A LINGUISTIC ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF YOUNG AMERICAN NOVICE TEACHERS IN KOREA: A POLICY INTO PRACTICE

By

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ABSTRACT

This study uses the lens of community of practice and teacher development studies to show the teacher development processes of three young novice American teachers who participated in the TaLK (Teach and Learn in Korea) programme, a Korean language-teaching programme launched in 2008. Hired as 'TaLK scholars', after four weeks of TaLK orientation they were allocated to local primary schools to teach after-school English classes for 15 hours a week. The study conceptualises these two sites each as a community of practice.

The fieldwork for this study was carried out from February 2012 to November 2012. The data were collected through diary entries, interviews and classroom observations.

The findings from this study are that, first, both the TaLK programme and the host schools must do more to engender a sense of belonging, so that young novice teachers can become legitimate members of their two communities. Secondly, novice teachers can best develop their identities as practitioners when they are allowed and encouraged to be creative in their learning and teaching activities. Thirdly, working in a new linguistic and cultural environment demands intensive learning on the part of all collaborating teachers, and this requires an openness to cultural difference.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my dear dad, Deoksoo YUN (1957 - 1992) and

my dear maternal grandmother Dol-I, JEONG (1935 - 2014).

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ESL	English as a second language
EFL	English as a foreign language
EIL	English as international language
TaLK	Teach and Learn in Korea
EPIK	English Programme in Korea
POE	Provincial Office of Education
NIIED	National Institute for International Education
SNS	Social Network Services
TA	Teaching Assistant
COP	Communities of Practice
LPP	Legitimate peripheral participation

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

…	Short Pause
(pause)	Long Pause (more than 3 sec.)
-	Overlapping
( )	Additional information
[ ]	Omitted words or phrases / in Korean
UPPER CASE LETTERS	Indicates speaker emphasis
italics	Korean origin words
A:	Abigail
E:	Evan
F:	Fiona
S:	Soyoung

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION & CONTEXT

1.1 Introduction

This chapter will begin by explaining the context of this study, South Korea, and the status of English in that country. As we will see, the Korean government perceives English and native English speakers as marketable resources. Then, one of the practices of this study, the TaLK programme, will be introduced, with reference to issues arising from its programme statement. The reason and rationale behind the term 'TaLK scholar' will also be explained. This will be followed by presentation of the research questions and a description of the aim of the study. Finally, the structure of the study will be briefly outlined.

1.2 Context of this Study: South Korea

1.2.1 English fever in Korea

Korea is undergoing intense 'globalisation in the space and experience of transnationalism' (Park & Lo, 2012:148). As a result, even though many Koreans see their country as monolingual and monocultural, it is, in fact, in the process of transition towards multi-lingualism and multi-culturalism (Park & Lo, 2012). With the underlying belief that adopting English, together with western beliefs and customs, is key to successful globalization, the relentless objective has been to educate young and old

alike to perfect their English. Therefore, in Korean society, the linguistic competence of having *native-like* English ability is perceived as a 'crowning achievement' (Park & Lo, 2012:149).

This potent desire to learn English, labelled the 'English frenzy' (*yeongeo yeolpung*) (Park, 2010:22) or 'English fever' (Block, 2012), has increased the importance of English teaching in Korea, and caused greater reliance on *native English speakers.* English language skills represent 'a form of symbolic capital, convertible into economic and social capital, and distributed unequally within any given speech community (linguistic stratification)' (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004a:10).

Figure 1: English advertisement

The screenshot above is from 'naver' one of the main Korean internet search engines. The advertisement says 'I no longer use body language when overseas' – **basic English completion within 100 days**, office worker Minki, KIM [Registration] Only till 7 o'clock!

By identifying the use of body language with a lack of ability to speak English, the advertisement is accrediting that ability as superior to using gestures for communication. The image of a man's smiling face represents the joy of achievement that comes with English speaking competence; without that competence, we infer, one is left feeling ashamed.

Skill in English has become '*cultural capital*' (Bourdieu, 1977 cited in Lin, 1999:394, Author's italics). In Korean society, some students have access to that important form of capital, while others do not. This is often split along urban and rural lines, with access to English being easier in urban areas. In particular, in urban areas high-income families have more opportunities to access particular sets of linguistic resources associated with learning English, such as by registering at schools where native speaker teachers are employed.

1.2.2 Language policy of Korea

'Though South Korea is a country with prevalent monolingualism in Korean, English has always been a language of importance, representing access to positions of power and material opportunities' (Park, 2010:25).

Every country has its own policy on languages. When language policy is designed, foreign language subjects are selected based on the assessment of their 'utility' (Bae, 2000:19), which here refers to the needs of the people who use that language (Bae, 2000). Although English is not in frequent use in Korean society, it is important as an 'international language' (Bae, 2000:20). At the same time, opportunities to meet English speakers and learn English from them has ensured a good quality of English education.

The Korean government is urging Koreans to be 'global citizens' (Jeon, 2012:251), thus aligning with the phenomenon of 'globalization' (Jeon, 2009:241). However, this citizenship is somewhat misinterpreted in Korean society, where it is taken to mean enhanced English ability (Jeon, 2009). This view has been reinforced by the government, which is investing considerable effort into its English education policy development. The TaLK programme is one result of this effort.

1.2.3 TaLK: Governmental English education programme –
the issues it raises

Following a Korean government decision to create a national programme whereby English classes in elementary schools in rural areas would be taught collaboratively by a Korean teacher and a non-Korean teacher, in 2008 TaLK was launched. It aimed 'to attract native speakers of English, both overseas ethnic Koreans and foreign nationals, to rural elementary schools' (Jeon, 2012:240).

In order to entice participants, TaLK offers housing, medical services, settlement funds and leaving bonuses. This is an attractive package for young graduates starting out. As TaLK scholars, they are required to attend a four-week training course. Details of that training are shown below.

Table 1: A brief outline of TaLK orientation

No.	Programme	Credits	When to Take
1	Online Pre-Orientation	17 hours	Before arriving in Korea or directly after your school placement* (*if your arrival was delayed)
2	Main On-site Orientation	30~45 hours	Right after arrival in Korea and before your school placement
3	Mid-Semester Orientation		
4	Online In-service Training	15 hours	After arrival at the school

As stated on the TaLK homepage: 'The training programme will cover topics related to Korean culture, education, classroom management, as well as other related subjects that are aimed at preparing the participants for both teaching and living in Korea.'

Figure 2: TaLK orientation textbook
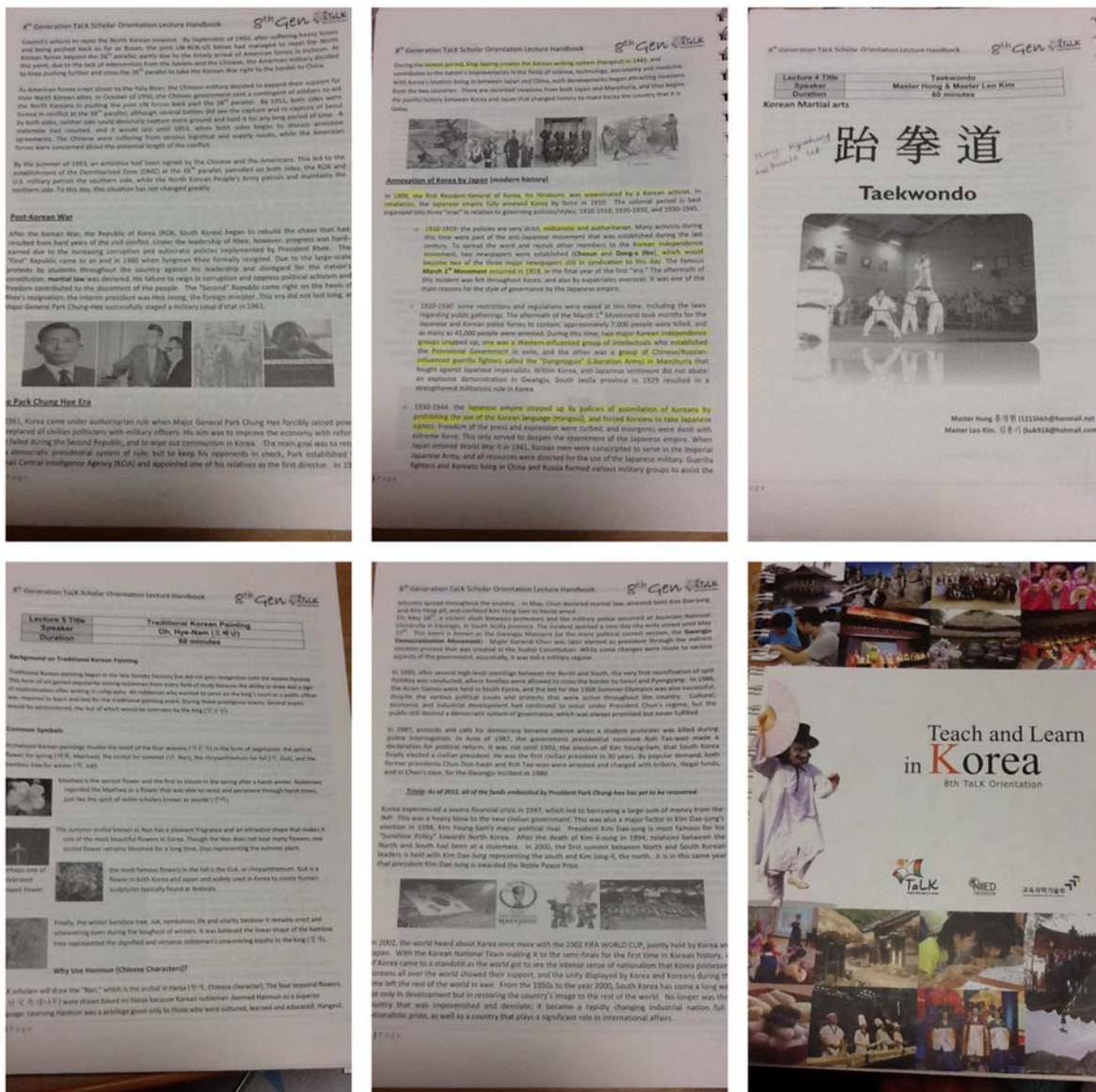
The picture above is the TaLK textbook shown to me by one of my participants. The textbook contains information on Korean culture and Korean history.

Henceforth, the TaLK programme, which is the context of this study, will be discussed in terms of socio-cultural aspects of Korean society and that society's acceptance of the linguistic commodification of English, with reference to several issues which arise from TaLK's own statements.

The TaLK team has coined some new terms: the participants are known as TaLK

scholars, their Korean co-teachers are Korean co-scholars, and the teacher in charge of

mentoring the TaLK scholar is the Korean mentor teacher. These terms will be used

throughout the thesis. The role of the Korean co-scholar is explained by TaLK as

follows:

> This system is to select Korean scholars who will conduct afterschool classes with non-Korean scholars in all districts.
>
> The Korean scholars are university student or graduate student whom eligible to communicate in English. They can co-teach lessons with non-Korean scholars up to 9 hours per a week and according to the labour, they can receive a prescribed amount of activity cost.
>
> The purpose of this scholarship system for Korean students is for elementary school students those whom deficient in their hearing ability in English by providing supportive role from the Korean scholars so that they can focus on the lessons with non-Korean teachers. Also, for Korean scholar himself/herself, this will provide chances to improve their English capability not to studying abroad by co-teaching with non-Korean teachers. At the same time, they can enhance a sense of global citizenship through cultural exchange.
> http://www.talk.go.kr/talk/talk_new/content/content.jsp?menuId=020103

The TaLK programme focuses on team teaching with an English native speaking

scholar and a Korean scholar. As shown above, one TaLK teacher co-teaches after-

school classes with a mentor teacher and/or a Korean co-teacher. This team teaching

policy 'obfuscates the potentially agentive role of local educators as they interpret and

implement the policies' (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007:510) in different ways.

1.2.3.1 Differentiation in locality

In order to deploy and host young people travelling to Korea, over the last ten years,

two Korean government education agencies/institutions have put in place a programme

of recruitment. The TaLK programme is under the auspices of two organizations affiliated to the Korean government, the Ministry of Education (MOE) and the National Institute for International Education (NIIED).

Figure 3: Description of MOE & NIIED

The Ministry of Education
MOE

is one of the executive bodies of the South Korean Government. Since 1948, MOE has assumed the responsibility of establishing and reforming education policies, standardizing public school exams and the national curriculum, and funding domestic and international programs. To achieve its vision to advance the country through education, the Ministry of Education oversees and financially supports the endeavors of the National Institute for International Education (NIIED).

교육부
Ministry of Education

The National Institute for
International Education
NIIED

NIIED
국립국제교육원

is an executive government organization under the Ministry of Education (MOE). Established in 1962 to enhance international exchange and cooperation, NIIED plays a key role in the development of human resources, cultivation of cultural identity for overseas Koreans and allocation of government scholarships to international students.

