarten Curriculum and practices (e.g., integrated curriculum vs. separate subjects. Such discrepancies may be explained by multiple factors such as manifestations of Korean traditional education values, high teacher-child ratio, and parental pressure on high academic achievement, and Western influences in Korean ECE teacher education (Y. Kwon, 2004). As presenting the inconsistency between guidance of the National Kindergarten Curriculum and practices in local kindergarten settings (e.g., English education in Korean kindergartens), Jahng (2013, p.93) suggested that Korean

kindergarten education should be understood as a "hybridity" rather than as hegemonic and homogenizing knowledge or force.

English Education in Private Kindergartens in Korea

Korean public kindergartens cannot offer English education; only private kindergartens do. In this section, I present an overview of English education in private kindergartens in Korea, of the influences on the English education, and of Korean studies on English education.

Overview of the English Education

The National Curriculum officially guides all Korean kindergartens (see more, section of "kindergarten curriculum"). Nevertheless, English education in private kindergartens has been implemented despite there being no such guidelines in all versions of the National Kindergarten Curriculum and most recent *Nuri* Curriculum.

Some private kindergartens started to do this beginning in the late 1980s to the early 1990s (E.A. Kim, 1996; H. Park et al., 1997; Woo & Lee, 1996). E. A. Kim (1996) reported that approximately 50% of sample kindergartens located in Seoul implemented English education and that over half of the kindergartens started their English education between 1993 and 1995. B.-M.Chang and Lim's (1999) study showed that approximately 50% of sample kindergartens and childcare centers located in Cheonan city operated English programs and that approximately half of the early childhood

educational institutions in which English was taught to the children began English education between 1996 and 1997.

Since the early 1990s, this practice has spread rapidly across Korea, though public kindergartens continue to abide by the government's regulation (B.-M.Chang & Lim, 1999; S.H. Kim, 2008; H. Park et al., 1997; Yang et al., 2001a). In 2008, an article in a major newspaper reported that 96% of nationwide private kindergartens illegally ran English programs (S.Y. Kim, October 23, 2008). Until recently, the Korean Ministry of Education has opposed the practice.

Sociocultural Contexts of the English Education

We now need to consider why English education was started and what lead to the spread of English education in private kindergartens in Korea. As Eisner (1979) maintained, "the curriculum is also shaped by an array of social forces over which curriculum planners have no control" (p. 21). I present below studies that lay out larger contexts related to the boom in English education for children and then review studies that examine the issues of English education for young children or in private kindergartens in Korea.

Korean ECE scholars have often referred to large societal changes in Korean society in reference to English boom in private kindergartens, although they have yet to focus on explaining the social, historical, and political contexts of English education for young children. Two major changes cited in the existing studies are the government's

early-1990s "Globalization" campaign and the mid-1990s adoption of English education in Korean elementary schools. As reported briefly in the studies on English education in Korean kindergartens (e.g., H. Jun, 2009; Shin, 2007; Yang et al., 2001a), the globalization might impact on the current English boom in private kindergartens.

In addition, English is seen as a global language. In Korea, as in many other countries, children begin studying English at earlier and earlier ages. Nunan (2003) reported that a widespread perception of English as a global language was having a substantial impact on educational policies and practices in countries throughout the Asia-Pacific region. B-M Chang (2009) indicated that because educational reforms in English education policies in Korea have been preceded by the globalized current society, the age at which English education in Korea begins has been lowered from the first year of middle school (America's 7th grade) to 3rd grade.

Another explanation for the current boom in English education concerns Korea's long tradition of "education fever" (*kyoyukyeol*).[20] In his review of "*Education Fever*" written by Seth (2002), Oh (2006) maintained that education fever[21] of English originated in both Koreans' recognitions and experiences of the educational effect on social success and Korean historical influences from foreign countries such as China, Japan, and the U. S. According to Oh, foreign language ability had been the key channel for achieving upward social mobility. In a similar vein, J.-K. Park (2009)

[20] "Education fever" (*Kyoyukyeol*) is a national obsession about education (Seth, 2002).
[21] Oh uses a term, "educational zeal" to describe the cause of rapid educational expansion and many other educational problems in Korea, instead of "educational fever" by Seth (2002).

explained "English fever"[22], by connecting it to the long tradition of education fever in Korean society. Park maintained that most Koreans hold to the idea that education in Korea is a way of achieving high-status and power; he also maintained that the current English boom in Korean society was deeply rooted in Korea's traditional value placed on education. The studies cited in the above were written by educators or scholars in other fields such as English Education or Educational Sociology.

H. Jun (2011), a Korean ECE scholar, explored the issue of English education boom for young children, but not limited to English education in private kindergartens through a media discourse analysis, both the history of English education and the social-cultural meanings of English "education fever" in Korea. According to her study, the major agents who participated in the construction of the English education boom were those who worked for private sector education and parents. Additionally, newspapers and other media outlets have played an important role in promoting "English fever." H. Jun concluded that "English fever" reflected the characteristics of consumerism and capitalism and informed the ideology of Korean mothers expected to educate their children in a particular way by exposing their children to certain forms of education, namely English education.

In her article regarding English education for young children in Korea, Jahng (2010) argued that English education did not emerge from "English fever." Instead it has discursively been constructed, in complex contexts, by such discourses as

[22] "English fever" is a national obsession with the attainment of English proficiency (J.-K. Park, 2009).

instrumentalism, developmentalism, and cosmopolitanism. She went on to claim that for this reason, English education should be understood in broader contexts.

Thus regarding the boom in English education, the literature reports these larger contexts: the Korean government's globalization campaign, Korea's new national elementary English curriculum, English fever, education fever, instrumentalism, and developmentalism. One remaining question is why English education has been implemented in private kindergartens but not in public kindergartens. Korean ECE scholars have suggested the fact that private kindergartens are basically funded by parents (H. Jun, 2009; S. H. Kim, 2008; J. Lee & Chung, 2004; K.S. Lee et al., 2002). While the government provides a certain subsidy for kindergarten tuition, it is given not to private kindergartens but to the parents of a child enrolled at a private kindergarten. Hence, owners or directors of private kindergartens ignore parents' demands at their peril, but they bow to such pressure at the peril of official reprimands by local educational authorities.

J. Lee and Chung's (2004) study regarding extra-curricular activities reported that private kindergarten directors strongly believed that listening to parents' demands and satisfying them were the means for surviving. In relation to the parents' pressures or influences, Korean ECE scholars concede that child recruitment is an important issue to private kindergartens' survival. K.S. Lee and her associates (2002) stated that child recruitment of kindergartens was the biggest reason for implementing extra-curricular activities such as English, physical, and music lessons. Woo and Seo (2010) pointed out

that English education has recently been considered a necessity in Korean kindergartens and that the kindergartens without it suffered a great loss in their recruitment of children. In short, English education in private kindergartens is entangled with larger social influences such as globalization, educational fever, and parents' pressures. The need to recruit children to survive is also a factor.

Korean Studies on the English Education

In order to find relevant Korean studies, I used the database of Korea Education & Research Information Service (KEIRS). Dissertations, theses, or journal articles issued for the last 25 years were mainly searched for by using keywords such as "early childhood English education," "English education in kindergartens," or "English education for young children." During my research, I found that English education implemented in kindergartens was also reported as a keyword for "extra-curricular activities". Thus, I also included the keyword while searching for relevant Korean studies. In this section, I discuss trends in Korean existing studies on English education for young children or in kindergartens, including those related to extra-curricular activities. Then I review the studies related to pedagogical practices relative to English education and perceptions of children, early childhood teachers, and English instructors.

Research trend of Korean studies on English education. The number of studies pertaining to this topic has increased sharply since the early 2000's (Ma, 2007). The research methods utilized have mainly been surveys, correlational, quasi-

experimental or experimental studies. The most prevalent method, though, has changed depending on when the studies were conducted. Chun and her associates (2002) reported that prevalent among the Korean domestic studies was the survey-type study for teachers: 14 thesis and 3 journal articles, conducted from 1996 to 2001. E. Ahn and Kim's (2009) study showed that over 50% of 34 journal articles issued in 1996-2008 were conducted for the verification of hypotheses, and that experimental methods were used heavily in these journal articles. These two studies also showed that Korean studies on English education for young children began in the mid-1990s, and that journal articles have increased since the early 2000's.

The body of existing studies on English education can be roughly classified into three main types in terms of topics: studies on (a) the perceptions of the adults (e.g., early childhood teachers, parents, or kindergarten directors) on EFL education and the current state of EFL education (e.g., M.-Y. Cho & Lee, 2009; Yang et al., 2001a); (b) the relationship between EFL education and certain variables like phonological structure, sociality, or future EFL learning (e.g., Seo, Choi, Joa, & Chun, 2003; Shin, 2007); and (c) the effects of specific instructional methods, programs, or approaches on children's EFL learning (e.g., C. Park & Shin, 2008; Woo & Seo, 2010). Beyond this, there are relatively few topic studies such as analyses of existing studies (E. Ahn & Kim, 2009; Chun et al., 2002; Ma, 2007; D. Lee et al., 2006), examinations of English education through literature reviews (Jeon, 2003; Ma, 2008), and media discourse analyses (H. Jun, 2011).

Young children have been included as research subjects in most of the correlational and quasi-experimental or experimental studies. However, studies exploring perceptions or understandings of English education have mainly attended to adult populations that include early childhood teachers, directors, pre-service teachers, or parents.

Issues concerning English education in kindergartens also arose in studies on extra-curricular activities (e.g., K.S. Lee et al., 2002; J. Lee & Chung, 2004). These studies mainly presented problems related to the extra-curricular activities. According to J. Lee and Chung (2004), the term "extra-curricular activity" originally referred to activities implemented outside regular kindergarten hours and not included in the kindergarten curriculum. Today, however, it is often used as the meaning of special curricular activities run by visiting-instructors building young children's skills in certain areas such as English proficiency. Studies on English education or extra-curricular activities have reported such education in kindergartens as having grown out of parents' unreasonable demands (M.-Y. Cho & Lee, 2009; H. Jun, 2009; J. Lee & Chung, 2004) and decided on by kindergarten directors without thoughtful educational consideration or inputs from the teachers (Seo et al., 2009; J. Lee & Chung, 2004).

Studies on pedagogical practices relative to English education. Korean studies on English education in kindergartens seem to rarely focus on pedagogical practices. Such an assessment is based on my understanding of pedagogical practices relative to English education as the ongoing social processes in which learning and

teaching can be facilitated by social interactions between adults and children. In that concept of pedagogical practices, the practice means a joint activity in which both the teacher and the learner have active roles (Leach & Moon, 1999). However, many studies (e.g., M-J. Kang & Choi, 2010; Park et al., 1997; Yang et al., 2001a) have provided information on how English education is implemented in kindergartens, by whom, and how often. These studies concern mostly the operational characteristics of English lessons; they were often combined with some examination of teachers' perceptions via survey method.

In many cases, the teachers charged with English education in Korean private kindergartens are reported as being part-time English instructors (M-J. Kang & Choi, 2010; S.H. Kim, 2008; Park et al., 1997; Yang et al., 2001a). Yang et al.'s (2001a) study showed that most of the English teachers were part-time English instructors (82.4%); a few early childhood teachers were charged with English education. In S. H. Kim's (2008) study, part-time English instructors accounted for nearly three-fourth of the English teachers, whereas early childhood teachers accounted for approximately one-fourth of them.

English lessons were stated to be generally implemented as teacher-directed activities two to five times a week, during regular kindergarten hours; one session lasted for approximately 20-30 minutes (H. Jun, 2009; H. Park et al., 1997; Yang et al., 2001a). In addition, many kindergartens (78.4% of 130 private kindergartens) used a particular English program developed by a business company (M-J. Kang & Choi, 2010). A

variety of teaching methods (e.g., singing songs, doing games) and materials (e.g., flashcards, audio-tapes, worksheets) were utilized in English lessons. In many cases, the English programs were run by English instructors.

Regarding kindergarten teachers' roles related to English education, H. Park and her colleagues' (1997) study revealed that approximately 60% of 125 teachers participated in the English lessons and approximately 30% of them served as assistant teachers. S. H. Kim (2008) questioned how kindergarten teachers and English instructors cooperated and interacted. In her study, many teachers answered "no special interaction." Less than a third of the teachers reported serving the role of assisting English instructors in the English lessons. With respect to early childhood teachers' involvement in English education, M-J. Kang and Choi (2010) reported that 65.3% of 130 private kindergartens teachers did no activity related to English education beyond the English lessons directed by English instructors; 21.5% of the teachers provided some activities for recollection or repetition of the English lessons during their regular kindergarten hours.

Many studies have been conducted as manipulated experimental or quasi-experimental studies focusing on effective pedagogical strategies or approaches (e.g., C. Park & Shin, 2008; Woo & Seo, 2010). For example, in their experimental study, Woo and Seo (2010) reported that using picture-books was much more effective than using flash-cards, in terms of children's word memory, practical uses of vocabulary, interests, and academic attitudes. C. Park and Shin's (2008) study showed that an approach of

multi-cultural education connected to English education positively influenced the children's attitudes and motivations in learning the English language.

In contrast, Ju (1998) and S.H. Kim (2010) directly observed English lessons in private kindergartens. In her study examining the current status of English education in private kindergartens, Ju (1998) collected her data from 45 private kindergartens through one-time classroom observations and interviews with individual English instructors. Results relative to classroom practices were as follows: English lessons were given three times per week with one sessions lasting for 20-30 minutes; large-group English lessons appeared in over 75% of the sample kindergartens; audio-tapes and flash cards were frequently used in the classes; and the contents of the English lessons were separated from regular kindergarten activities.

Observing a total of 60 English lessons, S. H. Kim (2010) examined English lessons in a private kindergarten. This study was conducted in two classes of a private kindergarten where both kindergarten teachers and English instructors were in charge of English education. In her study, Kim focused on children's understanding of vocabulary and characteristics of English lessons according to teacher (i.e., homeroom teacher vs. Korean Speaking English instructors) and class age (3-year-olds vs. 5-year-olds). The results revealed that homeroom teachers often used classroom routines (e.g., greeting, weather) at the beginning of English lessons, but due to their limited English proficiency they tended to simply repeat such routines. English instructors frequently emphasize pronunciation and phonemic awareness, in spite their own grammatical

errors; English lessons by English instructors proceeded rapidly and so children often failed to follow the lessons or actively participate in them; the overall degree of children's understanding of English lessons dropped off after four weeks.

Although Ju's (1998) and S.H. Kim's (2010) studies directly observed English lessons in private kindergartens, their studies did not include social relationships between adults and children, classroom environments, and the larger contexts in which English lessons were situated.

Studies on perceptions of English education. As stated earlier, a large portion of existing studies on English education have been done in relation to adults' perceptions (mostly early childhood teachers and parents) along with describing the present status of English education (Chun et al., 2002; Ma, 2007). In many studies, survey methods were used (e.g., M-J. Kang & Choi, 2010; H. Park et al., 1997); sometimes observations (e.g. S. H. Kim, 2008) and interviews (e.g., Yang et al., 2001a) were combined; and in recent studies (M.-Y. Cho & Lee, 2009; H. Jun, 2009; Seo et al., 2009), qualitative methods through interviews were utilized.

Early childhood teachers' perceptions. In many studies, early childhood teachers were selected as the research subjects or participants (M-J. Kang & Choi, 2010; H. Jun, 2009; H. Park et al., 1997; Seo et al., 2009; Yang et al., 2001a). In their nationwide study, Yang and her colleagues (2001a) collected data, through a questionnaire, from 680 private kindergarten teachers and through interviews from 50 adult stakeholders (kindergarten teachers, directors, and English instructors). According

to their study, many teachers answered that English lessons in kindergartens were initiated not because of educational considerations but because of pressure from children's parents or kindergarten directors. Approximately 68% of the kindergarten teachers affirmed the necessity of English education in kindergartens. Regarding children's interests, many of the kindergarten teachers responded that their students appeared to be interested in English lessons. One interesting finding was that most of the kindergarten teachers did not want to teach English to their students; they considered the most serious problem in providing English education in kindergartens to be the scarcity of qualified English instructors.

The findings of Yang and her colleagues' study are, in many parts, consistent with prior studies (e.g., B.-M.Chang & Lim, 1999; H. Park et al., 1997). They concluded that kindergartens started teaching English by bending to parents' demands; they also noted the problem that the students were being taught by unqualified English instructors. In addition, succeeding studies on a similar research topic revealed similar situations (e.g. M-J. Kang & Choi, 2010; S.H. Kim, 2008). However, regarding the necessity of English education, M-J. Kang and Choi's (2010) study claimed that over 80% of 130 kindergarten teachers affirmed the need for English education in their kindergartens; the reasons for their positive answers had to do with developmentally appropriate English education and because kindergarteners already encounter experienced English language in their daily lives.

Some studies focused on both teachers and parents (e.g., Y. Ahn, 2006; B-M. Chang & Lim, 1999). B.-M.Chang and Lim (1999) examined what early childhood teachers (both kindergartens and child-care centers) and parents recognized regarding English education in preschools. In the study, both teachers and parents offered positive opinions about implementing English education in preschools; the difficulties or concerns that early childhood teachers perceived had to do with the instructional contents and methods and the qualification of English instructors. In Y. Ahn's (2006) comparative study gauging the attitudes of pre-service and in-service kindergarten teachers and parents regarding English education, it was found that parents regarded English education as being more necessary and appropriate than did the teachers.

In several recent studies on early childhood teachers' perceptions, researchers have focused on the conflicts, problems, or dilemmas that the teachers perceived (M.-Y. Cho & Lee, 2009; H. Jun, 2009; Seo et al., 2009). M.-Y. Cho and Lee (2009) examined early childhood teachers' perceptions regarding English education through two or three in-depth interviews with an individual teacher. The research participants consisted of five kindergarten and five child-care center teachers. Their results showed that the teachers were generally positive about the English education, but they were concerned about the potentially negative effects on very young children's development. The study presented the following problems perceived by the teachers: unreasonable parents' demands regarding English education, English instructors' inappropriate instructions, negative effects on children's native language, reduction of kindergarten hours for

regular activities, confusion about teachers' role, and kindergarten directors' lack of pedagogical beliefs.

H. Jun (2009) focused on private kindergarten teachers' experiences and dilemmas regarding English education in their kindergartens. She collected data though classroom observations and interviews with individual teachers. Major findings were as follows: stress from parents' pressure, difficulties in planning and implementing educational activities based on principles of early childhood education owing to English lessons given by English instructors, and problems of instructor qualification, and developmental appropriateness of contents and teaching methods.

Seo and her colleagues (2009) conducted a qualitative study of five kindergarten and five child-care center teachers working in Pusan city; they collected data through one group interview and three individual interviews each. Their findings showed that the teachers experienced internal conflicts regarding how much they valued English education in their classes. Teachers also underwent external conflicts regarding a number of factors: parents' excessive interest, English lessons implemented without consideration of children's development, English program influenced by kindergarten directors, and the government's continual turning a blind eye to the reality of English education. All three studies showed similar findings. Commonly reported findings were parental pressure and directors' influences on English education, developmentally inappropriate English content and methods, difficulties in planning and operating

regular kindergarten activities in a developmentally appropriate way due to the interference of English lessons.

English instructors' perceptions. In the Korean ECE field, English instructors' perceptions have rarely been examined. On the other hand, a major group of research subjects or participants for studies on English education have been early childhood teachers. A few studies, such as Ju's (1998) and S. H. Kim's (2008), are the exception to this rule.

In her study, Ju (1998) interviewed 45 English instructors who teach English in private kindergartens. As for the English instructors, the percentages of satisfaction versus dissatisfaction with the English lessons were nearly same. Their satisfaction was related to children's fun learning, whereas the dissatisfaction was associated with their physical tiredness stemmed from visiting several places (other kindergartens or child-care centers) and giving English lessons to all classes in a kindergarten for extended periods (approximately two hours) without recess. In addition, their ceaseless struggle was making their students pay attention.

S. H. Kim (2008) examined both the perceptions of the teachers who taught English in the kindergartens and the current status of English education in kindergartens. Her study was conducted a survey study of 300 private kindergartens. The results regarding teachers' perceptions were based on 181 returned questionnaires. In her study, three groups of teachers were in charge of English education (i.e., kindergarten teachers, Korean-speaking visiting English instructors, and English-speaking English instructors).

Regarding teachers' perceptions of their difficulties, kindergarten teachers noted their limited English proficiency; visiting English instructors struggled to hold the children's attention. With respect to children's interests in English lessons, many teachers answered that some children were interested in them, but some, regardless who was teaching, were not. Their reasons for the negative answer regarding children's interests were that young children couldn't understand English itself and that instructional methods were inappropriate.

In contrast to the research trend in the Korean ECE field, J-Y. Choi (2007), a scholar in the Korean English education field, interviewed 18 English instructors working in private Korea kindergartens. From the analysis of their descriptions, Choi found the following patterns: a "business-oriented" management of kindergarten English, a traditional "teaching-centered" operation of class, and a "presentation-centered" characteristic of class. The author concluded that the kindergarten English education failed to meet expectations and suggested that what was needed in English education was government-level involvement.

Young children's perceptions. In studies exploring perceptions of English education, young children have generally been excluded (Chun et al., 2002). In some studies, a part of young children's perceptions or experiences (e.g., their interests in English) has been slightly guessed at based on teachers' or parents' answers. In Yang et al.'s (2001a) study, many private kindergarten teachers responded that their students appeared to be interested in English lessons. In contrast, in S. H. Kim's (2008) study,

many of the teachers answered that some children were and some were not interested in English learning.

Conversely, in Woo et al.'s (2002) study supported by the Korean Ministry of Education, the authors interviewed a small number of kindergarteners. This study was conducted via multiple research methods (i.e., experiment, survey, literature review, and interview). Their child interviewees consisted of four kindergarteners and eight elementary students. Most of them reported enjoying learning English, although they were learning it at their parents' prodding. However, they could not, according to Woo and her associates, ask questions in English well; English appeared difficult for them. The authors went on to say that, in terms of its effectiveness, early English education appeared to be useless e. Although a small number of kindergarteners were interviewed in this study, the study focused not on their perceptions but on the effectiveness of early English learning.

One exception to this trend is K. Kim's (2013) examination (via interviews and surveys) of Korean children's perceptions of their English learning in private kindergartens or child-care centers. The study focused on factors that affected the young leaners' perceptions about English learning. In her study, K. Kim first conducted preliminary interviews with 113 children (5- to 6-year-olds[23]) and then did group-interviews (two or three per group) with other 52 children. One finding that intrigued

[23] In K. Kim's (2013) study, the ages of research participants were described as their Korean ages, 6-to-7 year olds.

me was that approximately 12% of the 113 children said they learned English "to be smart," although the author categorized the answer as the "desire to learn." In the final stage, a questionnaire based on the results of interviews was utilized with 193 children. According to the children's answers, the three most influential factors for their learning motivation were rewards in class, mixing with peer groups, and improving their English. Also significant in their motivation were the influences of teachers and parents. At the other end of the spectrum, the three factors that most negatively influenced young learners' perceptions were teachers, parents, and peer groups. K. Kim (2013) concluded that the large influencing factors in the young English learners' perceptions were relationships with teacher, parents, and peer groups.

Disputes over English education in Private Kindergartens in Korea

S. Kang (2012) stated that disputes over English education in private kindergartens continue even when English is taught in most private kindergartens. In the following, I review two stands: (a) theories or claims used by the Korean advocates of early English education and (b) critiques or concerns stated by the Korean ECE scholars.

Theories or Claims used by the Korean Advocates

Two claims are often used to advocate English education for young children or English education in kindergarten: (a) the earlier the better in English learning, and (b)

the English language and English education as necessity. I examine studies that both support and refute these claims.

The earlier the better in English learning. Adult populations who advocate or support early English education often have adopted the idea that "the earlier the better in English learning." In his article "English Fever," J.-K. Park (2009) pointed out that many Korean parents strongly support early English education, based on the supporting studies that language acquisition in young children is exponentially higher than that of adults. This claim or position involves: the Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH) or the Sensitive Period Hypothesis and adult versus child differences or age effects on ESL/EFL learning.

Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH). Y. Kim (2006) pointed out CPH has influenced the Korean educational policies lowering the grade in which English education starts from the first year of middle school to 3rd grade of elementary school. The CPH states there is a critical period or a limited period of time for language acquisition (Lightbrown & Spada, 2006). CPH was originally introduced by Penfield and Roberts (1959) and later claimed by Lenneberg (1967) to explain first language (L1) acquisition (cited in Marinova-Todd, Marshall, & Snow, 2000). As for CPH on second language (L2) acquisition, scholars often argue that the critical period for L2 acquisition ends somewhere around the age of puberty, and that the learner cannot completely master L2 when he or she is exposed to L2 after the critical period (e.g., Johnson & Newport, 1989). In 1977, Lamendella introduced the term Sensitive Period, arguing

that language acquisition might be most successful during early childhood, but was not impossible to take place at later ages (cited in Marinova-Todd et al., 2000). Although these two terms contain slightly different meanings, they are used interchangeably in the field (Marinova-Todd et al., 2000).

However, there are conflicting results in the studies of CPH. Some have yielded results supporting CPH (Johnson & Newport, 1989; Patkowski, 1980; R. Shim, 1993), and others have found evidence refuting it (Birdsong & Molis, 2001; Mcdonald, 2000; Snow & Hoefnagel-Hohle, 1978; White & Genesee, 1996). Johnson and Newport's (1989) study explained the early learner's better performance by CPH. Johnson and Newport tested 46 Korean or Chinese speakers who had arrived in the U. S. at different ages on a grammatical test that contained 12 types of English rules. Their findings showed a stronger correlation between ages of early arrival and higher test scores who were in the late arrival group. Johnson and Newport concluded that critical period clearly existed in L2 acquisition.

In contrast, some have shown evidence refuting the CPH. Birdsong and Molis's (2001) study showed that age is not a significant factor in L2 acquisition. Birdson and Molis conducted a replicated study of Johnson and Newport's (1989) in order to address contradictory results in the existing studies on CPH. A negative correlation between L2 acquisition and the age of learning was found even if learning L2 started after the period presumed critical. As a modest explanation on the native-like L2 attainment among the

late arrivals, Birdson and Molis suggested that L2 acquisition might depend on L1's influences on L2 and L2 use.

In summary, the studies on CPH have presented conflicting results. Bialystok (1997) argued that it should be prudent to assume that children are more successful without having more compelling evidence on CPH. However, the L2 research community seems to agree considerably on the effects of age on L2 acquisition (Ioup, 2005; Marionva-Todd et al., 2000). The biological age factor itself cannot fully explain the mechanism of L2 learning and the differences between children and adults in L2 learning. Merely looking at the biological age factor in L2 learning is educationally unsound.

Other explanations for children's L2 learning. Some scholars believe that affective changes and learning situations are other potential explanations for the benefits of children's L2 learning. Marionva-Todd and her colleagues (2000) stated that although the effects of age difference exist, making the direct correlation needs to be done with caution. This is because of the existence of other factors associated with age such as educational, social, and psychological ones that can contribute to children's L2 learning.

Schumann (1975) was one of the first individuals to explain, from an alternative viewpoint, child and adult differences in L2 learning (Ioup, 2005). Schumann (1975) advocated an explanation based on social and affective factors. He recognized an individual as a member of a society who was affected by larger social, cultural,

historical, and political environments, as well as the role of the individual in L2 learning. Using a case study approach, he documented the progress of L2 learners over a certain period of time. He found that one learner in particular failed to develop his grammatical competence, despite explicit language instruction. Schumann pointed out the reason that the learner failed to identify with the target society; the learner refused to fit in to the target culture.

Krashen's (1981, 1985) affective filter hypothesis, one of five hypotheses (acquisition/ learning, monitor, natural order, input, and affective filter) constituting his model, suggests that for L2 acquisition, feelings such as tension, anger, anxiety, and boredom can limit what is noticed, and what is encoded in L2 acquisition. According to Krashen (1985), child learners tend to not feel nervous about attempting to use L2, even when their proficiency of L2 is quite limited. By contrast, adult learners often find it very stressful when they are unable to express themselves clearly and correctly.

Spolsky's work has demonstrated that effective L2 learning may also depend upon the kind of environment that the learner is placed in according to their age (1989, cited in Cook, 2001, p. 135). Formal classroom learning may favor the older student, since it requires abstract thoughts and skills, whereas L2 learning in informal situations is more open and beneficial to the child.

The studies on CPH have presented conflicting results and other explanations in relation to age effects on L2 learning. Nevertheless, in understanding English education in Korean kindergartens, the age factor of Korean children in English learning may not

be ignored. However, since the above theories or claims related to age effects on L2 acquisition or learning are from a Western perspective, we have to be cautious about applying them to an Eastern Asian context, especially the Korean English education system. As Schumann (1975) saw individuals as members of society related to L2 learning, young Korean child should be understood as a society member who is situated in larger social, cultural, historical, and political contexts, as well as an individual English learner.

English language and English education as necessity. Another common belief amongst advocates for early English education is that due to the nature of our globalized world and English serving as the lingua franca, the need to speak English becomes more of an imperative for future generations (M.N. Kim, 2008). This kind of shared belief or attitude may work as a part of "the power of unplanned (invisible) language planning" (Kachru, 1991). Kachru (1991) described that "invisible language planning is determined to an extent by the attitude of parents toward a language, the role of the media, the role of the peers, and the societal pressures" (p.8). In the following, this belief regarding English as necessity is described more along with English as an international language and a language ideology of English.

Nunan (2003) emphasized that the emergence of English as a global language has considerably impacted educational policies, particularly in relation to the age at which English education begins in countries such as Korea and those within the Pan-Asia region. Y. Kim (2006) observed that Koreans nowadays consider English learning

a necessity, because integration within the globalized world of today's society is so overwhelmingly desired.

In the early 1990s President Kim Youngsam initiated a globalization campaign in Korea which involved the adoption of English as a regular subject from 3rd grade and up in elementary schools; it was implemented in 1996 (O, Kwon et al., 2006). The globalization campaigns of the 1990s have continued and, since the inauguration of former President Lee Myungbak in 2008, have further expanded their scope (J.H. Lee, Han, & McKerrow, 2010). Under the Lee administration, English proficiency has been a main emphasis so as to create a more prosperous, English-friendly Korea. For instance, a new educational reform policy was proposed that sought to "teach non-English subjects in English starting from 2010", but the proposed policy was rejected amidst intense debate (J. H. Lee et al., 2010).

Even with the efforts to push English education reforms within the Korean school system from the Lee government, Sasaki et al.'s (2006) study showed that Koreans felt ambivalence toward English as an international language. There was a consensus amongst the general population that regarded English as an international language, but there was also an "extraordinary level of ambivalence" amongst those polled. Sasaki and his associates (2006) stated that Korea was classified into a group of countries "whose speakers tend to use their native language when talking with foreigners, and who do not think English dominance is good, but feel that there is no

alternative" (p. 397). Conversely, countries such as Egypt and the Philippines were categorized into another group whose people think English dominance is good.

As stated earlier, in his study on the way Koreans conceptualize English, J.S. Park (2009) asserted that the conceptualizations of English in Korea were reflected mainly by three ideologies (see more in the above section, English in Korea). One of the ideologies stated in his study was "necessitation," which views English as a necessity in Korea. He went on to maintain that the ideology of necessitation is Koreans' beliefs about the social and linguistic condition in which they are situated.

Critiques or Concerns by Korean ECE Scholars

English education in Korean kindergartens is still controversial in the Korean ECE field, especially given that most private kindergartens include, illegally, English education in their curricula. A few Korean ECE scholars (e.g., Ma, 1997, 2003, 2008) have been supportive of English education in early childhood educational institutions, whereas mainstream Korean ECE scholars (e.g., K.S. Lee et al., 2002; W. Y. Lee, November 23, 2007; Woo et al., 2002) have criticized it for its developmentally inappropriateness, ineffectiveness, and indiscreet adoption from ESL programs.

Issues of developmental appropriateness. In relation to developmental knowledge or the DAP guidelines (Breadekamp, 1987; Breadekamp & Coople, 1997; Coople & Breadekamp, 2009), E. Lee (1994) indicated that early English education ignored the characteristics of young children and early childhood education (cited in

K.W. Lee et al., 2001). Yang and her colleagues (2001a) stated that English education in kindergartens should be developmentally appropriate, and its social appropriateness ought to be discussed within the bounds of developmental appropriateness. In another study, however, Yang and her colleagues (2001b) pointed out that there was no research that confirmed the developmental appropriateness of English education for young children in EFL contexts.

In their interview studies on teachers' conflicts, Seo and her associates (2009) reported that early childhood teachers' beliefs concerning developmentally appropriate practices conflicted with English language instructors' practices. In contrast, Y.M. Kim and Shu (2006) asserted that beyond developmental appropriateness (see, Bredekamp, 1987), which has often been stated in relation to "age appropriateness" and "individual appropriateness" in the ECE field, English education needs to be examined in terms of its "socio-cultural appropriateness" (see, Bredekamp & Copple, 1997) as well.

Questions toward educational effectiveness. With respect to the effectiveness of early English learning, Woo and her associates (2002) argued that when English education is administered to older school-aged children, it is more effective. In the same way, Shin (2007) maintained that the proper age at which English education begins should be at some time after children enter elementary schools.

In their study, Woo and her associates (2002) divided their subjects into two groups, 13 seven-year-olds and 10 four-year-olds, and gave them experimental English instruction eight times a month. They found that after a one-month period, the seven-

year-olds scored higher on subsequent tests analyzing educational effectiveness. Woo and her associates concluded that English education starting at preschool ages was ineffective compared to those who learned English at later school ages. This study conducted by Woo and her associates in 2002 has been significantly influential on the Korean Ministry of Education's policy on English education in kindergartens. However, the experiment utilized in Woo and her associates' (2002) study is similar to Snow and Hoefnagel-Hohle's (1978) study on CPH. As stated earlier, contradictory results co-exist in the studies on CPH.

Conflicts with regular kindergarten curricula. Extra-curricular activities (e.g., English lessons) are generally implemented by part-time instructors. K.S. Lee and her colleagues (2002) indicated that this can be problematic in terms of consistency and connection to regular kindergarten curricula; it can further cause interference in the implementation of regular kindergarten curricula. In her study on English education in kindergartens, H. Jun (2009) reported that ECE teachers had difficulty in planning and implementing classroom activities based on principles of early childhood education. In another study, H. Jun (2011) asserted that English education for young children undesirably influenced the kindergarten curriculum and even the foundation of early childhood education in Korea.

Differences between EFL and ESL. K.S. Lee and her colleagues (2002) pointed out that it is hard to provide young children in Korea with an educational environment to naturally access English, due to the fact that it is used as a foreign

language in Korea. Yang and her colleagues (2001a) criticized that the programs developed in ESL or bilingual contexts had been applied to Korean children without a considerable examination of those programs, in spite of big differences between programs developed in the ESL environment and those in the EFL environment. Jeon (2003) pointed out that second language acquisition theories, which have been built up in the Western contexts, can be called into question when directly applied to a Korean EFL context.

Imprudent adoptions of ESL programs designed in other English-speaking countries by young children in Korea can be problematic in terms of their validity (H. Jun, 2009; S.H. Kim, 2008). Nevertheless, as stated earlier, due to this dichotomy (EFL vs. ESL) having been questioned for its ambiguities (e.g. Kachru, 1986; Nunan, 2003), it may not be enough to define the English language in Korean society as only EFL. English in Korean society plays an important role for success and fortune and has meanings beyond a communicative tool.