Under NIIED, there are two nationally recognized public school English programs strengthening English education in Korea: English Program in Korea (EPIK) and Teach and Learn in Korea (TaLK). Both EPIK and TaLK Office are under the Department of Foreign Language Education Support of NIIED.

As stated in the information reproduced in the above figure, NIIED runs two English language programmes in schools: English program in Korea (EPIK) and Teach and Learn in Korea (TaLK). These two programmes are broadly similar in their basic format in terms of hiring people and allocating them to schools, but they differ in terms of detail.

Figure 4: English advertisement

As shown in the advertisement reproduced above, the TaLK participants' position is determined as that of 'educational scholar'. TaLK scholars teach for 15 hours a week in after-school classes in elementary schools, which are in 'rural areas ONLY'. The emphasis on the word ONLY creates a rather negative image of rural areas, as it seems to be designed to ensure that applicants are aware in advance that they will be allocated to rural locations. This leads to the perception of rural areas as poor.

Figure 5: Description of TaLK programme

As shown above, the TaLK publicity states that 'the TaLK Program fosters English growth and learning in under privileged areas of South Korea', which are less able to 'attract foreign English ESL teachers'. With this prejudiced explanation, the Korean governmental organizations are creating certain negative images of the locations. Although the publicity also uses positive terminology, stating that '*our scholars* are *awarded* teaching positions' (my italics), it nevertheless creates an impression that the areas specified are poor and under-privileged. In addition, by stating that the programme is intended to overcome inequalities between rural and urban areas, the publicity actually reinforces the impression that those inequalities currently exist.

The programme also seems to be part of the government's active participation in promoting South Korea as an English language market, and it therefore enhances the

perception of English and native English speakers as marketable resources (Heller, 2003).

The programme is explained on the NIIED homepage as shown below:

Figure 6: Description of TaLK programme from NIIED Homepage
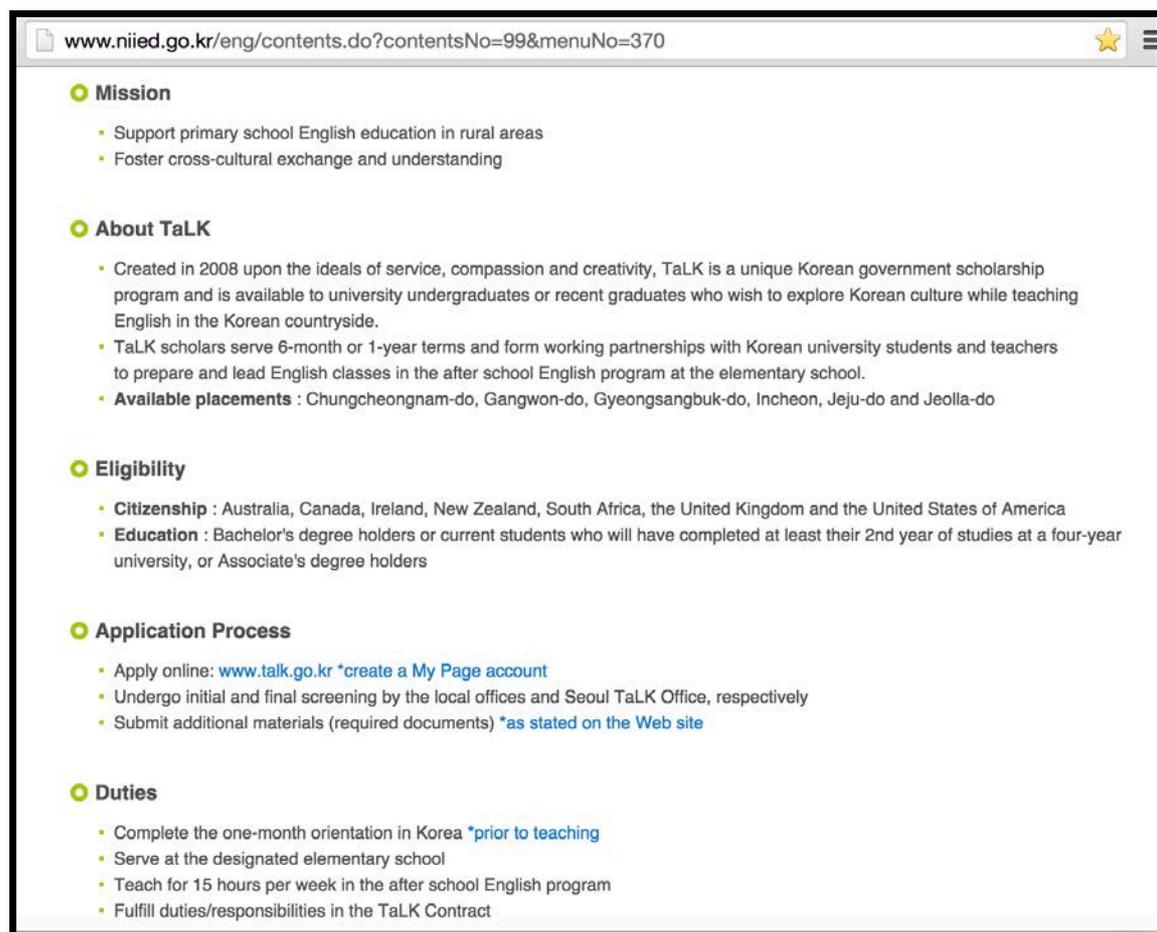
According to the explanation of the purpose behind launching the TaLK programme, the Korean Government has recognized that there is currently inequality of access to resources, hence this attempt to attract young graduates from English speaking countries to teach in Korean schools. These teachers typically come to Korea early in their careers, and have been contributing to the transition that Korea is currently undergoing.

The two mission aims stated in the above screen-capture from NIIED are to 'support primary school English education in rural areas' and to 'foster cross-cultural exchange and understanding'. The TaLK homepage expands upon these aims, mentioning the intention to 'strengthen English education in rural areas by giving young children the chance to interact with native English speakers' (TaLK homepage). This reflects the values and ideas of the Korean government, and that idea is stressed again in the statement that TaLK teachers are placed 'almost exclusively in rural areas of South Korea as part of a government initiative to support and improve public school education' (TaLK homepage).

1.2.3.2 Differentiation in language ownership

The TaLK advertising materials use the term *native speaker.* For example, the TaLK website states that 'TaLK … invites *native English speakers* to teach English at a rural elementary school' (TaLK homepage).

The term *native speaker*, *Won-uh-min* in Korean, is a popular one in Korea. According to Kim (2009), a native speaker is a person who learned a native language in the country that speaks the language as mother tongue and therefore can speak the language proficiently. In Bloomsfield's definition, 'the first language a human being learns to speak is his native language; he is a native speaker of this language' (Bloomfield, 1933:43). These definitions represent native speakers as people who have lived in the country of the language, have spoken the language from their early years, and have therefore acquired a proficient linguistic competence in that language; in addition, they have internalized the culture of the country.

However, the term is deeply problematic. Indeed it is best understood as ideologically constructed. The term native speaker normally refers to users of English rather than of other languages. It contains a view of language as a commodity that is marketable (Heller, 2003), as well as ideas about '*legitimacy*' (Bourdieu, 1982 cited in Heller, 2003:474, Author's italics), that is, 'who has the legitimate right to define what counts as competence, as authenticity, as excellence, and … who has the right to produce and distribute the resources of language and identity' (Heller, 2003:474). The tendency to perceive language as belonging to a nationality, so that a person is born as a speaker of the language (Mey, 2006), is pervasive, and many Koreans place a higher value on classes run and taught by native speakers. However, according to Mey (2006:94), 'native speaker is a figment of our imagination'.

In this research, the language I am concerned with is English. Koreans perceive *native English speakers* as those who best represent 'Western culture' (Holliday, 2006:385). Especially in the field of education, *native English speaker* is usually used as an ideological term that reveals superior status compared to native Korean teachers, with the native English speaker being perceived as a professional in terms of the language. *Native English speakers* are therefore viewed as 'ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology' (Holliday, 2005 cited in Holliday, 2006:385). Based on this belief, many schools and language institutes in Korea have started hiring young native English speaking teachers. They often use the fact that they employ native speakers in their advertising, to show that they are providing a *good quality of education*. An example of this type of advertisement is shown below.

Figure 7: An example advertisement

The advertisement states that 'more than 100 professional teachers in Pagoda Language Institute are ready to make your speaking perfect'.

The value on *native English speakers* has risen rapidly in Korean society, so that they have now reached the status, in Mey's cynical description, of 'uncrowned king of linguistics' (Mey, 1981:73 cited in Firth & Wagner, 2007:763), more highly prized than the native speakers of other languages, such as Gujarati, Vietnamese, Chinese, Japanese or Russian.

Native English speakers working as teachers in Korea may be called 'native assistant teachers', 'native teachers', 'native teachers for special programmes' or 'native assistant

teachers for special programmes' (Bae, 2000:322). In this study, the participants will be referred to as 'young novice American teachers', or according to the term from the TaLK programme, 'TaLK scholars'.

A participant in the TaLK programme '*must be* a citizen of one of the following countries: Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, South Africa, U.K and U.S.A' (http://www.talk.go.kr//talk/talk/talk_intro/intro.jsp). I perceive the assertion '*must be*' rather problematically, as it reveals the assumption by the Korean government that a language is 'owned' by certain countries and, therefore, only people who come from those countries are eligible to teach English. This recalls Bourdieu (1977:653), 'discourse of "the match" or "mismatch" between language and speaker' (Park, 2010:24 cited in Jeon, 2012:240), as the Korean government matches English with people from the suggested nations as authentic and legitimate native English speakers.

The value of English in Korean society and the Korean government's decision to import young people illustrate the way the government perceives *segyehwa* (globalization) (Jeon, 2012:241), seeing Korea as part of 'the global English-teaching market' (Jeon, 2012:240), and also assisting the phenomenon of commodification not only of English itself but also of the speakers of the language (Jeon, 2012). By doing this, the Korean government is accelerating the inequality between English speaking countries and non-English speaking countries in their reception by Korean society.

1.2.3.3 Differentiation in ethnicity and language

The TaLK literature also mentions the possibility that participants might share a Korean heritage: 'In particular, for candidates of Korean ethnicity, this will be a meaningful occasion to better understand their cultural roots and discover a new sense of self

identity' (TaLK homepage). 'These overseas ethnic Koreans work as native-speaking English teachers in their "homeland" through a government-funded English-teaching programme called Teach and Learn in Korea (TaLK)' (Jeon, 2012:240). Thus, it seems that TaLK aims to offer '*Gyopo* "overseas Koreans''' (Lo & Kim, 2012:260) an opportunity to learn about their heritage.

However, the entitlement of these '"returnees" (*saldaon saram*)' (Lo & Kim, 2012:261) to hold 'the symbolic capital of being native English speakers and "ethnic" Koreans' (Block, 2012:280) is both enacted and challenged by local Koreans (Block, 2012). These 'ethnic-Korean' TaLK scholars are 'constructed as "bilingual global citizens" who came back in service to the nation; yet, at the same time, they [are] also positioned as less "real" English teachers, whose connections with Korea limit their ability to provide "authentic" English teaching' (Jeon, 2012:240). Moreover, as shown by Cho (2012), some Korean ethnic English teachers, male teachers in his study, experienced 'contradictory feelings of privilege and anxiety in South Korea, mediated through their linguistic capital of English' (Cho, 2012:219), and were conflicted regarding their identity as native speakers (Cho, 2012) due to their identical appearance to local Koreans. Similarly, in this study, some of the American TaLK scholars struggled with this, as their appearance was similar to that of the local Koreans so that they were 'almost the same but not quite' (Bhabha, 1994 cited in Cho, 2012:227).

1.2.3.4 Differentiation between 'youth' and professionalism

On the TaLK website, the programme is introduced as shown in Appendix 5. The eligibility criteria to join the TaLK programme are stated as:

Figure 8: Eligibility criteria for TaLK applicants

According to the information on the TaLK homepage, standard applicants are 'recent college graduates and graduate students', or those who have studied at a university for at least two years. Thus, even though EPIK states that candidates can have 'a maximum of 62 years of age' (EPIK Homepage), mention of *recent* graduates and of a *bachelor degree*, and the fact that participants need to be mobile and willing to live in Korea, reveal an assumption that applicants will be young.

My interpretation of 'young' is broad. Clearly youth is socially constructed and there is no cut-off point. It is understood that people may take an undergraduate degree at any point in their lives. However, as my participants were all under 30 at the time of the research, I feel that this reflects the construction of participants as imagined in the TaLK

and EPIK literature. The TaLK scholars in this research were aged from 25 to 27 years when they joined the study. In terms of 'developmental periods in early and middle adulthood', this age belongs to 'early adulthood' when young people are 'entering the adult world' (Levinson, 1978 cited in Dannefer, 1984:102). Hence the participants were 'young' in age and 'novices' in teaching.

According to the TaLK website, 'TaLK scholar' is a 'title awarded by the Korean government'; the monthly payment is referred to as a 'scholarship'. TaLK also advertise that they offer 'numerous opportunities' to these TaLK scholars, including the chance to explore Korea. Meanwhile, the Korean government focuses on the TaLK scholars' 'creativeness' and 'uniqueness'. They expect that these qualities will be sufficient to motivate classes in Korean schools to higher achievement.

Figure 9: Description of TaLK scholars' lives in Korea

At the same time, as shown above, the government perceives TaLK as a scholarship programme, and consider the participants as scholars, even though they are teaching students in Korean elementary schools. Thus the qualities of creativity and uniqueness are associated with the TaLK scholars being 'young', rather than with any teaching qualification or other capabilities. This positioning of the novice teachers at 'student' level immediately places them in a low position, as the word student implies 'learner'. This also reveals the usual contrast between experts and novices, whereby experts are considered as professional, and as being creative and unique due to their experience of

teaching, whilst novices come fresh to teaching; they are creative and unique but still immature, and need supervision due to their lack of experience in teaching.

This also creates different understandings among the different actors involved in TaLK. Whilst the novice teachers perceive their participation on the programme as their 'job', by calling them 'scholars' the TaLK team reveal their perception that they are offering opportunities which the participants have applied for, and that by granting a 'scholarship', they are allowing the participants the chance to explore Korea while experiencing teaching by showing their 'English proficiency'. This seems worse than simply having low expectations of the position, as the TaLK scholars are perceived as being without experience, untrained and, therefore, somewhat less-qualified to be considered as 'teachers'.

1.3 Research Questions and Research Aims

This thesis explores the teacher development of three young novice American teachers by focusing on national language policy and its implementation in local schools.

My research questions are:

1. How do young novice American teachers work within schools and what does this tell us about the usefulness of the TaLK programme?

2. What opportunities and challenges are there for young novice American teachers to develop as teachers in their Korean elementary schools?

3. How do young novice American teachers respond to cultural and social

differences during their time in Korea?

Based on the research questions, the aim of this study is to explore the novice teachers' teacher development in practices where a national language policy was being implemented at local level.

First, I will consider how policy and practice work for novice teachers. According to Hornberger, there is almost always some degree of gap 'between policy and implementation, and … policies may change or get overruled' (Hornberger, 1998:444-445). Also, the language policy at state level may be implemented differently at the school level, according to each school's need, as 'when governments or states decide to intervene in areas involving language, they usually have primarily non-linguistic agendas … when planning does occur, unintended outcomes may result, implementation may be incomplete or inappropriate, and evaluation may be sketchy or non-existent' (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996:404).

Figure 10: Description of TaLK programme benefits

The program, which began in April of 2008 under the direction of South Korean President Lee Myung-Bak, is designed to support public English education in the rural areas of Korea, where the access to higher quality educational resources are limited.

Local Application Offices

The TaLK Program is unique in many ways. It is only one of two government-sponsored English programs here in South Korea, and the only program that provides an opportunity for individuals with at least 2 years of post-secondary education to come to South Korea for an once-in-a-lifetime experience. In addition, under exceptional cases, individuals are able to choose a six-month commitment, with the normal requirement lasting one-year. All participants begin their scholarship term with an intensive, month-long training which provides a safe and supervised environment for our participants to adjust to their new surroundings. The training program provides the new Scholars with information on Korean culture, education, classroom management, practical teaching experience, and much more aimed at preparing the participants for both teaching, and living in Korea.

We provide benefits to our participants to ensure a comfortable living experience, and also time to pursue other personal interests. These benefits include, but are not limited to health insurance coverage, accommodations, entrance and exit allowance, and cultural experience field trips.

In the above advertisement, by promoting the TaLK programme as a 'once-in-a-lifetime experience', TaLK seems to emphasize the positive expectations of participating. However, in this study, the gap between the policy and its implementation in the schools' practice was significant, and this led to the TaLK scholars being marginalized from both communities of practice, left to float between the TaLK programme and the local school to achieve their goal of learning about Korea, teaching and teacher life. Therefore, I want to focus first on the mismatch between the image promoted by TaLK, and the reality the TaLK scholars faced in their schools.

Secondly, I aim to illustrate how the opportunities and challenges that the young novice American teachers faced in their schools influenced them in terms of their teacher development. I explore what they were learning in practice and how their identities-in-practice influenced their practice, both of which are cases of 'situated learning'. Also, I look at how the TaLK scholars, named and positioned as students, deliver their

linguistic expertise to the students while at the same time creating an image of their role as something uncomplicated and simple, which could reveal their creativity and uniqueness.

Thirdly, I aim to describe the kinds of cultural differences that three young people observed and commented on during their early days working in a new school. I explore how difference and sense of belonging were revealed in the practice and how the TaLK scholars were positioned to cope with, or escape from, the situation. I also aim to find out whether the novice teachers were forced to change any foregrounded beliefs and personal habits in order to achieve sense of belonging, or whether they were treated as having been 'awarded' membership of the community of practice as described in the TaLK promotional material, and also how this influenced their teacher development.

This study will focus on three young people - Abigail, Evan and Fiona. Their biographical accounts will be briefly presented in section 3. 6. 1.

Based on the background of Korea's 'English fever', and the Korean government's actions to increase the importance of English education by launching the TaLK programme, in chapters 4, 5, and 6 of this thesis, the usefulness of the programme, the TaLK scholars' opportunities and challenges in their Korean schools, and their teacher development will be discussed with empirical data.

1.4 Structure of this Study

This section has explored the context of the study and the TaLK programme.

Chapter 2 comprises a review of previous research, in order to show the theoretical frame of this study. Three main theories/studies are discussed, namely 'communities of practice', 'situated learning' and studies on teacher development, along with several analytical concepts from each theory.

Chapter 3 describes the research design, methodology and methods implemented in this study, and gives the rationale for each. It also includes the biographies of the three participants in this study: Abigail, Evan and Fiona.

Chapter 4 gives a description of the TaLK scholars' everyday school lives and interaction with the teachers in their schools. In this way, the thesis discovers and reports how the TaLK programme is actually implemented in the local schools.

Chapter 5 discusses the opportunities and challenges that TaLK scholars encountered in their school lives, and how they managed those issues. It also explores how different types of opportunities and challenges influenced the TaLK scholars in terms of their 'situated learning'.

Chapter 6 explores the cultural and social differences that TaLK scholars found in their practice, and their reactions to them. This chapter also looks at how the TaLK scholars both differentiated themselves from, and perceived sense of belonging with, local Koreans, and how this influenced their perception of themselves as teachers in their Korean schools.

Chapter 7 presents a summary of the study, and conclusions.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the theoretical framework that underpins the research. To study the development of novice young American teachers (TaLK scholars), previous research on teacher development and teacher identity are investigated and discussed. In particular, in this study, Lave & Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998)'s concepts of 'communities of practice' and 'situated learning' will be applied. These areas connect directly to my research questions, which are:

1. How do young novice American teachers work within schools and what does this tell us about the usefulness of the TaLK programme?

2. What opportunities and challenges are there for young novice American teachers to develop as teachers in their Korean elementary schools?

3. How do young novice American teachers respond to cultural and social differences during their time in Korea?

Section 2.2 will address the theory of communities of practice, which will assist in analysis of the data in Chapters 4, 5, and 6, in order to answer the research questions above. In that section, the TaLK programme and the local schools will be described as communities of practice, the TaLK teachers as agents/brokers, and the Korean mentor teachers as coordinators.

Section 2.3 will review situated learning. In order to address research questions 2 & 3, it will consider several concepts in situated learning with specific reference to teacher development. These include legitimate peripheral participation, learning-in-practice, and identities-in-practice, encompassing narrated identities and enacted identities.

2.2 Communities of Practice (COP)

To expand our understanding of the TaLK programme and the local schools as communities in which the participants of this study were constructing their teacher identity by negotiating and interacting with the other members, Lave & Wenger (1991) concept of *communities of practice* provides a suitable theoretical framework. According to Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (2013:45): 'Communities of practice emerge as groups of people respond to a mutual situation.' Such communities have existed throughout human history (Snyder, Wenger & Briggs, 1999), sharing cultural practices that reflect their collective learning (Wenger, 2000).

The most significant feature of communities of practice is 'learning through an identity of participation' (Wenger, 1998:271). Such communities evolve through people's participation, and represent 'the basic building blocks of a social learning system because they are the social "containers" of the competences that make up such a system' (Wenger, 2000:229). This perception of communities is highly relevant to an understanding of two institutional practices included in my research – the TaLK programme and the local schools – as they are the practices in which the TaLK scholars are trained for a specific time, and where they experience existing social norms and cultural features, therefore learning what it means to be a teacher in Korean schools.

As 'social 'containers' (Wenger, 2000:299), each community of practice contains certain elements of a learning system. In the process of learning, negotiation among members is essential for the growth of the competence of the community (Wenger, 1998). Therefore, a community of practice 'can be defined as an ongoing collective negotiation of a regime of competence, which is neither static nor fully explicit. In this sense, the construct of community of practice "politicizes" the concept of learning by locating it in a social context where the experience of participation – and therefore learning – is always a claim to competence' (Eckert & Wenger, 2005:583).

In a community of practice, people are 'informally bound together by shared expertise and passion for a joint enterprise' (Wenger & Snyder, 2000:139). Wenger (1998) notes that we constantly interact with other people who are situated inside, outside or on the boundary of the community, and that one person may belong to one or several communities at the same time. Communities may be large or small (Wenger, 2000), and may gather regularly or only rarely (Wenger & Snyder, 2000). Moreover, the community may be visible as one that shares a physical place, such as a building, or invisible because it is connected virtually, through 'cyberspace' (Kramsch, 2011:355). According to Canagarajah (2003:234), a community of practice is 'an invisible community, decentered and translocal, and theoretically anyone can participate in its activities'. Yet while communities may vary in form and size, they share the same basic functions: participation and learning. This learning could be achieved through positive, neutral or negative experiences in the practice (Wenger *et al*., 2002a; Wenger, McDermott & Snyder, 2002b). Through interaction, joint learning and building of relationships, the members of the community of practice 'develop a sense of belonging and mutual commitment' (Wenger *et al*., 2002a:34).

Participation in the practice is linked to the negotiation of meaning. In the process of interaction with others and with the world, we influence each other and learn through negotiating meanings (Wenger, 1998). As Wenger notes: '*Practice is about meaning as an experience of everyday life*' (1998:52, Author's italics). It is the process of learning through granting meanings to experience; and although some experiences are repeated as everyday routine, the repetition itself represents a new aspect of experience (Wenger, 1998). In this study, the TaLK scholars were interacting with the Korean teachers in their local schools and learning what it means to be a language teacher in Korea through their experience of daily routines and occasional events.

The reason we learn from even repeated routines can be found in the perception of the practices as social practices. 'Social practice' (Wenger, 1998:47) does not refer to activity itself. Rather, it is the 'historical and social context that gives structure and meaning to what we do. In this sense, practice is always social practice' (1998:47). Here, Wenger emphasizes the continuity and fluidity of meaning through actual experience. Practice is a location where people are engaged in the 'productive process' of constructively negotiating meaning, a process that 'is at once both historical and dynamic, contextual and unique' (Wenger, 1998:54), and which 'involves the interaction of two constituent processes', namely 'participation' and 'reification' (Wenger, 1998:52).

Wenger explained how participation and reification would be produced in a practice. First, he saw communities of practice as organic structures (Wenger, 1998). The term participation refers to 'the social experience of living in the world in terms of membership in social communities and active involvement in social enterprises' (Wenger, 1998:55). It represents 'both action and connection' to other members of the

community (Wenger, 1998:55). Essentially participation is rooted in 'situated negotiation and renegotiation of meaning in the world' (Lave & Wenger, 1991:51). Secondly, Wenger employed the term 'reification' to 'convey the idea that what is turned into a concrete, material object is not properly a concrete, material object' (Wenger, 1998:58). Here he suggests that forms within society can develop in new and autonomous ways, independently of their original context (Wenger, 1998). In the situation focused upon in this study, the allocation of the TaLK scholars to the local schools may have caused changes and development of the forms in those schools, as the novice teachers' participation would generate the need for negotiation and co-participation between the TaLK scholars and the established members of the school community.

Together participation and reification create a duality essential to 'the human experience of meaning' (Wenger, 1998:52). They are not dichotomized categories. Rather, the two dimensions interact and '*transform their relation*' in terms of 'the possibilities for negotiating meaning' (Wenger, 1998:68, Author's italics). 'Whereas in participation we recognize ourselves in each other, in reification we project ourselves onto the world, and not having to recognize ourselves in those projections, we attribute to our meanings an independent existence. This contrast between mutuality and projection is an important difference between participation and reification' (Wenger, 1998:58). Thus, participation and reification coexist and complement each other (Wenger, 1998). Similarly, 'we really cannot separate acceptance, participation, practice, and learning in a COP framework as they are all mutually implicated' (Gee, 2005:590).