Other concerns. In addition, Korean ECE scholars have brought up other concerns such as an increase in educational expenses for private English education, interference in Korean language (L1) development, and pathological problems caused by excessive stress on the individual (M.-Y. Cho & Lee, 2009; S. H. Kim, 2008; Woo et al., 2002).

Foreign Studies regarding English Education

As reviewed in an earlier section, the Korean studies on English education in kindergarten have in many cases been concerned with classroom issues: When is the proper time to begin English education?; What kinds of strategies, materials, and programs may help learning English?; What are the effects of English learning experience on developmental factors?; and How do teachers and parents perceive English education? These studies have often been conducted without considering the particular contexts or the broader social, historical, and political contexts in which English learning and teaching are situated.

This research trend in Korea is comparable to that in other countries shown in critiques by second language scholars (e.g., Cummins & Davison, 2007; Pennycook, 2000; Tollefoson, 1995). Tollefson (1995) argued that second language teachers and scholars have very limited knowledge on how second language learning theory and teaching practices are connected with larger social, economic and political contexts. Pennycook (2000) asserted that language classrooms tend to be viewed as closed boxes that usually focus on language acquisition theories, instruction methods, and linguistics with consideration of larger social forces.

Below is a short review of studies regarding English (ESL/EFL) education that have been conducted in other countries with consideration of larger contexts. The review includes a few studies concerned with children's perceptions of and motivation for English learning. The motivation for this review springs from the dearth of these

types of studies that examine either English education for young children in particular settings with eye on the larger contexts or young English leaners' perceptions or experiences in the Korean ECE field.

English Education Situated in Broader Contexts

Some studies have suggested that language is not something taught and learned in classes separate from society, but that it is historically, socially, and politically situated in society and is related to the world (e.g., Francis & Ryan, 1998; Lin, 1999; Orellana, 1994; Schecter & Bayley, 1997; Valdes, 1998). Orellana's (1994) study showed how the power of English (ESL) embedded in larger society may affect children's learning in a local setting. Orellana examined how three bilingual preschool children used their languages when the children were engaged in pretend play related to children's popular culture. Orellana found that the children's code switching between English and Spanish was not arbitrary but purposeful; their play varied depending on local environments or situations, but it usually reflected social contexts such as public media. The children tended to use English to represent superhero characters, equating English with that of the superhero's, placing English as a more powerful language than their native Spanish. Orellana pointed out the power of English was apparent in these children's lives, although learning English was not connected with an immediate loss of the children's native language.

Francis and Ryan (1998) investigated students' perspectives on English (EFL) and English education in relation to their country's (Mexico) history and social situations. The authors focused on a range of conflicting cultural perspectives associated with language acquisition and ethnolinguistic loyalties within the findings of two long-term studies conducted in both rural and urban settings in Mexico. The researchers found that the learning of English displayed "a panorama of affective variables" that interacted, in complex ways, with the process of language acquisition. Based on these studies, they concentrated on two aspects: sociocultural settings and instrumental goals in language learning and ways in which language conflicts interrupt with the language learning process. Francis and Ryan (1998) found that a wide range of conflicting cultural perspectives existed in Mexico in general, and that conflicting perspectives differed between monolingual Spanish speaking students in urban settings and bilingual students of an indigenous language community in rural settings. They interpreted that differences between the two groups might have been related to their history of colonization and their attitude toward the target language groups.

Studies like the above two show that broader issues are entangled with language education. The broader issues include such elements as the image or power of a target language in a given society, the historical context surrounding the language, and peoples' attitudes toward the language. Cummins and Davison (2007) warned us that the questions of technical efficiency (e.g., what is the best methods for teaching a

foreign language?), traditionally focused on second language education field, would be useless when considered in isolation from the broader contexts of language education.

The following Valdes' (1998) study showed that ESL education implemented without understanding broader contexts of English teaching and learning could be unhelpful. Valdes (1998) was interested in why so many immigrant children failed to learn academic English (ESL). He examined the cases of two immigrant children who had arrived at American schools with no prior knowledge of English. The researcher carefully observed the backgrounds of two children, their ESL classes, schools, homes, and communities. He did so to understand the complex contexts related to two children's ESL progress and failure. One thing that Valdes (1998) noticed was that the goals of the students' ESL teacher were simply those found in the textbook. Additionally, the instructors were found to present the material in a simplified manner and neglected to utilize student participation. Based on the findings, Valdes (1998) argued that ESL education was seldom based on an understanding of how the education was linked with broader social and cultural relations. He also contended that ESL practitioners and policy makers had viewed any ESL program as being effective without supportive research regarding the effects of using English exclusively in ESL contexts and without understanding ESL learning and teaching within social, cultural, and educational contexts.

On the other hand, Lin's (1999) study showed that despite the larger social constraints related to socio-economic contexts, teachers' efforts in English lessons and

their students' discursive agency are able to effect possible changes in language teaching and learning. Lin's (1999) study, conducted in Hong Kong, explored four classrooms in which English (ESL) lessons were carried out. Each classroom was situated in different socio-economic contexts. The author used as analytical tools Bourdieu's notions of cultural capital, habitus, and symbolic violence and Collins' discursive agency. The researcher found that middle-class students in Classroom A brought the right kind of cultural capital to English lessons and their cultural capital had been reproduced and reinforced by the English lessons. The socioeconomic backgrounds of the students of Classrooms B, C, and D were similar. Yet she found that the cultural capital of students in Classroom D seemed to be transformed by the students' discursive agency and their teacher's efforts in English lessons. The students in Classrooms B and C experienced failure in English lessons. Lin (1999) concluded that her study confirmed Collin's idea that creative, discursive individual agency can make possible changes in the world despite larger social constraints.

Children's Perceptions or Motivation

Young children's perceptions of English learning have rarely been the focus of Korean studies. This research trend in Korea seems to be comparable to that in other countries (Hsieh, 2011). Hsieh's (2011) study explored young children's experiences in EFL learning in a kindergarten in Taiwan. In this study, three 5- to 6-year-olds were observed and interviewed; their drawings were analyzed. The researcher reported that

the children could explain what they did and what they liked about the English lessons implemented in drill-focused practices, but they thought English was a difficult language to learn.

Brumen (2010) investigated how young children perceived and were motivated in foreign language (English and German) learning. The research participants were 120 children from 7 kindergartens involved in the Network Innovative Project in Slovenia; the children were interviewed. The majority of them was highly motivated in their foreign language learning and had positive attitudes toward the learning contexts. They wanted to learn the foreign languages, because they enjoyed the activities and their comfortable environments. The children, however, perceived English learning not only as a fun activity, but also as an activity related to intellectual challenges or personal achievement. The researcher highlighted the importance of establishing in kindergartens a safe, enjoyable, and encouraging classroom environment for foreign language learning.

In a study on foreign language learners' motivation, Nikolov (1999) examined Hungarian children's thinking on why they studied English. This study compared results from three age groups (6-8, 8-11, and 11-14). Some of interesting results of this study were: (a) the youngest group mainly showed motivations related to their English teacher, whereas the other two groups gave more reasons related to their English class; (b) the oldest group much more brought up utilitarian reason; and (c) family pressure on English learning were reflected in the answers of some children of the oldest group.

Summary of the Chapter

In this chapter, I have reviewed a rather broad scope of literature. First I sought to present national contexts that surround the topic of English education in private kindergartens in Korea to better understand English education within larger contexts. This section covered the following: overviews of Korea, English in Korea, and English education in Korea. In this section, I have stated that to explain the status and meanings of English in Korean society, defining English as a foreign language is too simple.

Then, I have described early childhood education and kindergartens in Korea along with four subsections: early childhood education, kindergartens, kindergarten curriculum, major influences and ideas, and pedagogical practices in Korean kindergartens. In this section, I wanted to show English education in private Korean kindergartens that is situated within the larger contexts such as Korean ECE field and the National Kindergarten Curriculum.

After that, I examined English education in private kindergartens in Korea in order to understand the current status of English education and major research trends in the existing Korean studies. This section has included: overview of the English education, sociocultural contexts on the English education, and Korean studies on the English education.

Next I examined the major claims or beliefs by Korean advocates of English education for young children and the critiques or concerns about English education in private kindergartens. Debates surrounding English education have mainly concerned

the necessity of English and the age issue of when English learning should begin, and the relationships between English education and regular kindergarten curriculum.

Finally, I have included other countries' studies related to English (ESL/EFL) education, which were conducted with consideration of larger contexts; and those regarding children's perceptions or motivation of English learning. These research findings suggest that broader contexts surrounding the target language (e.g., globalization, the power of English in society) may indirectly influence Korean young learners.

CHAPTER THREE

Research Methodology

This chapter presents my research methodology. This study, conducted through fieldwork as a qualitative study, used such data collection methods as observations, interviews, questionnaires, and the collection of documents and artifacts. Spanning a two-and-half-month period from May through July 2011, the study took place in two private kindergarten classes in Korea. The research questions were: (a) What are the pedagogical practices relative to English (EFL) education in two private kindergarten classes in Korea? (b) How do the members of the two classes (i.e., the children, ECE teachers, and English language instructors) perceive the language, language teaching and learning, and pedagogical practices?

In order to delineate the methodology, I first outline the methodological framework that shapes this study. Then, I explain my role as researcher in this study. I then lay out the research setting and participants. Next, I describe the methods of data collection and data analysis. Finally, I discuss ethical issues found within the study and state ways that trustworthiness can be established.

Methodological Framework

In this section, I begin the discussion of this study's methodological framework by describing my research paradigm. After all, it is the overarching idea that guides and directs planning and conducting research. Then, I describe my methodological choice.

Research Paradigm

Guba and Lincoln's (1994) three questions regarding research paradigm helped me define mine: a) an ontological question, "What is the nature of reality?" b) an epistemological question, "What is the nature of knowledge and the relationship between and the knower and the would-be known?" and c) a methodological question, "How can the knower obtain the desired knowledge and understanding?" Among the major paradigms classified by scholars (e.g., Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Lincoln & Guba, 1985, 2000; Scheurich & Young, 1997), constructivism heavily influenced my research paradigm. In my research paradigm, the nature of reality refers to local and specific, shifting, multiple realities constructed though on-going human interactions.

I believe that an inquiry's findings are locally, specifically created or constructed in an interactive meaning-making process. I recognize, however, that the meaning-making process that individuals or groups carry out is not wholly inseparable from society and culture. Thus, it is important that I carefully examine constructed local meanings and simultaneously contemplate the influences of social, political, and cultural values that surround meaning-making processes. As for methodology, I think

that a desired understanding can be obtained through dialectic or dialogic processes. Based on the research paradigm, I conducted a qualitative study through participant-observational fieldwork. The methodology of this study was a dialectic process. As Agar (1980, cited in Wolcott, 1994, p. 11) writes,

> You learn something ("collect some data"), then you try to make sense out of it ("analysis"), then you go back and see if the interpretation makes sense in light of new experience ("collect more data"), then you refine your interpretation ("more analysis"), and so on.

Methodological Choice

As for the research trend in American early childhood education (ECE) in the 1980s-1990s, Bloch (1992) pointed out "the dominance of positivist or empirical-analytic research traditions in early childhood education research and it has limited the way we conceive of and do research as well as practice in the field" (p. 5). Holliday (1996) argued that, in the field of non-native English language education, a strong positivist culture prevails in which what happens in the classroom and the curriculum is seen as "abstracted from the context of the wider society" (p. 235). Tomlinson (2000) pointed out, "Surprisingly much of the literature on English as a foreign language (EFL) methodology seems to disregard contexts of learning" (p. 138).

Similar to the research trends of other fields, many existing Korean studies on English education for young children or in kindergartens were conducted by using

empirical methods, such as the survey, correlational, or experimental types (Ahn & Kim, 2009; Ma, 2007). Although qualitative studies on early English education (e.g. M.-Y. Cho & Lee, 2009; H. Jun, 2009, 2011; Seo et al., 2009) have a little by little increased since the end of 2000s, qualitative studies are still a small number. In this study, I adopted a qualitative study, focusing on English education implemented in two local kindergartens; my objective was to understand English education in Korean kindergartens by examining the pedagogical practices and the classroom members' perceptions within social, cultural, and historical contexts.

In terms of methodological guidelines for this study, I was guided by the works of Erickson (1986), Glesne (2005) and Graue and Walsh (1998). I also followed, doing fieldwork, the works of Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), and regarding data analysis those of Strauss and Cobin (1998) and Wolcott (1994). The study was conducted in a natural setting through participant observational field work (Graue & Walsh, 1998; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007) and involved in-depth data analyses containing interpretations of the participants' actions and accounts and how these were situated in local and larger contexts (Erickson, 1986; Wolcott, 1994).

Research Sites and Participants

This study was conducted in two kindergartens classrooms that served 5-year-olds. English programs were included as a part of their curricula. The two classes, Red Class and Green Class, were selected from two private kindergartens, Rose and Pine,

from two Korean school districts. All names used in this study are pseudonyms, aside from Seoul and Gyeonggi. In the following, I describe the process of selecting the two research sites and present the research sites and the research participants

Selecting Two Research Sites

Hammersely and Atkinson (2007, p. 31) noted "the more settings studies the less time can be spent in each. The researcher must make a trade-off here between breadth and depth of investigation." Despite this fact, I chose two research sites from two different communities. I did so because I believed that English education is situated in and meditated by local and larger contexts; constant comparisons of these two research sites may have fathomed, I thought, greater depths regarding English education. Selecting two research sites involved the following three steps: selecting school districts, kindergartens, and classrooms.

Selecting two school districts. Rose Kindergarten is located in the JIN school district of Seoul. Pine Kindergarten is located in the WON school district in the southern region of Gyeonggi Province, a donut-shaped area surrounding Seoul. The two school districts were selected purposefully, owing to their different locations and contexts. In selecting them, I considered major influences reported in the literature regarding the English boom and extra-curricular activities of private kindergartens: education fever in general, English fever in particular (H. Jun, 2011; J-K. Park, 2009), and private kindergartens' competing to survive against other kindergartens and other

types of institutes (e.g., so-called "English kindergartens"; K. S. Lee et al., 2002; J. Lee & Chung, 2004; Woo & Seo, 2010). Seoul[24] and Gyeonggi[25] province were chosen from Korea's administrative divisions[26]. Although geographically close, Seoul and Gyeonggi differ in many aspects. For instance, Seoul is Korea's metropolis while Gyeonggi province is an amalgamation of rural and urban communities.

From there, two administrative divisions narrowed to two school districts—the JIN and WON school districts. The JIN district lies in one of the top academic performing districts in Korea and is famous for its high "education fever *(kyoyukyeol)*".[27] English fever in the JIN district seemed to be unusually high, based on public records regarding the number of private English language institutes for young children (e.g., so-called "English kindergartens") and of students who went abroad for their English study. In addition, the JIN district is renowned for its high housing prices and high household income[28]. Private kindergartens located in the JIN district looked to be highly competitive with other types of facilities for young children, particularly so-called "English kindergartens." The WON district is relatively undistinguished in terms of student's academic performance, English fever, and housing costs. In summary, the

[24] Seoul (officially Seoul Special City) is the capital and largest city of South Korea. It is economic, political, and cultural center of the country. Approximately 10 million inhabitants live in Seoul; it is approximately one fifth of the total Korean population (50 million) (www.ko.wikipedia.com)
[25] Gyeonggi province is often called the Seoul National Capital Area with Seoul Special city and Incheon metropolitan city. The population of Gyeonggi has been growing and currently is over 10 million.
[26] South Korea is administratively divided into 1 special city (i.e., Seoul), 6 metropolitan cities (e.g., Pusan), and 9 provinces (e.g., Gyeonggi).
[27] Education fever" (*kyoyukyeol*) is a national obsession about education (Seth, 2002).
[28] According to 2010 Seoul Survey, the JIN District is one of the places that level of family income is the most high.

JIN and the WON school districts appear to differ in terms of English fever and private kindergartens' competition with other types of facilities that provide English education for young children.

Having lived in both school districts, I was familiar with them. This was advantageous given my working within limited time constraints and trying to understand English education as it is implemented in local private kindergarten classes. Travel from my home to these two areas was also manageable.

Selecting two kindergartens and gaining entry. Obtaining permission to access the two kindergartens proved difficult. This appeared to be due to the very nature of qualitative studies, which calls for longer periods of time in the classroom and also the sensitivity of studying English education in private kindergartens, education prohibited by the Korean government.

Using kindergarten directories that I found in the two school district websites, I first called private kindergartens directly. After a while, it seemed clear it would be impossible to obtain permission without going through connections. Then, I called friends and friends of friends to ask for recommendations. Having secured these, I again tried obtaining permission to access kindergartens.

Rose Kindergarten in JIN and Pine Kindergarten in Won were the only two kindergartens to positively respond. These two kindergartens have often provided research sites to other Korean ECE scholars or graduate students. During my initial visits, I provided the director of each respective kindergarten more detailed information

(i.e., its purpose, participants, data collection methods, and length of research period). I inquired about what classroom was available and whether the director, classroom teachers, and English language instructors were willing to participate in this study.

At Rose Kindergarten, the director worried about English lessons being given during regular class hours, given it was officially prohibited. Thus, I was unclear whether I had obtained verbal permission to conduct the study at this kindergarten in my first visit. However, several days later, Rose Kindergarten granted permission, assigning one classroom where three English instructors were teaching English to 5-year-olds.

In contrast, Pine Kindergarten, after hearing more detailed information about the study, immediately granted verbal permission. This study would be the first time a qualitative study was to be conducted at Pine Kindergarten. The director suggested that observations be made prior to actually conducting the study. To select a classroom, I observed two classrooms teaching English to 5-year-olds, ultimately selecting Green Class as the research site. Once verbal permission was granted, written permission was made to formally start the process of collecting data.

Research Site 1: Red Class of Rose Kindergarten

In the following, I present one research site, Red Class. To introduce Red Class, I describe JIN school district, Rose Kindergarten, and Red Class in order.

JIN school district. The JIN school district, in which Rose Kindergarten is located, is one of the affluent areas of Seoul known for its high housing costs and high education fever. For over 30 years, the JIN school district has consistently been one of the top performing school districts in Korea. A closer look at the distribution of students in JIN school district shows that the number [29] of students who are kindergarten aged was relatively smaller than that of students in elementary schools. However, the precise kindergarten enrollment rate of the students living within this school was not reported. The number of students enrolled in kindergartens in the JIN district could be smaller due to the area's high housing costs. Additionally, it was found that many parents whose children were of kindergarten age had them attend, instead of kindergartens, private English language institutes or other types of cram schools (known as *hagwon*).

Rose Kindergarten. Rose Kindergarten is located in a middle- to high-class community in the JIN school district. Its neighborhood consists of high-rise apartment [30] complexes, public schools, and several parks and playgrounds. Public transportation in the area is well developed and includes four easily accessed subway lines. Large-scale cultural facilities such as libraries, art centers, music halls, and theaters are within a 10-20 minute drive of Rose Kindergarten.

Rose Kindergarten was established in the mid-1980s. The building itself consists of two floors, one above ground level and one below. The kindergarten comprises five

[29] According a record in 2011, there were approximately 5,000 kindergarten students and 50,000 elementary students.

[30] The meaning of apartment in Korea is different from that in the U.S. It is pretty much similar to the condominium.

classrooms: one for 3-year-olds, two for 4-year-olds, and two for 5-year-olds. In the basement was an activity room reserved for English lessons. In the first floor, there were two classrooms, one restroom, and an administrative office that merged with the library. The second floor consisted of three classrooms, one kitchen, and a restroom. Outside of the building was a playground.

Attending Rose Kindergarten were 3-year-olds, 4-year-olds, and 5-year-olds. Each classroom was organized based on age. In the first semester of 2011, approximately 110 students were enrolled in the kindergarten. Each class had one early childhood teacher, except the 3-year-old class. All teachers at Rose kindergarten had graduated from a 3-year junior college or 4-year university with a teaching certificate in ECE. The director of Rose Kindergarten had a B.A. and M.A. in education and was working, at the time of data collection, towards her doctoral degree in education. Many children attending Rose Kindergarten lived in apartment complexes a 5 to 15 minute drive away. School bus services were available. Students living very nearby walked to school with their parents or grandparents.

Red Class. Red Class, one of the five classes at Rose Kindergarten, had been operating for five years.[31] It consisted of 23 children[32], aged 5-6. Serving as Red class's full-time early childhood teacher was Miss Kang. A pre-service teacher sometimes assisted in Red Class. Several other activity instructors, who worked part or full time,

[31] This classification is made by children's ages at the point of beginning.
[32] One boy was transferred in the middle of this study, so there were 24 students from that time to the end.

taught additional subject matter such as English, physical education, and Chinese. The Red Class operated five days a week from 9:00 A.M. to 2:30 P.M. According to the director of Rose Kindergarten, the hours were 30 minutes longer than those of other kindergartens in order to allow an extended period of time for English instruction. Some students from Red Class even remained at the kindergarten after hours to join in the full-day class or participate in after-school activities such as art and English language class.

English lessons in Red Class were taught by two part-time English language instructors and one full-time English instructor nine times per week (if there was no special event or field trip) with each session lasting for 20-30 minutes. The students of Red Class met with two of the three English instructors for four days. In other words, there were two English lessons Tuesday through Friday and one on Mondays. The English lessons were operated in half-groups (11-12 children for 1 English instructor) and whole-groups (23 children for 1 English instructor). Red Class appeared, based on the time it spent on English instruction, to be more focused on that than did classes in existing studies[33] on English education in Korean kindergartens.

[33] In studies (Yang et al., 2001a; S.H. Kim, 2008), it was common that English lessons were performed two to five times per week and lasted for 20 to 25 minutes by mainly a part time English language teacher or teachers in private kindergartens in Korea.

Research Site 2: Green Class of Pine Kindergarten

In the following, I present the other research site, Green Class. To introduce Red Class, I describe WON school district, Pine Kindergarten, and Green Class in order.

WON school district. Pine Kindergarten is located in the WON school district of Gyeonggi province. WON is approximately 25 miles south of Seoul and since the late 1990s has seen tremendous development and population growth. The school district, unique in that it combines both urban and rural communities, was home to approximately 150 kindergartens and 13,100 kindergarten students (3,000 in public vs. 10,100 in private) in 2011. According to a local website, kindergarten enrollment rate in WON school district was approximately 55% in 2010.

Pine Kindergarten. Pine Kindergarten is located in a middle class residential area of WON. Like Rose Kindergarten, Pine Kindergarten is surrounded by high-rise apartments; it sits across from two public schools. The main form of public transportation in this area is bus; local and metropolitan buses connect the district to major regions of Seoul and Gyeonggi province. It is a 10-20 minute drive from Pine Kindergarten to the nearest subway station that transfers to a subway connecting to Seoul.

Pine Kindergarten was established in 2000 and has been relatively open to researchers. Pine Kindergarten consists of six classrooms: two each for 3-, 4-, and 5-year-olds. In the first semester of 2011, approximately 150 students were enrolled. Each class had one early childhood teacher, except for the 3-year-old classes. All

teachers graduated from 3-year junior colleges or 4-year universities with a teaching certificate in ECE. The director of Pine Kindergarten had a B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. in education.

Pine kindergarten operates in a two-story building with a basement. The basement is used as an assembly hall for athletic lessons or special events such as graduation ceremonies. The first floor has three classrooms, an administrative office, a meeting room for visitors, and two restrooms. The second floor has three classrooms, a library, two small extra rooms, a kitchen, and a restroom. Outside, a playground was divided by surface material—polyurethane and sand. The manmade surface was often used for group games, gymnastics, and running and the sand area for play with a combined play structure and sand play.

Green Class. Green Class consisted of 25 children, aged five to six. Miss. Moon, a full-time early childhood education teacher, served as the classroom teacher. A pre-service teacher assisted the class for a month. Extra-activities instructors were also part of the class and taught during regular classroom hours. Class was in session five days a week from 9:00 A.M. to 2:00 P.M. Like Red Class, some students from Green Class remained at the kindergarten after the regular hours, in order to join in the full-day class or participate in after-school activities such as music or English language class.

Four times a week, English lessons in Green Class were normally taught by three part-time English language teachers and lasted for 20-30 minutes. All of the

students of Green Class met one of their English language teachers every Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday. On Mondays or Wednesdays, the group split in half, with some students learning English in an extra activity room or the library. Considered simply in terms of the frequency of and the total length of English lessons, Green Class seemed to be similar to the results[34] of existing studies. Green Class was one of the two 5-year-old classes in Pine Kindergarten. The other class[35] was a kind of experimental or special class that allocated more time and effort to English education. Compared to parents of the other 5-year-old class, those of Green Class could be guessed as less focused on English education in kindergarten.

Research Participants from the Two Research Sites

In this section, I describe research participants of this study: participants from Rose Kindergarten and participants from Pine Kindergarten.

Participants from Rose Kindergarten. Participating in this study were 15 members of Rose Kindergarten (6 children, 1 early childhood teacher, 2 English instructors, 1 director, and 5 parents). The student body of Red Class consisted of 23 5- to 6-year-old children. Parents of all 23 students were invited to participate in this study. Of these, parents of only six children (two girls and four boys) consented to their child's research participation in this study: Daheun, Hunsu, Jungho, Minjee, Pongu, and Sonjae.

[34] In studies (e.g. Yang et al., 2001a; S.H.Kim, 2008), it was common that English lessons were performed two to five times per week and lasted for 20 to 30 minutes by mainly a part time English language teacher or teachers in private kindergartens in Korea.

[35] According to the director of Pine Kindergarten, Mrs. Park, parents decided their child's class between Green Class and the other special class prior to this first academic semester of 2011.

All names used in this study are pseudonyms. English nicknames of these children were often used during the English lessons[36].

Table 1

Background Information of Child Participants of Red Class

Korean Name (pseudonym)	English Nickname (pseudonym)	Gender	Enrollment semester	Age *	English learning outside the Red	Participa-tion Parent
Daheun	Daisy	F	3rd	5y 5m	Unknown	none
Hunsu	Henry	M	3rd	5y 10m	No	mother
Jungho	John	M	1st	5y 11m	Yes (present)	mother
Minjee	Mary	F	3rd	6y 3m	Yes (past)	mother
Pongu	Paul	M	1st	5y 9m	No	mother
Sonjae	Sam	M	5th	5y 10m	No	mother

Note. * at the point of May 6, 2011

Miss Kang, the classroom teacher of Red Class, was also a participant of this study. With a B.A. in ECE and four years of experience prior to teaching Red Class, Rose Kindergarten was Miss Kang's second workplace; she had worked at Rose Kindergarten since 2009. During the last year summer vacation, Miss Kang had lived in New Zealand as an exchange teacher at an early childhood education institute. She said she offered Korean cultural classes to the young children there.

[36] One of English instructors, Mrs. Ivy, usually called not English nick names of, but Korean names of students in her English lessons.

Two of the English instructors agreed to participate in this study: Mrs. Anna (Mrs. Shin) was a full-time English instructor and Mrs. Ivy (Mrs. Lee) was a part-time English instructor. They were both native Korean speakers, whereas the remaining non-participant English instructor[37] was a male native English speaker. Since two English instructors were usually called by their English nicknames by other members of Rose Kindergarten, only their English nicknames are used in this study.

Mrs. Anna completed her B.A. in social science and worked for a company for several years in Korea. After that, she moved with her family to the U. S. for two years before returning to Korea. From March of 2011, Mrs. Anna started teaching English to the students of Rose Kindergarten through her English language teacher-training program provided by a private English language institute (C institute). During this study, she continued to be trained by the C institute. Although Mrs. Anna worked for Rose Kindergarten as a full-time English language teacher, her English curriculum was based on that developed from the C institute.

Majoring in English literature, Mrs. Ivy graduated from a university and initially worked for a private English language institute developing English programs and educational material (e.g., workbooks). She then started to teach English to children in other kindergartens, as well as Rose Kindergarten. At the time this study was conducted, Mrs. Anna worked part-time as an English instructor only in Rose Kindergarten, but mainly trained other English instructors working in kindergartens, daycare centers, or

[37] The native speaker of English was also invited to this study. Yet, he did not agree to his participation.

private English language institutes for young children. She had been working at Rose Kindergarten for nearly 10 years.

The director of Rose Kindergarten, Mrs. Rhee, was included in this study due to the tremendous role directors of Korean private kindergartens play in the decision making of the selection of English program, its operational hours, or the employment of English language instructors. Moreover, directors of private kindergartens are well-versed in the history and changes of English education that have taken place in their kindergarten. Mrs. Rhee had been in the ECE field for almost three decades, including years as an undergraduate student, a graduate student, a teacher, a vice-director, a director, and a teacher educator. She completed her B.A. and M.A. in education; during the time of this study, she was pursuing her doctoral degree in education. She had worked as the director for nearly 10 years; she was also the owner of the kindergarten.

Six parents whose children were research participants were also invited to this study with five accepting. Parents were included in the study because they covertly or overtly influence over their child's English learning and they provide additional information regarding their children's experiences in English lessons in the kindergarten. A questionnaire was used to get the additional information.

Participants from Pine Kindergarten. From Pine Kindergarten were 23 participants: 10 children, 1 early childhood teacher, 3 English instructors, 1 director, and 8 parents. Green Class was comprised of 25 5- to 6-year-old children. All parents of the students were invited to participate in this study. Ten parents consented to their

children participating in the study (6 girls and 4 boys): Bohae, Choha, Eunju Haerim, Inchul, Junseo, Kyungmin, Lahyun, Seijin, and Taesu. The child participants had no English nicknames. In Green Class, only English language instructors were called by their English names or nicknames.

Table 2

Background Information of Child Participants of Green Class

Korean Name (pseudonym)	Gender	Enrollment Semester	Age *	English learning outside Green Class	Participa-tion Parent
Bohae	F	3rd	5y 11m	Yes (at present)	Mother
Choha	F	1st	5y 7m	Yes (at present & in the past)	Mother
Eunju	*F*	1st	5y 9m	No	Mother
Haerim	F	4th	6y 3m	Yes (in the past)	Mother
Inchul	M	3rd	5y 7m	Yes (in the past)	Mother
Junseo	M	1st	5y 7m	Yes (in the past)	Mother
Kyungmin	F	1st	5y 9m	No	Mother
Lahyun	F	Unknown	5y 9m	Unknown	None
Seijin	M	Unknown	5y 11m	Unknown	None
Taesu	M	3rd	5y 5m	No	Father

Note. * at the point of May 6, 2011

Also participating in this study was Miss Moon, the classroom teacher of Green Class. The academic year of 2011 would be her fifth year of teaching

kindergarteners. Miss Moon had worked at Pine kindergarten since her graduation from junior college in 2007.

Three English instructors teaching in Green Class participated in this study: Mr. Daniel, Mrs. Ruby, and Miss Grace. Mrs. Ruby and Mr. Daniel taught the whole group in the classroom setting, and Miss Grace taught English in an extra activity-room in half groups. Mr. Daniel, from the U. S. , held a B.A and was in the middle of graduate work in Psychology. Approximately two years earlier, Mr. Daniel had come to Korea with a work VISA supported by a private English language institute. Mr. Daniel mainly worked for the English language institute and teaching English for Pine kindergarten was a second job. The 2011 academic year would be his second year teaching at Pine Kindergarten.

Mrs. Ruby double-majored in Chinese and English literature at a Korean university. She graduated from high school and went to university in New Zealand. Due to Korea's financial crisis in the late 1990s, Mrs. Ruby came back to Korea to complete her B.A. She had prior experience teaching English in private English language institutes for kindergarten ages, as well as in other private kindergartens. The 2011 academic year would be her first year teaching at Pine Kindergarten.

Miss Grace majored in English literature at a Korean university. She taught part-time at Pine Kindergarten as an English language instructor. Although Miss Grace agreed to participate in this study, space was limited in her class making observations too difficult to conduct. However, Miss Grace was interviewed in order to gather

additional information about the lessons she taught once a week in an extra-activity room.

The director of Pine Kindergarten, Mrs. Park participated in this study; she also was the owner of the kindergarten. She had been in the ECE field for almost two decades and worked as the director for nearly 10 years. She had a doctoral degree in education. Ten parents whose children were child participants were also invited in this study, with eight accepting (one father and seven mothers) and completing their questionnaires.

Recruitment of the Research Participants

In this section, I present recruitment process: (a) child and parent participants and (b) ECE teachers, English instructors, and directors.

Child and parent participants. In order to recruit children and parents for this study, a letter was attached to Red and Pine classroom weekly newsletters. The letter explained the aims and overview of this study and asked them whether they were interested in either participating or consenting to their children participating in the study. Interested parents sent the bottom part of the letter back to their classroom teachers. Next, interested parents were sent the official forms asking for their permission and consent.[38] Two copies were provided: one copy for their records and the

[38] After receiving parental permission and before any research activities began, I verbally confirmed with the child if they agreed to be in the study.

other to be returned to the researcher. In total, six parents[39] (out of 23 parents) from Red Class and ten parents (out of 25 parents) from Green Class signed the forms and returned them to their classroom teachers

ECE teachers, English instructors, and directors. The early childhood classroom teachers and English language instructors who had verbally indicated interest during recruitment procedures were asked to participate in this study by each being reminded of this study abstract. Consent forms were then given to the teachers and instructors and their signatures were collected in person at the kindergartens. One of them did not sign the consent form. The two kindergarten directors were asked to sign consent forms, and their signatures were collected in person at the kindergartens.

The Researcher

Creswell and Miller (2000, p. 127) pointed out that "it is particularly important for researchers to acknowledge and describe their entering beliefs and biases early in the research process to allow readers to understand their positions." This study was accordingly situated historically, culturally, and personally. Hence, full disclosure was given regarding the researcher's background, predispositions, and beliefs that might be reflected the study.

[39] One parent's agreement was added in the middle of May.

Reflexivity

In the personal aspects of my life, English education has taken on a multitude of identities. These identities, which are constantly shifting and evolving, are associated with a variety of experiences as a former early childhood teacher in Korea, as a native Korean speaker learning English in Korea and in the U. S., a doctoral student majoring in early childhood education in the U. S., and as a mother of a child who is acquiring both English and Korean in the U. S.

While in Korea in the early 1990s, I was an early childhood teacher in a private kindergarten. It offered an English program that was run by a Korean part-time English language instructor, similar to the type of class observed in this study. At that time, I was curious about what I, as an early childhood teacher, could do for the English lessons performed by the part-time instructor. To me, the lessons were developmentally inappropriate and very much teacher-centered practices. My knowledge of English education for young children was quite limited, as I had never taken classes related to English education for young children through pre-service and in-service teacher education. Therefore, I felt powerless to actively contribute to the lessons and many times was left questioning the necessity of English education for my students.

I was a former student who had, for almost ten years, learned English within the formal Korean school system from junior high to college. I had even taken English classes offered in private English language institutes (*hakwon*) during the college and work. An academic obligation, learning English was not joyful, where memorizing

every vocabulary word and each grammatical rule was the ultimate goal. At the time, I believed that English proficiency was necessary for a bright future, and so I wanted to study more abroad. At present, I am still an English learner who continues to learn English while majoring in early childhood education in the U. S. , but I no longer think of the English language as I once did.

As the mother of a young child who is acquiring two languages, I can clearly see the importance of context and the environment in which the child is situated. Being in the U. S., I stress the importance of my son acquiring the native language of his parents, which is Korean. However, due to his immersion in American society, his exposure to English is inevitable. Due to the nature of his surroundings, not only is my son quickly learning the expressions and grammatical workings of Korean, but English as well. The tremendous influence of environment on language acquisition is a point of interest that this study explores further.

Having been a kindergarten teacher, English education for young children in Korean kindergartens is a topic of concern for me, as well as my research topic. I still believe that English education in kindergartens would be better if it were integrated into the whole kindergarten curriculum by more appropriate ways of instruction, such as through children's play and hands-on activities. At the same time, I admit that searching for appropriate ways of instruction for English education is only the tip of the iceberg. The English language is not only a communicative tool but also a practical or symbolic tool related to higher social status and power in Korea. I thus believe that early

childhood English education needs to be illuminated from broader viewpoints that consider social, cultural, political, and global contexts and from various angles beyond the major influential notions of teaching and learning in the Korean ECE field.

All these positions and beliefs could be research biases that quantitative researchers would be concerned about controlling. However in this study, I agree with the idea that being more reflective and conscious of who I am may affirmatively influence what I do in the study, as Bogdan and Biklen (2003) observed:

> Acknowledge that no matter how much you try you can no divorce your research and wiring from your past experiences, who you are, what you believe and what you value. Being a clean slate is neither possible nor desirable. The goal is to become more reflective and conscious of how who you are may shape and enrich what you do, not to eliminate it. (p. 34)

Roles of the Researcher

In participant observation, my role as researcher, due to the dynamic nature of the research settings, lies somewhere between "participant as observer" and "observer as participant"(Glesne, 2005). Observations of classroom practices were discreetly made in the back of the classroom through active note taking. Interactions with the research participants were also made and in some circumstances, teachers and students were given the researcher's direct assistance. In interviews with the research participants, I raised non-directive questions regarding English lessons and its teaching

and learning; and in the meantime, I was an active listener, learning from the participants. Throughout the fieldwork, I tried to make the strange familiar and the familiar strange (Erickson, 1973/1984).

Data Collection

Data collection took place in two kindergarten classes—Red Class of Rose Kindergarten located in Seoul and Green Class of Pine Kindergarten located in Yongin—over a two-and–a-half-month period (May-July) during the first Korean academic semester of 2011 (March-July). The data were collected in four ways: (a) participant observations, (b) interviews and informal talks, (c) questionnaire for parents, and (c) document and artifacts collection (Glesne, 2005; Graue & Walsh, 1998; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

Participant Observations

Classroom observations mainly took place during the periods of English instruction, including transition time before and after lessons one or two times a week. On several occasions, however, classroom observations extended beyond regular hours of English instruction with consent from the classroom teachers. This occurred so as to collect additional observations regarding daily kindergarten practices and orienting the English lessons within the entirety of the daily schedule. In total, 30 observations were conducted at the 2 research sites.

In each classroom, participant observations were conducted in order to understand the daily English language education, which included gaining a sense of the culture of the classroom in relation to the students and teacher. The aim of the participant observations was to understand both the observed actions and interactions made during the English lessons and the intent behind them. Only detailed field notes were made in the classrooms. Video and audio recorders[40] were prohibited from use in this study due to partial parental consent from only a portion of each kindergarten class.

My role as a participant observer varied depending on time of day and location. The role shifted from being an interactive playmate with the students to being a classroom assistant. Observations of large-group EFL lessons (i.e., half-group, the whole group) required note taking from the back of the class, while those of small group or individual activities allowed interactions with the students, ECE teachers, and English instructors.

Interviews and Talks

In order to understand the class members' perceptions of the pedagogical practices relative to English education, I held interviews and noted informal conversations. This section is divided into two subsections: (a) formal interviews and (b) informal interviews and talks.

[40] According to the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of University of Texas, in order to utilize audio recording in two classrooms, all of the members must agree to participate in the study (April 15, 2011, email record).

Formal interviews. Four types of formal interviews were held and they depended on whether the interview was with child participants, ECE teachers, English language instructors, and other members of the kindergartens such as directors. In the following, I present interviews with the child participants and the adult participants.

Interviews with the child participants. Formal interviews with child participants were conducted in semi-structured small groups. Parents were informed of the interview style their children would be experiencing during the sessions. Both child and parents were debriefed before and afterwards through letters explaining the interview plans and results.

The organization of the interviews were all discussed with the classroom teachers in advance, discussions going over which children would be interviewed, when interviews would occur, and where they would take place. Child participants were initially asked to voluntarily join in the interviews. As the interviews progressed, however, the planned interview members changed slightly depending on the availability of the participant. The interviews with child participants were conducted during recess, center play, small-group activity, or playground time in the extra activity room, library, or outdoor space. This helped reduce distraction from the rest of the ongoing class. Each interview was audio-recorded and later transcribed.

In the interviews, the first thing emphasized to the children was that their participation was entirely voluntary and that they had the right to discontinue the interview at any time. The aims and purpose of the interview were relayed to them as

well as the anticipated duration of the interview. After that, formal interviews were continued with semi-structured, open-ended questions. Further interview questions for formal interviews were, based on the children's responses, modified and formed in the interview context (Hatch, 1990).

Each group interviewed consisted of two or three children. Having more than one was intended to make participants more relaxed and helpful to one another (Graue & Walsh, 1998). Each interview lasted approximately 10-15 minutes. To initiate discussions in the interviews and sustain the children's attention more easily, a photo[41] was displayed on a kindergarten webpage at the start showing the large-group English lesson.

Questions in the interview concerned their English learning in the classroom (See Appendix A, "Interview protocol for children"). Interview questions, which were elaborated based on my field work, were prepared in advance, but the majority of the questions were modified either temporally or content-wise depending on each interview situation. The order of the prepared questions was sometimes changed or additional questions or explanations were added in order to clarify questions. Questions were mixed with direct questions, hypothetical situations, and some asked in third-person. This was to liberate the child participants from searching for a right answer and to make the questions seem less threatening (Graue & Walsh, 1998).

[41] The photo was used as a prompt to facilitate the child interviewees' thoughts while avoiding bias, as Hatch (1990) recommended.

During the formal interviews with children, special attention was given to the emotional and psychological states of the child participants. Responses and the posing of certain questions were carefully adapted to the circumstances in order to maintain a controlled response (Hatch, 1998). A total of six groups were interviewed: (a) two group interviews in a triad with the child participants of Red Class; and (b) four group interviews in a pair or triad with those of Green Class. Two interview groups showed signs of distress at the end of their interviews, which were immediately discontinued and participants taken back to the class. The remaining two questions for the two groups were later informally asked during the free play time or recess when the children returned to an emotionally stable state.

Interviews with adult participants. ECE teachers, English language instructors, and kindergarten directors were asked to participate in one or two formal interviews. Two interviews with each classroom teacher were conducted at the beginning and at the end stages of my fieldwork. One interview with each English instructor was held, depending on their schedules, between the middle and the end stages; a total of five interviews with the English instructors were conducted, all in the participants' native languages. Thus, only one interview, with Mr. Daniel, was conducted in English. The interviews were audio-recorded and later transcribed. Each interview (except with Mr. Daniel) was conducted in either a classroom, a library, or in the extra-activity room after regular class hours with interviews lasting approximately 30-60 minutes. The interview with Mr. Daniel was conducted at a coffee shop on a weekday morning. The two

kindergarten directors were individually interviewed during class hours. The location of the interview was set up depending on the participants' schedules and situations.

For the interviews, the researcher prepared a list of issues to be covered along with semi-structured questions regarding the pedagogical practices relative to English education (e.g., would you tell me about your English lesson in Red Class?, see Appendix B. "Interview protocol for adults"). To make the interviews a reflexive proceeding, participants were allowed to answer the questions in such a way that created a flow that seemed most natural to them. Follow-up questions were administered based on the participants' responses.

Informal interviews and talks. Added to the data were informal conversations deemed relevant. When necessary, informal questions were asked during class time to obtain responses or interpretations related to the aims of this research. To avoid disruption of normal classroom activity, informal questions and talk were normally performed at recess or center playtime. Before or after the class hours was when classroom teachers, English instructors, or kindergarten directors answered questions about study-related issues. For example, discussions about the logistics of planning group interviews determined which children would be interviewed together, the time at which the interviews would take place, and the location. Notes from these conversations were included in my field notes during or after the actual informal conversations.

Questionnaire for Parents

So that I could better understand my child participants' English experience, I sent a questionnaire to parent participants at the end stage of the fieldwork. The main topic of the questionnaire was about their child's English experience in the kindergarten. Parent participants might have spent 20-30 minutes in filling out the questionnaire. The questionnaire contained questions that had been modified, elaborated, and added based on the fieldwork at each research site (see Appendix C. "Questionnaire for parents").

Document and Artifact Collection

Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) stated that documents can offer information about the research settings or their wider contexts along with information that is sometimes unavailable from other sources (e.g., observations). Artifacts can help understand many social phenomena or relationships which are crystallized within the artifacts. Accordingly I gathered such documents as kindergarten brochures, weekly letters, materials for parent conferences, and curriculum sheets, samples of children's art work or writing and digital information via the internet related to the operation of the kindergarten, class, and English lessons. Occasionally, non-paper objects were photographed with a digital camera and children's drawing or writing samples were copied, scanned, or photographed. Collected data were chronologically organized into file folders.

Data Analysis

Data analysis begins during fieldwork as the researcher expands the raw data and records analytic insights throughout the period of data collection and that more intensive data analysis starts at the formal conclusion of the fieldwork (Glesne, 2005; Graue & Walsh, 1998; Wolcott, 1994). As described in the research methods of this study, the sources of data were class participant observations, interviews and informal conversations with children, ECE teachers, English instructors, and other members; collections of documents and artifacts; and questionnaires from parents. This section consists of three parts: expansion of data, data analysis, and translation.

Expansion of Data

Expansion of data was done at the conclusion of fieldwork each day and every weekend. A reflective journal was kept to document each day of field work. In this journal, personal reflections regarding the data-collecting method (e.g., experiences, problems, suggestions for the next step), data analysis (e.g., emerging themes, interpretations), ethical issues, and relationships with the participants were included.

Field notes contained two kinds of records: descriptive notes that included the setting, participants, events, acts, and gestures and self-reflective notes which included speculation, feelings, ideas, impression, hunches, and interpretations which occurred immediately following the descriptive notes (Glesne, 2005). At the conclusion of fieldwork each day, field notes taken during school hours were expanded upon using a

word processing program. During this time of revising and expanding of field notes, the researcher kept in mind and included in the notes the nine major dimensions of social situations suggested by Spradley (1980, p. 78) that included "space, actor, activity (a set of related acts), object, act (single actions), event, time, goal, and feeling." The initial thoughts regarding observations were also preserved in the field notes. Notes were reexamined and conceptualized further by considering theoretical ideas, social, cultural or historical issues pertaining to the situations presented in the classroom, other research findings, and personal experiences.

Given the time-consuming nature of transcribing audio-records, rough transcriptions were initially made giving the basic outline of the interview and further details were added later. Descriptions of informal interviews and talks with participants were filed. These descriptions included informal interviews and talks that took place outside participant classroom observations (e.g., conversations with the classroom teacher right after the class and while helping the teachers with the next day's preparation). Informal interviews and talks within my classroom observations were recorded in my field notes. Classroom documents and other related artifacts were collected, copied, scanned, or printed. The data records were chronologically arranged. In addition, completed questionnaires by parents were copied and filed.

Through the expansion of data, the data record for the next analysis were made: class-observational field notes, transcripts of the interview audio records, descriptions of informal interviews and talks with the participants, collections of documents and

artifacts, questionnaires from the parent participants, and the researcher's reflective journals.

Intensive Data Analysis

Data analysis proceeded simultaneously with data collection. However, more intensive data analysis began after the formal conclusion of fieldwork and continued until the preparation of the final document of this study. By following Strauss and Corbin (1998), inductive analysis of the expanded data was carried out in order to find categories, patterns, or themes in the data. First, the data were thoroughly reviewed several times and key pieces were noted with all possible codes. Through this process, "internal codes"[42] (Graue & Walsh, 1998) such as "children's interests", "children's finishing tasks", and "teachers' caring" were developed, which helped in making sense of what was going on in the research settings through the reading. Important issues (e.g., sociocultural origin, social interactions) derived from the theoretical framework (i.e., sociocultural theory) of the study were considered as possible codes, which were "external codes" (Graue & Walsh, 1998) such as "ideological images of English" and "shared thought". The theoretical framework guided me to examine how pedagogical practices and perceptions are influenced by the larger culture (e.g., societal discourse that surround pedagogical practices), as well as immediate classroom environment; and

[42] Graue and Walsh (1998, p.163) point out, "These (external and internal codes) are not independent entities in most research, but thinking about them as slightly different helps me look as how theory and fieldwork inform each other."

to contemplate how adults and children interact and what kinds of roles each individual or group of research participants has.

The data were then categorized by using the internal and external codes; the initial coded data were read again. After repeating this process several times, a coding system was set up to code the data. When new categories, patterns, or themes were emerged, previously coded data were reviewed again to examine whether they included any cases related to the new ones. The researcher carefully considered discrepant cases that failed to fit into the dominant, identified categories, patterns, or themes. Far from linear, these processes involved much going back and forth between the data and the coding system.

Finally, constant comparisons between EFL education in one kindergarten class and that in another kindergarten class were done to discern similarities, differences, and connections between two classes. In addition, constant comparisons among the members of each kindergarten were made.

During the whole data analysis process, I repeatedly questioned how the theoretical frameworks of this study would influence on comprehension of the data. I critically reflected on how my experiences, predispositions, and beliefs were implicated in the analyses and interpretations of this study. I continuously tried to understand the local and particular English education implemented at the two research sites within larger social, educational, or historical contexts. This was similar to Kincheloe and McLaren's (2000, p. 287) description, "a critical hermeneutics brings the concrete, the

parts, and the particular into focus, but in a manner that grounds them contextually in a larger understanding of the social forces, the whole, and the abstract (the general)."

Translation

The focus of this study was on the pedagogical practices relative to English education in two kindergarten classes. English was normally taught in English lessons. Except for English lessons, the Korean language was mostly used in everyday kindergarten life. Korean was the native language of the research participants and that of the researcher. Thus, field notes were mainly taken in Korean, except the English lessons and English-spoken interactions within the lessons. The interviews with the research participants were mostly carried out in Korean, with the exception of the interviews conducted with the native English-speaking instructor. In the expansion of data, the language that was used while collecting raw data (e.g., field notes, audio-tapes) was also used.

In the write-up phase, the units of the data being used as excerpts in the final report were decided. The selected units were first translated from Korean into English by the researcher. In order to differentiate original English oral accounts recorded in the fieldwork from the translated English sentences, the original English accounts were italicized. Then, an English-Korean bilingual adult read both the Korean and the English versions of the selected data and discussed the translation with the researcher. If both the reviewer and the researcher agreed on the revision work of particular translated

segments, the segments were again modified by the reviewer and re-reviewed by the researcher. In this process, it was carefully considered whether the translated data were comprehensible with no distortion of meaning. In the final stage of translation, the translated segments of data were read by a native English speaker to see if they were understandable to English speakers.

Trustworthiness and Ethics

As an analog to the combination of validity and reliability in the quantitative research, Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested "trustworthiness" in qualitative research. According to Lincoln and Guba, trustworthiness can be addressed by utilizing several methods: prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation, peer debriefing, negative case analysis, and member checking. However, the issue of validity and reliability (or trustworthiness) may not be exactly applicable in this study, because it is based on different ontologies from mine (Banfield, 2004; Guba &Lincoln, 1994;). As stated earlier, in my research paradigm, the nature of reality means virtual realities shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gender values and are often crystallized over time (Lincolon & Guba, 2000). In the following, I present more about the issues of trustworthiness and ethics.

Trustworthiness

M. Gergen and K. Gergen (2000) argued that we confront "a crisis of validity", citing Denzin and Lincoln's (1994) question, "How are qualitative studies to be evaluated in the poststructural moment?" (cited in M. Gergen & K. Gergen, 2000, p.1026). As emerging innovations in methodology replace traditional efforts to discover the truth, M. Gergen and K. Gergen examined some significant means such as reflexivity, multiple voicing, and literary representation. Although extended controversies about validity have prevailed in research methodology (Banfield, 2004; Denzin, 2010; Lincoln & Guba, 2000), some strategies from Lincoln and Guba (1985) were utilized in this study to search for a better understanding of the virtual realities surrounding English education in private kindergartens in Korea.

First, the triangulation of data collection methods and of data sources (Denzin, 1978, cited in Lincoln & Guba, 1985) was used: (a) multiple data collection methods (i.e., observations, interviews, document and artifact collections, and a questionnaire); and (b) multiple data sources (i.e., ECE teachers, English instructors, children, directors, and parents). In the data analysis process, I triangulated multiple methods and data sources in order to acquire "added depth to the description of the social meanings involved in a setting" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 183) and to capture multiple perspectives and interpretations, rather than to search for a single convergence.

Second, throughout the process of this study, I critically pondered my own reflexivity. M. Gergen and K. Gergen (2000, p.1028) stated that researchers who stress

reflexivity refute the "God's-eye-view" and acknowledge their works as historically, socially, culturally, and personally situated. During the field work, I had critically reflected on my background, experiences, predispositions, and beliefs that might tacitly influence this study through keeping a research journal. In the write-up process, I tried to describe these elements to disclose to readers my positions

Ethics

The main ethical issue the researcher had to consider at the research sites was asymmetrical power between the child participants and the adult researcher, a fact associated with fundamental differences between the child and the adult (Damon, 1983, cited in Hatch 1990). The child is generally considered vulnerable, incompetent, and powerless beings in research field, but some scholars (e.g., Morrow & Richards, 1996) have argued that away from that point, children need to be seen as social actors who possess competencies different from adults.

Although controversy surrounds the competency of the child, this study continuously considered the issues, such as the adult researcher power, differences between the child and the adult, and possible unique challenges of doing research with child participants. Davis (1998, p. 328) described that "the power of adults can be reduced by employing a variety of research techniques which allow children to feel a part of the research process." Accordingly, certain interview techniques (e.g., using proper props in the interviews with child participants) were employed.

In addition, the child participants' choices over their participation and withdrawal were emphasized as an essential part in this study to protect their rights and reduce possible risk such as emotional stress (Thomas & O'Kane, 1998). Because obtaining informed consent for participation of children is via the adults (parents), not via the child participants (Punch, 2002), the child participants were asked again about their voluntary participation in the interview and the whole interview length and the number of interview questions for the child participants were adjusted slightly depending on each group of children's responses.

Other ethical issue considered in this study involved the confidentiality of research participants. To protect their confidentiality, any information obtained in connection with this study was used only for this study and restricted to those who were related to the study (e.g., dissertation committees). All records have been stored securely and kept private. Pseudonyms have been used to protect the research participants' identities from outsiders. All publications will exclude any information that would make it possible to identify participants.

CHAPTER FOUR

Findings

This chapter presents the study's findings, offering those that constitute the salient themes of the study. In some cases, I include minute or incongruent themes that could be significant in understanding the research topic, English education in private kindergartens in Korea. In the study, the research questions were: (a) What are the pedagogical practices relative to English education in two particular private kindergarten classes in Korea? and (b) How do the members of the two classes (i.e., the children, ECE teachers, and English language instructors) perceive the language, language teaching and learning, and the pedagogical practices?

I divide this chapter into three sections: (a) Red Class at Rose Kindergarten; (b) Green Class at Pine Kindergarten; and (c) comparisons and discussions. In each section, I delineate findings surrounding the two research questions. Throughout this chapter, I hope to draw as holistic and detailed a picture as possible.

Research Site 1: Red Class at Rose Kindergarten

Red Class was for 5-year-olds,[43] at Rose Kindergarten, a private kindergarten located in the JIN school district of Seoul, Korea. Red class consisted of 23 children[44], aged five to six, and an ECE teacher, Miss Kang. Several part-time or full-time extra-

[43] This classification is made by children's ages at the beginning of the academic year.
[44] One boy was transferred in the middle of this study, so there were 24 children from that time to the end.

activity instructors (e.g., English language instructor, physical education instructor) led extra-curricular activities for the children of Red Class during regular kindergarten hours (see more in Chapter 3).

Red Class: Pedagogical Practices relative to English Education

This section deals with the first research question, pedagogical practices in Red classrooms in relation to English education. As for the pedagogical practices in Red Class, six themes emerged: (a) considerable focus on English education; (b) systematic or unsystematic repetitions in English lessons; (c) English instructors' caring for the learners; (d) children's caring about English lessons; (e) children's uses of English words or expressions; and (f) ECE teacher's caring about English education.

Considerable focus on English education. For English education, an extended amount of time was assigned to English lessons every day during the regular kindergarten hours in Red Class. Over 70 % of the total English lessons were given as a half-group activity. When we looked at the time duration, frequency, and group-size of the English lessons, considerable attention seemed to be given to English education. These operational characteristics were decided not at the classroom level but at the kindergarten level. In what follows, I describe the theme further along with three subsections: (a) extended amount of time given for English lessons, (b) smaller group-sized English lessons, and (c) English lessons as a "multi-cultural activity."

Extended amount of time given for English lessons. Red Class was in session from 9:00 A.M. to 2:30 P.M., Monday through Friday. According to the director of Rose Kindergarten, its classroom hours were 30 minutes longer than those of other kindergartens, due to the extended time given to English lessons (RK_Interveiw_ Director_0609). English lessons in Red Class were administered nine times per week (see table 3), barring any special event or field trip. Each lesson lasted for 25 to 30 minutes and was operated by one of three English language instructors.

The children of Red Class met two English language instructors from Tuesday to Friday and one instructor on Mondays. One English session was given on Mondays and two on Tuesdays through Fridays. On average, the children of Red Class were given 47 minutes of English lessons per day. English lessons were also given to four other classrooms in Rose Kindergarten, so the daily class schedule for English in the kindergarten was fixed each semester. Depending on special events throughout the school year, the English lessons could be modified, either rescheduled or cancelled. However, the English lessons of Red Class mostly operated according to the original set schedule and no cancellations or rescheduling were made during the fieldwork. The following table is made based on both classroom observations and the planned schedule for the Red Class.

Table 3

Weekly Schedules of English Lessons at Red Class

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
English lesson 1	Mrs. Anna G1(13:25-13:50) G2 (13:50-14:15)	Mrs. Ivy * (9:50-10:20)	Mrs. Anna G1(10:30-10:55) G2(10:55-11:20)	Mrs. Ivy * (9:50-10:20)	Mrs. Anna G1(11:50-12:15) G2(12:15-12:40)
English Lesson 2		Mrs. Anna G1(11:00-11:25) G2(11:25-11:50)	Non-participant NSE instructor G2(10:30-10:55) G1(10:55-11:20)	Mrs. Anna G1(11:00-11:25) G2(11:25-11:50)	Non-participant NSE instructor G2(11:50-12:15) G1(12:15-12:40)
Total	25 min.	55 min.	50 min.	55 min.	50 min.

Note. Asterisk (*) refers to whole-group activity; G1or G2 means a half-group; NSE refers to native speaker of English.

Based on the reported results of existing studies (H. Jun, 2009; S.H. Kim, 2008), Red Class focused more on English education than did other private kindergartens in terms of the frequency and the total length of English lessons. In S.H. Kim's (2008) study of 181 private kindergartens, the average frequency of English lessons was 3.64 times per week. A lesson lasted on average for 20-25 minutes. However, in relation to their extended hours of English lessons, the director of Rose Kindergarten stated, "Even though regular kindergartens like our kindergarten extend the duration of English lesson as much as they can, those kindergartens are merely regular kindergartens [not English kindergartens]" (RK_Interview_Director_0609:4). Her statement shows that the degree

of their focus on English education was contextual and so its meaning could be added by the contexts in which Rose Kindergarten was situated[45].

Smaller group sized English lessons. In terms of activity size, Red Class seemed to emphasize English education. English lessons at Red Class were implemented 7 times half-group (1 teacher: 11-12 children) and 2 times whole-group (1 teacher: 23 children) teacher-directed activities. When the English lessons were operated as half-group activities, Red Class divided into two groups[46], group 1 (G1) and group 2 (G2). For example, the children of G1 had an English lesson with Mrs. Anna in an extra-activity room, while those of G2 had an English lesson with the native English speaking instructor (non-participant) or an activity with Miss Kang, the ECE teacher of Red Class (see more table 3).

The half-group size English lessons at Red Class differed somewhat from the major reported results (S.H. Kim, 2008; H. Park et al., 1997; Yang et al., 2001a). S.H. Kim (2008) pointed out that English language instructors usually utilized large group activities teaching the whole class per session; and sometimes the large group activity included individual activities mainly focusing on worksheets or workbooks. The fact that over 70 percent of the English lessons were given as half-group activities in Red Class suggests that Rose Kindergarten might be situated in a specific context and the

[45] More in-depth interpretation will be added in the comparison section.
[46] According to Mrs. Anna, an English language instructor of Red Class, two groups were firstly divided by the children's English levels. Later, the two groups were rebuilt as mixed level groups.

director alone or kindergarten members together (e.g., director, ECE teacher, English instructors) might mull over the activity size due to that context.

English lessons as a "multi-cultural activity". In Red Class, English lessons were denoted as "multi-culture activities" and that was reflected in the daily and weekly lesson plans and the classroom schedule chart.[47] That might be associated with educational policies regarding "multi-cultural education" (see W. Jun, 2009) brought about by an influx of multi-cultural families in Korean society (S.C Park, February 2, 2010). English was not only a foreign language to be taught in Red Class. Chinese instructor also regularly visited (one or twice per month) Rose kindergarten and gave kindergarteners activities regarding China, Chinese language, and their culture and custom. However, it might also reflect a precautionary move that keeps in mind the Korean Education ministry's prohibition of English education. Since Rose Kindergarten was located in the JIN school district, all kindergarten documents would be inspected by a school commissioner of the school district office.

Systematic or unsystematic repetitions in English lessons. Mrs. Anna's English lessons were based on a particular pre-developed English program, whereas Mrs. Ivy's lessons consisted of the contents related to daily living themes such as the weather, seasons, and animals, and they were selected and organized by the English instructor, Mrs. Ivy. However, repetitions of target contents, either in a systematic or unsystematic way, were shown in both English lessons. This theme is presented in

[47] The classroom schedule chart was used in large-group conversation regarding each day's schedule.

association with (a) systemic repetitions through pre-set educational materials and (b) unsystematic repetitions through familiar themes.

Systematic repetitions through pre-set educational materials. The majority of the English lessons by Mrs. Anna, who was a native Korean speaker and a full-time English language instructor working for Red Class and other classes of Rose Kindergarten, were based on the C program. The program was developed by a private English language institute of Korea and used in private kindergartens like Rose Kindergarten. The use of a particular English program has been reported a typical characteristic found in English education in private Korean kindergartens (M-J. Kang & Choi, 2010; S.H. Kim, 2008; H. Park et al., 1997; Yang et al, 2001).

The program consisted of phonics readers, phonics books, musical book CDs, interactive CD-ROMs, and flash cards; Red Class, and others at Rose Kindergarten, had adopted the program the first semester of 2011. Two English language instructors[48], Mrs. Anna and male native English speaking instructor (non-participant), used the C Program in their lessons. The male instructor ran his English lessons using flash cards and storybooks via the C program (story-based lesson), whereas the English lessons by Mrs. Anna utilized the other aforementioned components.

Although the C program was not especially developed for Red Class or otherwise modified for it, the contents, educational materials, and instructional methods utilized in Mrs. Anna's class appeared to be relatively suitable for the children. Mrs.

[48] The two instructors were affiliated with the program company.

Anna's typical English lessons embraced the instruction of big or small letters of the English alphabet, their sounds, words started with a particular letter (e.g., lemon, lion, leaf), sentences made with those words (e.g., Lemon lion wears a lemon hat.), and chants or songs using the sentences (e.g., Lemon lion, lemon lion. Lemon lion wears a lemon hat.); the words and sentences taught in her lessons were interconnected with the flash cards and storybook lessons used in the sessions led by the male English language instructor. The following excerpt is taken from Mrs. Anna's English lessons.

> Mrs. Anna: *Let's read one more time. "Gorillas chew gum."*
> Class: *"Gorillas chew gum."*
> Mrs. Anna: *"Gorillas play the game."*
> Class: *"Gorillas play the game."*
> Mrs. Anna: *Gorillas? Why is there an "s"?* Look at the picture carefully.
> Minjee: There are two.
> Mrs. Anna: *Ding-dong.* Hunsu, *could you read the instruction?*
> Hunsu: *"Listen, find, and circle."*
> Mrs. Anna: *Perfect! I am proud of you. "Listen, find, and circle."*
> (RK_RC_Observation_0511:4)

Instructional methods utilized in Mrs. Anna's lessons included listening and following, singing songs, chanting, doing games, drilling, (e.g., repeating a sentence several times), workbook exercises, and so on. During the fieldwork, her lessons included a musical[49] script and song and a Chroma-key[50] activity. The main educational materials used to supplement her lessons were Multimedia CDs, which included a combination of text, audio, still images, animation, video, or interactivity content forms.

[49] According to Mrs. Anna, one or two English musicals were taught per semester.
[50] Chroma key compositing, or Chroma keying, is a special effects/postproduction technique for compositing (layering) two images or video streams together, used heavily in many fields to remove a background from the subject of a photo or video.

Additionally, after her whole group English lesson, the phonics books were also used for individual activities. In particular, the multimedia CDs seemed to be very attractive to the English learners, since they could interact with touch-screens devices that played the CDs. Through all the educational materials of the C Program, systemic repetitions of target contents continued in Mrs. Anna's English lessons.

Unsystematic repetitions through familiar themes. To introduce vocabulary and sentence construction, English lessons offered by the other English instructor Mrs. Ivy, were associated with familiar themes to young children such as weather, seasons, animals, house, and clothing. Mrs. Ivy did not adopt a single program in her English lessons. Rather, the contents of her lessons were a compilation of activities, educational materials, and strategies she had gathered throughout her working and teaching experience. Mrs. Ivy, in selecting activities, educational materials, and instructional methods, seemed mindful of the levels of her students' understandings. Noticeable in Mrs. Ivy's English lessons were her bags, which she brought every time.

> Mrs. Ivy: …Regardless of the contents of English lessons, the bags are used to pack my educational materials quickly when I move from one classroom to another. For children, in fact, I have to have many kinds of visual materials to keep them focused during the class. Since I bring many materials as possible as I can, I need to use several bags. Usual educational materials that I bring every time are those related to weather, date, or time.
>
> (RK_RC_Interview_Ivy_0623:1)

This shows that various educational materials were prepared and illustrates how those materials were considered in her English lessons. Mrs. Ivy frequently used flash cards,

pictures, storybooks, props (e.g., clock, doll), and song or chant audio CDs as educational materials; these were mostly her own creations or collections. Various instructional methods such as song, chants, games, and quizzes were used to teach English words and expressions in her class. According to Mrs. Ivy, her planned lessons were sometimes modified and additional activities were improvised depending on the situation.

> Mrs. Ivy: The English lesson contents are different for each age group or class. Each bag is used for each age group (3-, 4-, 5-, 6-year-old classes) and the fifth bag is a *spare*. If there is a remaining time after finishing the planned activities or if children already know well about the planned contents, then I improvise activities using the materials in the *spare* bag.
>
> (RK_RC_Interview_Ivy_0623:1)

As a means of consolidating the new lessons, the English vocabulary, sentences, and songs taught in Mrs. Ivy's previous lessons were frequently repeated and reviewed in later lessons. In addition, grammatical explanations stated in Korea were sometimes added to help students' understanding. The following table briefly shows the contents of all English lessons that were observed in the field. This table provides a snapshot of the content involved in the English lessons of only two English language instructors in Red Class. Therefore, the table has to be understood within the whole classroom contexts, rather than being used as an exclusive.

Table 4

Contents of English Lessons Observed in Red Class

Dates	English instructor	Group [51]	Contents
May 6	Mrs. Anna	G1	P phonics (pizza, pig, pants) G phonics(gorilla, game)
May11	Mrs. Anna	G1	G phonics(game, gorilla, gate, gum, green, grape, goose)
		G2	G phonics (gorilla, game, gum)
May 18	Mrs. Anna	G1	F phonics (fish, fork, fire) M phonics (monster, milk, monkey, mitten)
		G2	F phonics (fish) M phonics (monster, milk, mitten)
May24	Mrs. Anna	GA	Practice for Chroma-Key Recording (airport-immigration)
	Mrs. Ivy	WG	Weather, days, clothing,
May 25	Mrs. Anna & ** NSE	GB	Chroma-Key Recording (airport-immigration)
May31	Mrs. Ivy	WG	Weather, things in the house,
	Mrs. Anna	G1	Phonics (lemon, lion, leaf)
June 9	Mrs. Ivy	WG	Weather, days, opposite adjective & adverb
	Mrs. Anna	G1	Phonics(L), practice musical songs
		G2	Practice musical songs and their parts
June 10	Mrs. Anna	G2	Phonics workbook
		G1	Phonics workbook, introduce phonics (E)
June16	Mrs. Ivy	WG	Weather, seasons, transportation& direction
June 21	Mrs. Ivy	WG	Weather, days, seasons, favorite seasons and reasons, direction, clock and hours
June29	Mrs. Anna	G2*	Practice musical
		G1*	Game, practice musical
July 4	Mrs. Anna	G2*	Phonics(o), practice musical
		G1*	Phonics(o), practice musical
July 7	Mrs. Ivy	WG	Weather, days, clock and hours, storybook (I am-- & animals)

Note. G1& G2/ G1*&G2*/ GA& GB_ Half-groups (1teacher:11-12 children)
WG_whole-group (1teacher: 23-24 children)
**NSE refers to the native speaker of English instructor for the Red Class; he is a non-participant.

[51] One half-group consists of 11 or 12 children. The child participants of each group were as follows: G1_ Hunsu, Minjee, Sonjae, G2_ Daheun, Pongu, Jungho / G1*_ Minjee, Hunsu, Pongu, Jungho, G2*_Daheun, Sonjae / GA_ Daheun, GB_ Minjee, Sonjae, Pongu, Hunsu, Jungho.

The repetitions observed in both English classes appeared to be not for learners' rote memorization, but for consolidation of their learning. This theme diverges from S. H. Kim's (2010) study. In her study, Korean speaking English instructors tended to precede their English lessons very fast, as focusing on pronunciation and phonics by rote repetitions. The fact that relatively longer hours were assigned to English lessons of Red Class may contribute to the repetitions of target English vocabulary, grammar, or expressions.

English instructors' caring for the learners. Participating in this study was two of the three English language instructors: Mrs. Anna and Mrs. Ivy. They were both Koreans. Mrs. Ivy was the much more experienced English language instructor than Mrs. Anna. Their contents, methods, and materials differed from each other. However, both instructors seemed to care for the leaners and about their progress in English learning. In this section, I describe this theme along with the following: (a) providing chances to individual children, (b) calling the children's names, and (c) caring about their progress.