2.2.1 Community

The personal relationships between members constitute an important feature of communities (Wenger, 1998), and for that reason a main focus of this study is on the individual TaLK scholars and their school relationships. Because the membership of communities of practice is continually changing, as new participants (TaLK scholars in this study) join and others leave (Wenger, 1998; Roberts, 2006), so too the relationships among the people in the community change. According to Eckert & Wenger (2005), 'a practice is a way of doing things, *as grounded in and shared by a community*' (2005:583, Author's italics), and is established through the co-relationships among members. To explain the co-relationship between practice and the community, Wenger suggests three elements of community: mutual engagement, a joint enterprise and a shared repertoire (Wenger, 1998, 2000; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Nickols, 2003; Davies, 2005).

Mutual engagement among participants is 'the source of coherence of a community' (Wenger, 1998:72), and relates to its functioning (Smith, 2003). As practice is a product of people's actual participation and interaction, and as there are as many characters and ways of thinking as there are people, 'what makes engagement in practice possible and productive is as much a matter of diversity as it is a matter of homogeneity' (Wenger, 1998:75). To achieve mutual engagement, members must strive to understand what they can and cannot do, and how each participant's different abilities influence and link with the work of other members (Wenger, 1998). Through those links, it is the relationships among the members that take precedence, rather than their differences (Wenger, 1998), and in this way those members 'build their community' (Wenger, 2000:229). Through exchange of 'semiotic means', that is, 'the meaning-making work that goes on around

giving and taking meanings from words, symbols, objects, places, or persons' (Gee, 2005:592), participants can be mutually engaged in the practice. Furthermore, such mutual engagement tends to filter out influence from outside the community (Wenger, 1998). On the other hand, if the members of the community fail to mutually engage, influences from outside the community will be felt within it. In this study, the local schools were places where cultural/social diversity was created due to the allocation of the TaLK scholars to their practice. For each school to function as a community, mutual engagement was required to produce and share a meaning that would bind the members firmly together.

The second element, joint enterprise (Wenger, 1998:77), relates to what the community of practice '*is about*' (Wenger, 1998:52, Author's italics), and is 'the result of a collective process of negotiation that reflects the full complexity of mutual engagement' (Wenger, 1998:77), creating shared goals for which participants are mutually accountable, and which become integral to the practice (Wenger, 1998). In this research, this element refers to the teaching and collaboration of the TaLK scholars and Korean teachers in the local schools, as their mutually shared goal in the classroom is to create successful team teaching through cooperation and negotiation.

Gee (2005) points out that it is difficult to determine exactly what constitutes a joint enterprise. He notes that if the term is used to apply to any group that shares things, including practice, then it must be defined 'so generally and vaguely that it covers everything' (Gee, 2005:592). According to Wenger (1998), the important element is the creation of mutual accountability, whereby participants accept and accommodate their differences and varied aspirations. Even in the absence of a uniform understanding of the enterprise, it can still be a 'collective product' (Wenger, 1998:79). However, while

there can be no clear boundary to a joint enterprise, and the responsibility for decision making rests with the members (Davies, 2005), I prefer to perceive this as *autonomy* rather than vagueness. This autonomy, combined with a co-operative relationship among members, opens the possibility of negotiation, whereby members can follow the regulations of the community whilst also showing creativity (Wenger, 1998). The scope for creativity tends to increase over time, so that while newcomers will usually follow instructions and procedures as given, long-standing members tend to be more flexible and practical when carrying out tasks (Wenger, 1998). This links directly to the practice of this study, where novice teachers (TaLK scholars) were learning by following instructions from the school, whilst the other old-timers (the Korean teachers) could show flexibility with regard to those instructions.

Wenger's third element, shared repertoire, refers to the capability produced among the community (Wenger, 1998). It is related to '*the degree of self-awareness*' (Wenger, 2000:239, Author's italics) and the history of mutual engagement in the community, and 'remains inherently ambiguous' (Wenger, 1998:83). Shared repertoire comprises shared resources that have been produced or inherited by the community, such as 'language, routines, sensibilities, artifacts, tools, stories, styles' (Wenger, 2000:229), which are then interpreted by the members according to their usage. This suggests ambiguity, which Wenger argues is not the same as absence of meaning. 'Rather, it is a condition of negotiability and thus a condition for the very possibility of meaning. It is how history remains both relevant and meaningful' (Wenger, 1998:83). Hence, shared repertoire comprises the results of mutual engagement in the practice through various mediums, such as language and routine (Wenger, 1998). The ways in which the TaLK scholars might achieve self-awareness in the local schools, how this awareness might be

recognized and legitimated by the local people, and through which mediums it might be shared and negotiated in the practice, may be revealed through looking closely at the TaLK scholars' shared repertoire in their local schools.

In this study, the TaLK scholars' relationships with the people in their local schools will be examined through Wenger's three dimensions. This will be further explained in Chapter 4 with the actual data from the TaLK scholars.

2.2.2. Two communities of practice and the interaction of coordinators and brokers/agents

To enhance understanding of the connection between the TaLK programme and the local schools, and in order to give a logical justification for the application of communities of practice theory in this study, this section will examine the TaLK programme, the local schools, the Korean mentor teachers, and the TaLK scholars in relation to that theory.

In this study, the TaLK programme and the local schools are perceived as separate communities of practice. The TaLK scholars are considered as *agents /brokers* and the Korean mentor teachers and members of the TaLK team are seen as *coordinators* (Lave & Wenger, 1991). These terms will be explained below.

2.2.2.1 The TaLK programme as a 'community of practice'

The TaLK programme includes two groups of people: the TaLK team, who act as the coordinator, and the TaLK scholars, the participants. The programme as a whole has been developing as a community of practice. It has been creating, expanding and

exchanging knowledge to develop the capabilities (Wenger *et al.*, 2002a) of the individual TaLK scholars by offering training sessions and tracking each teacher until the end of their contract with their local school.

As a community of practice, the TaLK programme needs to fulfil the criteria of enterprise, mutuality and repertoire. Enterprise is 'the level of learning energy' (Wenger, 2000:230) that reveals how leadership is involved in the engagement of the members and therefore in the learning toward shared goals. Mutuality, or 'the depth of social capital' (Wenger, 2000:230) also needs to be combined with the articulation of the enterprise. In their communities of practice, participants mutually engage with one another and find ways to interact by 'receiving and giving help' (Wenger, 2000:230). Finally, repertoire refers to 'the degree of self-awareness' (Wenger, 2000:230) in terms of how the connection to the practice would influence understanding of the community's development from diverse perspectives, facilitating a reconsideration of assumptions and patterns and thus uncovering hidden possibilities for the future.

In the TaLK orientation programme, the TaLK scholars are trained by the TaLK team to achieve the shared goal, namely to deliver English lessons in local schools. During their training, the TaLK scholars stay in shared accommodation, living and studying together for three weeks at the TaLK training centre and then for a week in the relevant provincial office of education (POE). During this time, they build trust and friendships. This interaction is then continued through social network services (SNS). Each generation of TaLK scholars has an SNS group on Facebook (see Appendix 2), and all TaLK programme participants, including members from the POEs and TaLK team, can communicate in this way. The interaction posted officially on the SNS is chiefly about teaching and TaLK related issues, and is mainly positive or neutral in order to avoid

conflict. In contrast, the teachers' offline communication usually excludes the TaLK team and the POEs. Through the conversation both online and offline, the TaLK scholars seek ways to move forward in terms of personal development and the development of their communities of practice.

In the process of learning, language is 'highly significant in classifying ways of transmitting knowledge' (Lave & Wenger, 1991:105). During their training the TaLK scholars are exposed to the language used by experienced teachers, and this links into their actual teaching practice. Moreover, the participants learn through the experience of their community of practice in all three dimensions, and this links to the process of developing their identities as teachers.

The TaLK team itself can be perceived as similar to a 'project team' (Wenger *et al*., 2002a:42). First of all, the team members are recruited by government and 'have a direct role in accomplishing the task' (Wenger *et al*., 2002a:42). The TaLK programme was launched and is processed at national level as a project to support the learning of English among children in rural areas, and the TaLK team is affiliated to the Ministry of Education of Korea. However, despite this similarity to a project team, the programme as a whole reveals the features of a community of practice in terms of 'passion, commitment, and identification with the group and its expertise' (Wenger *et al*., 2002a:42), as I will show in Chapter 4.

In the final month of their contract, TaLK scholars are asked to submit an essay detailing their experience in their schools and in Korea (see Appendix 3). These essays provide feedback for TaLK, albeit that the feedback is mainly positive, as the TaLK participants know that their essays will be read by the TaLK team members. By investigating the current participants' experiences in order to enhance their programme,

TaLK builds on the collective experience of its members, and thus strives to be an efficient community (Wenger *et al*., 2002a).

Therefore, in view of all the points stated above, in this study I take the TaLK programme to be a community of practice.

2.2.2.2 The local schools as 'communities of practice'

The local schools have stronger boundaries as communities of practice compared to the TaLK programme. First of all, they each have a clear physical form, comprising buildings and grounds. Also, the schools fulfil the criteria of enterprise, mutuality and repertoire discussed in the previous section. The engagement among the people in the schools is more structured and immediate, and there is a clear hierarchy of leadership, where position reveals role and power relationship. In the schools, the teachers interact and seek to improve their systems, curriculums and schedules in ways that are efficient for their shared goal of educating children. 'Education' can be defined in various ways, but here I use the term to refer to actual teaching in the classroom.

Each local school in this study has a clear history from its establishment to the present day. In each case, this long history is a source of pride within the school, and all members, new and old, are registered in the system. 'Newcomers arrive, they learn the necessary knowledge and skills by actually engaging in the practices of the community, and in time they, too, become experts and full-fledged members of the community' (Kanno, 1999:131). Within the school, members circulate: the students will move to a higher grade every year; new teachers will arrive, and others will leave. All the time, these newcomers and old-timers are interacting and therefore starting to share a history.

As Wenger (1998) points out, practice involves a shared history of learning, so that more recent recruits to the practice need to do some catching up. This occurs as the newcomers and long-standing members share their competences 'through a version of the same process by which they develop' (Wenger, 1998:102); this is also the process of reproducing their membership. In the practices (the local schools), the TaLK scholars (the participants) were learning.

A community of practice functions as a place where the members of the community are learning (Kanno, 1999), and 'places learning, or learners, squarely at the centre of inquiry' (Lave, 1996:157 as cited in Kanno, 1999:127). The meaning of learning becomes parallel to the 'identity-making life projects' (Lave, 1996:157 cited in Kanno, 1999:127). In the case of schools, teachers and students are learning in the practice through interaction with each other, and this influences their identity formation.

In her study, Toohey (1998) perceived the school as a community of practice and all the participants in the classroom as members of that community. She considered the students as 'participants situated in one or more particular local communities and engaging in the practices of those communities' (Toohey, 1998:63). Creese (2003) shared this perception of the classroom as a community of practice.

Similarly, in this study I see the TaLK scholars as participants in two different communities of practice, but for the sake of consistency in terminology, I will continue to use the term 'TaLK scholar'. Also, as my focus is on the interaction between the TaLK scholars and the Korean teachers, the established members in the schools, I will consider the schools as a whole as a huge community of practice.

Therefore, there are two communities of practice in this study: the TaLK programme and the local schools. Identity exists in the relations between individuals and between them and their locations, and also in their 'participation in communities of practice. Thus identity, knowing, and social membership entail one another' (Lave & Wenger, 1991:53).

2.2.2.3 Korean mentor teachers as 'coordinators'

A coordinator is 'a community member who helps the community focus on its domain, maintain relationships, and develop its practice' (Wenger *et al*., 2002a:80). Their role is essential to vitalize the community of practice, by organizing events and connecting community members (Wenger *et al*., 2002a). Such coordination involves leadership; however, the meaning of leadership here differs somewhat from the traditional sense, referring rather to an ability to gather people together so that members of the community are able to achieve a shared goal (Wenger *et al*., 2002a).

With specific reference to the communities of practice in this study, the TaLK team coordinates implementation of the TaLK programme by allocating TaLK scholars to local elementary schools after training. Meanwhile, in each of these local schools there is a mentor teacher, who also acts as a coordinator. This coordinator role is very important, especially in terms of cooperation between two different communities of practice. The TaLK programme and the local schools may be considered as two separate communities, which interact through 'boundary encounters' (Wenger, 1998:112) in one-to-one conversation between a TaLK team member and a mentor teacher. 'The advantage of such private conversations is that interlocutors are by themselves and can

therefore be candid about their own practices in an effort to advance the boundary relation' (Wenger, 1998:112).