Providing chances to individual children. In the English lessons, both English instructors often asked questions to the whole-group children of their lessons and so all, many, or some of the children would answer in unison. Because both English lessons were operated as teacher-directed ones, English instructor's questions and the children's responses occupied a large portion of the lessons. Nevertheless, Mrs. Anna would also

provide individual children the opportunities of individual work during her half-group English lessons. In Mrs. Ivy's whole-group English lessons, individual works were frequently assigned to children. The following two excerpts show each English instructor's interactions with the whole group of children and individual children.

> (In the half-group lesson, Mrs. Anna gives individual children chances to touch TV screen and then repeat English words/sentences after the screen shown.)
> Mrs. Anna: *Let's say all together.*
> Class: (in unison) *"Ox plays on the …"*
> Mrs. Anna: Jungho, *could you follow me?*
> (Mrs. Anna speaks a sentence word by word. Jungho repeats after her words in a soft voice) (RK_RC_Observation_0704:3)

> (In the whole-group lesson, Mrs. Ivy talks with the Red Class about things that can be used in everyday life such as a towel, dish, and toothbrush.)
> Mrs. Ivy: *Where can you find the towel?*
> Sonjae: *I can find the towel in the bathroom.*
> (…)
> Mrs. Ivy: *Good job. What is this?*
> Class: *Dish*, dish.
> Mrs. Ivy: *Where can you find the dish? Daheun, can you try?*
> Daheun: (shakes head)
> Mrs. Ivy: I will help you. *In the kitchen.*
> Daheun: *In the kitchen.*
> Mrs. Ivy: *Good.* Someone who is not raising their hands try this time.
> (RK_RC Observation_0609:4-5)

These interactions demonstrate the two English instructors "efforts to give opportunities" in their teacher-directed group English lessons. Most of time, Daheun and Jungho tended to be passive, rarely raising their hands. However, they were also given some opportunities to respond individually during the whole-group lesson or the half-group lessons.

Calling the children by name. Communicating with the children using either their real name or English nickname during the English lessons seemed to play an important role in making the English lessons more personalized and meaningful to those children. As shown above, Mrs. Anna would address the children either by their Korean name or English nickname while Mrs. Ivy would use Korean names only during their English lessons. Both English instructors seemed to know most of the names of Red Class children; in her interview, Mrs. Anna stated that she knew them all and Mrs. Ivy said she knew most.

When an ECE teacher teaches English to her or his students, it would be quite common to call children by their names. However, considering the result of the existing studies that English is mainly taught by a part-time English instructor or instructors who simultaneously teach English at several other kindergartens (Yang et al., 2001a; S.H. Kim, 2008), the fact that the two English instructors only taught English in Rose Kindergarten and so they could address the children by their names can be interpreted rather differently. S.H. Kim (2008) pointed out the problematic situation of native English-speaking instructors usually asking questions to a whole group of children without knowing their names and characteristics. Although she did not exactly indicate this situation in relation to Korean English language instructors, it would not be distinctive of only native English-speaking instructors.

Caring about their progress. The two English instructors, Mrs. Anna and Mrs. Ivy, not only provided English lessons to the children of Red Class, but also seemed to

care about their progress in English learning. Mrs. Ivy would often use Korean as a means to reinforce and make clear her explanations about grammatical points in her English lessons.

> (In Mrs. Ivy's English lesson, Mrs. Ivy ask questions to the whole group of children while showing pictures)
> Mrs. Ivy: (showing a picture of a boy) *What is he wearing?*
> Class: *T-shirt and pants and socks.*
> Mrs. Ivy: [In Korean] I told you the other day. You don't need to repeat *and*. Let's do it again.
> Class & Mrs. Ivy: *He wears t-shirt, pants, and socks*.
> (RK_RC_Observation_0524:6)

Mrs. Ivy would repeat grammatical explanations and English expressions or sentences that were taught in past English lessons but looked to be incompletely grasped by the leaners. However, her repetition was not a simple reproduction but incorporated into the content of new English lessons. In addition, either intentionally or unintentionally, Mrs. Ivy seemed to build comfortable classroom environment for the learners so as to speak English words or expressions without fear/anxiety or at least with less fear/anxiety. The below excerpt shows the interactions between Mrs. Ivy and the Red Class that helped build a caring class environment. As a result, this class environment seemed to contribute to the learners' progress of English learning.

> Mrs. Ivy: *Why do you like spring*, Minjee?
> Minjee: *I like every season*… (She seems to want to say more).
> Mrs. Ivy: (to the class) Please, wait for her to finish.
> Minjee: *I see flower in spring.*
> Mrs. Ivy: The reason that Minjee likes *spring*…
> *She likes spring. She can see flowers.*
> Season. Why do you like it? (RK_RC_Observation_0621:3)

The other English instructor, Mrs. Anna seemed also care about the learners' progress. As displayed above ("*Providing chances to individual children")*, Mrs. Anna gave chances of individual work to individual children including such a child as Jungho, who tended to be passive. Mrs. Anna would have a more competent child assist a less competent one with finishing his or her individual work in the workbook. According to Mrs. Anna, the situation like the excerpt below was related to not having an assistant in her English class. She stated, "I have no assistant in my class. If I did, that would be good… I cannot assign much time to helping individual children do workbooks… Until now, I have not found any unfavorable side effects" (RK_RC_Interview_Anna _0610:7). In the following, Mrs. Anna asks more competent children to help their friends.

> (After a half-group teacher-directed English lesson, Mrs. Anna has the children start working on the workbook and finds partners for the children who might need some help)
> Mrs. Anna: (to a child) Please help Jungho. *Could you help Jungho?*
> Mrs. Anna: Pongu, please help Daheun.
>
> (RK_RC_Observation_0610:4)

Such scenes as this seem to reflect Mrs. Anna's caring about the learners' progress. Although both English language instructors' caring for the learners and about their progress was salient in their English lessons, their caring may not denote their one-sided actions only for the learners. It may be entangled with the relationships within Red Class, those with outside the classroom members (e.g., parents, director), inside and outside systems or contexts, and larger contexts. This theme, however, seems to be

rarely reported in existing studies such as those of H. Jun (2009), S.H. Kim (2010), and Seo et al. (2009). In S.H. Kim's (2010) studies, it was reported that English was mainly taught at high speed with little regard for the learners' progress or participation. Seo and her associates (2009) illustrated that one of early childhood teachers' conflicts on English education was stemmed from English instructors' lack of knowledge, strategies, and passion for teaching.

Children's caring about English lessons and learning. All six child participants[52] seemed to care about English lessons and learning, although they were different in terms of the degree of their participation, the level of their English proficiency, and the types of their responses to the English instructions. In this section, I explain this theme in association with (a) expressions about their interests in English lesson, (b) serious participation[53] in English lessons, and (c) Jungho's noticeable changes in learning English.

Expressions about their interests in English lessons. Some of the children would sometimes express their interest in English lessons by asking Miss Kang or an English instructor about them. In particular, Hunsu and Pongu seemed eager and would anticipate the arrival of the day's English instructor and ask questions regarding the day's lesson, or who the day's instructor would be.

[52] As described in Chapter 3, the child participants of Red Class were only six children whose parents agreed on their child's participation in this study: two girls (Daheun and Minjee) and four boys (Hyunsu, Sonjae, Pongu, and Jungho).

[53] Serious participation in English lessons was not limited to these three children, Daheun, Minjee, and Jungho. Also, other children, Hunsu, Pongu, and Sonjae were usually participating in the lessons with serious and excited attitudes

Hunsu: (to Mrs. Ivy who is pulling out educational materials from her bag) What are we learning today? (RK_RC_Observation_0609:1)

Pongu: (to the ECE teacher of Red Class, Miss Kang) Isn't Mrs. Ivy coming today? (RK_RC_Observation_0621:1)

In the above, Hunsu and Pongu seemed to wait for Mrs. Ivy's English lessons and to expect something good from the lessons. Below, Hunsu, Pongu, and Sonjae seem to express interest in English learning and a desire for involvement and study.

Hunsu: (Almost at the end of Mrs. Anna's English lesson) I want to do more. (RK_RC_Observation_0531:8)

Pongu: (As watching other friends who get chances to interact with the video material during Mrs. Anna's lesson) I want to do it too. (RK_RC_Observation_0610:5)

Hunsu & Sonjae: (After singing the title song of musical all together, to Mrs. Anna) We will do it again. Please, turn on the music. (RK_RC_Observation_0609:7)

Such interest in English and learning might be in line with the studies such as H. Park et al.'s (1997) and Yang et al.'s (2001a). In these studies, many ECE teachers answered that their students or children were interested in the English lessons. Conversely, in S. H. Kim's (2010) study, the most frequent answer regarding their students' interests was that one half of one class has interest but the other half has no interest. In addition, in their study on the relationships between English instruction and children's' responses, S.H. Kim and Lee (2008) reported that children would refuse in various ways to respond to their English instructor, particularly to a native English-speaking instructor. In these studies, children's responses to lessons were estimated by

adults such as ECE teachers and not understood in contexts. However, the above utterances were captured from child members of Red Class who were co-constructing the pedagogical practices. These utterances appeared to reflect their positive experiences in English lessons provided by Mrs. Anna or Mrs. Ivy. However, they might be also understood within the broader contexts that Red Kindergarten was situated.

Serious participation in English lessons. Conversely, Minjee, Daheun, and Jungho did not speak directly of their interest or desire to learn English. However, these children also seemed to care about English lessons or English learning. Minjee tended to participate very actively in Mrs. Anna's and Mrs. Ivy's English lessons. Minjee and other children like Sonjae and Hunsu were usually the first to raise their hands.

As for Daheun, she seemed to be interested in external rewards such as stickers and gifts, whereas Hunsu and Sonjae seemed to be internal motivated to learn. The sticker-collecting strategy used by Mrs. Anna seemed to work to some extent at raising the Red Class's degree of focus on English lessons. Most of the time, Daheun seemed to seriously participate in the English lessons.

Jungho, a passive participant, also seemed care about English lessons and learning. He would neither participate in singing songs nor raise his hand during lessons. However, his distractedness observed in other settings was not observed in the English lessons. Jungho would usually watch closely the English language instructor and try to finish the assigned English workbook task of Mrs. Anna's class.

Jungho's noticeable changes in learning English. Some Korean studies have questioned the educational effects of English lessons offered in kindergartens. In Jun's (2009) study, ECE teachers were questioned along these lines. In M-J. Kang and Choi's (2010) study, many kindergarten teachers showed their dissatisfaction regarding English lessons, as questioning their students' improvement in English learning. However, the child participants of Red Class seemed to progress, though at different rates concerning the level of English understanding, the speed of English learning, and the degree of participation in English classes.

I focus here on Jungho to examine more closely his changes. Jungho, a boy, was one of six child participants in Red Class. Nearly 6 (5 years 11months) at the beginning of May, 2011, Jungho was in his first semester at Rose Kindergarten and with no prior English experience; he was a very beginner. During the fieldwork, Jungho's changes were noticeable. The changes were related to not only his English learning but also his negotiations or struggles.

Jungho changed gradually in mostly positive ways. However, his changes do not mean straight growth in learning English. Behind the noticeable changes or within the changes, there might lay complex feelings such as his stress, anxiety, conflict, ambivalence, and sense of accomplishment. The following table lays out a brief description of Jungho's changes related to English lessons.

Table 5

Jungho's Changes in English Lessons

Date	English instructors	Noticeable Jungho's behavior/attitude
May 11	Mrs. Anna	Jungho did not individually interact with Mrs. Anna, but he seemed to concentrate on the English lesson.
May 18	Mrs. Anna	Jungho wrote down missing letters in his workbook as blowing whistle [he looked pleased]. After a while, he raised his hand to show his completed work to Mrs. Anna. Jungho said "Teacher," and Mrs. Anna responded, "Well done."
May 25	Mrs. Anna & Non-participant instructor	During the Chroma-Key video recording, Jungho said to Miss Kang, "I cannot do from the beginning to the end of the task."/ In the third time trial, Jungho was able to complete the task.
June 10	Mrs. Anna	During the individual workbook time, Mrs. Anna asked him a questionJungho. He answered correctly / At the half-group lesson, he said "I also know that. Teacher, it's so easy."
July 4	Mrs. Anna	Mrs. Anna said to Jungho, "Could you follow me?" In a soft voice, he spoke word by word, following her. (Other children praised him for his progress.)
July 7	Mrs. Ivy	In the whole-group lesson, a team including Jungho stood and spoke two English sentences while looking at a flash card. Then Mrs. Ivy said to Jungho, "Can you do that by yourself?" He answered "I wouldn't do that."

The last scene, on July 7, reveals Jungho's hesitation. On the other hand, the following excerpt seems to show a combination of Jungho's hesitation, negotiation, overcoming, and accomplishment in a Chroma-key video recording activity.

> (Children from the first half-group are in line to go to the basement, to the English activity room. Chroma-key video recording for the "immigration scene" follows.)
> Miss Kang: (In louder voice toward the half-group) Please, be quiet when waiting. So, your friends can do well.

Miss Kang: (Coming to Jungho and say in soft voice) Jungho, just do it as far as you know.
(The children move to the basement and then sit on the prepared chairs. In the activity room, a large-sized blue color cloth is hanging on one side of the wall. The native English-speaking English instructor (non-participant) is sitting on a chair wearing a hat. The instructor looks like a member of the immigration staff at an airport. The video-recording starts. Minjee is the first one to record. She answers all questions asked by the NES instructor without any hesitation or mistakes.)

(...)

(The other 11 children have finished the Chroma-key recording. Now it is Jungho's turn. He is the last child in this activity. He looks very nervous.)
Jungho: (as going to the stage, he speaks to Miss Kang in a soft voice) Teacher… I don't think I can finish all the parts.
Miss Kang: Jungho, just do it as far as you can.

(RK_RC_Observation_0525:4-5)

This could be evidence of concerns brought up by Korean ECE scholars about English lessons causing side effects (e.g., stress, depression) for some children like Jungho (S. H. Kim, 2008; Woo et al., 2002). However, if we look at this excerpt with consideration of Jungho's changes over the two-and–a-half-month period (see table 5), his experience may not be interpreted in a simple or fixed way.

Children's uses of English words or expressions. In Red Classroom, the use of English went beyond the English lessons carried out by the English language instructors; they occurred in the ECE teacher's (Miss Kang) kindergarten hours (see more in below "ECE teacher's caring about English education"). The child participants' uses of English were also seen even during the regular Korean-spoken class hours including center-play, snack, or lunch. In this section, I present this theme along with (a)

use of English in the middle of Korean speech; and (b) use of English in the children's writing.

Use of English in the middle of Korean speech. In regular Korean sentences in and outside of English lessons, students frequently addressed the ECE teacher or the English instructors as "teacher." In addition, an English word was sometimes inserted in Korean utterances.

> The children of Red Class spread out and begin to free play in center-play areas, books, arts, Montessori materials, and so on. Pongu, who is participating in an activity where children rebuild the content of a poem, comes to the art table, and says to a friend, "eraser, *please***.**" He returns to his seat with an eraser and continues to do his work. (RK_RC_Observation_0525:2)

I observed Pongu make this type of spontaneous utterance five times. English expressions like "*May I go to the bathroom?*" and "*May I drink some water?*" were sometimes heard in Red Class. The English expressions that were more frequently used in the regular kindergarten hours were displayed on a wall in the classroom and changed weekly or bi-weekly by Miss Kang. Sometimes, the expressions were even reviewed shortly in Miss Kang's regular class hours. The teacher might have encouraged the use of some English expressions.

> After recess, the children of Red Class are relaxing in the classroom, washing their hands and drinking some milk. Daheun comes up to the classroom teacher and asks, *"May I go to the bathroom?"* The teacher answers, "Yes."
> (RK_RC_Observation_0524:2)

English was used here for the purpose of communication, regardless of intentional or unintentional uses. Conversely, the following excerpt shows Jungho's use of English words/sentences in an imaginary situation.

> (At the arts and crafts table of Red Class, Jungho and three other children have their lunch. After hearing a child ask, in English, the teacher permission to go to the bathroom, Jungho starts speaking to the girl next to him.)
> Jungho: I will be a *teacher*.
> (The girl next to Jungho asks, *"May I go to the bathroom?")*
> Jungho: *No*
> (She asks again, "*May I go to the bathroom?"*)
> Jungho*: No*
> (This time they change their roles. Jungho is a student this time).
> Jungho: *May I go to the bathroom?*
> (She answers, "*No."*)
> Jungho: *May I drink some water?*
> (She answers again, "*No."*)
> Jungho: (playfully) *May I go to the bathroom? May I drink some water?*
> (RK_RC_Observation_0609:11)

English usage in the children's daily speech were observed among the rather passively, rarely participating children like Daheun, Pongu, and Jungho in whom it seems the English lessons are Jungho coming to fruition. When the children were utilizing or practicing what they had learned during periods such as lunch, transit, and center-play, they seemed to comfortably use the English words or expressions in class without the fear, anxiety, or hesitation of being in a classroom setting under the eyes of an English instructor.

Use of English in the children's writing. The use of English could also be observed in the children's writing during the regular classroom hours. For example, in

the activity sheet "Things that you can find in spring", Minjee and Sonjae expressed their ideas using both Korean and English words. Minjee, for instance, wrote down "*Daisy*", among the Korean names of flowers. Additionally, she started using her English nickname on her sheets of classwork. Below she tries to express something in English during center-play.

> (Children are playing in the center-play area where they can choose which activities to participate in. At the art area, five children, including Minjee, are making something that resembles a kind of vehicle. Children's products made with recycled materials, such as boxes, plastic bottles and lids are displayed on the teacher's table.)
> Researcher: Minjee, what are you making?
> Minjee: A pinwheel.
> Researcher: (Pointing at a collection of small-sized pieces of paper) What is this?
> Minjee: In English… I am trying to write something in English.
> (RK_RC_Observation_0621:1)

The use of English words or expressions in the written form were not observed much during the regular classroom hours such as center-play, art activity, or other types of small group activities. However, children of Red Class seemed to experience English writing in a meaningful way through some activities provided by Miss Kang, the ECE teacher of Red Class: for example, their English name tags were made by themselves; and they were used in the chart showing members of two English teams and today's English helper and in her graph activities (see more in below section "ECE teacher's caring about English education").

ECE teacher's caring about English education. Miss Kang, the ECE teacher of Red Class at Rose Kindergarten, had four years of experience as such. She appeared

to care about English education and made efforts in her own ways. In the following, I delineate this theme in association with (a) creating Korean-English-rich classroom environment, (b) incorporating English to her kindergarten curriculum, and (c) caring about her students' emotion and progress, and (d) carefully placed English lessons in the classroom schedule.

Creating Korean-English-rich classroom environment. Most important to Miss Kang's classroom strategy was creating a Korean-English-rich classroom environment that could get her children exposed to English while they were physically in the kindergarten classroom. She posted bilingual signs, which gave the name of each center-play area or that of each object displayed in the classroom, on the walls or near the objects.

> During the clean-up time right after center play, while sitting near the classroom entrance door, I look around. I find many written English words throughout the classroom. [To encourage children's language development, I had, when I was a teacher, placed word cards written in Korean on different classroom objects, such as clock, door, and window. There were names of center-play areas and classroom rules written in Korean on the walls.] In Red Classroom, many of these are written in both Korean and English. For example, "퍼즐/*puzzle*," "책/*book*," "문/*door*," and "시계/*clock*." On arts and crafts board, pictures that children have drawn are displayed around the heading "*Spring*."
>
> (RK_RC_Observation_0506:1)

English words could be found all over the Red Classroom providing Ms. Kang's students a written language environment of Korean and English. The excerpt below suggests Miss Kang's efforts are paying off.

> (To introduce a small group activity using one Montessori material, Miss Kang

shows the material, *"egg puzzle"* and tells her children about its shape and name.)
Miss Kang: What shape is this puzzle?
Class: Egg shape
Miss Kang: Right. So it's called "*egg puzzle*"… How do you spell "egg" in English?
Class: *E-G-G.*
Miss Kang: Then how do you spell, "puzzle" in English?
Some children: *P-U-Z.*
Miss Kang: (Writing the letters on a white board) another *Z.*
A child: (Pointing at the word card "퍼즐/*puzzle*" posted on a wall) Look, the English word "*puzzle*" is over there. (RK_RC_Observation_0518:13)

One of the Korean ECE teachers' criticisms about English education reported in the existing studies is the isolation between English lessons and the rest of the kindergarten curricula (M.-Y. Cho & Lee, 2009; H. Jun, 2009; Seo et al., 2009). Instead of joining in the criticism, Miss Kang made a concerted effort—one that continued throughout the fieldwork—to bridge this gap by incorporating English within the regular classroom environment and activity. Depending on the themes or topics (e.g., spring, transportation) which were selected in her kindergarten class, these were some changes that were responsive to the English language concerning classroom environments, activities, and even some things related to daily routines.

Incorporating English to her kindergarten curriculum. The excerpt below shows one of Miss Kang's graph activities in which her children could learn English words or use them. This kind of graph activity (e.g., "*Our Favorite Flowers,"*[54]) was

[54] Title of this graph activity was displayed on a wall in English.

observed several times during the fieldwork. Those activities were integrated into the theme or topic that was going on there in Red Class.

> Miss Kang: There is a new *graph* in our classroom.
> (Children answer 'What I want to be?,' or 'My Dream'. The teacher shows flash cards to children. The children answer the flash cards either in Korean or English by looking at the pictures. The teacher teaches them know each word in both Korean and English. Most of her children already know each word in both languages, but they can't answer "scientist' in English.)
> Miss Kang: What is scientist in English?
> Minjee: *Scientist*
> Miss Kang: That's right. We were looking at many kinds of occupation. You guys put your name tags (shaped in flower, their English names written, and laminated) on what you want to be when you grow up…
>
> (RK_RC_Observation _0525:1)

The type of group activity used in Miss Kang's class may not be new to Korean ECE teachers; it is often used to teach non-English-related subjects like math. However, the group activities implemented in Miss Kang's class had an added English influence where the children were instructed to recognize the words seen in the activity in English. Additionally, Miss Kang sometimes would insert English words or sentences in daily classroom routines such as greeting, checking date and day, and singing songs.

> (In the morning, Miss Kang and Red Class children have a large-group conversation time).
> Miss Kang: What date is today?
> Miss Kang & Class: (all together) Today is June 16th.
> Miss Kang: *What day is today?*
> Class: *Today is Thursday.*
> Miss Kang: Let's make a *T* by using fingers.
> (Miss Kang and her children make the *T* shape.)
> Miss Kang: What is after *T*?
>
> (…)
>
> Miss Kang: Today's *English helper* is ***.

(As showing the English expression written under "funny English," she suggests to read it together.)
Miss Kang & class: *Let's go to the playground*.
Miss Kang: That means let's go to the playground.
[Miss Kang seems to extend the conversation a little bit, waiting for English language instructor, Mrs. Ivy.]

(RK_RC Observation_0616:1)

Miss Kang's efforts seem to demonstrate that even though a kindergarten teacher's English proficiency may not be the most advanced, any teacher is able to incorporate simple English elements into class.

Caring about her students' emotion and progress. The ECE teacher of Red Class, Miss Kang seems to care about her students' emotions and their progress in English learning. In particular, her caring about relatively passive Jungho was occasionally observed.

(Children of first half-group are in line to go to the basement, the English activity room. Chroma-key video recording for "immigration scene" is playing.)
Miss Kang: (In louder voice toward the half-group) Please, be quiet when waiting, so, your friends can do well.
Miss Kang: (Coming to Jungho and say in soft voice) Jungho, just do it as far as you know.
(The children move to the basement and then sit on the prepared chairs. In the activity room, Chroma-key video recording activity is proceeding.)

(…)

(The other 11 children have finished the Chroma-key recording. This time is Jungho's turn. He is the last child in this activity. He looks very nervous.)
Jungho: (As going to the stage, he speaks to Miss Kang in a soft voice) Teacher… I don't thing I can finish all the parts.
Miss Kang: Jungho, just doing it as far as you can.

(RK_RC_Observation_0525:4-5)

Miss Kang seems here to take care of the individual, paying attention to children such as Jungho, who passively participate in English lessons or did not keep up with the class work. In addition, Miss Kang would ask English language instructors about the students' feelings and progress, though conversations between the kindergarten teacher and English language instructors were observed. Mrs. Anna, an English language instructor, had this to say about Miss Kang.

> Usually [Miss Kang] often asks me questions like, "How does child A do in your class?" "How about child B?" And I also ask her questions when I need advice. The Red Classroom teacher is very passionate about teaching English; sometimes, she prepares teaching materials for me to use in my class. She asks questions about my English lessons and the children frequently. At other kindergartens, homeroom teachers are able to direct and supervise during the English lessons. But, for us, the class is divided into two groups; so, she can't see every class I teach. Since she can't attend every class that I teach, she gives me feedback from watching her students' progress.
>
> (RK_Interview_English_Anna_0610:10)

In addition, Miss Kang would encourage her children to learn English in her ways, providing a direction/directions to the whole group of children. The excerpt below shows Miss Kang's encouragement.

> (After finishing outdoor play, the children of Red Class are taking a rest. Miss Kang calls the lists of Groups A and B, emphasizing the lists have changed)
> Miss Kang: (to the whole class) Group A is practicing speaking English in a louder voice with Mrs. Anna. That will be so much fun. Please, speak loudly. Group B is doing an activity in language and math areas in our class.
> (Group A goes to the basement, English activity room.)
>
> (RK_RC Observation _0524:2)

Miss Kang sometimes provided her students a guideline to encourage them to learn English better. Such directions were given only just before English lessons. Miss Kang's interruptions were not observed during the English lessons given by Mrs. Ivy. During Mrs. Ivy's English lessons in the Red classroom, Miss Kang remained. She was usually watching her students and doing other work such as organizing student files and sitting to the rear or side.

Carefully placed English lessons in the classroom schedule. Miss Kang seemed to carefully situate her English lessons at Red Class within the entire classroom schedules; this placement seemed to affect the child participants' learning in English lessons. The daily schedules of Red Class were planned according to the pre-set weekly English lessons schedule. Thus, the starting time and the duration of English lessons were fixed; the preceding and following activities, however, were made to be flexible to accommodate circumstances that might affect the daily lesson plan—circumstances such as weather conditions, theme of the week or month, group-size, availability of rooms, and other events like field trips.

As the ECE teacher, Miss Kang seemed to contribute to making the English instructors' lessons more meaningful by carefully planning her daily kindergarten activities. That is, under the limitation of pre-set English lessons schedule, her consideration of the principle of balanced operation of activities[55] appeared to be

[55] In operation of kindergarten curriculum, a balanced operation of activities is important: balances between individual and small- and large-group activities, dynamic and quiet activities, in-door and out-door activities, and so on (Bredekamp & Copple,1997; the Korean Ministry of Education, 2007)

reflected in her daily lesson plans. The following table shows two examples of Miss Kang's daily lesson plans.

Table 6

Examples of Daily Classroom Schedule of Red Class

May 18 (Wed),2011 (theme: I & Family)		July 04 (Mon), 2011 (theme: Summer)	
Time	Activity	Time	Activity
9:00- 10:20	Greeting [56] Center play time	9:00- 10:00	Greeting Center play time
10:20- 10:30	Large-group time (greeting, calendar, introducing daily schedules, etc)	10:00- 10:20	Large-group time (greeting, calendar, introducing daily schedules, etc)
10:30- 11:00	**English lesson (Mrs. Anna, G1) / English lesson (NP, G2)**	10:20- 11:00	Out-door play & Water play
11:00- 11:30	**English lesson (Mrs. Anna, G2) / English lesson (NP, G1)**	11:00- 11:10	Snack
11:30- 11:40	Snack	11:10- 11:40	Arts
11:40- 12:00	Montessori Activity	11:40- 13:20	Lunch & Center play time
12:00- 12:50	Athletic activity & Out-door play	13:20- 13:50	**English lesson (Mrs. Anna, G1)** / activity (Miss Kang, G2)
12:50- 14:10	Lunch & Center play time	13:50- 14:20	**English lesson (Mrs. Anna, G2)** / activity (Miss Kang, G1)
14:10- 14:25	Small-group activity	14:20- 14:30	Dismissal
14:25- 14:30	Dismissal		

Note. 'NP' refers to the non-participant English language instructor. G1 means Group1 and G2 means Group 2 children.

In addition, Miss Kang seemed to be mindful of the activity prior to English lessons, as it might influence the children' degrees of concentration on the lessons. For

[56] Greeting time with individual children varied because there were time intervals in their arrivals at Red Class.

example, one preceding activity was a large-group conversation initiated by her; the large-group conversation was carried out for a short time and in such a way so as not to distract the children of Red Class from the next English lesson.

Summary of the Pedagogical Practices in Red Class

As for the pedagogical practices in Red Class, considerable emphasis was made on English education in conjunction with the operational features of English lessons: a relatively long time was assigned to English lessons; and the lessons were operated as a relatively small group. In the lessons of both English instructors, English was taught through systematic or unsystematic repetitions. Both English instructors seemed to care for the leaners and about their progress in learning English. All six of the child participants seemed to care about English lessons and learning, although they were in various ranges of English proficiency, interest, and, participation. The child participants' uses of English were also seen even during the regular Korean-spoken kindergarten class hours such as center-play, snack, or lunch. The ECE teacher seemed to care about English education and, in her own ways, to make some efforts to facilitate it. Thus, the members of Red Class were co-constructing the pedagogical practices relative to English education by creating reciprocal relationships in which they care about English lessons and learning.

Red Class: Insiders' Perceptions of the Pedagogical Practices

This section deals with the second research question. It focuses on the

perceptions of insiders (classroom members), who were co-constructing pedagogical practices relative to English education in Red Classroom: Children, ECE teachers, and English language instructors. In the following, I present the descriptions from three groups of Red Class member: (a) six children, (b) two English instructors, and (c) the ECE teacher.

Child participants of Red Class. Regarding the second research question, the study looked at three main issues in the descriptions given by the six child participants. That is, how do the children perceive the English education as it concerns the English lessons, their English learning, and English language? Yet, they are not mutually exclusive but that interact with one another. In the following, I present the main themes surrounding the issues: (a) positive attitudes toward English lessons and learning, (b) instrumental and ideological motivations, and (c) unclear meanings of and dichotomized thoughts of English language.

Positive attitudes toward English lessons and learning. When a photo as the prop (see Appendix A "Child Interview Protocol") was shown to two interview groups, all of the children guessed that the picture was related to an English lesson implemented in an educational facility like their kindergarten. They were asked, "How do the children this photo feel about the English lesson?"[57] All child participants gave me positive answers: "nice" (4), "exciting" (2). Children of interview-group A referred to

[57] It said that question about the third person makes participants relatively feel free to answer it (Graue & Walsh, 1998; Hatch, 1990).

"fun activities" as the reason for their positive answers, whereas the interview-group B spoke of "being smart due to English learning." The following excerpt is from the second group.

> Researcher: But, this picture doesn't show their faces. You only see the backs of their heads. How do you think they feel? Sonjae first.
> Sonjae: I think they feel good.
> Researcher: Why?
> Sonjae: Because they are getting smarter.
> Researcher: Ah . . . They feel good because they are getting smarter by learning English? What do you think Daheun?
> Daheun: I think they feel good.
> Researcher: Why?
> Daheun: (in soft, shy voice) [They] get smarter if [they] learn English.
> Researcher: Because [they] get smarter?
> Sonjae: Why do you say the same thing?
> Researcher: Wait. What do you think, Jungho?
> Jungho: I think the same as Sonjae.
> Researcher: Everyone thinks the same? Then, why are they learning English in a classroom? Why?
> Sonjae: To be good at English.
> Researcher: To be good at it? Sonjae?
> Sonjae: (emphasizing) To read English.
> Researcher: They are learning to read English? Jungho, why are they learning English?
> Jungho: To get smarter. To be good at English.
>
> (RK_RC_Interview_Child_Group B_0609:8)

The three children considered "getting smarter" as why other children seen in the photo would feel nice or happy. Sonjae's comments about "getting smarter" might have influenced the other two children, yet Daheun and Jungho were not necessarily copying Sonjae. A certain meaning of English, in the above excerpt, embedded in the community and Korean society might be reflected in the children's utterances.

A similar question to the previous one was asked the first group: "How do you feel when you learn English in your class?" Two children answered the same way ("nice" and "fun") and another, Minjee, answered slightly differently ("sometimes fun, sometimes not fun"). As for the questions regarding the children's experiences in their English lessons (see Appendix A "Child Interview Protocol"), they pointed out games, computers, or storybooks as fun activities in English lessons. Regarding disagreeable or boring parts, four of the six child participants said that there was nothing to dislike. Yet, the remaining two said that they disliked some parts. One child, Hunsu, mentioned a particular behavior of the native English-speaking instructor (non-participant): He would occasionally interrupt the children's speaking in English by speaking Korean. The other child, Pongu, pointed out a particular activity, singing songs in stand-up. Overall, in the child-group interviews, the children had responded majorly in positive ways to the questions related to English lessons and learning.

Instrumental and ideological motivation. Regarding motivation to learn English, the study asked, "Why do you think the children in this photo learn English in their kindergarten?" The six child participants gave a total of nine reasons (see table 7). The reasons were as follows: "to do English well" (3), "to communicate with persons who use different languages" (3), "to be smart" (2), and "to read English" (1). The three reasons except "to be smart" are connected with the motivations of intrinsic, instrumental or interactive (see Gass & Selinker, 2001). All answers seemed to reveal that they recognized that knowing English would be useful to some extent. In addition,

three of six children seemed to conceive of specific situations (i.e., communication with foreigners) where English may be used. What was interesting, however, was the answer "to be smart":

> (In the interview, the researcher and three children are talking about the photo as the prop for the interview)
> Researcher: Then, why are they learning English at their kindergarten?
> Hunsu: Because they want to be good at English.
> Researcher : Hunsu, first.
> Hunsu: Because they want to be good at English. And, they are learning English to become smart.
> Researcher: To become smart? How about that, Pongu?
> Pongu: Uh- Later- They are learning to speak English when they meet Americans.
> Researcher: Then why, Minjee, do you think they are learning English?
> Minjee: (slowly speaking) When you are an adult and travel to other countries like England or others, you have to use a common language).
> Researcher: I see. You need to use a language when you speak.
> Minee: Yes. If you use Korean, you can't talk to others.
>
> (RK_RC_Interview_Child_Group A_0609:2)

The answer "to be smart" stated by Hunsu in the interview group A is similar to that "getting smarter" stated by Sonjae in the interview group B in a different question. These answers are in contrast with the findings of Nikolov's (1999) study. In Nikolov's (1999) study about Hungarian children's motivation to learn English, most answers given by youngest group of research subjects (aged 6-8, 84 children) concerned their class experiences or their teachers. Many answers given by the oldest group (aged 11-14, 45 children) were related to utilitarian reasons[58], using English as a communication

[58] Nikolov (1999) pointed out that instrumental motivation for foreign language (English) learning emerged before puberty and strengthen around the period, as other studies had showed.

means. The child participants of Red Class were only 5 to 6 years old; however, their answers were related not to classroom experiences but to the instrumental or interactive use of the English language. If we focus on what Hunsu said in the above excerpt, despite that Hunsu was in the child group A which was different from the child group B, he also talked about "to be smart". A certain meaning of English embedded in the kindergarten, the community, and Korean society could be reflected in his utterance.

Unclear meanings and dichotomized thoughts of English. In response to the question of "What is English?," the first interview group connected English with England or the U. S. and also recognized to some extent that English extended beyond those two nations.

Researcher : … Then, what is English?
Three children: (hesitate)
Researcher: (Speaking in English) *What is English?* Hunsu?
Hunsu: *English* is speaking English in English. (laughter)
Researcher: I see. Speaking English in English is *English*.
(to other two children) Then, what is English?
Two children: (three-second pause)
Researcher: What do you think, Minjee?
Minjee: Uh- What England people use.
Researcher: How about it, Pongu?
Pongu: (without confidence) I think it was made by England people.
Researcher: Do you think England people made it?
Minjee: (with confidence) Yes. It was made in England and…
Pongu: (in louder voice) It is spread to everywhere.
Minjee: Yes.
Researcher: So who uses English?
Hunsu: Americans, England people
Pongu: French people
Hunsu: (to Pongu) French people use French.

(RK_RC_Interview_Child_ Group A_0609:2)

The interview group B (Daheun, Sonjae, and Jungho) did not clearly define English. The following table shows their answers about the reason for English learning and their definition of English.

Table 7

Answers of Child Participants of Red Class

Child Name	Interview Group	Child's Answers a) Q: What is English? b) Q: Why are they learning English?
Daheun	Group B	a) *English* b) To do English well
Hunsu	Group A	a) *English* refers that English language is said in English. b) [they] want to do English well, learn English in order **to be smart,** and communicate with others who do not speak Korean.
Jungho	Group B	a) *English* b) **To be smart.** To do English well.
Minjee	Group A	a) Uh- [English] refers to the language used by English people. b) (slowly saying) When [they] grow up- if they travel around the world - travel to England or other countries - don't you need unification [a unified language], do you? (…) Yeah, so - if [they] speak Korean, [they] can't communicate with [the people of that country]
Pongu	Group A	a) (somewhat incompetent) The language made in England - (…) (louder voice) [English] spread over the world. b) Uh - later - When [they] speak English… learning English is for they can speak English, when [they] need to speak English with Americans.
Sonjae	Group B	a) *English* (…) Even my younger brother knows [English] (…) Yes, he goes to the kindergarten. b) (saying in emphatic tone) To read English

The definition of the English language and the reason for learning English might be connected in some ways. From the data, the interview group A recognized English as the language people in England (the United Kingdom), the U. S. , or other countries and said communication was why the children in the picture were learning English, along with other answers.

The interview group B offered a somewhat vague meaning of English and offered no practical reasons for learning it, such as communication. However, each group had one child (Hunsu in the Group A and Jungho in the Group B), regardless of his or her definition of the English language, suggest "being smart" as the reason why the children in the picture were learn English. In response to two questions asking other children's feeling and motivation, Jungho gave the same reason.

For the final two hypothetical questions regarding their feeling on the capability of the English learners, five of the six children answered that being capable at English was a positive thing, using such words as happy, nice, or jealous. Being weak at English was characterized with such words as sad or strange.

> Researcher: If you met someone who knew English well, how would you feel?
> Hunsu&Pongu: (loud voice) That it is nice.
> Researcher: If there is a friend who knows English very well in Red Class, how would you feel?
> Pongu: I would think that it's good for him.
> Researcher: Do you think so?
> Pongu: Yes. There is one more thing. Uh, I would be jealous.
> Researcher: How about it, Hunsu?
> Hunsu: I would be jealous.
> Researcher: Minjee, if there were a friend who knew English very well, how would you feel?

Minjee: (soft voice) Well, not so good, not so bad.
(RK_RC_Interview_Child group A_0609)

Hunsu's and Pongu's answers seem to reflect the value of English competence in the classroom and larger contexts in which they are situated. They seem to hope for their own improvement at English. The other three, except Minjee, also gave dichotomous answers: that is, doing English well is happy or nice, but doing it poorly is sad or strange. Only Minjee said allowed for something in between, "Not so good, not so bad." Minjee demonstrated that although children's utterances are situated in larger contexts and reflect social views, each child's utterance also reflects his/her own belief, knowledge, and experiences.

The ECE teacher of Red Class. In relation to the second research question, I attend to how the ECE teacher perceived English education as it concerns her students' English learning, English instructors' lessons, her roles relative to English education, and the meanings of English language. In the following, the main themes are presented in three categories: (a) positive thoughts and expectations of in her students' English learning, (b) parents' high demands reflected in the English lessons, and (c) English lesson as dual meanings.

Positive changes and expectations in children's English learning. In her two interviews, Miss Kang described her students' accommodation and changes in positive ways, revealing her initial concern about the increased frequency and duration of the English lessons.

> The number of times children use English in everyday class became more frequent. When they participate in activities or play in center-play areas, they tend to write their names in English more often than they did at the beginning of this semester. (RK_RC_Interview1_Kang_0518:1)

> As we get toward the end of this semester, if there is a change in English lesson schedule, from morning to afternoon for instance, some children ask first "No English lesson today?" And others ask "Which English teacher are we meeting today?" Like that, they are becoming more interested in English lessons little by little. So, my students' interests in English have been growing also…
> (RK_RC_Interview2_Kang_0707:1)

Miss Kang said her students already had a great deal of experience at learning English, because before enrolling to Rose kindergarten some children had attended so-called "English kindergartens." Also, some children had, for the past two years, been enrolled in this kindergarten. She added they were experiencing English a lot in class. Although Miss Kang was not explicitly critical, her statements seemed to imply a sense of excessive English education.

In relation to the outcomes of children's learning English, Miss Kang tended to see them in positive ways, pointing out Jungho's case as a positive example (see more table 5). She anticipated that learning English in Red Class would help her students in their future lives at the elementary school; they would have more confidence or reject less learning English or the English language. Although Miss Kang's perceptions would not be static, her tendency that perceived English education of Red Class in a positive way diverges from the existing studies reporting early childhood teachers' conflicts on English education and its problematic situations (M.-Y. Cho & Lee, 2009; H. Jun, 2009; Seo et al., 2009).

Parents' demands reflected in the English lessons. Miss Kang often reiterated the parents' demands. Her understanding of the relationship between the parents' demands and the current English lessons at Red Class are seen here:

> Researcher: Why do you incorporate English studies into the general kindergarten curriculum? Is it because the kindergarten requires it?
> Miss Kang: No, it is more due to parents' demands for English education.
> Researcher: The parents?
> Miss Kang: Yes. Yes. We do have programs designed to help children's personality or character development; it would be much better if we could focus more on it. In addition to that, there are many extra activities. They are extra, but I can't neglect them. So, I incorporate English activities in order to have my students experience [English] as much as possible.
>
> (RK_RC_Interview2_Kang_0518:5)

> Researcher: Is there anything that I haven't asked you but that you think that is important for me to know?
> Miss Kang: In every respect, for the 7-year-old children [5- or 6-year-old in American age], there are many writing and cognitive activities. Thus, phonics lessons [in my class] are greater than those in 6-year-old class. Writing activities in English… Parents' demands for writing lessons tend to be high. For younger groups, the parents take importance in easy approach to English lessons. As the children get older, the parents demand for more academically challenging materials. I think this is something helpful to know in terms of English education.
>
> (RK_RC_Interview2_Kang_0518:8,9)

The parents' demands for English education are evidenced in Miss Kang's incorporating English into some of her regular kindergarten activities. The following excerpt from an interview reveals that the increased frequency of and duration of English lessons at Red Class were associated with the parents' high demands for English education.

> Researcher: How do you feel about English education in Korea, particularly English education in this community?

> Miss Kang: [Parents] in this community are more eager for English education than those in other communities. The parents' demand for [English education] seems to be rather big. So, this year, [Rose Kindergarten] accepted their high demands and increased English lesson hours. It seems that a fair number of children are also attending other English language institutes.
>
> (RK_RC_Interview2_Kang_0707:4**)**

I asked nothing about the parents, yet in the three quotations above Miss Kang brought them up. The influence of parents went unnoticed in the fieldwork but came out in the interviews with the teacher. Miss Kang's perceptions of the parents' influences were not much different from the findings of existing studies (M.-Y. Cho & Lee, 2009; H. Jun, 2009; J. Lee & Chung, 2004). These studies reported English education in private kindergartens as having grown out of parents' unreasonable demands. However, one big difference from those teachers reported in the existing studies may be that Miss Kang listened to parents' opinions and reflected them to her regular kindergarten curriculum.

English lesson as having dual meanings. Miss Kang remarked that English might not be a foreign language but, in Korean society, another language used simultaneously with Korean. She sometimes referred to the English lessons operated by the English language instructors as extra-curricular activities and sometimes as part of the regular kindergarten activities. That is, English lessons seemed to have dual meanings for her. "They are extra, but I can't neglect them. So, I incorporate English activities in order to have my students experience [English] as much as possible" (RK_RC_Interview2_Kang_0518:5). Conversely, she also thought of English education

or activities as a part of the whole language-learning process and admitted that English education was being carried out within a regular kindergarten curriculum.

> Researcher: Then, what's the meaning of English education to your general idea of kindergarten education?
> Miss Kang: As it stands, [English] is just a part of the whole language-learning process. Nowadays, wherever we go... even when we see store signs… English is the most accessible language, isn't it? So, children may be naturally exposed to English as a part of their lives.
>
> (RK_RC_Interview2_Kang_0707:4**)**

> Researcher: As a teacher, what changes would you like to see?
> Miss Kang: At present, [English education] is operated without any formal agreement. Although [I or We] know… [English education] is done within a regular kindergarten curriculum…Yet, many people still think [English education] as extracurricular. It [English education implemented in kindergartens] would be better to be understood as a social phenomenon…
>
> (RK_RC_Interview2_Kang_0707:6**)**

Regarding her incorporation of English in her regular kindergarten curriculum:

> Researcher: If someone asks you about English education implemented in your class, how would you answer him?
> Miss Kang: My lessons are formed around daily-living themes (e.g., family, spring), so [English education] is started from children's thoughts and familiar daily words within each theme. In part of daily conversations, a simple sentence such as "*May I drink some water*?" "*May I go to the restroom*?" is used in this classroom. (…) Today, for instance, we learned how to spell English words that were adopted as a part of our own language system, such as the word "puzzle."
>
> (RK_RC_Interview2_Kang_0518:2**)**

Miss Kang seemed to describe her incorporation of English into her regular class activities, based on her basic education beliefs such as an integrated approach surrounding a main theme. She described, in a similar vein, her thoughts regarding the

English lessons carried out by English language instructors at Red Class. She emphasized the English lessons whereby children could access the English language in natural ways and learn it through pleasant instructional methods. Miss Kang highlighted as the most important point the fact that English education in kindergartens is naturally proceeding within the children's daily living. Miss Kang regarded her role as being a facilitator who helped the Red Class experience English in natural ways and helped them feel English to not be difficult and to be interested in English learning.

English instructors of Red Class. This study looks at how the English instructors describe English education in association with their English lessons, the students' English learning, and the contexts surrounding their English lessons. Although the two instructors described the contents of their English lessons quite differently,[59] they seemed in their English lessons, to keep in mind both the learners and the parents. Main themes expressed through the English instructors fall into three categories: (a) fun, interest, and input as the most important factors, (b) knowing their students and individual differences in English learning, and (c) parents' high interests and active cooperation

Fun, interest, and input as important factors. "How would you describe to someone your English lessons?" Responding to this question, both English instructors,

[59] In the section of research question 1, Mrs. Anna's English lessons were reported as systematically constructed and repeated ones, whereas Mrs. Ivy's lessons were consisted of contents regarding daily livings

Mrs. Anna and Mrs. Ivy, addressed fun and interest as the most important factors in their English lessons and in the children's English learning.

> Mrs. Anna: Ah-- . The sentences from our English program… Our English program books were developed based on the belief that the most important aspect in English learning was for it to be enjoyable to the children. We want to draw their interest in the language by making it something fun and playful. (RK_RC_Interview_Anna_0610:1)

> Mrs. Ivy: This class is lacking inputs and comprehensive inputs [compared to so-called English kindergartens] … I focus more on experiencing English rather than studying English. I use songs and chants to make English something fun to learn, unlike how we learned it back in the day. Yeah. I know it is insufficient, but the children still enjoy learning. (…) Because the 25 [24] children have different levels of English proficiency, superior children are doing very well, whereas some of them don't even know their ABCs. Thus, the lesson content becomes a little repetitive. So, I incorporate many different songs and chants to keep the similar materials interesting for the children. I think that is the number one priority. (RK_RC_Interview_Ivy_0623:2)

To make their English lessons fun and interesting, Mrs. Ivy seemed to carefully prepare concrete educational materials and also bring along extra-materials for possible leftover time or for improvisation with her lesson to fit her students' levels. Mrs. Anna stated that her students liked and had fun with something they could directly do or interact with, such as English words sound by touching TV screen and doing games in her English lessons.

In addition, both English instructors seemed to consider "input" or "comprehensive input" (Krashen, 1985) an important factor in learning English. Both English instructors often commented about "input."

> Mrs. Anna: First of all, a big amount of input is needed. I feel like I have to use only English [in my English lessons]. [In this case], the problem is to *control* [the class]. When only speaking in English, it is very difficult to *control* [the class]. (RK_RC_Interview_Anna_0610: 5)

> Mrs. Ivy: [In the beginning of my English teaching], I thought that I would give [children] more input by using only English in the class. But, I felt limits in speaking only English… I started to contact the parents. I informed them about internet sites (…..) The basic learning principles are to have students listen to [English] often and to provide them directions.
> (RK_RC_Interview_Ivy_0623:3)

Here the English instructors indicated some limitations of only English input and of limited amount of English input in the class, as well as the importance of English input in the students' English learning. This also seemed to show why the English instructors used both English and Korean in their English lessons and why they cooperated closely with the parents.

Knowing their students and individual differences. Mrs. Anna described that there is a wide-range of individual differences in her English lessons at Red classroom. She described that despite individual differences in English learning, the English program seemed to be working on the students' English learning. Mrs. Ivy also stated a wide range of individual differences in English learning. She added that for this reason it was very important for the students to have fun and feel an interest.

Both English instructors seemed to understand their students' English levels as well as overall range of individual differences. Mrs. Anna could describe the English learning of each student in Red Class. Mrs. Ivy could do so for five out of the six children. Both English instructors called their students by name. Mrs. Ivy gave reasons.

> The children feel more recognized when they are called by their Korean names because they have always been called by that name. Up until three years ago, I wanted to make an English name for everyone because I teach English. But I realized it was not the best way. Now, I memorize their Korean names. I used to ask [ECE teachers] to have their students put name tags on every March [beginning of school year]. I know almost all of the 7-year-old [Korean age] children because they came to the school when they were 5. It is very important to know their names. I think saying "Let's try, Younghee" gives more intimacy and responsibility to a child than just saying "You try this time."
>
> (RK_RC_Interview_Ivy_0623:4)

As shown in the above, Mrs. Ivy thought that it is very important to know her students' names and use them in her lessons. She said that she intentionally memorize them. Her utterance may reflect a responsive and caring classroom environment of Red Class, as well as Mrs. Ivy's beliefs regarding English education.

Parents' high interests and active cooperation. Regarding the parents of the Red Class, particularly those of the child participants, Mrs. Ivy said that regardless their children's English levels all the parents were similarly cooperative and active. Mrs. Ivy came back to one issue repeatedly the expectation for 7-year-olds (Korean age) to be taught reading and writing in English. She also described her communication methods. For example, she informed them of her contact information and tried to communicate with them though phone calls or parent-teacher conferences. Mrs. Ivy stated that mothers could provide their children more help than she had thought.

> All child participants are not doing [English] well. But, their mothers are altogether active. There are two outstanding students who do [English] very well. One is a boy and the other is a girl. You know who they are. These mothers are the parents who want to discuss with me for a long time whenever we have parent-teacher conferences, 2-3 times per year…
>
> (RK_RC_Interview_Ivy_0623:5)

Mrs. Anna did not initiate the stories about the parents. However, respond to the question regarding the parents of her students, she answered that though a variety of parents were involved at Rose Kindergarten, most of them tended to be very cooperative and highly interested in English education. Concerning English education in Korean society, Mrs. Ivy reflected that the rich grow richer, the poor grow poorer; she continued that the power of private English education and the role of mothers in English education seemed to be huge. Mrs. Anna said that Korean parents tended to focus excessively on their children's English learning, particularly reading and writing.

Summary of Red Class Insiders' Perceptions

As for the second research question, the child participants tended to perceive English learning and English proficiency by using positive words such as fun, nice, and happy. Most child participants seemed to think English was something useful and important and even connected it with "being smart." Miss Kang tended to think positively about the current situation of English education in Red Class, although she also noticed somewhat excessiveness of the English education; she seemed to search for ways to contribute to better outcomes in English learning. The two English language instructors, in planning and operating the English lessons, seemed to consider the child learners' levels of understanding and differences and their parents' demands.

Most research participants, children, English instructors, and the ECE teacher of Red Class, seemed to agree on the importance of English lessons, English learning, and

English language. That is, they seemed to establish a sharing of focus and purpose, intersubjectivity (Rogoff, 1990) surrounding the pedagogical practices. They also tended to perceive the pedagogical practices in positive ways. The ECE teacher and the two English instructors together conceived the parents' demands and their influences on English education.

Research Site 2: Green Class at Pine Kindergarten

At Pine Kindergarten, Green Class was for 5-year-olds,[60] Located in the WON school district of Gyeonggi province, the class consisted of 25 children,[61] aged five to six, and an ECE teacher, Miss Moon. Several part-time instructors (e.g., English language instructors, physical education instructors) ran extra-curricular activities during regular class hours. One thing that we need to notice is that Green Class consisted of children whose parents did not want more enhanced English lessons for their children. The other 5-year-old class ran as "an English intensive class" (PK_Interview_Director_0517:10).

Green Class: Pedagogical Practices relative to English Education

As for Research Question 1, the pedagogical practices relative to English education, the following five themes were salient: (a) English lessons as an important and an unimportant activity, (b) English lessons separated from many learners, (c)

[60] This classification is made by children's ages at the point of the beginning of academic year.
[61] One boy was transferred in the middle of this study, so there were 24 children from that time to the end.

English instructors being busy giving English lessons, (d) children's agreement on finishing their English tasks, and (e) ECE teacher's assistance in English lessons.

English lesson as an important and an unimportant activity. In Green Class, English education seemed to be considered an important activity. This is in comparison with the English lessons of past years and the current other extra-curricular activities such as physical education. On the other hand, English education seemed not so important, considering the lack of back-up lessons for missing English lessons. In the following, I focus on the operational features of English lessons that were decided at the kindergarten level, but observed in Green Class. The theme is described along with (a) frequency and duration similar to other kindergartens, (b) no back-up lesson for the missing ones, (c) whole-group English lesson as the main type, and (d) English lessons denoted as "English language" time.

Frequency and duration similar to other kindergartens. The regular hours of Green Class were from 9:00 A.M. to 2:00 P.M. Monday to Friday. English lessons were provided four times a week: for 30-35 minutes on Tuesdays and Thursdays with Mrs. Ruby, for 20 minutes on Fridays with Mr. Daniel, and for 20 minutes on Mondays or Wednesdays with Miss Grace. An English lesson lasted for 25 minutes on average. The English lessons were implemented in the morning or afternoon. Mrs. Ruby's lessons usually started at 11:00 am on Tuesdays and at 12:00 pm on Thursdays. Mr. Daniel's lessons were mainly scheduled in the morning. The following table shows a weekly schedule of English lessons at Green Class.

Table 8

Weekly schedule of English lessons at Green Class

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
English lesson (Whole *group)		Mrs. Ruby (30-35 min)		Mrs. Ruby (30-35 min)	Mr. Daniel (20 min)
English Lesson (Half group)	Miss Grace ** (20 min, Group1)		Miss Grace ** (20min, Group 2)		

Note. * Mrs. Ruby's lessons sometimes included individual workbook time.
**Miss Grace's lessons were not observed due to the space limitation.

The frequency and duration of English lessons in Green Class are similar to the results that other studies have reported (e.g., H. Jun, 2009; S.H. Kim, 2008). In S.H. Kim's (2008) study of 118 private kindergartens, the frequency of English lessons averaged 3.64 occasions lasting for 20-25 minutes. The frequency and duration of English lessons observed at Green classroom were from the 2011 academic year. Two numerical features of English lessons had not been static at Pine Kindergarten since 2003, the first year of English education being implemented at the kindergarten. According to the director of Pine kindergarten, she had adjusted the frequency and duration almost every year to have the kindergarteners learn English more through English lessons: starting with two to three times per week, and currently at four times per week, including a half-group lesson (PK_Interview_Director_ 0603). This seemed to show that the larger context for Pine Kindergarten had changed over the prior years

and that the director or members of the kindergarten had continuously negotiated within the changes.

No back-up lesson[62] for missing ones. Due to its having six classes, Pine Kindergarten's weekly and daily schedules for English lessons all followed, for the entire semester, a pre-arranged curriculum. Flexibility could be found within the schedules, however, to accommodate class cancellations, field trips, and other events. During the field work at Green Class, Mrs. Ruby's English lesson was cancelled once due to a field trip, whereas Mr. Daniel's and Mrs. Ruby's English lessons were cancelled six times owing to personal matters. In total, seven English lessons were missed but there were no back-up lesson for the missing lessons[63]. This fact perhaps has implications concerning the status or significance of English lessons in Green Class and further at Pine Kindergarten: English lessons might not be so important in the scheme of the entire kindergarten curriculum, or English education in Green Class might be swayed by the English language instructors.

Whole-group English lesson as the main type. English lessons at Green Class by Mrs. Ruby or Mr. Daniel were operated in whole-group activities (1 teacher: 25 children) on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays, whereas Miss Grace's English lessons[64] were implemented as half-group activities (1 teacher: 12 or 13 children) on Mondays or

[62] There was no back-up class in Mrs. Ruby's and Mr. Daniel's. Yet, as for Miss Grace's class, one time a back-up lesson was given.
[63] Both English language instructors taught English in other private kindergartens or English language institutes. Thus, I suppose that rescheduling of missing classes might be hard.
[64] English lessons by Miss Grace could not be observed due to space limitation of the extra-activity room.

Wednesdays. Mrs. Ruby's whole-group English lessons were often extended to individual workbook time. The half-group English lesson had begun two years earlier, as part of an effort at Pine to overcome limitations of the whole-group English lesson (PK_ Interview_Director_0603).

For the half-group English lessons, the children of Green Class divided into Group 1 (G1) and Group 2 (G2). For example, the children of G1 had an English lesson with Miss Grace, an English language instructor, in an extra-activity room. Meanwhile, G2 did an activity with Miss Moon, the ECE teacher of Green Class. However, putting several data together (i.e., interviews with the instructor, informal talks with the child participants, the children's work sample), these half-group lessons seemed to be operated not as a half-group, teacher-directed lesson, but as an individual work time guided by Miss Grace. As stated earlier, due to the space limitation, I could not observe Miss Grace's English lessons. However, the one thing that we have to notice is that this half-group English lesson was started from recent years in order to complement the limitations of whole-group English lesson (PK_ Interview_Director_0603).

English lessons denoted as "English language" time. On the classroom schedule chart, which hung on the wall for all to see, English lessons were presented as "English language." All kindergarten documents could be inspected at any moment by a school commissioner from the district office of WON, yet the words "English" and "English activity" were clearly on display in Green Class' documents like weekly lesson plans and letters for parents. English education in Green Class was like that at other

private kindergartens in the same school district, so such uninhibitedness might not be problematic.

English lessons separated from many learners. As stated in Chapter 3, Mrs. Ruby's and Mr. Daniel's English lessons were open to this study. The levels of English lessons by both English instructors seemed to be rather different from many learners' levels of understanding. Nevertheless, both English instructors seemed to manage their lessons pretty well by using educational methods familiar to the children, such as songs, games, and stories. I delineate this theme in association with (a) contents of English lessons decided by the program developer; and (b) English lesson like a snapshot.

Content of English lessons decided by the program developer. Mrs. Ruby had two lessons per week, Tuesdays and Thursdays, and her English lessons were based on a particular English program (N program) developed by an English book publisher. The publisher said that the N program was used in quite a few private kindergartens in Korea and was characterized as "learning English by singing songs" (PK_GC_Interview _Ruby_0628). The N program contained such components as a storybook[65], a phonics book, a phonics reader, a workbook and a CD. Mrs. Ruby was affiliated with the N program company. According to S. H. Kim's (2008) study, it was very common to use English programs developed by English book publishers or English program

[65] The N program uses popular picture books (e.g., "Today is Monday" by Erik Carl) published in Western countries.

developers; she found approximately 90 percent of private kindergartens adopted these types of English programs.

In her teacher-directed whole group English lessons, Mrs. Ruby's typical English lessons started with a greeting and a general posing of questions about the weather, the date, and/or feelings. The N program's influence was manifested in the preponderance of singing and associated body movements. During that period of the fieldwork, the songs, words, and sentences taught in Mrs. Ruby's lessons were associated with the story "*Jasper's Beanstalk*" written by a Western author. Mrs. Ruby supplemented the contents learned in the storybooks and songs with explanations, quizzes, drills (e.g., repeating several times a word/sentence) in the whole group. Then her whole-group lesson often extended to individual works and workbook exercises. All instructions in Mrs. Ruby's classes were, as often as possible, given in English, although to manage the class and to reinforce the learners' understanding Korean was occasionally employed.

In the literature on English education in Korean kindergartens, Mrs. Ruby's instructional methods have been reported as being effective (e.g., Woo & Seo, 2010). At first glance, the children of Green Class seemed to participate in the singing. However, regardless of how favorable her methods were, it appeared as though some mismatches between English lessons and the children were going on in Green Class.

> (Mrs. Ruby comes into the Green classroom and starts her English lesson.)
> Mrs. Ruby: (…) *O.K. How are you today?*
> Some children: *Rainy. Cloudy.*

Mrs. Ruby: *Not how's the weather? Again, how are you?* (To the whole class) *How are you?*
Some children: *Fine. Fine, thank you.*

(PK_GC_Observation_0526:1)

This scene occurred in the middle of the first semester with nearly two and a half months of English lessons completed. It was a question raised by the English instructor that Mrs. Ruby usually repeated every English lesson. Nonetheless, many children were unable to respond appropriately. It might not be very special for learners to answer teachers' questions incorrectly; yet it occurred often and similar situations were repeated. Approximately one month later, another scene[66] unfolded.

Mrs. Ruby: (to the whole class) *How are you? How's the weather?*
[Her manner is hurried.]
Some children: *Sunny, sunny…* (only four or five kids are answering)
(Mrs. Ruby and students sing "How's the weather?")
Mrs. Ruby: (after the song, to the whole class) *What's the day today?*
Bohae & some children: *Thursday*
(They all sing "January, February, March.. Sunday, Monday*"*)
Mrs. Ruby: (pointing out two kids) *One, Two. Stand up, please.* You guys, stand up please.
Inchul & Taesu: (stand up)
Mrs. Ruby: (to Taesu) *What's the day today?*
Taesu: (louder voice) *Rainy*
Bohae: (She tries to let him know the answer in very soft voice) *Thursday, Thursday.*
Mrs. Ruby: *What's the day today?*
Taesu: (He seems to hear the answer from Bohae) *Thursday*
Mrs. Ruby: (to Inchul*) How's the weather today?*
Inchul: (Gives no answer)
Mrs. Ruby: (to Inchul) *How's the weather today?*
Inchul: (He seems to hear a wrong answer from another student) *Thursday.*

(PK_GC_ Observation_0630:1)

[66] This excerpt is also used in the two sections below: 'English instructor: unnamed children' and 'Children: two polarized English learners.'

The above two scenes may not show exactly some mismatches between the contents of Mrs. Ruby's English lessons relying on the N program because the scenes involve general questions regarding greeting, dates, and weather. The following example of workbook time seems to better display the mismatches between the content of English lessons and the children's level of understanding.

> At the end of Mrs. Ruby's English lesson operated in the whole-group setting, the lesson was extended into individual workbook time. After listening to Mrs. Ruby's directions about the tasks, the children spread out to their small-group tables. The ECE teacher, Miss Moon distributes the English workbooks. There is an English song playing as background music. Inchul is looking over at a friend's workbook to get the answers to the tasks. Junseo and Choha go near the teacher's board where Mrs. Ruby's sample workbook was opened. Several children come to me and ask for my help. The classroom teacher, Miss Moon is sitting in the teacher's chair helping children who are in lined up. The English instructor, Mrs. Ruby, is looking around and helping children.
>
> (PK_GC_Observation_0630:3)

The workbook time here is carried out at the end of Mrs. Ruby's English lesson. The workbook tasks are directly related to that day's English lesson, and were reviewed right before the workbook time by the instructor. Despite all Mrs. Ruby's efforts to teach the target contents, only a few, such as Bohae and Seijin, looked equal to the tasks.

English lesson like a snapshot[67]. English lessons by Mr. Daniel were based on storybooks. Like Mrs. Ruby's class, Mr. Daniel's lessons began and ended with greetings and songs. Nearly half his 20 minutes were devoted to starting and ending greetings and songs. In most of his English lessons, Mr. Daniel introduced a storybook.

[67] A dictionary meaning of "Snapshot" refers to a photograph taken quickly and often not very skillfully (Longman dictionary of contemporary English, 5ed., 2009).

The storybooks that he used in Green Class were not related to the themes of the kindergarten class and looked separate from one another in terms of content and level. In his interview, Mr. Daniel said he had a limited collection of books offered him by someone (PK_GC_Interview_Daniel_0630). The availability of storybooks seemed to dictate his selection of education material for the English lessons for Green Class and other classes at Pine Kindergarten.

In his English lessons using a storybook, Mr. Daniel usually showed the student one or two pages of a book and had them think about portions of the story by asking questions related to it and the illustrations. Additionally, he would read a word or words to the children and ask them to repeat them verbatim; he rarely asked them to repeat an entire English sentence.

> Mr. Daniel: *We are gonna read one book*.
> (While showing a big picture book, he reads the title) *"Go to the kitchen."*
> Mr. Daniel: *go*
> Class: *go*
> Mr. Daniel: *to*
> Class: *to*
> Mr. Daniel: *the kitchen*
> Class: *the kitchen*
> Mr. Daniel: *not chicken. Where is here? The kitchen? Classroom?*
> (Opening the book) *What room is this?*
> Class: (No response)
> Mr. Daniel: *This is a bedroom. Everyone, this.*
> Some children: *this*
>
> (PK_GC_Observation_0513:5)

While turning the pages, Mr. Daniel would repeat the pattern of his instruction (i.e., showing, asking, reading, and repeating). Mr. Daniel usually had a very happy

demeanor and the children seemed to respond relatively well to him. However, Mr. Daniel's lessons did not seem to fully cover the content of the storybook within the short remaining 10 minutes[68] given for his English instruction using the books. Nevertheless, he never reused or reviewed the storybook at later times.

The following table summarizes the content of all the English lessons observed in Green Class. Although this table is not fully representative of all the lessons given in Green Class, it can be a supplement to understanding the English lessons while considering such other details as class dynamics, relationships, and interactions.

Table 9

Contents of English Lessons Observed in Green Class

Dates	English instructor	Contents
May 3 (Tue)	Mrs. Ruby	songs (greeting, Jasper song), phonics (a, e, i, o, u)/ (-ug, -ut) & workbook
May13 (Fri)	Mr. Daniel	songs (greeting, weather), picture book "Go to the kitchen"(kitchen, bedroom, bathroom, living room, purple, bed, etc)
May 17 (Tue)	Mrs. Ruby	songs (greeting, days of the week) , story book "Jasper's beanstalk" (Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, plant, dig, etc.) & workbook
May26 (Thu)	Mrs. Ruby	songs (greeting, days of the week, sea sea sea), reading comprehension _flash cards related to the story "Jasper's beanstalk"
May 27 (Fri)	Mr. Daniel	songs (greeting, weather), conversation about feeling, picture book "My First Flying"(first, fly, friend, think, sick, etc.)

[68] Almost half of the 20 minutes of his English session were used for starting and ending greetings and songs. The remaining 10 minutes were mostly assigned for storybook instruction.

Table 9 (continued)

June 7 (Tue)	Mrs. Ruby	songs (greeting, weather, sailor's boat), review of songs, quizzes related to "Jasper's beanstalk," practice for parents' participation day
June 17 (Fri)	Mr. Daniel	songs (greeting, weather), picture book "Time to pick fruit"(pick, fruit, fox, strawberry, grapes, etc)
June24 (Fri)	Mr. Daniel	songs (greeting, weather), flashcards(seasons), picture book "Play at night"
June 30 (Thu)	Mrs. Ruby	songs (greeting, weather, months of the year), phonics (-ake, -am, -ame) & workbook
July 1 (Fri)	Mr. Daniel	songs (greeting, weather), picture book "My Strawberry"
July 5 (Tue)	Mrs. Ruby	songs (greeting, months of the year), opposite words (quick/slow, large/small, etc), phonics (-ick) & workbook
July 7 (Thu)	Mrs. Ruby	songs (greeting, months of the year), phonics (-ame, -ape) & workbook
July 8 (Fri)	Mr. Daniel	songs (greeting, weather), picture book "Benny's Dream", conversation about your dreams

English instructors being busy giving English lessons. As stated earlier, two English language instructors' English lessons were observed in this study: Mrs. Ruby's and Mr. Daniel's, both part-time visiting instructors. Although their contents, methods, materials of English lessons differed, both instructors seemed to be busy offering English lessons to the children of Green Class without considering the learners' level of English proficiency, prior experience, or understanding of their class work. This theme is described more along with (a) interacting with unnamed children; (b) focusing on providing English lessons.

Interacting with unnamed children. During the whole-group English lessons (1 teacher: 25 children), the English instructor, either Mrs. Ruby or Mr. Daniel, rarely

called children by name. Both English instructors mainly addressed the children as a group. When they needed to point out a student or two, they used pronouns such as "you" or "you two." The children of Green Class were usually unnamed children during the English lessons.

Doubtless it would be difficult to memorize all their students' names, as they had so many from other kindergartens besides Pine Kindergarten. At Pine Kindergarten both Mrs. Ruby and Mr. Daniel taught English to approximately 150 children including the 25 children from Green Class. Mr. Daniel also taught English in private English language institutes (*Hakwon*) and private kindergartens. Under the circumstances, it would be a rare instructor indeed who would call students by name and take the time to care about each individual's level of English or her progress at learning English. Nevertheless, such a pattern of interactions should be kept in mind because it is known that the teacher-student relationship plays an important role in students' motivation, engagement, and academic success (e.g., Skinner & Belmont, 1993; van Lier, 1996).

In the excerpt below, Mrs. Ruby asked questions of two children, unlike her ordinary whole-class interaction pattern. Mrs. Ruby focused on Inchul and Taesu because of their disruptive behavior (talking to each other). Not knowing and not asking their names, Mrs. Ruby pointed to them, "*one, two".*

> Mrs. Ruby: (to the whole class) *How are you? How's the weather?* [behind schedule, her manner is hurried.]
> Some children: *Sunny, sunny…* (only several kids are answering)
> (Mrs. Ruby and the Green Class sing a song '*How's the weather?*' together.)
> Mrs. Ruby: (after the song, to the whole class) *What's the day today?*

Bohae & some children*: Thursday*
(Mrs. Ruby and Green Class sing a song '*January, February, March.. Sunday, Monday'*)
Mrs. Ruby: (pointing out two kids) *One, Two. Stand up, please.* You guys, stand up please.
Inchul & Taesu: (stand up)
Mrs. Ruby : (to Taesu) *What's the day today?*
(PK_GC_Observation_0630:1)

Not addressing them by name may reflect the teacher-student relationship. This type of interaction seemed to contribute to a certain detachment between the learners and the knowledge.