To be successful, a coordinator must perform several roles in their community, as detailed below:

- Identify important issues in their domain.

- Plan and facilitate community events. This is the most visible aspect of the coordinator role.

- Informally link community members, crossing boundaries between organizational units and brokering knowledge assets.

- Foster the development of community members.

- Manage the boundary between the community and the formal organization, such as teams and other organizational units.

- Help build the practice – including the knowledge base, lessons learned, best practices, tools and methods, and learning events.

- Assess the health of the community and evaluate its contribution to members and the organization.

(Wenger *et al.*, 2002b:80)

As coordinators, a member of the TaLK team and the mentor teacher stand at the gates of their respective communities of practice, and cooperate with each other to implement the TaLK programme in the school. As a starting point, information is given to the mentor teacher, who then delivers their interpretation of that information to the community members. The element of interpretation means that the actual

implementation of the programme will be constantly changing, according to the agreed needs and goals. The mentor teachers also investigate the feasibility of implementing the TaLK programme in their school and, therefore, the programme will be implemented based on the school's particular situation.

2.2.2.4 Mentoring of trainees

According to Dewey, 'the teacher is engaged, not simply in the training of individuals, but in the formation of the proper social life' (Dewey, 1897 cited in Bae, 2000:313). In her study on young students' learning, Hart (2014:196) states that 'educational professionals have the potential to provide stability, familiarity and support to young people, as they plan their futures in the crucial period towards the end of school and college'. In this case, the learners are young novice teachers, but Hart's point can be applied to investigate the Korean mentor teachers' role in terms of supporting the TaLK scholars whilst they are 'learning-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:155). This will be examined further in Chapters 4 and 5, with the empirical data.

In the TaLK programme, in each elementary school one Korean teacher takes on the role of mentor teacher. However, as Bae pointed out, elementary school teachers in South Korea do not study English as their university major, so their knowledge of English and their teaching skill in the subject can vary (Bae, 2000). Moreover, elementary school English teachers are expected to possess a range of tangible teaching skills that will allow them to conduct various 'fun' activities with their students (Bae, 2000). Therefore, the Korean mentor teachers in elementary schools do not necessarily have a thorough knowledge in English, and their skills are likely to be oriented towards

practical teaching. In contrast, the TaLK scholars they are expected to mentor may be experts in the English language but not in teaching. According to Bae (2000), the native English speaking teachers in elementary schools are expected to possess not only flexibility and 'sensitivity to the point of compassion' (Bae, 2000:323), but also a 'well-developed sense of humour' (Bae, 2000:323).

As argued by Copland (2010:466): 'The role of the mentor teacher or tutor depends on a number of variables, but they are typically expected to offer support to the trainee as they learn to teach, provide suggestions and advice with regard to improving practice, and assess the trainee's teaching against a set of criteria issued by the institution or an awarding body.' To carry out this role, the mentor teacher will usually offer a feedback session after observing the trainee's classes (Copland, 2010).

Unfortunately, the Korean mentor teachers in this study were not able to offer meaningful support for the TaLK scholars. Often, the mentor teachers themselves had a low status in the school, and they also lacked both ability and will to open up communication in English with the TaLK scholars. This will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

Next the focus will shift to the TaLK scholars. As will be explained below, they are agents and brokers belonging to both communities of practice: the TaLK programme and the local school.

2.2.2.5 TaLK scholars as 'agents' and 'brokers'

Based on the discussion above, I consider the TaLK programme and each local school as communities of practice. Further, I consider the TaLK scholars as agents, that is

individual persons who have intentions of their own; and as brokers who interact with two communities of practice.

The term 'agency' (Giddens, 1984 cited in Iervese & Tuttolomondo, 2014:245) 'refers to the ability and possibility for an individual to make choices and to act autonomously within a system of norms and constraints. Agency implies not only that the individual is endowed with a certain grade of competence but also the presence of favourable environmental conditions in order to express this competence' (Iervese & Tuttolomondo, 2014:245).

Lave (1991) studied apprentices as individuals involved in the learning process within a community. Apprentices 'have the opportunity to see community practice in its complexity early on and have a broader idea of what it is about than just the particular tasks in which they are engaged or that are most easily observable' (Lave, 1991:69). Hence, they are on the periphery of the community, and try to become legitimate through participation (Lave, 1991). With regard to learning, I consider the TaLK scholars of this study as being apprentices. However, with regard to 'capability and the opportunities to participate to express their own priorities, strategies and aspirations' (Biggeri, 2014:45) and to promote them in the decision-making processes (Hart, 2009, 2013; Biggeri & Santi, 2012), I perceive the TaLK scholars as agentive beings who act as brokers between two communities of practice: the TaLK programme and the local schools. Therefore, in this study, the TaLK scholars will be considered as agents and brokers rather than as apprentices.

First of all, the TaLK scholars are agentive beings. As such, they are unique individuals, so will receive and interpret the same input differently. Then, '[t]he history objectified in instruments, monuments, works, techniques etc. can become activated and active

history only if it is taken in hand by agents who, because of their previous *investment*, are inclined to be *interested* in it and endowed with the aptitudes needed to reactivate it' (Bourdieu, 2000 emphasis in original cited in Blackledge, Creese, Baraç, Bhatt, Hamid, Wei, Lytra, Martin, Wu & Yağcioğlu, 2008:551). Due to the 'multiple choices in relation not only to the possible lines that we can produce but to the form of the play itself' (Davies & Harré, 1990:52), in the practice, we act as 'agent (producer/director) as well as author', and at the same time as 'multiple audiences' (Davies & Harré, 1990:52). Agency represents 'one's course of action as one from among various possibilities' (Harré & Van Langenhove, 1991:400). 'From a situatedness perspective, knowledge is generally constituted by the relation or interaction between an agent and the situational context they are acting in' (Renkl, 2001:14134). In the practice, the agent will interact with others and thus negotiate a certain course of action, and this process will produce knowledge and meaning of the action in the practice.

'The agent has little possibility of fashioning an identity that implies mastery, for commoditization of labour implies the detachment of the value of labour from the person' (Lave, 1991:76). This point is relevant to my study, as I will show that in the school practice the TaLK scholars' presence as agentive beings is neglected, and they are considered only in terms of their role as agents who deliver knowledge of the English language to the people in the practice. The TaLK scholars may focus on teaching as teachers; however, in the practice they may be considered as temporary visitors to the school, English native speakers who will speak English for the benefit of the students. In that case, the values of the TaLK scholars themselves are not considered by the local people. As will be discussed in Chapters 4 & 6, this influenced the TaLK scholars' status of belongingness in the practice.

In the construction of their own identity, all teachers are individual agents. Here the term *agency* refers to humans' ability to influence their own lives and environment, albeit that at the same time they are themselves shaped by a range of factors, both social and individual (Lasky, 2005). As 'agentive beings', individuals are 'constantly in search of new social and linguistic resources which allow them to resist identities that position them in undesirable ways' (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004a:27).

There are further reasons why I perceive the TaLK scholars as agents. First of all, they have membership of more than one community of practice, and secondly, having been trained by TaLK, upon moving to the local schools they transfer knowledge from one community of practice to another. During the TaLK training, the programme's intention with regard to the teaching of English is delivered to the TaLK scholars. They are then sent as agents to the local practices to deliver that intention. In the actual practice, the TaLK scholars in this study became neither full members nor intruders (Wenger, 1998). As such, they adhered to what was expected of their role as brokers. However, they did wish to become closer to being full members of the community than was required by that role. This might have been because they considered it necessary in their role as 'agents'. I will illustrate this argument in Chapter 4, with the empirical data.

Secondly, the TaLK scholars were acting as brokers in the practice. The term 'broker' was introduced by Eckert (1989) in her study about 'jocks and burnouts' and their ways of producing 'new ideas, new interests, new styles, and new revelations into their clique' (Wenger, 1998:109). Brokers have multi-membership of different communities, enabling them to transfer elements between the practices; such activity is 'a common

feature of the relation of a community of practice with the outside' (Wenger, 1998:109).

Boissevain (1974), Kadushin (2004) noted that, 'brokers are people who span structural holes, mediating loose times' (Eckert & Wenger, 2005:587). As brokers, TaLK scholars experience an 'immersion' (Wenger, 1998:113) form of boundary encounter. They are fully immersed in the practice and learn the ways of interaction of the original members (Wenger, 1998), but are interacting on the boundary, and so remain as neither fully inside nor fully outside (Wenger, 1998).

Brokering refers to 'a number of boundary processes through which knowledge can be transferred' (Roberts, 2006:631). In this study I will show that, at the same time as acting as agents to deliver the Korean government's policy of using native speakers to teach English, the TaLK scholars also act as brokers transferring knowledge between the TaLK programme and the local schools. To some extent, the TaLK teachers were serving as brokers for the English speaking world, not through their own intention but because they were following the national TaLK programme. They were learning to be teachers by participating in the programme, but their efforts also functioned to advance the importance of English, as emphasized by the Korean government and by TaLK.

In summary, the TaLK programme and each local school are communities of practice that are continuously evolving. Each includes people who play a role as coordinator between the two communities, and who deliver information to their community members. Because they act not only as gate-keepers of their respective communities of practice, but also as interpreters of the programme who can therefore influence its actual implementation, their role invites close attention. In particular, the mentor teachers' role

is a highly important factor in the teaching performance and experience of the TaLK scholars in the local schools.

2.2.3 Three modes of belonging

In terms of the participation in social practice, the three elements encompass both an 'emic' and an 'etic' perspective, focusing on each person, who is also a member of a 'sociocultural community' (Lave & Wenger, 1991:52). Within these co-existing layers and perspectives of learning, the individual becomes 'a full participant, a member, a kind of person' who is 'able to be involved in new activities, to perform new tasks and functions, to master new understandings' (Lave & Wenger, 1991:53). In this way, the individuals and the practice evolve mutually. At the local level, it is expected that the status of each participant will shift from marginal to peripheral and then to full participation (Toohey, 1999).

In a practice, there are 'discursive channels' (Giampapa, 2004:192), such as 'ethnicity, language, race, gender … citizenship' (Giampapa, 2004:192). In conjunction with these channels, by participation in the field people undergo 'a process of negotiation [of identity] across spaces and time' (Giampapa, 2004:193). In the process, interactions within the local practice will be meaningful for the participants' 'global participation', explained according to three 'modes of belonging', namely 'engagement', 'imagination', and 'alignment' (Wenger, 2000:228). Here, knowing, learning, and sharing knowledge comprise 'an act of participation in complex "social learning systems"' (Wenger, 2000:226).

In any society, culture 'represents a framework through which people communicate about, make sense of and interpret their worlds' (Kohler, 2015:21), and to belong to the

local Korean society and culture, the TaLK scholars were seeking ways 'to develop the resources necessary to participate in shared meaning making' (Kohler, 2015:21); that is, learning to engage with the practice 'in context-sensitive ways' (Kohler, 2015:21). By participating in the TaLK programme and through their placements in local schools, the TaLK scholars were joining in the 'social learning system' by undergoing the three '*modes of belonging*' (Wenger, 2000:226, Author's italics). Some of the TaLK scholars managed to shift their position from marginal to peripheral, while others did not. This will be further studied in Chapter 4, with the empirical data from the TaLK scholars.

Among the above-mentioned modes of belonging, we enter into *engagement* with other members of the community through talking or doing something together (Wenger, 1998, 2000). Engagement is a combined implementation of a three-dimensional process as a consistent negotiation of meaning, formation of a trajectory and development of history of practice (Wenger, 1998). In this process, '[w]e learn what we can do and how the world responds to our actions' (Wenger, 2000:227). We engage with a certain task, and that task both influences the creation of identity of the community and creates connection, so that ultimately we become part of the community (Wenger, 2000). Clearly, this engagement has limitations with regard to space, time and boundary (Wenger, 2000). However, the limitation of boundary could itself be an important resource, as it could accelerate the need for cooperation and thus lead to inviting people into a practice of mutual engagement (Wenger, 1998).

The second mode of belonging, *imagination*, is an important mechanism that imposes meanings on our experiences (Wenger, 1998). To explain this further, Wenger (1998)

tells a story about two stonemasons. When asked what they were doing, one answered that he was making square bricks that could be placed one on top of the other. The second stonemason replied that he was building a cathedral. Although the experience was the same, the meaning ascribed to it was different, and thus the masons' understanding of themselves was also different (Wenger, 1998). Through the perspective of imagination, the circumstances make sense. To position ourselves in the community, we use imagination to '[construct] an image of ourselves, of our communities, and of the world' (Wenger, 2000:227-228).

The third mode, *alignment*, links our local activities to the broader meaning of actions, in order that those activities may be 'effective beyond our own engagement' (Wenger, 2000:228). Here, the concept of alignment 'does not connote a one-way process of submitting to external authority, but a mutual process of coordinating perspectives, interpretations, and actions so they realize higher goals' (Wenger, 2000:228).

As brokers between two communities of practice, the TaLK scholars in this study tried to engage as insiders of their local school practices, just as they belonged to the TaLK programme. By experiencing teaching, and building relationships with the Korean teachers in their schools, they were learning. They were also imagining themselves in the 'particular space' (Giampapa, 2004:193) of their future classrooms, their future selves as teachers and future jobs in relation to their experience in Korean schools. They were asking themselves whether their teaching was adequate to lead the pupils to learn English while having fun, and whether their efforts to build relationships with the Korean teachers were good enough. Whether they recognized it or not, they were undergoing the modes of belonging: '*engagement*, *imagination* and *alignment*' (Wenger,

2000:226, Author's italics). This process will be discussed further in Chapter 4, with the empirical data in relation to the TaLK scholars' accessible communication channels in their schools.

The reasons for participation in the practice vary according to the individual; for example, some might find value in the community itself; some are pursuing a personal connection, while others are seeking to improve their skills (Wenger *et al*., 2002b). Consequently, it is unrealistic to expect that the participation of each member of a community will be equal (Wenger *et al*., 2002b); similarly, the meaning of learning will also be different. Each individual has different interests, different perspectives on events, and different interpretations of their experience. Therefore, it will be useful to look at each TaLK scholar's role in the programme and in the practice: how he or she functions and what it means.

2.3 Situated Learning and Teacher Development

In this section, the focus will move to learning through participation. Whilst people are engaged in a community of practice, through their daily lives there, 'learning is part of their changing participation in changing practices' (Lave, 1996:150).

This emphasizes the importance of learning in terms of achieving legitimacy in the community of practice. The legitimacy is acquired through actual participation in the practice where the individual is situated.

Eckert (2006) points out that:

In the course of regular joint activity, a community of practice develops

ways of doing things, views, values, power relations, ways of talking.

And the participants engage with these practices in virtue of their place in

the community of practice, and of the place of the community of practice

in the larger social order. The community of practice is thus a rich locus

for the study of situated language use, of language change, and of the

very process of conventionalization that underlies both.

(Eckert, 2006:1)

According to Eckert, the community of practice is a crucial site for 'the experience of membership in broader social categories – one might say that it is the grounded locus of the *habitus*' (Bourdieu, 1977 cited as Eckert, 2006:2, Author's italics). However, in Wenger's understanding, in terms of the 'emergent structure' of the practice, 'the habitus would be an emerging property of interacting practices rather than their generative infrastructure' (Wenger, 1998:289). He likens this to 'Giddens's (1984) notion of structuration' (Wenger, 1998:289), but with the difference that practices are seen as 'specific contexts for the knowledgeability of actors' (Wenger, 1998:289). This is also slightly different from Bourdieu's understanding of practice as revealed in the structure (Wenger, 1998).

Something that is not considered in Eckert's reflection upon situated learning is the situation of bilingual/multilingual practice. Of course a community of practice is 'a rich locus for the study of situated language use, of language change, and of the very process of conventionalization that underlies both' (Eckert, 2006:1). However, in a practice where the newcomers' language and cultural background differ from the local language

and local norms, their process of situated learning could encounter a variety of opportunities and challenges.

With regard to teaching, Richardson & Placier (2001) have noted that, 'teachers constantly change as a result of their everyday classroom practice, participation in teacher development programmes or professional conversations with colleagues. The change within this perspective is understood as voluntary and naturalistic' (Richardson & Placier, 2001 cited in Kubanyiova, 2007:45). This idea of teachers interacting in their communities of practice has been applied in the present study in order to enhance the understanding of schools as individual practices to which the individual TaLK scholars are allocated, and which then exert influence on the ways in which those teachers perform their teacher identity.

Furthermore, identity can change in the process of acquiring membership of a community (Lave, 1996). People try to communicate with others inside and outside the community, and on its periphery; in doing so they take on social roles to act out, and through that, they experience learning (Lave, 1996). 'Learning from our interactions with other practices is not just an intellectual matter of translation. It is also a matter of opening up our identities to other ways of being in the world' (Wenger, 2000:239). As there is no clear distinction between communities of practice in the social world, 'multimembership is an inherent aspect of our identities' (Wenger, 2000:239).

Through the process of acquiring membership, participants are learning. Lave & Wenger (1991) conceptualized this as 'situated learning', which links participants, practice and learning to compose communities of practice. This concept will be explained in the following section.

2.3.1 Learning and legitimate peripheral participation

Learning is 'never simply a process of transfer or assimilation: Learning, transformation, and change are always implicated in one another, and the status quo needs as much explanation as change' (Lave & Wenger, 1991:57). The learning is also 'what produces practice as an emergent structure' (Wenger, 1998:86). It needs to be understood as a social process (Wenger, 2000) that is situated in the practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991). As Wenger (1998:96) argues: 'Learning is the engine of practice, and practice is the history of that learning.' People learn through their participation. The participation is reified through the process of negotiation of meanings and this in turn influences the development of the practice and becomes part of its history (Wenger, 1998). In this sense, each individual who learns through the practice also affects the practice (Wenger, 1998). In this study, not only are the TaLK scholars developing, but so is the practice; they are learning together, in a mutual process. Therefore, the change concerns not only the new, but also the old. In the process of mutual engagement of the new and old and the members and the practice, the status quo of the practice undergoes change. So, the development is a mutual process of learning together in the practice.

So, '[l]earning is located in coparticipation, and the focus is on what kinds of social engagement produce distinct types of learning rather than what kinds of cognitive processes are involved in these learnings' (Varghese, Morgan, Johnston & Johnson, 2005:29). Meanwhile, according to Smith (2003:1), 'learning involve[s] a process of engagement in a 'community of practice''; that is, participation.

Participation is 'a socially situated process by which newcomers gradually move toward fuller participation in a given community's activities by interacting with more experienced community members' (Morita, 2004:576). In this process, '*legitimate*

peripheral participation' (LPP) (Morita, 2004:576 Author's italic) is an 'evolving form of membership' (Lave & Wenger, 1991:53) that involves 'the engagement of participants who have varying degrees of familiarity with the practices of the community' (Toohey, 1998:63).

There are three modes and degrees of legitimate participation: 'full participation', 'peripheral participation' and 'marginal participation' (Davis, 2005:565). Newcomers learn first through marginal participation in the practice, and then move toward peripheral participation, aiming for full participation (Lave & Wenger, 1991). The linkage between learning and participation, that is, learning in the situation, confers legitimacy upon the composition of communities of practice, and contains meaning in terms of moving toward full participation (Toohey, 1998, 1999). In this case, the TaLK teachers were 'learning by doing' (Kramsch, 1993:3) and 'learning by thinking' (Kramsch, 1993:3) in their practice.

The notion of learning by participation in the practice can be further explained in terms of the multilayers of participation that are 'entailed in membership' (Haneda, 2006:812) of a community of practice. In this regard, Haneda (2006:812) pointed out that one limitation of community of practice theory is that it 'bypasses the issue of power with respect to who can assign certain roles and identities and thus control trajectories that lead (or not) to full participation', as it is possible that by labelling certain individuals as such, their *marginalized* status can be legitimized (Haneda, 2006). I agree with Haneda on this point, as in the practice, a certain invisible boundary was created and imposed around each person, according to their position and role, and this applied equally to the TaLK scholars. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, there existed in the schools a hierarchical relationship among established members (the Korean teachers), and this

served as an obstacle to the TaLK scholars' trajectory towards becoming full participants of the community.

Haneda (2006) also highlighted the need for critical examination of the concept of community and the classification of different learning types. However, whilst I agree as to the need for this, I nevertheless consider that it is the idea of *autonomy* in community of practice theory that allows us to perceive each individual as distinct from others, able to capture meaning in unique ways, even from the same experience as illustrated earlier with the story of the stonemasons.

There are some limitations to the concept of legitimate peripheral participation (LPP). First, like communities of practice theory, LPP neglects the importance of power in the practice. According to Roberts (2006:626-627), 'while meaning may be negotiated within communities of practice, it is vital to recognize the role of power in this process', as 'power may be evident in terms of the degree of participation'. He also commented that whilst Lave & Wenger (1991) 'note the significance of power in shaping the legitimacy of peripherality and participation, they fail to explore the implications of the distribution of power' (Contu & Willmott, 2000; 2003 cited in Roberts, 2006:627).

Secondly, according to Davies (2005), Wenger (1998) and Lave & Wenger (1991) failed to draw clear boundaries or distinctions between the three concepts of legitimacy. However, as 'the boundaries between communities of practice are not fixed, but flexible, continuously shifting, porous in nature and difficult to identify' (Roberts, 2006:631), and also, as participation is a process of negotiation subject to continuous evolution, the distinctions cannot be explicit. As one participant's interpretation of his or her status in the community might not match the perceptions of other members, so their position in terms of legitimacy in the community may always be floating, rather than fixed.

The understanding of learning in terms of participation emphasizes its nature as a set of relations that is dynamic and constantly evolving (Lave & Wenger, 1991), and this point is underlined by Anderson, Reder & Simon (1996:5), as 'much of what is learned is specific to the situation in which it is learned'. In this regard, 'legitimate peripheral participation' (Lave & Wenger, 1991:29) is the key concept used to explain how learners become full participants recognized as appropriate in the practice (Davies, 2005). They do so by participating at first in a limited way, with limited responsibility, without excessive pressure (Davies, 2005).

2.3.2 Learning-in-practice and identities-in-practice

Communities of practice theory considers 'the social interactive dimensions of situated learning' (Roberts, 2006:624), based on the fact that interaction is a feature of communities, while communities of practice emphasize learning in the practice. 'Situated learning' (Roberts, 2006:623) 'makes the link between learning and identity by viewing learning as an identification process' (Varghese *et al*., 2005:29). The central concept of situated learning is 'the interactions between novices and experts, and the process by which newcomers create a professional identity' (Lave & Wenger, 1991 cited in Li, Grimshaw, Nielsen, Judd, Coyte & Graham, 2009:1). When people are allocated to a 'real-life context' (Renkl, 2001:14134), within that context 'the learning experiences have positive effects on "real-life" problem solving' (Renkl, 2001:14134). Nevertheless, the notion of situated learning is vague (Renkl, 2001).

To see the actual learning of the TaLK scholars as they experienced challenges and opportunities in their schools, this section will discuss situated learning theory, and in

particular the concepts of 'learning-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:155) and 'identities-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:157).

First, novices are 'learning-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:155; Kanno & Stuart, 2011:239) to be full participants of the community (Lave, 1996; Renkl, 2001). In Lave's (1991) study exploring Vai and Gola's apprenticeship (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Herrington & Oliver, 1995; Lave, 1996), she was able to observe that 'the shifting practice of tailoring across the lifetime, the daily round of life as a master, and the practice of learning to tailor were all similarly patterned but differently lived aspects of the life in the tailor shops' (Lave, 1996:153). From this Lave concluded that 'intricately patterned relations between practices, space, time, bodies, social relationships, life courses - ubiquitous facets of ongoing communities of practice - are both the content and the principle of effectiveness of learning' (Lave, 1996:154).

Unlike learning by doing, 'in learning-in-practice, the practice is the ultimate mission; novices learn because they need to do their part in the practice' (Kanno & Stuart, 2011:239). Therefore, this concept is appropriate to examine the challenges and opportunities the TaLK scholars faced in everyday life in their schools.

Secondly, Lave developed the concept of 'identities-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:157), whereby 'subjects, and the world with which they were engaged, mutually constituted each other' (Lave, 1996:157). This emphasizes the close relationship between identity and practice (Kanno & Stuart, 2011). According to Kanno & Stuart, 'identities develop only in situ, as one takes part in the practices of a community and learns the ways of being and doing in the community' (Kanno & Stuart, 2011:240). Through this process of learning in the practice, the identity of the individual in the practice also changes (Kanno & Stuart, 2011). As in Kanno and Stuart's study on L2 language teachers, the

TaLK scholars in this study were learning in the situation and therefore '*learning to become*' (Kanno & Stuart, 2011:239, Authors' italics) teachers.

Wenger (1998) noted that apprentices are trained in a place separate from the work place. Once assigned to the actual practice, they begin to learn indirectly what life in the practice is like, through observing their seniors' daily routines. With time, they build their knowledge about the practice and its atmosphere. The allocation to the practice is the starting point of participation in it (Wenger, 1998), and in the case of the TaLK scholars in this study, it was the start of their second participation.

Based on her finding in the case of Vai & Gola, and on the discussion of theories of learning, Lave (1996) raised the following three questions: 'What are theories of learning *about*?' (Lave, 1996:155, Author's italics) 'What *is* a theory of learning'? (Lave, 1996:156, Author's italics) and 'What would happen if we took the collective social nature of our existence so seriously'? (Lave, 1996:157).