Focusing on providing English lessons. Mrs. Ruby and Mr. Daniel gave their English lessons in a limited time period: Mrs. Ruby's lessons took place twice a week and lasted for 30 minutes and Mr. Daniel's once a week for 20 minutes. Mrs. Ruby, a native Korean speaker, seemed to be preoccupied with covering the content of pre-determined English lessons. According to her, the N program utilized for Green Class was intended for four or five lessons per week, not her two (PK_GC_Interview _Ruby_0628). Conversely, Mr. Daniel, a native English speaker, looked rather free in his selection and organization of the contents and the operation of his English lessons.

The amount of what they taught or wanted to teach differed, but regardless both seemed to care about providing their English lessons to the Green Class, rather than caring about the children's responses, understanding, and progress. Existing studies regarding early childhood teachers' conflicts (M.-Y. Cho & Lee, 2009; H. Jun, 2009; Seo et al., 2009) indicated that English instructors' lack of knowledge and strategies for

English education were often problematic. However, the English instructors of Green Class seemed to be both relatively well-qualified English instructors, when comprehensively considering the observations of their lessons, the information about their backgrounds, and the interviews with them, the ECE teacher, and the kindergarten director. Their operation of English lessons focusing on providing the lessons itself seemed to be inextricably linked to the milieus surrounding their English lessons such as the class size, instructor-student ratio, instructor-student relationships, and excessive amount of English contents (particularly for Mrs. Ruby).

Children's agreement on finishing their English tasks. As described earlier (Chapter 3), 10 children[69] aged five to six were observed: six girls (Bohae, Choha, Eunju, Haerim, Kyungmin, and Lahyun) and four boys (Inchul, Junseo, Seijin, and Taesu). Although the children seemed to vary in their engagement and progress, they seemed to agree on the premise that they had to complete their English tasks regardless of knowing the answers. In the following, I describe this theme along with (a) finishing their English tasks; and (b) two polarized English learners.

Finishing their English tasks. In Mrs. Ruby's English lessons, the English or Korean expression for "I am finished" was heard often during workbook time. At the conclusion of Mrs. Ruby's whole-group activity, the children's English learning sometimes extended into workbook time. The class divided into small groups and did

[69] Only ten parents agreed to their children participating in this study. Thus the child participants of Green Class were ten children.

their individual work, workbook exercises at the small-group tables. Mrs. Ruby often left before they finished to make her other commitments in the remaining classrooms.

Most child participants usually tried to complete their workbook tasks. They all seemed to agree on the premise that they should finish their tasks, whether or not they really knew the right answers. Under a sort of agreement regarding completing English tasks, each child participant seemed to have his or her individual strategy for finishing the task.

> Showing her own workbook, Mrs. Ruby explains how to answer questions in English. Green Class spreads out among small-group tables; the classroom teacher, Miss Moon distributes workbooks and they begin. English songs fill in as background music. The children participants are sitting at: (a) Table 1 near the white board _Seijin, Bohae; (b) Table 2 near the piano_Kyungmin, Lahyun; (c) Table 3 near the entrance door_Eunju, Haerim, Taesu; and (d) Table 4 near the restroom_Choha, Inchul, Junseo. Each group consists of 6-7 children.
>
> Inchul solves the task, while looking at a neighbor's workbook. Choha and Junseo do it while looking at Mrs. Ruby's sample workbook placed at the front of classroom. Several non-participant children come and ask for my help. The classroom teacher assists, from her chair, children standing in line. English instructor Mrs. Ruby, who is moving around to help children, leaves the classroom due to another English lesson elsewhere.
>
> Eunju does the task by herself and then shows her answers to Taesu. Bohae and Seijin work on their own. After finishing the task, Bohae reviews Seijin's answers and says to him, "O.K." To finish the task, Inchul relies on a neighbor. Because Inchul seems to be making the neighbor feel uncomfortable, I offer Inchul aid. Inchul rejects the offer, saying, "Please, go away" and continues copying. [I think it is too much of a task for the children to finish in that short of time. The tasks seem to be difficult for many of the children. Yet, it appears they have their own strategies for getting done.]
>
> (PK_GC_ Overvation_0630: 3-4)

In the description above, Bohae, Eunju, and Seijin seemed to do the task by themselves; at least, they did not simply copy other's answers. Choha, Junseo, Inchul, and Taesu relied on the answer key or more capable friends. In other observations, Lahyun was seen to be an independent leaner like Bohae, whereas Kyungmin was seen to be a copier like Inchul. Some children (Inchul, Kyungmin, and Taesu) seemed to care little about the English learning. However, most of them seemed to agree to get the work done.

The following description is also regarding English workbook time. Eunju seemed to finish her workbook by herself, though unsure whether her answers were right or not.

> Mrs. Ruby: *You know which one comes first? Put the sticker.* The most important thing is to do it in order. *Today we are going to do Days of the week*. We are doing only two pages.
> (Green Class spread out to small-group tables. After receiving the workbooks, the children turn to the page Mrs. Ruby indicated.)
> Miss Moon: Everyone, you should concentrate on working.
> (Four adults, English instructor, Mrs. Ruby, Miss Moon, a student teacher, and the researcher assist the children with workbook tasks. Eunju sitting at a table near the entrance door shows me her answers)
> Eunju: (to me) Teacher, are these right? (When I can't answer it immediately, Eunju asks Mrs. Ruby.) Teacher, are these right?
> Mrs. Ruby: *Good.*
> Eunju: (she understands her answers are correct and then says to a friend next to her) Do it like mine.
>
> (PK_GC_Observation_0517:3)

Here no feedback was given for the workbook or from other sources such as storybooks or educational materials. Thus, Eunju relied only on teachers' answers to make sure her answers were correct. In particular, the English instructor seemed to be the source of

knowledge. In Mrs. Ruby's English lessons, particularly in workbook time, the child participants and the instructor seemed to focus more on final answers than on how the answers worked in the questions.

Two polarized English learners. In terms of English learning, the child participants of Green Class seemed to be at various levels of English knowledge and degree of learning and participation. As for Bohae, her voice in almost every English lesson was remarkable. Many times only Bohae's answers could be heard in the English lessons. Seijin and Eunju sometimes answered, though they failed to find appropriate English words, they seemed to understand the English questions. The voices of Haerim, Choha, Lahyun, and Junseon were rarely heard during the interactions, but they looked to some extent as though they were seriously taking part. Kyungmin seemed to join in the singing, but she seemed to find the English learning not easy going. Inchul and Taesu often looked unfocused.

It might be natural for the children to show their various levels of English learning and degree of participation in English lessons. However, two polarized English learners' cases (Bohae vs. Inchul and Taesu) attracted my attention, because their differences seemed linked to the systematic problems observed in the Green Class's English lessons. During the fieldwork, Bohae was the most remarkable student in every observed English lesson. She usually focused on English instructors' words and followed their instructions very well. Bohae often answered the questions on her own and sometimes with several other children.

(Showing a picture book, "*Play at Night"*, Mr. Daniel asks questions)
Mr. Daniel: *What's this? Is she on the bed?*
Class: (almost no response). [The children seem to be distracted.]
Mr. Daniel: *He is on the bed? Under the bed?*
Bohae: *Under the bed.*
Mr. Daniel: *Very good.*
Mr. Daniel: (turning the page) *What does he do tonight?* (He is asking several questions to the children, but they rarely answer them.) … *What is he wearing?*
Bohae: *Dress.*
Mr. Daniel: *Very good. Mirror. Where is now mirror?*
Bohae: Restroom.
Mr. Daniel: *Good. In the bathroom.* (PK_GC_Observation_0624:3)

In addition, Bohae sometimes translated English language instructors' words from English to Korean in order to help her classmates understand them.

(After singing along with the Green Class, Mrs. Ruby asks questions.)
Mrs. Ruby: *Are you listening to CD at home? Are you reading the book at home?*
Children: (almost no response)
Mrs. Ruby: *How many times?*
Bohae: (to the class, translating the English question to Korean one) How many times did you look at it?
(The children start to talk amongst themselves and their conversations become louder.)
(PK_GC_Observation_0705:2)

On the contrary, Inchul's and Taesu's responses to Mrs. Ruby's questions were very different from Bohae's. In the excerpt below, Mrs. Ruby asked questions to just two children, unlike her ordinary whole-class interaction pattern. Mrs. Ruby focused on Inchul and Taesu because of their distractedness which they talked to each other during her English lesson.

Mrs. Ruby: (to the whole class) *How are you? How's the weather?* [She seems hurried.]
Some children: *Sunny, sunny…* (not all kids are answering)
(Mrs. Ruby and the Green Class sing a song "How's the weather?" together.)
Mrs. Ruby: (after the song, to the whole class) *What's the day today?*
Bohae & some children*: Thursday*
(Mrs. Ruby and Green Class sing a song '*January, February, March.. Sunday, Monday'*)
Mrs. Ruby: (pointing out two kids) *One, Two. Stand up, please.*
You guys, stand up please.
Inchul and Taesu: (stand up)
Mrs. Ruby: (to Taesu) *What's the day today?*
Taesu: (louder voice) *Rainy*
Bohae: (giving the answer softly) *Thursday, Thursday.*
Mrs. Ruby: *What's the day today?*
Taesu: (He seems to hear the answer from Bohae) *Thursday*
Mrs. Ruby: (to Inchul*) How's the weather today?*
Inchul: (He doesn't answer it)
Mrs. Ruby: (to Inchul) *How's the weather today?*
Inchul: (apparently catching a wrong answer from someone) *Thursday*
(PK_GC_ Observation_0630:1)

It was the end of June when Inchul and Taesu couldn't answer properly. English lessons by Mrs. Ruby had been going on for the prior four months; it was only approximately one month remaining until the end of the first semester. Mrs. Ruby had asked such questions again and again Taesuas had Mr. Daniel. Why the two children couldn't answer it properly is unclear. Perhaps they really didn't know; they might have been unfamiliar with direct individual questions; or they froze up in front of their classmates.

The above different cases seem to show well about the examples of two polarized groups of English learners (e.g., excellent vs. poor) of Green Class. In whatever classes, probably some children may do well, but some children not well in

terms of certain learning. In addition, the same expectation to all children may be inappropriate, because they would be various in terms of current knowledge, motivation, interests, and cultural historical backgrounds. Nevertheless, if English lessons were working on only a few children, the lessons have to be reconsidered and modified in order to facilitate children's better experiences or learning in English.

ECE Teacher's assistances in English lessons. Miss Moon was the ECE teacher of Green Class at Pine Kindergarten. Like Miss Kang, she had four years of experience as a kindergarten teacher. Overall, Miss Moon seemed to manage her class in pleasant and active ways; her children enjoyed their play time and concentrated on their work or tasks during the regular kindergarten hours. In the English lessons taught by English instructors, she would provide direct or indirect assistance according to the situation, but she did not actively incorporate English into her regular kindergarten curriculum. In the following, I describe this theme along with (a) making academic classroom environment in English lessons, (b) providing assistance in English lessons, (c) a slight inclusion of English in her regular kindergarten curriculum, and (d) carefully planning on class schedules, but sometimes being conflict.

Creating an academic classroom environment in English lessons. Miss Moon, ahead of each English lesson, tried to make the atmosphere of Green Class quiet and peaceful. She often reminded her students of the appropriate attitude right before. The following excerpt gives a sense of the classroom atmosphere and of her expectations.

(After clean-up time, the children of Green Class take a seat around Miss Moon.

She turns on soft music and says to the class, “Calm down.”)
Miss Moon: During the center playtime of one hour and ten minutes, you guys did play well without too much noise or fighting. You guys looked like big brother. At 11:20 am, Teacher Daniel is coming. During Teacher Daniel’s English lesson, please listen to him well. When he cannot communicate with you in Korean, if you guys do not concentrate on his class and denote him as “angry teacher,” he won’t be happy. During the English lesson, particularly boys, listen to him well, please. It seems to be boys who cannot sit for too long.
(PK_GC_Observation_0513:3)

In addition, Miss Moon often would sit outside of the whole class children during the English lesson, at the rear or flank side, observing her children’s participation in the English lesson. During the observations, she sometimes added short comments in Korean to the children such as “Great job” and “Please, listen carefully.” Sometimes, it would be time for Miss Moon to do her extra work (e.g., reviewing the children’ English workbooks). Miss Moon would also sit in the middle of the large group and sing along with them, so as to encourage them to actively participate in English lessons.

It is unclear how her efforts made for a more scholarly classroom atmosphere in the English lessons. However, the absence of Miss Moon even for brief moments seemed to show that she played an important role. When she was gone, each English instructor struggled to manage the students. In other words, her mere presence was significant in building a studious classroom environment or in preventing the children from being distracted during the English lessons.

Providing assistance in English lessons. The time assigned to doing the English workbook often seemed to be in confusion due to some mismatch between the English

level of the workbook and that of the children. The children appeared to have difficulty solving the questions.[70] Although the contents and methods of her assistances differed from time to time, Miss Moon usually helped most of the children complete the workbook tasks. The following shows Miss Moon providing direct assistance.

> (Mrs. Ruby has left Green classroom to teach English in other classrooms before the workbook time is finished. Miss Moon realizes that her children are having difficulties with their workbook. Going outside the classroom for a second, she brings the storybook *Jasper's Beanstalk* and shows it to the children. Miss Moon talks to them in Korean)
> Miss Moon: Let's examine how we can finish the workbook. Please gather quickly in the large-group area.
> (Having the children listen to the song "*Jasper's Beanstalk*" on the CD-player, Miss Moon explains the events of the book in order.)
> Miss Moon: The most important thing is not to place 1 and 2 on the bottom, but to look at things carefully and put it in a zigzag order. Let's take a look at what you have done so far.
>
> (PK_GC_Observation_0517:4)

A small inclusion of English in her regular kindergarten curriculum. In the Green classroom, the English language environment was rarely on display. There were nearly no English words, signs, or charts on the walls of the classroom; only Korean was used in the graph for children's frequency of book reading, the daily classroom schedule chart, and the signs for center-play areas. English words could be found only in a quite small number of foreign-made educational materials. One exception was a display entitled, "We have lots of feeling," filled with English words regarding feeling (e.g., sad, happy) and its photos were displayed on the big bulletin board of Green Class

[70] To me, an adult studying in an English-speaking country, the right answers of the workbook were unclear.

before and after the parents' participation day held one day in June. This case might, in some way, reflect the parents' interests in the English education for their child.

During regular classroom hours, Miss Moon sometimes used English lesson songs as background music for small group activities, snack time, or lunch time. She would also, though not often, utilize the singing of English songs as a concentration strategy, prior to main activities such as large-group discussions and storybook reading. Miss Moon's involvement in English education seems to be not much different from the finding of M-J. Kang and Choi's (2010) study: in their study, approximately 70 % of the early childhood teachers did not involve in English education and 20 % of them would do some repetition or recall activities for short periods of time.

Carefully planning, but sometimes encountering conflict. Miss Moon seemed to carefully plan her daily kindergarten schedules, during pre-assigned English lesson hours. According to Miss Moon, their weekly schedule of English lessons was determined at the beginning of each semester, although Mrs. Ruby's Tuesday's lesson was changed from afternoon to morning.

The following table (Table 10) shows two examples of daily lesson plans by Miss Moon. In the table, we can see where daily English lessons were placed within the entire classroom schedules. To a certain degree, the classroom schedule followed the pattern of starting with greetings followed by center-play. After that, there was clean up and gathering at the large-group meeting carpet. Next, the large-group conversation was held, the topic of which depended upon the situation that day such as weather

condition, theme of the week or month, group-size, availability of extra-curricular rooms, and so forth (e.g., field trip).

Table 10

Examples of Daily Classroom Schedule of Green Class

June 24 (Fri), 2011 (theme: Foreign countries)		July 05 (Tue), 2011 (theme: Mass media)	
Time	Activity	Time	Activity
- 10:00	Greeting [71] Center play time	- 10:05	Greeting Center play time
10:00-10:20	Large-group conversation regarding foreign countries	10:05-10:25	Large-group time (greeting, calendar, introducing daily schedules, etc)
10:20-11:15	Small-group discussion & art activity	10:25-10:50	Out-door play
11:15-11:20	Large-group time (conversation about the procedures of art work)	10:50-11:00	Snack
11:20-11:40	**English lesson** (Mr.Daniel_Whole group activity)	11:00-11:40	**English lesson** (Mrs. Ruby- Whole group activity) Workbook (Mrs. Ruby until 11:30 Individual work – spread small group desks)
11:40-12:10	Resuming the small-group art activity	11:40-11:50	Story time
12:10-12:20	Clean-up time	11:50-12:15	Large group activity
	continued *	12:15-13:45	Lunch & Center play time
		13:45-14:00	Dismissal

Note. The classroom activities were continued until the dismissal.

[71] Greeting time with individual children varied because there were time intervals in their arrivals at Green Class.

Although Miss Moon usually seemed to consider English lessons in planning her daily lesson plans (e.g., placing activities or time periods that would not interfere in the following English lesson), in some cases like the daily schedule of June 24, 2011 displayed in the above table, the pre-set English lesson time schedule seemed to rather interrupt the regular kindergarten activity, "foreign countries." That is, the small–group art activity was halted and resumed due to the pre-scheduled English lesson. Such classroom operation is in line with other cases that were reported in H. Jun's (2009) study. In her study, private kindergarten teachers raised their difficulties in planning and operating their classroom schedules as considering the connections and balances between activities due to the pre-set English time schedules. However, from an English instructor's view, it could be said that the class was ill-prepared to learn English because of the preceding activity.

Summary of the Pedagogical Practices in Green Class

English education seemed to be significantly considered in Green Class given the increased time allowance to English lessons and the adaptation of a half-group lesson. On the other hand, it seemed to not be importantly reflected in their kindergarten curriculum given the lack of back-up lessons for the missing ones. In the English lessons, each English instructor seemed to focus on preceding their English lessons with little consideration of the children's current abilities, interests, and understanding. In the meantime, many child participants would unenthusiastically take part in them; yet, they

did seem to agree on finishing their English tasks. As for the ECE teacher, she would provide direct or indirect assistance. She seemed to be involved no further than that in English education. By performing each role and interacting with one another, the members were co-constructing the pedagogical practices relative to English education: but it didn't seem that they were creating a classroom culture that cares about English lessons and learning.

Green Class: Insiders' Perceptions of the Pedagogical Practices

This section deals with the second research question. In this section, I focus on the descriptions of classroom members, who were co-constructing pedagogical practices relative to English education in the Green classroom. In the following, I present the perceptions from three groups of Green Class members: (a) child participants, (b) two English instructors, and (c) the ECE teacher.

Child participants of Green Class. As for the child participants, the main focus was on how the children described the English lessons, English learning, and English language. Three major themes were found from their descriptions: (a) mostly positive attitudes about English lessons and learning, (b) extrinsic and ideological motivations, (c) English instructor as the source of knowledge, and (d) unclear meanings of and dichotomized thoughts of English.

Mostly positive attitudes about English lessons and learning. When the photo as a prop (see Appendix A "Child Interview Protocol") was shown to each interview

group, all of the children were able to guess that the picture was of an English lesson being given in an educational facility like their kindergarten. Regarding the question of "How would the children in this photo feel about the English lesson?" eight child participants[72] gave a positive answer, "good" (8).

As to reasons, six children answered differently: "because they do English" (2), "because they learn and become to know" (1), "because body-movement is fun" (2), and "because they can play after the lesson" (1). In these answers, half focused on doing and learning English; the other half focused on instructional methods like "body-movement" or extrinsic rewards like "play." However, Kyungmin's response was inconsistent with her earlier answer, although the last part of her utterance is unclear.

> Researcher: I took this picture of children studying English from another school. You are right. This is not Green class. But, you can't see the children's faces.
> Kyungmin: It is because they are turned around.
> Researcher: Yes, they are turned around [the picture was taken from the backside of a classroom]. How do you think they feel?
> Inchul: Good.
> Researcher: HG, why do you think they feel good?
> Inchul: Because [they] can play after [they] study hard.
> Researcher: Because they study hard? KM, what do you think?
> Kyungmin: (pause, than in a low voice) I think they feel good.
> Researcher: Why?
> Kyungmin: When [they or we] study, [they or we] can get annoyed…
> (PK_GC_Interview_Child Group C_0615:11)

As for the questions regarding their experiences in English lessons at Green Class, they pointed out fun activities that they did—songs, quizzes, and games. Seven out of the ten child participants said that there was nothing to dislike about their English

[72] This question was asked to 8 out of 10 child participants.

lessons. The two remaining children complained of particular things such as grammar explanation and greeting; another remaining child, Kyungmin, pointed out an activity that she experienced in a small-group English lesson with Miss Grace. Kyungmin stated, "Uh- uh- Something we were doing a little while ago…That is the part that I really dislike" (PK_GC_ Interview_ Child Group C_0615:13). In the group interviews, most children answered in positive ways, except for Kyungmin, questions regarding their guess of other children's feeling and their experiences in English lessons.

Extrinsic and ideological motivations. Answering "Why do you think the children in this photo learn English in their kindergarten?", nine out of the ten child participants gave reasons[73]. Their reasons were as follows: "to communicate with foreigners who speak English or different languages" (4); "to learn English more"(1); "to study different language" (1); "to be a great person" (1); "because it is time for an English teacher to come to the class" (1); and "to play after studying English hard"(1). Four children gave the reason related to the use of English as a communication means. These answers were different from Nikolov's (1999) result that instrumental motivation for foreign language (English) learning emerged before puberty and strengthened around that period. One interesting answer was given by Bohae, to be a great person. Her thinking might reflect the images or roles of English in Korean society which are related to academic success and future fortune (e.g., Y. Kim, 2006; No & Park, 2008).

[73] Instead of giving a reason, one child, Taesu, said "I forgot it."

Interesting parts among all the answers are given here: "Because it is time for an English teacher to come to the class" (Lahyun), "to play after learning English hard" (Inchul), and "to become a great person" (Bohae). As for the motivation, Lahyun was not likely to be motivated in learning English. Inchul seemed to speak of himself.

> Researcher: … Why are they learning English?
> Inchul: To play after learning English.
> Researcher: To play afterward? Kyungmin, why do you think they are learning English?
> Kyungmin: To study English hard and to speak to Chinese in English.
> (PK_GC_Interview_Child Group C_0615:11)

Inchul's utterace was congruent with his previous utterance concerning why the children felt good: "Because they can play after the lesson." Bohae also appeared to express her motivation.

> Researcher: Ok, so I told you that this is a picture of children learning English at another kindergarten. Why do you think they are learning English?
> Seijin: Uh… to learn a different language.
> Researcher: And… Bohae?
> Bohae: Uh… to learn English and become a great person.
> (PK_GC_Interview_Child Group B_0615:7)

Bohae, an excellent English learner, always looked eager to learn English. She made a connection between learning English and being a great person. Her description may be rooted in Korean culture, which has traditionally considered studying to be important to self-improvement (J.-K. Park, 2009); it may also be rooted in Korea's conviction that English is a necessary means for success (J.S. Park, 2009).

Table 11

Answers of Child Participants of Green Class

Child Name	Interview Group	Child's Answers
		a) Q: What is English? b) Q: Why are they learning English?
Bohae	Group B	a) Uh- [English is] to speak English **b) To be a great person**
Choha	Group B	*a)* I don't know *b)* When we meet English speaking people, to speak English
Eunju	Group A	a) Um… b) To speak with foreigners.
Haerim	Group A	a) Introducing myself in English such as doing in parents' participation day b) Uh - to go to the U.S. and to speak with foreigners in English
Inchul	Group C	*a)* Study. **c) To play after studying English hard**
Junseo	Group A	a) 'Hello' like that b) Because they do English a little bit, to learn English more
Kyungmin	Group C	a) My brother study English at home… [something related to her brother's English study is continued] b) To go to china and to speak with Chinese in English
Lahyun	Group D	a) (she points to the English words seen in the photo) b) because it is time for an English teacher to come to the class
Seijin	Group B	a) Other country language. People lived in different regions have different languages. So, language ….. b) To learn other language.
Taesu	Group D	a) (Like Lahyun, he points to the photo) this… this.. b) I forgot it.

Note: The bold characters denote answers the researcher found interesting

English instructor as the source of knowledge. Answering the hypothetical (Graue & Walsh, 1998), "If you meet a difficult English task, how would you solve it?", eight of the ten children proposed their solutions, such as asking for the English instructor's help (4), looking at the instructor's answer keys (1), solving first the

problem that you can find the answer to (1), and quitting or postponing the tasks (2). Eunju and Haerim seemed to blame themselves, saying that they should have listened more carefully to the English instructors from the beginning, instead of giving direct solutions.

> Researcher: When you are answering an English question while studying, the question is too hard. What should you do? How would to solve it? Eunju?
> Eunju: [We or I] had to listen to the teacher carefully from the beginning.
> Researcher: [You] have to listen from the beginning? How about Haerim?
> Haerim: I think so too. Like Eunju said, [We or I] had to listen to the teacher.
> Researcher: What if you still can't do it? What should you do?
> Junseo: Then, think first.
> Researcher: Ok. Think, then?
> Junseo: [I] will come up with something if [I] think about it from the start. And write down what [I] come up with.
>
> (PK_GC_Interview_Child Group A_0615:4)

Their first utterances seem to show knowledge that the English instructor is the source of English knowledge. Seven out of ten child participants responded in this way. These responses seem to show the pedagogical practices that knowledge transmission from an English instructor to the children of Green Class was centered in English lessons at Green Classroom. Junseo, however, suggested a different strategy; his utterance also reveals that every child brought his/her own prior belief, knowledge, and experience in a particular context.

Unclear meanings of and dichotomized thoughts of English. "What is English?" Two out of ten child participants (Eunju, Choha) did not answer it or pleaded ignorance.

Researcher: Why do you think these children are learning English?
Eunju: Uh- English- To speak English when you meet someone from other country. Practice.
Researcher: You practice to speak well. Who wants to talk next? Why are they learning English. Junseo?
Junseo: Uh- Because they know little English, so they are learning to know more.
Researcher: That's a good idea. Haerim?
Harem: Uh- To speak in English when you go to America.
Researcher: All three of you have great ideas. What is English?
Junseo: It's like 'Hello'.
Researcher: That's English? What do you think, Eunju?
Eunju: Um….
Researcher: How about Haerim? Eunju, you can think about it a little longer. Haerim, what is English?
Haerim: When my mom did class with parents. It is when doing introducing during English class.
Researcher: That's English? Eunju, what is English?
Eunju: Um…

(PK_GC_Interview_Child Group A_0615:1)

Other two children (Taesu, Lahyun) just pointed to the English words in the photo used as a prop. Another three (Haerim, Junseo, Kyungmin) stated an English word or situation using English. Bohae referred to English as speaking English and Inchul denoted it as studying. Only Seijin described English as a foreign language. None of them described it as directly connected to English-speaking people or countries. Although the child participants could not define English clearly, many of them understood the use of English as a communicative means.

In the final two hypothetical questions regarding their feeling on capable and incapable English learners, six[74] out of the ten children described "doing English well" by words of "feeling happy (nice)" or "I would be jealous." Lahyun responded "Then, I am also likely to be better." On the other hand, nine[75] children designated "not doing English well" by words of "feeling sad (upset)," or "I would help him/her".

> Researcher: If there is a child really good at English, how do you think you would feel about him or her?
> Inchul: Good feeling.
> Researcher: Why do you think you would feel good?
> Inchul: Because the child is good at English.
> Researcher: You think that the child would feel good because he/her is good at English? How about, how would feel if there is a child who is very bad at English?
> Kyungmin and Inchul: [He/she] would feel bad.
> Researcher: Why?
> Kyungmin: Uh… If that child can't do homework, he can't talk to Chinese people. And he can't play or have fun.
> Researcher : Ah ha. I see. (PK_GC_Interview_Child Group C_0615:13)

These dichotomized answers (e.g., good vs. bad) might be directed at the binary questions. However, these answers seem, to some extent, to be associated with the images of English proficiency in Korean society.

ECE Teacher of Green Class. Regarding the second research question, I focused on how the ECE teacher described English education in association with her students' English learning, English instructors' English lessons, and her role related to English education. The following three themes emerged: (a) her conflicts due to

[74] Kyungmin did not answer it; Seijin and Taesu answered that they didn't know.
[75] Taesu did not answer it.

inconsistency between her wishes and current status of English education, (b) not children's English learning but their English experience, and (c) English lesson as dual meanings and her role as an assistant.

Her conflicts due to inconsistency between wishes and current status. Miss Moon's conflicts were revealed in two interviews. They arose from a full list of inconsistencies between her educational beliefs/ wishes and the present operation of English lessons by English language instructors. Miss Moon first raised a fundamental question, the necessity of English education.

> Researcher: Then, Teacher, what do you think about the English lessons operated in your kindergarten class? Do you think that they are important?
> Miss Moon: English class is not included in the formal kindergarten curriculum. Despite that fact, it continues informally to this day. So, it makes me think about the inconsistency and effectiveness. Is English education really necessary for kindergarteners? But then, when you look around, it has become a norm, and it leaves us with little choice. If it has to be done anyway, then, I want the children to have exciting experiences with English. Not memorizing word after word, no questioning and answering, I don't want any of that…
> (PK_GC_Interview1_Moon_0517:4)

> Miss Moon: (…) Today, [English education] is still not included in the [national] kindergarten curriculum, is it? I also question whether [English education] has to begin in kindergarten. … (PK_GC_Interview2_Moon_0705:6)

As for the social circumstance surrounding the English education in kindergartens, Miss Moon stated the English language is a means for survival in Korean society. She added that English education would never be stopped in kindergartens thanks to parents' obsession with it. Regarding instructional methods used in English lessons, Miss Moon had this to say:

> I wish that English instructors would give individual children a few more opportunities for presentations and volunteering. There is also the workbook that needs to be finished on time. Although the English instructor might want to give only interactive English lessons, she has to cover the workbook, too. The class time is too short to do chants and games. Consequently, I think my students may feel pressured for doing everything in such a small period of time. (PK_GC_Interview1_Moon_0517:4)

Miss Moon revealed the conflicts she feels and her wishes related to the instructional methods used in current English lessons. She also stated the importance of English instructor's instructional methods and interactions with children as follows

> Depending on [English instructors'] teaching methods, [children's experience of English learning] would be different. How do they experience [English]? Do they experience English in fun or boring ways? Thus, I want to make their English learning experience as fun and interesting as possible.… (PK_GC_Interview1_Moon_0517:7)

> No matter how good the textbooks are, the instructor's teaching methods seem to be the most important in children's English learning. No matter how fun the educational materials are utilized in the class, the class is different depending on how the instructor presents those materials. Same lesson contents may result in different learning experiences for the children, fun or bored, depending on who and how it was taught. (PK_GC_Interview1_Moon_0517:8,9)

Miss Moon focuses here on issues of instructional methods and qualities of English instructors. In relation to English education, issues of what to teach and why to teach were not seen in the utterances reflecting her conflicts. Her utterances seemed to be embedded in the discourse of developmental appropriateness (Bredekamp, 1987; Bredekamp & Copple, 1997), which is more focused on the issue of how to teach.

***Not children's English learning, but their English experience*.** In relation to her students' English learning, Miss Moon stated that English lessons and learning

should mean for the children the experiencing of English. She seemed to have low expectations regarding children's English learning. Although the following excerpts are shown in relation to Green Class's English learning, they also contain Miss Moon's conflicts or wishes.

> Researcher: What do you think about the connection between your students' current English experience in Green Class and their future English learning?
> Miss Moon: I think the prominent difference will be whether they have been previously exposed to English or not. Children with a good foundation in basics and phonics will excel in elementary-level English compared to those without that foundation. How much experience you have or how familiar you are with English is what makes them stand out from the rest.
> (PK_GC_Interview1_Moon_0517:6, 7)

Miss Moon described her class as having a wide range of individual differences in terms of children's English learning.

> First, there are individual differences in their interest levels in English learning. It is certain… Children with more interests and say that they like [English lessons], tend to focus more during the lesson. Also, their academic abilities and concentration level depend simply on their personalities…
> (PK_GC_Interview1_Moon_0517:3)

> At present, there are some who have just started to be interested in [English]. There are some who show no progress. I see some children trying to speak English in gibberish. Individual differences are rather big… Some do very well… and others just can't… If more students were in the middle level, the classroom atmosphere would be better. (inaudible) It is hard to find the mid-level children. (PK_GC_Interview2_Moon_0705:2)

Miss Moon also recognized the issue of students not keeping up with the lessons, criticizing the English language instructors who were not considering children's individual differences and their current levels of English.

> [The English language instructors] don't know my students' characteristics, strengths, or weaknesses. [They] really see only a small side of the children, just from that lesson period. So, [they] have a hard time adjusting their English lessons to the children. Only [they] give the same lesson to [all]. Consequently, the children who do English well can follow the English instructors well, whereas the children who do not are continuously ignored [in the lessons]…
>
> (PK_GC_Interview2_0705:4,5)

As Miss Moon points out, mismatches between the English lessons and the children's levels of understanding might be interrelated with the absence of children in English instructors' lessons.

English lesson as dual meanings and her role as an assistant. Miss Moon described English lessons as an extra-curricular activity separate from her regular kindergarten curriculum. However, she also mentioned that English education was not limited to the English lessons and was likely to be one of the regular kindergarten activities such as learning new songs. Miss Moon added what she wished for regarding the contents of English lessons implemented in Green Class.

> Researcher: When you think about the English education by English instructors and your kindergarten education together, how are these two connected? Or what do they mean to you?
> Miss Moon: It works better to integrate English into daily living. It's too complicated to draw a clean line between the two. English education should not be limited to today's English lesson plan but needs to be extended to everyday situations. For example, I use English words for days of the week, weather, or give children short instructions in English, like "sit down," "stand up," or "good job." And I actually see some children react. I think it is more effective to incorporate English in daily routines than just limiting English lesson to the workbooks. When children get a little more comfortable with the language, then we need to have more sophisticated programs in accordance to the lesson topics. This month's topic is "bean" and next month is "me." With this month's topic, we started "*Jasper's Beanstalk*." The children showed great interest.
>
> (PK_GC_Interview1_Moon_0517:6)

The discrepancy between her two thoughts seems to be related to her conflicts between the current situation and her wishes. As for her roles in relation to English education, Miss Moon stated that if we expect more positive outcomes, the homeroom teacher (ECE teacher) should cooperate with the English language instructor. She seemed to consider important her role in English lessons. The teacher's role described by Miss Moon was to build an academic atmosphere and make her students focus on English lessons.