In relation to the first question, Lave (1996) stated that theories of learning '[theorize] about "education," knowledge, culture, and their production and reproduction' (Lave, 1996:156). As to the nature of theories of learning, Lave borrowed Martin Packer's proposal of three stipulations of such theories. These are '*telos*', which refers to 'a direction of movement or change of learning (*not* the same as goal directed activity)'; '*subject-world relation*', 'a general specification of relations between subjects and the social world (not necessarily to be construed as learners and things to-be-learned)'; and '*learning mechanism*', the 'ways by which learning comes about' (Lave, 1996:156, Author's italics). There are various ways of participating, ways of becoming a participant, and 'ways in which participants and practices change' (Lave, 1996:157), so that finally, 'people are becoming kinds of persons' (Lave, 1996:157) in the practice.

Lave perceived these stipulations as useful to trace the trajectory of learning of individuals and also to understand the mode of learning achieved (Lave, 1996). Hence they can also be used to represent the TaLK scholars' identities-in-practice.

The 'identities-in-practice' concept (Lave, 1996:157) proposes 'a mutually constitutive relationship between identity and practice' (Kanno & Stuart, 2011:240). On this basis, Kanno & Stuart (2011) classified identities as 'narrated identities', which are 'discursively constructed', and 'enacted identities', that is, 'identities that are enacted in practice' (Kanno & Stuart, 2011:240). For the TaLK scholars in this study, their identities were enacted and narrated in the practice, and that in turn influenced the cultivation of the school practice. In the Korean schools where the TaLK scholars were learning to become language teachers, their identities as language teachers were developed in the situation through mutual engagement with the practice, and in the process of development, narrated identities and enacted identities were revealed in their daily lives in the local schools as their 'identities-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:157).

Therefore, in studying the TaLK scholars' teacher development in relation to the management of opportunities, challenges and differences in their local schools, the two concepts of situated learning – 'learning-in-practice' and 'identities-in-practice' - provide a suitable framework for analysing the empirical data. These two concepts will be applied in Chapters 5 & 6 of this study.

2.3.3 Teacher development / learning of novice teachers

As mentioned before, novices are learning in the practice, and through the learning they are able to become their expected selves. In a school setting, novice teachers are learning to be mature and skilful teachers who are perceived as experts.

2.3.3.1 Novices and experts

Through their participation, novices can achieve an expertise in the practice. This expertise is part of the 'ongoing movement towards full participation and the formation of identity within a particular community of practice, which is constantly evolving' (Lave, 1993 cited in Billett, 2001:438). It 'needs to be considered situationally' (Billett, 2001:441). As argued by Cobb & Bowers (1999:6), 'learning is synonymous with changes in the ways that an individual participates in social practices'. Thus, learning is part of the process of becoming expert, and thus moving toward 'full participation' in the practice.

Hence, the journey of novices towards acquiring expertise is also the process of formation of their identity as they move toward full participation (Lave & Wenger, 1991). To be a full participant, the novice needs to achieve shared knowledge of the practice, and this 'knowledge is constructed through problem solving' (Billett, 1996:437). This argument acknowledges the novice teachers' lack of experience when starting their careers, and also the crucial role played by confronting problems in the process of construction of knowledge (Kagan, 1992). The beliefs and knowledge of novice teachers who have 'little knowledge of pupil and procedures' (Kagan, 1992:133) are contested in the practice (Kagan, 1992).

According to Billett (2001:445), there are 'four qualities for full participation'. First of all, 'learning about a social practice is realized through the process of becoming a full participant' (Billett, 2001:445). Secondly, 'engagement over time is required for the appropriation of situationally germane knowledge and skilfulness' (Billett, 2001:445). Next, Billet echoes Lave & Wenger (1991) point that full participation assumes the capability to implement 'new activities and [perform] new tasks', and therefore to show

'new understanding' (Billett, 2001:445). Finally, 'individuals are defined by, as well as defining, their relationship with the social practice in which they participate' (Billett, 2001:445). Thus novices become experts in the practice by achieving legitimacy as members of the community of practice and by perceiving their roles in the practice.

The process of becoming a full practitioner in a community of practice involves both the production of continuity with, and the displacement of, the practice of established members (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Newcomers and old-timers are dependent on each other: newcomers in order to learn, and old-timers in order to carry on the community of practice. At the same time, the success of both new and old members depends on the eventual replacement of old-timers by newcomers-become-old-timers (Li, Grimshaw, Nielsen, Judd, Coyte & Graham, 2009), who have themselves become experts in the practice.

Britzman (1994) distinguished between 'role' and 'identity': 'Role is a public function assigned externally, whereas identity involves inner commitment' (Kanno & Stuart, 2011:239). Teachers' identities and roles seem interconnected, because if the role is socially constructed, identity must shape and interpret it (Britzman, 1994). The teacher identity becomes more concrete as novices gain experience and become more confident. In the process of construction of their teacher development, as novices, the agents (the TaLK scholars) accept the role of teacher. In their Korean schools, they face a continuous process of constructing and being constructed into that role, during which they embody 'learning to teach' (Mayer, 1999 cited in Clarke, 2008:8). As they accumulate teaching experience, the social role as teacher develops into their identity as teacher, which is continuously reconstructed (Clarke, 2008).

One crucial point in the transition from adopting the role of teacher to revealing a teaching identity is that novices should imagine the role of a better and more confident teacher (Clarke, 2008). 'Teacher thought is socially constructed', while at the same time, it is enacted individually (Miller March, 2003 cited in Clarke, 2008:10) according to each person's previous experience, current context and future aims. This teacher thought will shape the teachers' imagination of their future selves, and strongly influence the process and speed of their identity formation (Clarke, 2008). By managing opportunities and challenges in the practice the novices undergo learning, and by adopting new roles, they take on new identities (Clarke, 2008).

The distinction between and mingling of teachers' role and identity should be considered alongside the TaLK scholars' identity construction. In this study, the role and identity as teacher is discussed with reference to the participants' lives and experiences in Korea. For example, one expectation of the TaLK/EPIK training is that EPIK teachers 'can focus more on helping students build confidence and have fun in the classroom' (EPIK Homepage). This seems to urge the TaLK scholars and EPIK teachers to use their sense of fun to encourage elementary schoolchildren to learn English, which is actually only one of the teacher's roles. However, as they become more experienced, and undergo various interventions affecting role assumptions and identity formation in training and in practice, the TaLK scholars reveal various roles as teachers in various ways. These interventions and the identity formation will be studied in depth in this study, mainly through the words of the TaLK scholars themselves.

2.3.3.2 Subjectivity & Symbolic competence

The subject is a 'symbolic entity that is constituted and maintained through symbolic systems such as language' (Kramsch, 2009:17; Schueller, 2011:440). As 'subjectivity is produced discursively …, we are formed as subjects through the symbols we create, the chains of signification we construct, and the meanings we exchange with others (Kramsch, 2013:1), and through this 'interaction with our environment through the discourse of others – a subjectivity-in-process' (Kristeva, 1986 cited as Kramsch, 2013:1). Due to the power dynamic between them and the experienced teachers, the novice teachers' subjectivity was frequently challenged and threatened in the practice.

In common with communities of practice and situated learning theory, which explain peoples' learning process in terms of participation and reification, subjectivity places a huge importance on *experience*. People consider 'the experience as one that engages their emotions, their bodies, and the most intimate aspects of themselves' (Kramsch, 2009:2). These concepts are relevant to the relationship between the individual and the practice, since: 'We only learn who we are through the mirror of others; in turn, we only understand others by understanding ourselves as Other' (Kristeva, 1991 cited as Kramsch, 2013:1).

Subjectivity itself is symbolic (Kramsch, 2013). 'The creation and maintenance of a subject, emerges and develops through the use of symbolic forms like language, image, music' (Deacon, 1997 cited as Kramsch, 2013:1). Subjectivity represents 'our conscious or unconscious sense of self *as mediated through symbolic forms*' (Kramsch, 2009 cited in Kramsch, 2013:1 Author's italic). Just as Kramsch felt that, during her experience in Paris, various symbols arbitrated for her 'a different reality and a different subject

position' (Kramsch, 2009:7), for the TaLK scholars symbols such as the Korean language and Korean maps would mediate a different reality and subjectivity in the practice. Different language use places the speaker in a different 'symbolic space' (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008:664). The TaLK scholars were physically located in the same space with the local teachers, but they could not create a shared symbolic space, due to difficulties in mutual engagement.

'The word "symbolic", when applied to entities such as "symbolic reality", "symbolic self", or "symbolic power", refers not only to the *representation* of people and objects in the world but to the *construction* of perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, aspirations, values through the use of symbolic forms' (Kramsch, 2009:7, Author's italics). In these usages, '*symbolic* means "produced and reproduced through the use of symbols"; it is contrasted with *material* or *physical'* (Kramsch, 2006:103, Author's italics). Hence, 'symbolic competence' (Kramsch, 2011:358; Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008:664) means 'the ability not only to approximate or appropriate for oneself someone else's language, but to shape the very content in which the language is learned and used' (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008:664). The TaLK scholars' symbolic competence in English was somewhat undervalued by local teachers due to the symbolic barrier of the local schools, where they were positioned as a medium of commodification in the market of English (Heller, 2003), rather than as qualified and prepared to teach. Moreover, because the local people perceived the TaLK scholars as temporary visitors who would leave after six months, they did not legitimate them as members of the community.

2.3.3.3 Teacher development

Teacher development is an on-going process accomplished by the teacher's efforts with regard to use of an appropriate curriculum, teaching skills and the implementation of planning and skills in the practice (Bae, 2000). According to Gregorc (1973:3), teacher development has four stages: 'becoming, growing, maturing and the fully functioning professional'. At the stage of 'becoming', teachers develop their expectations on the role of teacher and the school as social institute (Bae, 2000); at that stage their commitment to teaching is 'ambivalent' (Gregorc, 1973:3). Next, in the 'growing' stage, the teachers become sensitive to the expectations of students, parents and co-workers, and they establish a certain level of knowledge on curriculum, teaching skills, materials, and themselves (Bae, 2000). At the maturing stage, teachers tend to devote more to teaching than is expected of them, and re-inspect the ideas they have come to hold about themselves and about teaching (Bae, 2000).

According to Lee (1992), the process of teacher development involves five stages: training, formation, growing, full-growth and maturing. He also gave approximate time spans for these stages, suggesting that the stage of formation would cover the first one to four years of teaching experience, while the stage of maturing would be reached only after twenty-one or more years of teaching (Lee, 1992).

Bae added to the discussion on teacher development by arguing that it is not a linear process, but one that is continuing, complex and circular (Bae, 2000). The fact that a teacher has spent longer in the profession, does not necessarily mean that s/he has developed in positive and appropriate ways. Moreover, variables related to the practice, and to personal and family issues, would influence the teacher development in both positive and negative ways (Bae, 2000). It is noticeable, however, that both Lee (1992)

and Bae (2000) omit any discussion of initial teacher training and situated learning. As the TaLK scholars were 'learning-in-practice', and each practice was different, so too their learning processes varied.

According to Choi (1992), elementary school teachers in their first to third year of teaching are in the stage of 'survival' (Choi, 1992 cited in Bae, 2000). This would apply to the TaLK scholars in this study, all of whom were young and in the early stages of their teaching career. Although they were in charge of afterschool English lessons, they held very little power in their schools.

The stages discussed above show the general outline of teacher development within the teaching practice. By passing through these stages and processes, novices are legitimated as expert.

In Chapters 5 & 6, based on situated learning, the concepts of 'learning-in-practice' and 'identities-in-practice' will be employed to investigate learning by participation and the formation of identities through 'acquiring a particular skill set or knowledge' (Kanno & Stuart, 2011:239).

2.3.3.4 Becoming a teacher through learning

Among the varieties of identity, which include social, social cultural, ethnic, gender and class identity (Norton, 2000), I want to focus on teacher identity. I consider teacher identity as 'identity-from-below' (West, 1992:22); that is, unlike nationality, which significantly labels who one is and where one belongs, teacher identity is derived from self-perception and experience.

Identity is multi-dimensional (Kramsch, 2009) and socially constructed (Kanno & Stuart, 2011:239). It can vary according to 'context, occasion, and purpose' (Blommaert, 2005:203), and involves 'a semiotic process of representation' (Blommaert, 2005:203) that must be 'understood as social constructs' (Blackledge *et al*., 2008:534). 'Our social identities signpost particular subjectivities and in voicing these identities we show ourselves as active, creative individuals able to construct social meanings' (Creese, Bhatt, Bhojani & Martin, 2006:27). According to this argument, an individual's epistemological perspective of him or herself influences their subjectivity and therefore identity construction.