> First of all, [my role] is to build an academic atmosphere. The second role is also the same. That seems to be a big part. I know that the English language instructor takes priority over the homeroom teacher in English lessons. Yet, [children] know that they have to follow their homeroom teacher's directions. (…) Building up classroom atmosphere seems to be a big role. In particular English workbook time, (…) English instructors are only able to see the children as a whole group, whereas I know [their levels of English]. Then, [my role] is to provide customized help…
>
> (PK_GC_Interview2_Miss Moon_0705:3,4)

English Instructors in Green Class. As for the second research question, I focus on how the English instructors described and interpreted the pedagogical practices in English lessons. Although the two instructors described the contents and instructional methods of their English lessons in different ways,[76] they shared the following themes: (a) limitations of the children of Green Class, (b) weakness of whole-group English lessons, and (c) parents as a not important or unimportant being in their lessons.

[76] In the section of research question 1, Mrs. Ruby's class used a highly systematic English program developed by a book publisher, whereas Mr. Daniel's lessons were prepared by himself.

Limitations of the children of Green Class. Mrs. Ruby and Mr. Daniel described limitations rather than strengths concerning their lessons. Mrs. Ruby talked about the limitations of large-group lessons and her wish to improve the Green Class children's posture. Mr. Daniel pointed out the children's low level of English ability.

> Researcher: Could you tell me about your lessons for the Green class? I am making my own observations, but I would like to hear your description.
> Mrs. Ruby: Seven-year-olds [Korean age]… Although their English level isn't much more advanced than the younger ones, they do show better cognition. In terms of English level, they haven't really progressed, but it is still possible to move a little faster through my lesson plans. Because it is a big class, there is a large discrepancy in English levels among the students which is the most difficult part of teaching Green class. But other teachers help a lot. And seven-year-olds [Korean age] have abilities to understand if they pay attention… so, they are doing pretty well following my lessons. I do wish that they would improve their posture… because how they position their body influences the learning process. (PK_GC_Interview_Ruby_0628:1)

> Researcher: Could you describe your English class, English lessons in the Green Classroom for me?
> Mr. Daniel: *O.K. So… I would start with a greeting song, then we would do… just ask "how are you?" real simple, simple, simple questions… Um-- sing a song about the weather, ask them how the weather is... and in each class I would try to do maybe two new words, the words are maybe "hot" and "cold," "loud" and "soft"… You know two opposite words. And maybe every two class I would try to introduce two new words, because the Green Class' English is very low. I don't know very much though. I try to do very little. And then I would read the story. And just have them copy, copy my words and concentrate on words with hard pronunciation, so they can learn to make "f" sound, learn to make "v" sound things like that. Real, real simple stuff and then good-bye. Very short. 20 minutes. 20 minutes… not really much to teach. … Try to make sure kids can hear how words should sound, not so much learn a list of vocabulary.*
> (PK_GC_Interview_Daniel_6030:1)

In the above two excerpts, the two instructors seemed to concede limitations of their English lessons. However, they seemed to attribute the limitations to the child's

low level of English, their posture, a wide range of individual differences, and large group size. They did not question the level of content and their instructions.

Weakness of whole-group English lessons. Regarding her English lessons, Mrs. Ruby several times talked about the whole-group English lesson as the biggest weakness in her English lessons at the Green classroom.

> Children, who can, do catch up with my lessons very well. Other children, who can't, fall behind for the rest of the class. This is the biggest problem of a large group. Classes are not formed by their English proficiency level, so there is a big difference among children within the same class. The lessons are not designed to suit individuals but for the whole class. So, advanced children reflect great understandings, and the rest just participate in activities day to day without actual understanding the materials. It is really difficult to see where everyone is at in terms of their abilities in a large group setting.
>
> (PK_GC_Interview_Ruby_0628:2,3)

Mrs. Ruby also described conflicts related to the whole-group size lessons:

> A conflict is related to the differences between large-group and small group activities (…) From my point of view, [I] prefer a small-group class, which is more interactive [with students] than large-group class. This conflict is not only related to English education, but also to our general teaching system.
>
> (PK_GC_Interveiw_Ruby_0628:4)

For Mrs. Ruby, the large-group lesson seemed to be at the center of her lessons' limitation. The other English instructor, Mr. Daniel, also targeted the whole-group lesson.

> *It seems that their understanding is much better than the younger kids, much lower than H class* [another class] *I feel. And some of kids in the H class, their English are better than my 'Hakwon' (private English language institute) kids. The Green class is tough, so many students* (…)
> *But the Green Class, the Pine Kindergarten is the best kindergarten that I've ever worked at.* (…) *The Green Class, some of kids are pretty good* [in English]. *And… but it is hard to tell who's good, who's not, because there are so many*

> *kids. Yet, I don't even know their names. And I know some of H class kids' names. That's it.* (PK_GC_Interview_Daniel_0630:3)

Mrs. Ruby and Mr. Daniel both brought up the large-group issue. Again, they did not question the English program or the English content.

Parents as an important or unimportant being in their lessons. *The image of* the parents of the Green Class was rarely displayed in the interview with each English instructor. Neither instructor spoke of the parents' high demand or interest in English education. Mrs. Ruby did say this:

> First of all, if their child is doing English well and has a good attitude, the parent feels very good about it. On the other hand, in cases of the parent whose child has a bad attitude or is constantly distracted, parents tend to be concerned, only looking at their child. That day (parents' participation day) was similar…
> (PK_GC_Interview_Ruby_0628:5)

Mrs. Ruby is speaking here of individual parents' responses to their children's behaviors or attitudes, whereas she made no mention of the parents' high demand or interest in English education. However, during her English lessons prior to the parent participation day, Mrs. Ruby often brought up parents' visiting or the parent participation day. Regarding the connection between educations at home and at kindergarten, Mrs. Ruby could not clearly explain. "Because I send a book and CD home prior to my lessons, [the children] are probably listening to the book and CD at home" (PK_GC_Interview_Ruby_0628:5).

Mr. Daniel displayed the same type of reticence. In the following, he said that even on the special day, parents' participation day, he didn't feel any pressure. For him,

the presence of the parents seemed to be invisible in relation to his English lessons at Green Class.

> *The class with parents is harder… Korean English teachers than the foreign English teacher* [me], *because they are asked to do all the prep works and to prepare everything. I think I can come in as a foreign teacher and therefore… show (ha ha). But it is O.K. for me. I don't have to prepare anything. Pressure is on the other teachers.* (…) [The kindergarten or the teachers would think that] *We have a foreign native speaker come to our kindergarten … I don't really do too much. So the parent day was easy for me. And the stress is on the other teachers I think. But… I like doing it. It's fun.*
>
> (PK_GC_Interview_Daniel_0630:1)

Mrs. Ruby stated that learning English did not simply mean learning another language; she added that the influences from the English language itself seem to be tremendous in Korea. Regarding English education for children in Korean society, Mr. Daniel spoke of the issue based on his experience at private English language institute (*hakwon*) in Korea. He illustrated his unfavorable methods used in *hakwon* such as blind memorization and score-centeredness situations. He called such English education not an education but a business. These descriptions seemed to reveal a current image of English education in Korean society.

Summary of Green Class Insiders' Perceptions

The child participants of Green Class tended to describe English learning and English proficiency by using positive words such as fun, nice, and happy; but not all of them were so positive. The children also tended to consider the English instructor as the source of English knowledge. As for the ECE teacher of Green Class, the conflicts she

felt between her wishes and the real situation of English lessons surfaced throughout the interviews; she seemed to have very low expectation for positive outcomes of her students' English learning. The two English instructors recognized limitations with the children of Green Class and with whole-group lessons, but they stopped short, it seemed, of seriously considering the limitations, the children's levels of English and understanding, and their parent's expectations. All groups of the Green Class members seemed to interpret the limitations of English lessons that they felt at the class or possible problem situation (e.g., problem-solving question for the child participants) as something derived from an individual/individuals or large-group size: for example, the ECE teacher, Miss Moon pointed out the English instructors' disregard for children' differences. Despite all that, the members were co-constructing the pedagogical practices, but they did not seem to think that they mutually contributed to the practices.

Comparisons and Discussions

In this section, I compare, synthesize, and interpret salient themes across the two classes. In some cases, I include discrepancies that could be significant in understanding English education in the two classes. In doing so, I keep the following two questions in mind: (a) What are the similarities and differences across the two classes? (b) Why are they similar or dissimilar? Beyond the classroom level, I also consider a larger "structural context" such as kindergarten and/or school district and "sociocultural context" such as social, cultural, political, and educational conditions

(Cornbleth, 1990). I delineate this section along with the two research questions: (a) What are the pedagogical practices relative to English education in two private kindergarten classes in Korea? (b) How do the members of the two classes (i.e., the children, ECE teachers, and English language instructors) perceive the language, language teaching and learning, and pedagogical practices?

Pedagogical Practices: across the Two Classes

The section above described my findings along with salient themes found in each kindergarten class. While not mutually exclusive, the themes could be classified into the five categories: (a) operational features of English lessons; (b) contents, methods, and materials of English lessons; (c) children's responses, interactions, and participation; (d) English instructors' interactions with children; and (e) ECE teachers' roles in relation to English education. Along with these five, I delineate in the following comparisons, syntheses, and interpretations. At the end of this section, I provide a summary and answer the first research question.

Operational features of English lessons. Existing studies (S.H. Kim, 2008; D. Lee et al., 2006; J. Lee & Chung, 2004) have reported that despite the Korean Ministry of Education's opposition to English education in kindergartens English lessons are offered during regular kindergarten hours, and Red Class and Green Class were in keeping with this trend,. However, the degree to which both classes focused on English education seemed to differ, by duration, frequency, and group size.

Red Class on average allotted 47 minutes to daily English lessons; Green Class allotted 25. Red Class held English lessons nine times per week and Green Class four. Red Class devoted much more time to English lessons than did the classes in S.H. Kim's (2008) study; Green Class was on par. As for group size, Red Class conducted half-group English lessons approximately seven out of nine times, and Green Class one out of four. Compared to the results in such studies as Yang et al.'s (2001a) and S.H. Kim's (2008), Red Class's group size was quite small.

However, these numerical differences between the two classes may be more meaningful when we look at their larger contexts. When it comes to historical changes regarding English education in the two kindergartens, the frequency and duration of English lessons had, over the past ten years in both kindergartens, gradually increased or changed. According to the director of Rose Kindergarten, from the academic year of 2011, the regular classroom hours were extended 30 minutes to accommodate the extended time (i.e., 30 minutes) given to English lessons. Pine Kindergarten, extended the time a little bit for English lessons due to their adopting half-group English lessons in 2009.

This tendency is similar to what has been reported in existing studies. According to the literature, English education has been much more emphasized in private kindergartens (M-J. Kang & Choi, 2010; S.H. Kim, 2008; H. Jun, 2009). From the comparisons between studies conducted at the beginning of the 2000s and those done over the past five years, the tendency was more noticeable: for example, the

frequency of English lessons per week increased from 2-3 times in Yang et al.'s (2001a) study to 3.64 times in that of S.H. Kim's (2008).

We now need to consider why the two kindergartens enhanced, year by year, English lessons and what factors were interrelated with their different degrees of emphasis on English education. In relation to the tendency of enhanced English lessons in private kindergartens, some studies have reported larger sociocultural influences such as globalization, educational fever, and English fever (Jahng, 2011; H. Jun, 2011). Many existing studies have reported that implementing English lessons in private kindergartens was done for the following reasons: the parents' unreasonable demands or pressures on English education and kindergarten owners or directors' decision making not based educational reasons (M.-Y. Cho & Lee, 2009; H. Jun, 2009; S. H. Kim, 2008; J. Lee & Chung, 2004; K.S. Lee et al., 2002; Seo et al., 2009). Such factors might figure into the English education of these two kindergartens.

In my data analysis, I looked into how the directors' lack of educational considerations and the parents' excessive demands apply to the two research sites. In this study, I did not focus on the kindergarten directors' or the parents' perceptions but considered their influences on English education. In private kindergartens' English education, kindergarten directors make decisions regarding English programs, group size, or frequency of English lessons (J-Y. Choi, 2007; J. Lee & Chung, 2004).

Regarding her decision-making processes regarding English education, the Pine Kindergarten director had this to say:

> I believe there has to be something positive for the children to learn and gain, if it [English education] has to be done. So I made certain decisions about the English education and extended the teaching time from two times to three times per week. Then I realized the limitation of teaching in a large group setting…
>
> (PK_Interview_Director_0603:1)

With respect to their curriculum relative to English education, the Rose Kindergarten director had this to say:

> The parents are making the Rose Kindergarten curriculum. There is an originally intended curriculum that we want, but [we] used to incorporate [their opinions] into the curriculum. [We] used to listen to parents' opinions once a semester and twice a year. Then, after the completion of the first semester, and the completion of the second semester… [we] used to adjust the next year curriculum, based on their opinions.
>
> (RK_Interview_Director_0609:4)

Such utterances could not be interpreted simply as the directors' lack of educational considerations or the parents' excessive demands (J. Lee & Chung, 2004; K.S. Lee et al., 2002; Woo & Seo, 2010). Both kindergarten directors seemed to consider the kindergarten parents' opinions and demands. However, the issue of parental influences was more salient in the interview with the Rose Kindergarten director than in that with the Pine director. Moreover, the influence of parents' was made evident in the interviews with the ECE teacher and those with English instructors of Red Class (see more in the section "Insiders' Perceptions"). This does not entirely diverge from the existing findings regarding the parents' influences in such studies as J. Lee and Chung's (2004) and K. S. Lee et al.'s (2002). Nevertheless, more discussions are needed in terms of how we interpret the influences.

If we consider the school districts where the kindergartens are located, we might discover some explanation of the differences in operational features in the English lessons of the two classes. Roes Kindergarten was located in the southern area of Seoul, JIN school district. Pine Kindergarten was located in a southern city of Gyeonggi province, WON school district. JIN school district, famous for its residents' "high education fever," is one of the high performing districts in Korea. In contrast, WON does not stand out regarding students' academic performance. Moreover, so-called "English kindergartens" are much more popular in JIN. Thus, the greater emphasis on English education in Red Class (i.e., relatively longer duration and more frequency of English lessons) seemed to also be mediated by the local situation and expectations.

Indeed the contexts in which each kindergarten was situated might be much more complicated, multidimensional, and even intermingled beyond the descriptions above. Nonetheless, while considering these features, we can add meanings to the numerical features regarding the operation of English lessons. To some extent, the English fever permeating Korean society and the more competitive situations of the so-called "English kindergartens" seemed to be reflected in their operational features, particularly in those of the Red Class. However, the extended hours devoted to English lessons and the operation of half-groups in both classes, and especially the level of that practice in Red Class, may not only denote a compromise between the kindergarten and the parents and but also, within such compromises, denote an effort to provide better English education for their students.

Contents, methods, and materials in English lessons. In both kindergarten classes, English education was implemented based on English programs that they had adopted, as reported in existing studies (S. H. Kim, 2008; H. Park et al., 1997; Yang et al., 2001a). In each class, two types of English programs were utilized together: (a) a particular English program developed by a private English language institute or English book publisher and, (b) an English program consisting of content selected and organized by an English instructor.

However, few existing studies have reported the use of the two types of English programs in one kindergarten (e.g., M-J. Kang & Choi, 2010; S.H. Kim, 2008; Yang et al. 2001a). In contrast, in a few studies this use was found to be focused on a smaller number of research participants. In H. Jun's (2009) study regarding private kindergarten teachers' experiences related to English education, the English programs and instructors were not all single programs or instructors. In S.H. Kim's (2010) study, she focused on four classes of two kindergartens where both the ECE teacher and Korean-speaking English instructor taught English. From the two studies, we can infer that the use of dual or multiple English programs in one kindergarten is not limited to Red Class and Green Class.

Among the two types of English programs, the adoption of a particular English program has been reported to be very common in private kindergartens (J-Y. Choi, 2007; S. H. Kim, 2008; Yang et al., 2001). According to S.H. Kim (2008), the practices based on a particular English program were done in approximately 90 percent of 181 private

kindergartens. As for English programs, Red Class used the C program and Green Class the N program. The C program was used in seven out of nine English lessons; the N program in two out of four. In terms of content, the N program appeared to be more difficult than the C program. For example, in order for Red Class to build children's phonics awareness, it taught a single consonant (e.g., 'l-') and the words using that consonant (e.g., *lemon*, *lion*, *leaf*), whereas Green Class adopted an approach of analytical phonics (e.g., *-ake*, *-ame*, *-ape*).

As for the second type of English program, Mrs. Ivy's English lessons in Red Class operated along with the contents associated with themes familiar to young children (e.g., seasons, animals, and house); Mr. Daniel's lessons in Green Class were based on English picture books. In terms of these big frames (i.e., based on familiar themes or picture books), both instructors' lessons looked suitable for the children. Other factors, however, such as their preparations for lessons, interactions with children, enthusiasm for teaching, and classroom environments, seemed to contribute to unique and complicated pedagogical practices; differences were apparent between the two.

Each of the four English instructors taught English based on different programs, but they all frequently used songs, story, and games as instructional methods along with picture books, music CDs, and flash cards. In addition to those, a drill-focused activity (e.g., worksheet activity) was also utilized, particularly in Mrs. Anna's lessons for the Red Class and in Mrs. Ruby's ones for the Green Class. The activity was apparently done to enhance phonics awareness and comprehension of each English unit. These

instructional methods and materials, in terms of type, are similar to the findings of existing studies such as S. H. Kim's (2008) and Yang et al.'s (2001).

However, two features, which are not easily quantified, appeared somewhat special. One had to do with the instructional materials used in Red Class. The children seemed quite attracted to the interactive CD-ROMs used in Mrs. Anna's lessons. The children could interact with the touch screen and get immediate feedback. In Mrs. Ivy's lessons, the materials drawn from a bag or bags[77] captured the children's attention. Mrs. Ivy pre-planned activities to use the materials but she would sometimes adjust them depending on the children's responses and engagement. The other feature found in Red Class concerned the use of systematic or unsystematic repetitions. English content was taught repeatedly in meaningful ways in English lessons by both Mrs. Anna and Mrs. Ivy.

Despite using both instructional methods, those favorable to children (e.g., singing songs) and those focused on drill (e.g., workbook) like Red Class, Green Class appeared to suffer from mismatches particularly between Mrs. Ruby's English lessons using the N program and the children's levels of understanding. In particular, Mrs. Ruby's lessons tended to run very fast and some children such as Kyungmin, Inchul, and Taesu would sometimes speak of their difficulties learning English or completing English tasks. Similar situations were reported in S. H. Kim's two studies conducted in 2008 and 2010.

[77] Mrs. Ivy brought multiple bags in every English lesson (see more in earlier section).

This difference between the two classes may not be related merely to the content levels of the English programs. It may be significantly influenced by other factors related to the English lessons such as English instructors' interactions, instructional methods, and amount of repetition of grammatical patterns, words, or expressions; the difference may also be interrelated with other co-constructors' (i.e., children, the ECE teacher) beliefs, expectations, and contributions and even broader contexts (e.g., parental expectations, local environments, cultural norms). Yet, this type of mismatch between the levels of English content and child learners' understanding seems to be often understood as developmentally inappropriate practices (Seo et al., 2009; Yang et al., 2001a) and, further, to be interpreted as evidence that English education itself is developmentally inappropriate for Korean kindergarteners (Woo et al., 2002).

However, the mismatches that occurred in Green Class could not be interpreted so simply. One possible explanation seems to be associated with the pre-determined English program developed by the English book company or private English language institute (e.g., the N program in Green Class) and the English programs usually selected by private kindergarten directors. As for the N program of Green Class, its major characteristic was described as "learning English by singing songs" by the director, the ECE teacher, and an English instructor, Mrs. Ruby. No matter how kid-friendly the program is, possible problems may exist in the pre-designed English program: because, once the program was decided on, it seemed that the level of English content could not be adjusted. Also contributing to the mismatches was the limited time, where the N

program was used, assigned to the English lessons (PK_Interview_Ruby_0628). Thus, the mismatches need to be interpreted in broader systems and contexts.

Many existing Korean studies on English education, however, have scarcely considered such contexts (e.g., pre-fixed English contents, excessive amount of tasks within a limited time, parental expectations, and local environment) as those surrounding Mrs. Ruby's English lessons, despite its likelihood of being common in other private kindergartens. As such, English education implemented in private kindergartens often appears to be understood ineffective and/or inappropriate for Korean kindergarten children (e.g., Shin, 2007; Woo et al., 2002)**.**

English instructors' interactions with children. Mrs. Anna of Red Class taught full time, while the other three taught part time. Mrs. Anna's lessons were half-group activities while all the others were whole-group lessons. The only male and native English speaker was Mr. Daniel, an English instructor with Green Class. All the teachers generally interacted with the children in positive ways, though Red Class and Green Class instructors behaved differently in those interactions.

Mrs. Anna and Mrs. Ivy, the English instructors of Red Class, addressed students by their Korean names or English nicknames. They spoke to both the whole group and individual children. They seemed to care about the children's progress in English. In contrast, Green Class instructors, Mrs. Ruby and Mr. Daniel, mainly interacted with the whole group and rarely addressed students by name, consistent with the finding of S.H. Kim's (2008) study. S.H. Kim (2008) reported that English

instructors, particularly native English-speaking instructors, gave their lessons without knowing the names or characteristics of individual children. The English instructors of Green Class taught English to the children in different circumstances from those in Red Class. Mrs. Anna and Mrs. Ivy taught English only in Rose Kindergarten, Red Class, and four other classes. Mrs. Ruby and Mr. Daniel gave English lessons at other private kindergartens, in addition to five other classes at Pine Kindergarten. Thus it was much more challenging for them to interact on a first-name basis with children.

Nonetheless, for 5-year-old kindergarteners, to be called on by name is important to their learning. Knowing children's names would mean that the instructors understood, to some degree, the children's English levels and related well with the students. Furthermore, neglecting to call on students by name might contribute to a sense of marginalization. As second language studies based on sociocultural theories (e.g., Lantolf 2007; Lantolf & Pavlenko, 1995; van Lier, 1996) have noticed, such differences of social interactions between Red and Green Classes seem to contribute to the differences in the children's participation in and their perceptions of English learning.

Existing Korean studies on English education (e.g. M-J. Kang & Choi, 2010; H. Jun, 2009; Seo et al., 2009; Yang et al., 2001) have reported that ECE teachers complain of unqualified English instructors and their inappropriate, from a developmental standpoint, instructions. Again, however, this type of interaction between the English instructor and the children observed in Green Class may not be

limited to the individual level. It may be connected to an excess of content that an English instructor must cover in a limited time; the decision to cover so much may be driven by the profit motive of the English book company that developed and/or distributed the particular English program. English education in kindergarten seemed to be constrained by private, English language institutes or English book companies that provide English programs and materials to Korean private kindergartens (J-Y. Choi, 2007; Kang, 2012). That is, the English instructors' interactions with children as well as their pedagogical practices should be examined within their immediate environment and the border system and culture (Cummins & Davison, 2007; Lantolf & Pavlenko, 1995).

Children's responses, interactions, and participation. As for Red Class, all six child participants showed various degrees of participation, levels of English proficiency, and types of responses to the English instructions. Nevertheless, they all seemed to care about English lessons and their English learning. Conversely, many of the 10 child participants of Green Class seemed to focus on only participating in English lessons or finishing English tasks given by their English instructor, showing little regard for improving their English.

The child participants of Red Class tended to show some progress in English learning. Red Class student Jungho struggled to learn English but made halting progress. Little by little, his interest and participation grew. In contrast, some children of Green Class, such as Inchul, Taesu, and Kyungmin, developed strategies to complete, without actually understanding, their English workbook tasks. The ages of the child participants

fell in the same range in both classes, but there were differences in their learning of or experience with English.

To some extent, these differences between the two groups of child participants seemed to be the upshot of different English lessons and the children's experiences with those lessons. In addition, the differences seemed to correspond to those between the two groups of English language instructors and of the ECE teacher**,** in terms of their expectations toward English education, enthusiasm for teaching, and roles. Beyond the classroom, each child may have brought his or her prior experiences and attitudes to English language and learning. And these may have been interrelated with the experiences and attitudes of his or her parents and of the community that he or she belonged to. Although there were big differences in terms of classroom culture, teacher-children interactions, and English programs, the differences may also have been shaped by the children's prior experiences and attitudes, the parents, and the community. Again, Red Class of Rose Kindergarten was located in a school district known to have "Education Fever" and "English Fever." Green Class of Pine Kindergarten was the class relatively less focused on English education compared to the other class of 5-year-olds at Pine Kindergarten: the parents of Green Class wanted their child placed in the less enhanced English class.

These differences between the two groups of children seem to suggest that English learning is not determined by biological age factors (see, Johnson & Newport,

1989; Woo et al., 2002)[78] or individual English instructors' teaching abilities. Existing studies have reported that ECE teachers question the positive outcomes of English learning in their kindergartens (H. Jun, 2009; M-J. Kang & Choi, 2010). However, the child participants of Red Class seemed to change positively within the context of extended hours of English lessons as well as the caring, responsive, warm, and supportive classroom environments co-constructed by members of Red Class.

ECE teachers' roles in relation to English education. Both ECE Miss Kang of Red Class and Miss Moon of Green Class played certain roles in English education, though the roles were different. Miss Kang would incorporate English into her regular kindergarten class, sometimes communicating with the English instructors regarding her students' academic attitude and progress. She appeared to care about her students' emotions as well as their progress in English. Miss Moon would try to make the atmosphere of her class quiet and peaceful ahead of each English lesson or during the English lessons. Although she did not actively incorporate English into her regular kindergarten curriculum, Miss Moon would also provide direct assistance particularly with the students' work in doing tasks in Mrs. Ruby's English workbook.

Their roles were more proactive than those of many ECE teachers in reports that describe them as doing nothing regarding English education. M-J. Kang and Choi (2010) reported that many ECE teachers did nothing for the education and that the main reason

[78] These two studies have different stands regarding CPH: Johnson and Newport's (1989) study supports CPH; Woo et al.'s (2002) study refute CPH. However, both studies argue about the age issue.

for this was their lack of knowledge regarding the content of and methods for English education. In S. H. Kim's (2008) study, many kindergarten teachers answered that they rarely interacted with English instructors; few instances of ECE teachers' engagement in English lessons were observed during the researcher's classroom observations. S. H. Kim interpreted that the ECE teachers' lack of involvement was related to their perceptions of English education as an "extra-curricular activity."

The literature, however, rarely illustrates ECE teachers' roles in English education implemented by English instructors. In her study, S.H. Kim (2008) argued that the disconnected English activities from regular kindergarten activities or from ECE teachers could be problematic because those English activities may provide no chance of genuine communication. Incongruent to the results of S. H. Kim's (2008) study, Miss Kang seemed to contribute to engendering a caring classroom environment of English learning and learners; she also incorporated English into her regular kindergarten activities in meaningful ways. From the findings of this study, I further state that the role of ECE teachers is significant in English education in kindergartens, as are the roles of language teachers and significant others (e.g., peer,. parents) as reported in second language studies (e.g., Dörnyei, 2007).

The differences between the two ECE teachers in their roles may be interrelated with their educational beliefs about early childhood education and their experiences and interpretations of the pedagogical practices relative to English education in their classes. However, the two ECE teachers' roles seemed to be also mediated by or situated in

internal and external systems and contexts. In the two interviews with Miss Kang, for example, parental influence on English education in Red Class was noticeable.

Summary of the Comparisons: Pedagogical Practices

The pedagogical practices relative to English education in both kindergarten classes were mainly driven by the English instructors during regular kindergarten hours. However, the pedagogical practices in the two classes differed in terms of the operational features of English lessons—the contents, methods, and materials of English lessons; children's responses, interactions, and participation; English instructors' interactions with children; and ECE teachers' roles in relation to English education.

Red Class assigned relatively more time to English lessons. English education was done with a smaller student-teacher ratio. The English program and contents looked relatively well-suited to the Red Class child participants. Based on their understanding of each child, the English instructors interacted with the whole group and on an individual basis. The child participants tended to engage seriously in English lessons. The Red Class ECE teacher would incorporate English into her regular curriculum. Moreover, these differences seemed to further contribute to building each class's unique classroom culture or environment. That is, the members of Red Class seemed to be creating reciprocal relationships in which they cared about English lessons and learning, whereas the members of Green Class seemed to care little about English lessons and

learning, although the members of Green Class played their respective roles as leaners, ECE teacher, or English language instructors.

However, these differences between the two classes may be reflections not only of those between the immediate classroom environments but also of those affected by internal and external systems or contexts. Red Class of Rose Kindergarten was located in a community famous for its high academic performance and for its popular, so-called "English kindergarten," whereas Green Class of Pine Kindergarten could claim no such fame. The parental demands[79] for English education seemed to exert more influence on the pedagogical practices of Red Class. That is, the education fever (Seth, 2002) or English fever (J-K. Park, 2009) that obtains in Korean society may be interrelated with the care about English teaching and learning that inhered in the Red classroom environment.

In conclusion, I can now lay out the pedagogical practices relative to English education as they took shape in the two kindergarten classes: the pedagogical practices are co-constructed by the members of each class in a locally specific way, although English lessons are mainly run by English instructors; in the co-construction, a caring environment of English lessons, leaners, and learning may play a significant role; and the pedagogical practices and classroom environments may also reflect the internal and external contexts or systems in which the kindergarten class is situated.

[79] In the perception section, the ECE teacher and English instructors of Red Class noticed parental influences. In the chapter 3, parents of Green Class were written those who did not want to more enhanced English education.

Insiders' Perceptions: Across the Two Classes

In an earlier section, I wrote about each classroom member's (insider's) perceptions of English, English teaching and learning, and the pedagogical practices relative to English education. In the following, I delineate the comparisons along with: (a) child participants, (b) ECE teachers, and (c) English instructors across the two classes.

Child participants' perceptions. The child participants of this study were 6 children in Red Class and 10 children in Green Class. They were 5- and 6-year-olds. In the previous section regarding pedagogical practices, the children of the two classes were described differently in terms of their interests and engagement in English lessons and learning. However, both groups of child participants tended to perceive English lessons and learning in positive ways.

Positive perceptions but not all. In a third-person question (Graue & Walsh, 1998) regarding a prop photo ("How would the children in this photo feel about the English lessons?"), all who answered, positively expressed their thoughts using such words as "good," "nice," and "exciting."

As for the reasons for their guesses, the two groups of child participants slightly differed. For Red Class children, their main reasons were "fun activities" and "getting smarter." The Green Class children answered with "doing English/ learning English," "fun activities," and "playing after the English lesson." For both groups, one of the reasons why the children of the photo were perceived to feel good, nice, or excited was

that they were involved in a fun activity. Yet from the Red Class came the answer "getting smarter," and from Green Class came the answer "playing after the English lesson." The answers about smartness reminded me of societal images associated with knowing the English language in Korea (e.g., a symbol of success, Y. Kim, 2006; J. S. Park, 2009); the answer about play was related to an extrinsic factor lying beyond the English lessons or English leaning experiences.

When the child participants were asked about their own English experiences in the kindergarten classes, they also tended to describe them positively. However, not all the children were consistent in expressing their thoughts regarding English lessons or learning. For example, Minjee of Red Class differentiated the feelings of the children shown in the photo from those she felt. She guessed the other children's feeling as being "excited" but her own as "sometimes fun, sometimes not fun" (RK_RC_Interview_ Child Group A_0609).

Another child, Kyungmin of Green Class, responded differently to the questions about her actual feelings in English lessons in Green Class, as well as the reason for her previous guess. She complained, "Something we were doing a little while ago- That is the part that I really dislike" (PK_GC_Interview_Child Group C_0613). In addition, other children such as Hunsu and Pongu, indicated precisely their dislikes among English lessons in Red Class, although they generally spoke positively of their own English lessons as well as those represented in the photo. I used third-person questions to provide the children a certain level of freedom from giving what they thought would

be right answers (Graue & Walsh, 1998). Nevertheless, some children appeared to differentiate their experiences from those of other children.

Ideological and unclear meaning of English. As for the question regarding a third-person accounting of children's motivation to learn English ("Why are they learning English?"), all child participants of both classes, except for Taesu (who claimed to have forgotten), gave single or multiple reasons. Their reasons were as follows: "to communicate" (7), "to do well, to learn more, to read, or to study" (6), "to be smart or a great person" (2), and "to play after the English lesson" (1), "because it is time for English teacher to come" (1).

Although motivation is multifaceted in nature (Dörnyei, 1998; Kimura, Nakata, & Okumura, 2001) and it has various definitions (Gass & Selinker, 2001), the participants' responses could be classified into one or more categories (e.g., intrinsic, instrumental) used in existing studies regarding EFL learning (e.g., Kimura et al., 2001; Nikolov, 1999). Most answers, except "to play" and "because it is time for English teacher to come," seemed to reveal that the child participants recognized that knowing English is important or useful to some extent. Two students (out of 17) connected English learning to being smart or being a great person. This response is found in K. Kim's (2013) study, where approximately 12% of the 113 child participants gave that answer. Kim (2013) categorized those answers as intrinsic motivation.

However, the answers about smartness appear to fit poorly the category shown in existing studies. Beyond the individual aspects and English experiences, the answers

seemed to be a reflection of societal expectations and attitudes toward English language and learning. As Dornyei (2007), a second language education scholar, noticed, young Korean English language learners' motivation is intertwined with the micro-social environment of the classroom and the macro-social environment of broader society. In Korean society, English is often considered an important key to academic and business success and even future fortune (Y. Kim, 2006; No & Park, 2008) and even a necessity (J. S. Park, 2009). "To be smart" may be an answer not found in existing studies regarding children's motivation for EFL learning.

In Nikolov's (1999) study about Hungarian children's motivation to learn English, most answers given by a similarly aged (6-8) group of research subjects were about their class experiences or their teachers. In a similar way, in Brumen's (2010) study conducted in Slovenia, the majority of research participants (120 children from 7 kindergartens) were highly motivated to learn a foreign language because they enjoyed the activities and the comfortable environments. That is, for the children in these two studies, important factors were class experiences, teachers, and environments.

Being smart" also came up in an interview with child participants of Red Class concerning the question "Why would they be feeling that way?" Some of the children (four from Red Class and one from Green Class) believed that "being smart or being a great person" was cause for the pictured children to feel good or nice and/ or why they were learning English. This perception should be discussed with caution. It suggests that the image of English embedded in Korean society was evident in the two

local kindergarten settings in Korea, as Orellana's (1994) study showed that the power of English was apparent in the young Spanish-English children's lives.

In response to "What is English?" three Red Class children (Hunsu, Minjee, & Pongu), defined English by connecting it to countries (England, the U.S.) and explained the spread of English beyond those nations. The other three from Red Class could not define it clearly. As for the Green Class, five of the child participants just pointed to the English words in the photo used as a prop; or stated an English word or situation using English. Bohae referred to English as speaking and Inchul denoted it as studying. From Green Class, only Seijin described English as a foreign language. Although many child participants were unable to define English clearly, they seemed to understand, to some extent, its use as a communicative means. However, I suspect that unclear understandings of the English language and its learning might have contributed to some children's thinking that one learns English to "be smarter."

Problem-solving strategies and dichotomized thoughts. As for a hypothetical question (Graue & Walsh, 1998) regarding problem solving ("If you meet a difficult English task, how would you solve it?"), the two groups of children responded differently. The children of Red Class suggested solutions such as telling or asking an English instructor, solving first the problem that he or she knows, trying to remember what the English instructor said, and solving the problem with friends. Their solutions were linked to the English instructor, friends, and themselves. It suggests that the child

participants seemed to recognize that all three groups (i.e., instructors, friends, and themselves) share to a certain extent a knowledge of English.

Conversely, 5 out of 10 child participants of Green Class proposed direct solutions—asking for the English instructor's help or looking at the instructor's answer key. Another two children put the blame on themselves, saying they should have listened better to the English instructors. These children seemed to think that their solutions could be obtained from the English instructors. Two remaining children (Inchul and Kyungmin) suggested quitting the difficult tasks or postponing them, calling to mind H. Jun's (2009) study. H. Jun (2009) argued that English programs, apart from the developmental level of children, could cause a feeling of frustration. To some extent, the answers of searching for the solution from the English instructor seemed to be a reflection of the classroom practices and culture of Green Class: that is a one-way transmission of knowledge from the English instructor to the learners, rather than co-construction of knowledge in English lessons. In addition, the answers relating to a stop or delay seemed to reflect the children's experiences in English lessons. Possible problems relating to these two answers may be learners' passive roles in English lessons and the supremacy of English competence or the person possessing English knowledge.

In the final two hypothetical questions regarding their feeling on capable and incapable English learners, most child participants across the two classes explained their feelings using binary terms: doing English well led to happy, nice, or jealous feelings,

whereas not doing English well led to sad, upsetting, or strange feelings. These answers appeared to reflect how the children viewed English competence—something that was important. As Kachru (1986) claimed that the power of English is closely related to how people view its importance, the power seemed to reside in these kindergarten children's minds. These responses seemed to also be associated with the images of English competence related to academic, business, and further future success in Korean society (No & Park, 2008; Nam, 2005; J. S. Park, 2009).

In summary, both groups of child participants tended to perceive in positive ways other children's English learning and their own English learning. However, not all the children were positive about English learning all the time. Some children in both classes said that English learning was connected with "being smarter." Many of the child participants seemed to understand English language to be a means of communication, though they were unable to define it clearly. As for the problem-solving question, the groups answered differently. Most Green Class participants seemed to consider the English instructor to be the go-to source for problem solving. To most child participants across the classes, English competence was perceived as being a happy or nice condition, whereas the lack of its competence was sad or strange.

ECE teachers' perceptions. As stated earlier, participating in this study were the ECE teachers of the two classes: Miss Kang of Red Class and Miss Moon of Green Class. At the time of the study, they each had four years of experience as an ECE teacher in private kindergartens.

Dual meanings of English education. One big similarity between both ECE teachers' perceptions of English education is that they held on to a dual meaning of English education, albeit not the same meanings. Miss Kang of Red Class sometimes called the English lessons an extra-curricular activity and sometimes a regular kindergarten activity. She seemed to recognize that in mainstream Korean ECE, English education was identified as and criticized as being an extra-curricular activity (J. Lee & Chung, 2004; K.S. Lee et al., 2002). During her two interviews, however, she also explained English education as being a part of the whole kindergarten education. On the other hand, Miss Moon often described English lessons as an extra-curricular activity and so they were separate from her regular kindergarten curriculum. However, she also stated that English education was not limited to English lessons; and the English lessons were likely to be a regular kindergarten activity, similar to learning new songs.

The two teachers' utterances reflected multiple voices. As one voice is sometimes competing with another and so the two utterances often represent conflicting ideas (Bakthin, 1981), their utterances contained contradictory ideas. In Korean ECE, English education has often been called an "extra-curricular activity" (J. Lee & Chung, 2004; K. S. Lee et al., 2002). In addition, existing studies have reported that ECE teachers considered English education an extra-curricular activity unrelated to their kindergarten curricula. Thus they did not cooperate with English instructors or get involved with English education (Ju, 1998; S. H. Kim, 2008). However, the two ECE

teachers in the current study perceived English as having dual meanings—both an extra-curricular and a regular activity. Ttheir roles relative to English education seemed to differ. Miss Kang tended to incorporate more actively English language into her regular kindergarten curriculum. Miss Moon tended to play the role of assistant in English lessons run by English instructors.

Positive thoughts versus conflicts. The ECE teacher of each class responded to these questions: "What do you think about how English education has been implemented in your classroom?" and "What do you think about the English lessons?" Each responded differently. In the two interviews each with the ECE teachers, similar questions were repeatedly used and their responses were fairly consistent across the first and second interviews. Miss Kang tended to offer positive expectations, changes, and outcomes in relation to the English lessons and her students' English learning. She said that her students were experiencing a great deal of English. She seemed to hint at a feeling that the English education was excessive. Miss Moon tended to reveal conflicts between her educational beliefs and the current English practices. She seemed to hold little expectation concerning the English lessons and her student's learning. Her conflicts were not so different from the results of existing Korean studies reporting ECE teachers' conflicts regarding English education (M.-Y. Cho & Lee, 2009; H. Jun, 2009; Seo et al., 2009).

We should now consider why the two ECE teachers' perceptions differed. Each teacher might have different educational beliefs and experiences in pedagogical

practices relative to English education. In addition, the local contexts in which each teacher was situated might be divergent. The following part seems to indicate that the teachers' educational beliefs would be mediated by their local contexts, dominant notions of their professional fields, and the broader societal expectations and norms.

Parents' demands versus individual differences. Miss Kang of Red Class pointed out that reflected in current English education in her classroom were the parents' high interests and demands. Miss Moon, several times in two interviews, raised the issue of individual differences. She tended to connect the differences in the outcomes of English learning to those in individual children. Her thoughts about individual differences were extended to her critiques of the English instructors, saying they failed to apprehend the children's individual differences.

The teachers' utterances differed in terms of topics but seemed to reflect their understanding of professional knowledge dominantly stated and used in the Korean ECE field. The two topics—individual differences and parents' influences—can also be found in the DAP guidelines (Bredekemp, 1987; Bredekemp & Copple, 1997; Copple & Bredekemp, 2009). However, each ECE teacher, to express her thoughts regarding the pedagogical practices relative to English education, selected different parts from the professional knowledge about DAP or child development. Individual differences are related to "individual appropriateness" of all versions of DAP. The individual appropriateness was, in the original version, a foundation of the DAP with age appropriateness (Bredekemp, 1987), and, in the later two versions, with age and socio-

cultural appropriateness (Bredekemp & Copple, 1997; Copple & Bredekemp, 2009). The most recent version of the DAP (Copple & Bredekemp, 2009) added to the five significant areas of practices "establishing reciprocal relationships with families."

The ECE teachers' perceptions (particularly Miss Moon) tended to be focused on individual issues, problems, or differences in English education and the pedagogical practices. Her way of thinking seems to be mediated by the notion of age and individual appropriateness. In contrast, Miss Kang, the ECE teacher of Red Class, seemed more attentive to socio-cultural appropriateness and relationships with parents.

In summary, both ECE teachers seemed to perceive English education as having dual meanings—representing both a regular activity and an extra-curricular activity. However, the two teachers seemed to perceive differently English education and learning: Miss. Kang espoused positive thoughts and a concern about parental influences; Miss Moon revealed conflicts and focused on individual differences of English learning.

English instructors' perceptions. Mrs. Anna and Mrs. Ivy were English instructors for the Red Class; Mrs. Ruby and Mr. Daniel were English instructors for the Green Class. The only male and native English speaker was Mr. Daniel. In the interviews with each individual English instructor, similar questions were asked but the answers differed between the two groups of instructors.

Important principles versus limitations. The English instructors of the two kindergarten classes were asked two similar questions: "How would you describe to

someone your English lessons?" And "Could you tell me about your English lessons for this class?" They answered differently.

Mrs. Anna and Mrs. Ivy, the instructors for Red Class, focused on the most important factors in their English lessons and how they give the lessons to the students; for the two instructors, the most important ones were "fun" and "interesting." They also noted the importance of having enough "input" (Krashen, 1985). Mrs. Ruby and Mr. Daniel of Green Class described some limitations rather than important principles or factors: they pointed out the limitations of large-group classes. In addition, Mrs. Ruby wished the children demonstrated good posture during the English lessons. Mr. Daniel believed that the Green Class's English was very low and so a little instruction was needed. The two English instructors of Green Class tended to blame the limited function of their English lessons on individual children and the large-group size. In Red Class, Mrs. Ivy also ran her English lessons in a large-group format (i.e., whole group), but she did not focus on that issue.

Knowing their students versus their limitations. All four English instructors recognized a wide range of individual differences in their lessons. They differed, however, in their interpretation and actions regarding these individual differences. For example, Mrs. Ivy understood individual differences as being why her English lessons should be fun and interesting to her students. For Mrs. Ruby and Mrs. Daniel, the individual differences were a type of limitation.

Important parents versus unimportant parents. The English instructors of each class seemed to interpret the parents differently. Mrs. Ivy of Red Class said that all the parents, regardless of their children's English levels, were similarly cooperative and active. She stated that mothers were able to provide their children more help than she had expected. She believed that the mothers' roles were very important in improving their child's English learning. Mrs. Anna, the other English instructor participant of Red Class, said that most parents tended to be highly interested in English education and were very cooperative. In interviews with Green Class English instructors, the issue of parents was rarely raised. The two groups seemed to characterize their respective class's parents differently: Red Class parents seemed to be an important source of knowledge; Green Class parents seemed rather invisible.

In summary, the two groups of English instructors seemed to perceive differently English teaching, learning, and the pedagogical practices. Red Class instructors considered the important factors to be fun, interest, and input. Green Class instructors perceived considerable limitations to their classes. They seemed to rarely consider their students' levels and differences and were relatively free from parental influences.

Summary of the Comparisons: Insiders' Perceptions

Most child participants across the classes tended to speak positively of English lessons. A few at times were negative, expressing their dislikes or difficulties. To some

children, particularly those from Red Class, English learning was understood as being connected to "getting smarter." In addition, to most child participants, English competence was interpreted as something that made them feel happy or good. Both ECE teachers perceived English education as having dual meanings—an extra-curricular activity and a regular kindergarten activity. However, the Red Class ECE teacher tended to convey expectations of positive changes and outcomes. Her counterpart in Green Class tended to convey a conflict between her educational beliefs and current English practices. The Red Class English instructors perceived their English lessons in positive ways, describing important principles or factors related to them. In contrast, Green Class instructors tended to talk about the limitations rather than strengths or important principles.

Comparing the three groups of research participants across the two classes (the children, the ECE teachers, and the English instructors), the children tended to perceive English more positively than did the two adult groups. Ideological images of English learning (e.g., "being smarter") were more perceptible in the children groups. These kinds of perceptions seemed to reflect, to some extent, societal images of English language and learning. Overall, the members of Red Class (i.e., children, ECE teacher, and English instructors) tended to have positive perception of English teaching, learning, or the pedagogical practices. They seemed to agree on the importance of English lessons, English learning, and English language. The ECE teacher and the two English

instructors from Red Class all recognized the parents' demands and their influences on English education.

While many child participants perceived in positive ways their experiences in English lessons, English learning, and English proficiency, some did not. The ECE teacher and the two English instructors perceived the limitations of the English lessons and so they had low expectations toward the children's English learning. All the groups of the Green Class members tended to interpret the limitations of English lessons that they felt in the class or the possible problem situation as something derived from individuals or the internal system such as learning in the large-group format.

This difference between the two classes may be a reflection, to some extent, of the pedagogical practices of each, though the differences might go beyond that. Indeed, they seemed to be also affected by internal and external systems or contexts. Red Class of Rose Kindergarten was located in a community famous for its high academic performance and popular for its so-called "English kindergarten." Green Class of Pine Kindergarten did not similarly stand out. More assigned time to English education in Red Class would make English instructors interact more with individual children. These kinds of contexts and systems may influence the insiders' perceptions.

Based on these comparisons, I can now further state how the members of the two classes perceived English language, learning, and the pedagogical practices as follows: The classroom members perceived English language, English teaching and learning, and the pedagogical practices based on their beliefs, knowledge, and

experiences in particular contexts; however, their perceptions were not limited to individual aspects and may have been mediated by significant others' perceptions and societal attitudes, expectations, and values toward English language and English education; the perceptions may also reflect internal and external contexts or systems in which the classroom members are situated.

CHAPTER FIVE

Discussions and Implications

This chapter begins with a brief summary of this study and the findings presented in Chapter 4. It then discusses the findings most important to this study in relation to the two research questions. I close the chapter with implications for Korean ECE field and future research.

Summary

This study is about English education in private kindergartens in Korea. Its purpose is to understand such English education by closely examining pedagogical practices in two particular kindergarten classes and their members' perceptions of English education. The research questions are: (a) What are the pedagogical practices relative to English education in two private kindergarten classes in Korea? ; and (b) How do their members of the two classes (i.e., the children, ECE teachers, and English language instructors) perceive the language, language teaching and learning, and the pedagogical practices?

The study was conducted as a qualitative study through the fieldwork using such methods as participant observations, interviews, questionnaires, and collection of documents and artifacts. The study took place in private kindergartens located in two separate communities in Korea. In each kindergarten, I focused on a particular class:

The fieldwork in the two research sites spanned a two-and-a-half-month period, between May and July 2011.

In response to the first research question, I found that the pedagogical practices were co-constructed by the members of each class in a locally specific way, although English lessons were mainly run by the English instructors. In the co-construction, the classroom members seemed to shape the caring environment that was made up of English lessons, learners, and learning. The caring environment seemed to reshape the pedagogical practices. However, the pedagogical practices and classroom environments appeared to also reflect the inside and outside contexts or systems in which the kindergarten class was situated.

In Red Class of Rose Kindergarten located in a community famous for its high academic performance, a considerable amount of time was assigned to English lessons; the lessons were operated in smaller groups than those of Green Class at Pine Kindergarten and of those found in the results of existing studies (H. Jun, 2009; S.H. Kim, 2008; Yang et al., 2001a). Within this particular context, the members of Red Class were creating a caring classroom environment of English lessons, learning, and the learners, and establishing reciprocal relationships among them. Thus, the pedagogical practices in Red Class seem to be inconsistent with the existing studies where problems or conflicts (e.g., ineffectiveness of English education, developmentally inappropriate practices) have been reported (H. Jun, 2009; S.H. Kim, 2008, 2010; Seo et al., 2009).

In Green Class at Pine Kindergarten, English education seemed to be regarded as fairly important, when considering the increased time allowance to English lessons and the adaptation of a half-group lesson. On the other hand, it did not look so important when not providing back-up lessons for missed ones. Within this particular context, members of Green Class (i.e., the child participants, ECE teacher, and English instructors) played their roles as leaners, ECE teacher, or English language instructors. For example, the child participants of Green Class cared a little about their English learning, but they all were sure to finish their English tasks. Neither was they building a caring classroom environment of English lessons, learning, and the learners. Thus, the pedagogical practices in Green Class fairly reflected problems or conflicts (e.g., ineffectiveness of English education, developmentally inappropriate practices) that have been reported in the literature (H. Jun, 2009; S.H. Kim, 2008; Seo et al., 2009).

With respect to the second research question, I found that the classroom members perceived English language, learning, and the pedagogical practices differently based on their beliefs, knowledge, and experiences in a particular context. However, their perceptions were not limited to individual aspects. The perceptions were also capable of reflecting, in various ways, inside and outside contexts or systems in which the classroom members and English lessons were situated.

In Red Class at Rose Kindergarten, the child participants tended to describe English lessons, English learning, and English proficiency in positive ways. The child participants agreed to a certain extent that English was something useful and important;

some of them thought English learning was connected to "becoming smarter." The ECE teacher tended to hold a positive conception of the pedagogical practices relative to English education, based on her educational beliefs regarding fun and interest. The English instructors gave considerable weight to the children's interests and levels of understanding and parents' influences.

As for Green Class at Pine Kindergarten, the ten child participants tended to describe English lessons, English learning, and English proficiency in a positive way, though not with perfect consistency. The child participants tended to consider the English language instructor as the source of English knowledge. The ECE teacher there revealed conflicts she felt between her wishes and the pedagogical practices relative to English education. The two English language instructors recognized limitations from their students and whole-group lessons, but they seemed to take them as inevitable.

Further Discussions of the Study

I started the study by questioning the status quo, i.e., that English education has long operated flouting the recommendations of the Korean National Kindergarten Curriculum and operational curriculums in private kindergartens in Korea. The discrepancy between what is recommended and what is practiced boils down to the teaching of English, which is prohibited according to the National Kindergarten Curriculum (KMOE, 1987, 1992, 1999; KMOEHRD, 2007) and according to the most recent national curriculum, *Nuri* Curriculum (KMOEST, 2012). In fact, the number of

private kindergartens where English is taught has increased to the point that English is taught in most private kindergartens. In the following, I discuss further the findings that are most significant when it comes to questioning the status quo of English education in Korean private kindergartens.

Questioning Korean Young Children's English Learning

Regarding the first research question, I stated that the members of each class co-constructed the pedagogical practices relative to English education in a locally specific way. As for Red Class, English was taught for a longer time, in a smaller student-teacher ratio, with a better teacher-student relationship, and within a caring environment. The child participants tended to show some progress in their English learning. In contrast, some child participants of Green Class developed strategies to complete, without actually understanding, their English workbook tasks. Yet this difference between the two groups of children, as noted earlier, might reflect not just the immediate classroom environment; it could also be mediated by a broader context.

This difference between the two classes seems to suggest that Korean kindergarteners' English learning is determined neither by their biological age (e.g., Birdsong & Molis, 2001) nor by age-appropriateness (e.g., Bredekemp & Copple, 1997). A major dispute over English education in Korea's private kindergartens revolves around the claim, "the earlier the better in English learning" (Jahng, 2011). The advocate groups such as parents tend to support this claim. Opposition to it comes from

mainstream Korea ECE scholars. However, the case of Red Class shows results that run counter to existing Korean studies, such as that of S.H. Kim (2008, 2010), in terms of teacher-children interactions and children's engagement and understanding. The pedagogical practices in Red Class looked preferable for teaching English to 5- and 6-year-olds. Yet how English education is carried out in Red Class is politically unacceptable to the mainstream Korean ECE field.

In line with Cummins and Davison (2007), I hold that when examining English education in Korean private kindergartens questioning these issues (e.g., optimal age for starting to learn English, effectiveness of English education, developmental appropriateness) without considering the contexts and the politics of English education is unhelpful. I am not arguing that Red Class's approach should serve as a model for better English education in private kindergartens. I am hoping that the case of Red Class can be an example showing that English education is not only decided by English lessons mainly run by English instructors, but it is carried out in particular local contexts in which kindergartens are situated and further influenced by broader contexts.

Questioning Current Conceptualization of Curriculum

In the findings section regarding the pedagogical practices, I focused on the relationships and interactions between teachers (or instructors) and children. Through Red Class, I saw that the members' caring and reciprocal relationship was capable of altering the situations they faced in English teaching and learning. However, the

relationships may not be established by just the classroom members; they may be intertwined with the classroom environment and the broader contexts related to English education (e.g., parental expectations, community influences). My intention here is not to say which class was better in their pedagogical practices. What I want to say is that the thing that played a significant role in the pedagogical practices of the two classes was related to relationships and the environment (e.g., caring for learners) beyond English programs, instructional methods, and the duration of English lessons.

This is significant regarding a factor not easily quantified in English education (e.g., teacher-student relationships, parental expectations, community influences). However, many Korean studies (e.g., H. Jun, 2009; S.H. Kim, 2008) tend to examine English education based on the conceptualization of the curriculum based on the Tyler's rationale (Kliebard, 1987/ 1995). H. Jun (2009) claimed that the issue of English education in Korean private kindergartens needed to be contemplated within Tyler's (1949) work. The National Kindergarten Curriculum and the most recent Nuri Curriculum are also grounded in Tyler's work. However, the conceptualization of curriculum based on Tyler's rationale or on the two National Curriculums may or may not shed enough light on English education. This is despite the Curriculums' having offered important guidance for kindergarten education in Korea in relation to educational purposes, educational experiences, organization of educational experiences, and evaluation.

One large problem with that curricular conceptualization is the treating of all classrooms and their members as essentially equivalent. This means giving no consideration to a particular time and place in which English learning and teaching occur or to the broader contexts in which they are situated, a point some scholars (e.g, Cornbleth, 1990, Pinar, 1978/2004) have criticized. As Toohey, Day, and Manyak (2007) stated, "Classrooms represent complex social environments constructed through the interweaving of institutional and instructional practices; lived cultures; social relations, identities, goals, and purposes…" (p. 624). Therefore, English education in private kindergartens in Korea needs to be understood within the conceptualization of curriculum as a "contextualized social process" (Cornbleth, 1990, p. 7) and with proper consideration given to its social milieu and local environments and expectations.

Questioning the English Lesson of Korean Kindergartens

In discussing the second research question, I stated that the classroom members (insiders) described and interpreted the pedagogical practices relative to English in the particular context in which they were situated. In other words, their perceptions were mediated by the social activities and interactions that they experienced. Thus, all groups (i.e., children, ECE teacher, and English instructors) of the research participants from Red Class tended to care more about English teaching and/or learning than did their Green Class counterparts. At the same time, the members' perceptions across the two classes reflected societal images of English language or of the professional knowledge

(e.g., the idea of extra-curricular activity in the ECE field) that surrounded them, though they reflected these in various ways.

In particular, in relation to the conceptualization of English education as an "extra-curricular activity" (K.S. Lee et al., 2002; J. Lee & Chung, 2004), the ECE teachers of Red Class and Green Class tended to perceive English lessons as both an extra-curricular activity and a regular kindergarten activity. In contrast to the ECE teachers, the child participants tended to perceive the English lesson as a kindergarten activity, not as an extra-curricular activity. The conceptualization of English education as an "extra-curricular activity" in the Korean ECE field seems to have contributed to relegating many ECE teachers and kindergarten directors to the sidelines in English education. Nonetheless, ECE teachers play an important role in English education. Indeed, this study revealed how the ECE teacher of Red Class contributed to establishing a caring environment of English learning.

The English language has, in the Korean ECE field, been stressed as a foreign language (Yang et al., 2001a; S. H. Kim, 2008). This study, however, discovered that an ideological image of English (i.e., English being connected to "smartness") had permeated the child participants' perceptions about English language and learning. The children's perceptions seem to indicate that English is not a mere foreign language in Korean kindergartens, but something more important and powerful.

Hence, beyond the effectiveness and developmental appropriateness of English education, we need to question what English education means to ECE teachers and

children. In this study, my intention is not to negate or oppose the ideas of extra-curricular activity and English as a foreign language in Korean ECE field. What I intend here is that we should keep questioning taken-for-granted professional knowledge, practices, and notions. If we fail to do so, the educational world that we understand becomes "the world touts court, the only world" (Apple, 1990, p. 5).

Implications for the Korean ECE Field

In this study, I have focused on the pedagogical practices relative to English education in two private kindergarten classes and the class members' (insiders') perceptions of English language and practices. I have done so to understand English education in private kindergartens in Korea. My findings, I believe, offer some educational implications for the Korean ECE field.

First, this study suggests that examining English education in Korean kindergartens needs to be expanded from disputes over the developmental appropriateness or effectiveness of English education into discussions about its broader contexts and local diversity. The findings of this study showed the pedagogical practices co-constructed by classroom members in locally specific ways. In contrast, the issue of developmental appropriateness or effectiveness framed as universal and singular knowledge or view (File, 2011) has been criticized for its insufficient focus on context and diversity (Bloch, 2000; Lubeck, 1996). In other words, by using a universal and singular view such as developmental appropriateness, we can hardly examine various

pedagogical practices mediated by inside and outside school systems and broader contexts. Therefore, in examining English education in Korean kindergartens, researchers should also consider the values and expectations of English education that parents and communities hold. Researchers should also look closely at the context and local variations of English education.

Second, this study implies that English education in private kindergartens needs to be understood as having multifaceted, reciprocal relationships among the children, ECE teachers, English instructors, directors, parents, and communities. In the existing studies (e.g., H. Jun, 2009; S. H. Kim, 2010), English education has generally been understood as one driven by only English instructors or ECE teachers who are in charge of English education; thus, their qualification and developmentally appropriate/ inappropriate interactions with children have mainly been discussed. In addition, ECE teachers have tended to be described as people standing on the opposite side of parents or directors—individuals having often higher expectations of or enthusiasm for English education than ECE teachers have (e.g., H. Jun 2009; Seo et al., 2009). However, all classroom members, the ECE teacher, children, and English instructors were co-constructing the pedagogical practices within a caring environment of English learning and learners. In Red Class, the ECE teacher played an important role in English education and gave heed to parents' expectations of English education. Therefore, for a better and more meaningful English education for children, the stakeholders (e.g., ECE teachers, parents, children, and directors) should establish reciprocal, communicative

relationships with one another. In addition, their voices should be contemplated in the Korean ECE field. When we mutually understand one another, we are able to understand the same issue differently.

Finally, this study has an implication about understanding children's motivation to learn English as a foreign language. The finding regarding an ideological image of English confirms the view that the learners' motivation to learn a language is a socially constructed trait that is intertwined with the classroom environment and broader society (Dornyei, 2007). However, this study indicates that the societal image of English related to academics, business, and the future success of Korean society (No & Park, 2008; Nam, 2005; J. S. Park, 2009) influences even Korean kindergarten children. This is incongruent with the findings of existing studies on children's motivations for (or perceptions of) English (ESL/ EFL) learning. These include Brumen's (2010), Hsieh's (2011) and Nikolov's (1999) studies. In the literature, the motivations of similarly aged children (5-8) were mainly related to their teachers and class experiences. Therefore, beyond considering English language as a foreign language, Korean ECE scholars should contemplate the societal image of English language and societal expectations and attitudes toward the language and language education.

Implications for the Future Research

In this study, I have tried to do a couple of things. I have described the pedagogical practices relative to English education in two kindergarten classes and

detail their members' perceptions; I have interpreted them holistically with consideration of uncertainty, complexity, and dynamics. However, it should be kept in mind that the study has been shaped and evolved by my prior experiences and knowledge, theoretical frameworks, partial observations (i.e., not all English lessons implemented during the fieldwork period were observed), and partial participants (i.e., not all classroom members participated in this study). I now present some implications for future research.

First, in this study I found that some societal images regarding the English language (e.g., English being connected to smartness) and the professional knowledge (e.g., the conceptualization of extra-curricular activity in the Korean ECE) were reflected in the pedagogical practices and the class members' perceptions. However, I have not focused on how they work in maintaining the status quo. In future research, researchers could define ideologies surrounding the issue of English education in private kindergartens in Korea and examine how they work in theory and practice in relation to English education for young children or in private kindergartens.

Second, this study indicates that when we examine the English education being implemented in Korean kindergartens it is important to gain a grasp of the children's perceptions of such education. For example, this study's findings raised new issues, such as the ideological images of English language present in the minds of kindergarten children. This issue has yet to be raised in existing Korean studies on early English education, which are mainly carried out using the views of adult stakeholders. Hence, in

future research, there is a need for more studies focusing on children's English experiences and perceptions.

Third, I have examined little the parents, directors, and school district policies and national policies. In future research, English education could be examined focusing on members' relationships and roles within a kindergarten, including parents. In addition, English education in private kindergartens could be explored within a framework of school district policies and national policies related to the English education not only in kindergarten education, but also in Korea's school system.

Finally, focusing on two particular kindergarten classes, I have examined practices and the members' perceptions of them. However, it is one study that sees the issue of English education in private kindergartens differently. Thus, in future research, more researchers need to examine this issue by looking closely at the English education as "contextualized social process" (Cornbleth, 1990, p. 7).

Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Protocol for Children

I will interview the child participants in a triad, because I agree with the point that scholars (e.g., Graue & Walsh, 1998) make that a child is more relaxed when he or she is with a friend or friends than alone with an adult.

To initiate the discussion in the interviews, I will use a photo (prop) related to English lessons. I will interview these children based on my semi-structured interview questions and build up follow-up questions or new questions depending on the children's answers. Each group interview will last around 10-15 minutes. The interviews will be audio-recorded. To set up an interview-group, I will ask the focal children to join in the small-group discussion. If they say they do not want to participate, I will have them go to work with the other children.

In each interview, I will begin the interview by telling the children that participation in this interview is entirely voluntary, and that they can stop the interview at any time. Then I will tell them that I would like to talk with them about English lessons. I will let them know that I will be tape recording the interview so that I can remember everything that they say. I will begin the conversation by asking the children to talk about the prop. As this discussion continues, I will monitor their attention to keep their participation alive by asking, "Would you rather stay here and continue to talk with your friends and me, or go to do another activity?"

The following is the semi-structured interview questions which will be used in the study.

- Here is a photo. Let's see the photo together and then talk about it.
- Tell me what you think this photo is about? Where was this photo taken?
- What are the children in this photo doing? How do you think they feel?
- Why are they learning English at their kindergarten? What is English?
- How do you feel when you learn English in kindergarten?
- What do you do in English lessons?
- What is your favorite activity in your kindergarten class?
- What do you like or feel fun among English activities?
- What do you dislike or feel difficult among English activities?
- If there were a friend who knows English very well, how would you feel?
- When you are answering an English question while studying, the question is too hard. Then, what would you do? How would you solve it?

Appendix B: Interview Protocol for Adults

(Early Childhood Teachers, English Language Instructors, and Directors)

I will ask the teachers to participate in one or two formal individual interviews. Each interview with a teacher will last around 30-50 minutes and be audio-recorded. I will interview a teacher based on my semi-structured interview questions and build up follow-up questions or new questions depending on the teacher's answers.

The interview will proceed as follows:

In this interview, I would like to talk with you about your students' English learning and your opinion on English lessons in your class in particular and English education in general. This interview is voluntary, and so you can stop at any time. You can skip a question or questions when the questions make you feel uncomfortable. You can also withdraw your participation without any negative consequences. Everything you say is confidential and is used only for this study. If you have any questions please ask me anytime – now or during the interview. I would like to audio-record our conversation. After this interview, the record will be coded so that no identifiable information is visible on it. The record will be kept in a secure place, heard only for research purposes by me and my associates, and erased after the record is transcribed. May I begin audio-recording?

Examples of Interview Questions for Classroom Teachers

- In recently, what have you been thinking about your class in general or in relation to English education?
- Would you tell me about English lessons in your class?
- What do you think about the English lessons operated in your kindergarten class?
- What do you think about your students' English learning?
- What do you think about the connection between your students' current English experience in Green Class and their future English learning?
- Would you tell me about your belief in children's language learning and English language learning?
- Would you tell me about your roles in English lessons?
- Have you ever felt a conflict between your classroom teaching and English education?
- What would you recommend for future English language education in kindergartens?
- Would you tell me about your educational background and teaching

experience?
- How was your personal English learning experience?
- Would you tell me if there were any changes in your class because of this study?
- Is there anything that I haven't asked you but that you think that is important for me to know?

Examples of Interview Questions for Directors

- In recently, what have you been thinking about your kindergarten in general or in relation to English education?
- Would you tell me about your kindergarten?
- When was the English program started in this kindergarten?
- Could you tell me the reason for why you started English education in this kindergarten?
- What do you think about your students' English learning or experiences?
- How do you think the English lessons have influenced this kindergarten?
- Have you ever felt a conflict (or reward) in relation to the English education?
- Could you tell me about your educational background and teaching experience?

Appendix C: Questionnaire for Parents

Dear the parents of _____,

Hello, I am Eun A Kim who has been doing a study, "Meanings of English (EFL) Education in Kindergarten Classes in Korea," in your child's kindergarten class since May, 2011. The purposes of this study are to describe daily English education that takes place in kindergarten classes in Korea and to explore the meanings of English education that the kindergarten members understand.

In order to get a better understanding of your child's English learning and English lessons in his/her class, it will be helpful for me to listen to your thoughts on these issues. **Would you please complete the following questionnaire? It may take 20-30 minutes**. When you have finished, please place your completed questionnaire in the enclosed envelope, seal, and return it to the classroom teacher.

As I informed you in the form, "the Parental Permission for Child Participation and Parent Consent for Participation," all information that I obtain in this questionnaire will be used only for the study. Pseudonyms will be used on all data records and on any disclosed information. All data in this study will be stored securely and kept private in a secure computer and a locked file cabinet. The data will be accessible only for the research purposes by me and authorized persons from the University of Texas at Austin.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Eun A Kim (Doctoral Candidate)
Early Childhood Education Program in Curriculum & Instruction Department
The University of Texas at Austin
eunakim@mail.utexas.edu / 010-4372-4111(cell, Korea)

Faculty Sponsor: Stuart Reifel, Ed.D. (Professor)
Office SZB528, sr10@mail.utexas.edu
1-512-232-2289 (phone) 1-512-471-8460 (fax)
The University of Texas at Austin
Early Childhood Education Program in Curriculum & Instruction Department
1 University Station, #D5700
Austin, TX 78712-0379
U.S.A.

- **Would you answer the following questions <u>as detail as you can?</u> If you need more space, please use additional papers.**

1. In relation to kindergarten education or English education, what kinds of things have you been thinking about as your child approaches finishing the first academic semester of 2011?

2. From my classroom observations over the past two and a half months, daily English lessons take about 20-30 minutes in his/her kindergarten class. What do you think that your child learns from these lessons? If you think the English lessons are important to your child's English learning, could you explain why? If not, could you explain why not?

3. Have you ever watched your child and other children learning English in the kindergarten class? Have you ever gotten information about your child's English learning from the classroom teacher or English teachers? If yes, could you explain more about them? What do you think about having your child learn English in kindergarten?

4. What has your child told you about his/her English learning or English classes? Have you ever observed your child use English words, replay English songs, or extend something they learned from English lessons at home? How do you feel about his/her English learning or English classes?

5. As I know, your child's kindergarten has sent you educational materials for helping your child's English improvement at home. What have been the educational materials? How have you used these at home? What else have you done to help your child's English improvement at home?

6. How would you describe "English language" and "English education for children" in Korean society?

7. If there are any things that I didn't ask you that would be important for me to know, would you please tell me? If there are any things else you would like to talk, would you please share with me?

Your Child's Background

Birth month/year: _____ /_____

Academic semesters enrolled in the current school: _____

English learning experiences in other educational institutes (or at home by tutors):

Yes ____ No____

If yes, please tell me more?

_____

Experiences lived in or visited English-speaking countries: Yes____ No____

If yes, please tell me more?

_____

Your Background

Relationship to your child: Mother_____ Father_____ Other_____

Thank you very much!

Appendix D: Transcription Conventions

1. Regular uppercase and lowercase types are used to indicate Korean speech
2. Italics are used to indicate English speech.
3. Parentheses,( ), are used to provide information about a scene or speaker's tone of voice or nonverbal speech activity.
4. Brackets, [ ], are used for commentary of any kind. They are often used to show estimated subjects or objects, because in Korean sentences, they are often omitted.
5. (…) indicates omitted sentences.

- Understanding Data Sources

RK refers to Rose Kindergarten; RC refers to Red Class

PK refers to Pine Kindergarten; GC refers to Green Class

Example 1: (RK_RC_Observation_0527:11) means an excerpt extracted from the data observed in Red Class at Rose Kindergarten on May 27, 2011, particularly written on page 11 of that day's field note.

Example 2: (PK_GC_Interview_Child Group A_0609) means an excerpt extracted from the transcripts of interview carried out on June 9 with Child Group A of Green Class at Pine Kindergarten.

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*All Korean titles are translated into English. Brackets,[ ], show the materials written in Korean.