According to Sim (2006) novice teachers can achieve 'first-hand knowledge of a variety of representations of teachers' work' (Sim, 2006:79) through experience. Thus, teacher identity develops in the process of learning through participation in the teaching practice. This has been observed by a number of studies focusing on various nationalities; in the case of this research, the participants are US nationals working in Korea. Among the previous works on teacher identity that focus on novice teachers' teacher identity and its transition process, Kanno (2003), Kanno & Stuart (2011), Clarke (2008), Varghese *et al*. (2005), and Kubanyiova (2006) are briefly discussed below.

Kanno (2003) presents detailed accounts of four Japanese immigrant students, and explores how they adjust to the life and practice in Canadian schools. By revealing the four participants' in-depth narratives, Kanno shows the influence of the linguistic capital that each participant possesses for their identity negotiation in new contexts, and identifies language proficiency, isolation, and language as capital as important elements linked to the discourse in the school. In a study focusing on bilingual people and their

identity negotiation in unfamiliar contexts, Kanno (2003) perceives bilingualism and biculturalism as a whole rather than separate in representing the person. In her study, only one of the four participants, Rui, had English competence when first arriving in Canada. Kikuko, Kenji and Sawako struggled to negotiate their identities, but Rui, who was already bilingual, did not show much desire to be accepted or recognized by Canadians, and experienced hardly any struggle. Sawako, who had experienced a warm welcome in America, expected to gain easy access to Canadian society, but was disappointed; she interpreted this as 'the close-mindedness of English-speaking Canadians' (Kanno, 2003:108). Both she and Kikuko were frustrated at being excluded by English speakers when they tried to approach them. After struggling, both eventually gave up. In Kenji's case, his 'athletic ability' (Kanno, 2003:109) bridged the gulf with his English-speaking peers, and the community accepted him despite his broken English. However, this easy access to the community left his English ability on a plateau, since he could communicate without improving his language (Kanno, 2003).

Kanno's study shows that 'the identity shift is not always from the dominant to one's ethnic culture; rather, it may be more accurately characterized as a move away from polarization to a middle ground' (Kanno, 2003:128). In this light, the language difference between the person and the practice would cause the need for negotiation with the culture of the practice. Through either accommodating or rejecting this need, the person either keeps to their own culture or adjusts to the culture of the society where the target language is spoken. The voluntary nature of this decision supports Blackledge & Pavlenko (2001) argument by revealing how people feel insecurity in situations that are culturally unfamiliar.

Kanno & Stuart (2011) apply two concepts from Lave & Wenger's situated learning theory - 'learning-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:155) and 'identities-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:157; Wenger, 1998:215; Kanno & Stuart, 2011:239), to conduct case studies of two novice teachers working as teaching assistants (TAs): Amy, 'a 28-year-old, white, native-English-speaking, American female', and John, 'a 33-year-old, white, native-English-speaking, American male' (Kanno & Stuart, 2011:241). As TAs, both taught students for three quarters (semesters) in the school year. The authors 'explore how novice L2 teachers learn to teach and come to identify themselves as professional language teachers' (2011:236). They focus on the process of the two novice teachers' identity transition, tracing the changes in their self-perception as teachers over the three semesters, as they try to become more confident educators.

Kanno & Stuart (2011) distinguish between role and identity, noting that 'at the beginning of the year both John and Amy were playing the role of a teacher rather than internalizing the identity of a teacher' (Kanno & Stuart, 2011:245). They argue that 'becoming an L2 teacher requires the commitment of the self, not just playing an assigned role in the classroom' (2011:239). Although they do not state any detailed distinctions between role and identity, they quote the participants' use of 'role' and 'act'. For example, in one interview, John states that 'you have to play the role' (John IN 10/05/04) (Kanno & Stuart, 2011:245), while they quote Amy as saying, 'I sort of learned how I need to carry myself even if it doesn't feel natural.... I have to act' (Amy IN 12/09/04) (Kanno & Stuart, 2011:245). This self-perception lasted until the second quarter; by the third quarter they were commenting on 'their self-identification as teachers' (2011:245).

During the first quarter, Amy's classes did not hold the students' attention. Amy was concerned about losing authority in class, and when she realized that her 'casual demeanour in class' undermined 'classroom management', she decided to be more 'authoritative' (Kanno & Stuart, 2011:242). However, in the second quarter, she was still struggling with grammar and looked for strategies to overcome her weakness. She observed other experienced teachers and began to amend her approach. For example, instead of producing instant answers to students' questions, she promised answers and next lesson offered more complex ones. In the third quarter, she had moved on from 'earning enough respect from her students to facilitate student learning', to being self-assured. By showing these changes in the participants, Kanno & Stuart (2011) illustrate how they not only chose, but also were forced to negotiate their identity in the practice according to a number of variables. In this study, both Evan and Fiona mentioned the need to observe the classes of experienced teachers, something that was not offered by their schools. In contrast, Abigail was able to observe and learn from the Korean teachers in her school, and this facilitated her formation and formulation of a paradigmatic framework, and learning though it. Abigail also faced a 'reality' that was somewhat at odds with her imagined teacher ideal. This will be discussed in Chapters 5 & 6.

In Kanno & Stuart's study, although there were differences between Amy's and John's experience, the outlines of their identity transitions were similar. Eventually, after 'a year of learning-in-practice experience' (Kanno & Stuart, 2011:245), their teacher identity strengthened; they became more confident and adopted the identity of teachers rather than playing the role of teachers. This research represents one of the many

features of identity: as an on-going process, which is under construction in the classroom.

The focus on identity as socially constructed is also found in Clarke (2008). Taking 'socio-discursive and socio-cultural approaches' (2008:08), Clarke explored novice language teacher identity in a college in the United Arab Emirates (UAE). In his study, Clarke (2008) explains positional identity with dialogue that is representative 'both of a theory of language and … of "self"'' (Clarke, 2008:24). He observes that 'inasmuch as discourses are socially valued ways of talking, thinking and acting, they reference what we can call "positional" identities in that they relate to our alignment vis-à-vis social relations of power, of entitlement and defence' (Clarke, 2008:25). As he notes, the participants' discourse reveals their relationships in terms of power, their self-positioning and their perceptions of rights and values.

Clarke (2008) investigates the practices of designing a training course to fulfil the learning needs of student-teachers. To confirm the link between practice and theory, the programme was designed to focus on 'teaching practice, preparation and review' (Clarke, 2008:55). It also contained elements covering the basic principles of teaching, and a unit intended to develop the teachers' use of the English language in the classroom. Finally, it included '*Complementary studies*, [which] involves an emphasis on broadening the students' general education while at the same time fostering awareness of potential links between a range of education-related topics and the English language classroom' (Clarke, 2008:56, Author's italics). As the student-teachers followed the programme, their responsibility for contributing in the lesson increased from 'peer micro-teaching' in the first semester to '60% of a full teaching load' (Clarke, 2008:58) in the final semester. As Clarke demonstrates, the participants benefited from

a rigorously designed year-long training scheme, coming to develop a more confident teacher identity than they had at first shown. According to Clarke, 'the students seemed to exude a whole new sense of self as they reconceived themselves as teachers' (Clarke, 2008:20). I will use Clarke's concept of complementary studies to encompass learning opportunities in the widest sense. This will be discussed mainly in Chapters 5 and 6.

Clarke's finding recalls Borg's statement that 'teacher education can also be the source of new beliefs for teachers' (Borg, 2011:378). However, Borg (2003) has also noted that change of behaviour and change of cognition are unrelated. Through teacher education, the teacher's development is processed individually in various ways (Borg, 2003). Varghese *et al*. (2005) reported three case studies, and here the focus will be on their study of pre-service and in-service bilingual teachers in America who participated in a 'professional development programme' (Varghese *et al*., 2005:28). They found that the teachers actively participated in 'more challenging process' in the practice, through which they 'often developed conflicted and marginalized professional identities' (Varghese *et al*., 2005:29). In the practice, situated learning created 'the link between learning and identity by viewing learning as an identification process' (Varghese *et al*., 2005:29), thus echoing Lave & Wenger (1991) view of learning as an 'evolving form of membership', which is 'neither completely internalized nor externalized' (Varghese *et al*., 2005:29). For the TaLK scholars in this study, learning was situated in 'coparticipation', and 'social engagement' through the coparticipation produced a unique type of learning (Varghese *et al*., 2005:29), such that "changes from below" (Morgan, 2009:90) would allow them to try to 'redress the social injustices and institutional obstacles' (Morgan, 2009:90) that impeded their learning.

In addition, the researchers identified 'different ways of being and engaging' in bilingual teaching (Varghese *et al*., 2005:29). Some of the teachers understood their teacher role as being limited to inside the classroom, whilst others saw the role as extending beyond it. This shows how the locality a teacher is covering could differ, according to each individual's understanding of their role as teacher.

In a study using both qualitative and quantitative methods, Kubanyiova (2006) quotes Lortie (1975) point that 'what teachers learn in teacher education programmes is filtered by prior experiences accumulated over the years of "apprenticeship of observation"' (cited in Kubanyiova, 2006:4). She stresses that there can be no change without motivation. According to her quantitative data, there were no changes among her informants over the course of a training programme, and she insists that while most of the participants did enjoy the course, this did not lead to them making changes to their teaching practice. She also asserts that EFL teachers tend to interpret improvements in their own linguistic competence as professional development, and then fail to link professional development in skills with teaching practice (Kubanyiova, 2006).

Whereas the participants in the studies by Kanno (2003), Kanno & Stuart (2011), and Clarke (2008) were novice teachers, the participants in Varghese *et al*. (2005) were both novice teachers and experienced teachers, and those in Kubanyiova (2006) were experienced teachers. However, her research showed that novices were more open to learning and therefore might have adopted elements of the training programme that were resisted by more experienced teachers (Kubanyiova, 2006).

Unlike the participants in Kubanyiova (2006) study, the TaLK scholars in this research are novice teachers; moreover, the training period is very short compared to that in Clarke (2008). Immediately after the four weeks of training, the respondents in this

study were allocated to elementary schools, where they conducted classes, either alone or with their co-teachers. In this situation, it was interesting to observe whether the participants' teacher identity construction would take place and, if it did, what kinds of opportunities and challenges there would be for them to negotiate with. In the process of learning to teach, the TaLK scholars were expected to acquire professional knowledge on the subject, English, and on the skills for effective teaching. Even though, as I show in later chapters, the young novice teachers struggled in the early stages of teaching, there is evidence that they adopted many of the strategies learnt from the training sessions, and this seems to have influenced the process of their development as teachers, and linked to their move toward 'middle ground' (Kanno, 2003:128) in their schools.

Based on the previous research, we can conclude that teacher development is a process endlessly evolving in the practice, and it takes time to reach a certain level. The TaLK programme contract lasts for six months, including one month of training, so the actual teaching experience is only five months. This is a relatively short time for any development to take place, but in fact the TaLK scholars were socialized in their teaching practice and also learned through various experiences. As a result, they were developing as teachers. This will be discussed further in Chapters 5 & 6.

2.3.4 Team teaching and the classroom as a learning practice

For negotiation in the teaching practice, 'Teachers can use a variety of interactional patterns. Learning and teaching are highly situated and one would expect patterns to change depending on interactants and institutional culture' (Creese, 2006:437). In team teaching, teachers need to negotiate and agree on which language will be used to

conduct the classes; usually this will be the target language. Also, they need to negotiate their roles and which parts of the lesson each will conduct. Furthermore, the teachers need to negotiate the boundary of their teacher talk, which will be used to 'elicit relevant knowledge from students', 'respond to things that students say' and 'describe the classroom experiences that they share with students' (Mercer, 1995 cited in Creese, 2006:438).

A crucial element in team teaching is the teachers' negotiation of their willingness for collaboration (Lasky, 2005). In negotiation, 'individuals attempt to evoke, assert, define, modify, challenge and/or support their own and others' desired self-images' (Ting-Toomey, 1999 cited in Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001:244). Based on this notion of negotiation, identity can be 'viewed as reflective self-images constructed, experienced, and communicated by individuals within a culture and within the context of a particular interaction' (Ting-Toomey, 1999 cited in Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001:244). The TaLK programme promotes a successful team teaching format of one Korean teacher and one TaLK scholar, which is somewhat different from the traditional classroom format of 'one teacher – one class' (Creese, 2006:435). Therefore, in this study, the classroom needs to be understood as a practice where complex interaction occurs (Creese, 2006), so that teachers' negotiation for collaboration is needed (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001).

2.4 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has introduced and discussed the context of my research, and examined several concepts that will be used to study the young novice American teachers' identity transition.

First, this chapter looked at the theory of communities of practice. A community of practice is one in which members learn through participation (Wenger, 1998). Practice refers to meanings in everyday life, and through participation members' experiences are reified. By participating, newcomers can interact with people in the community, and through reification, newcomers start to create knowledge in practice. Hence the combination of experience and reification creates meanings in the practice (Wenger, 1998).

The three elements of communities of practice are mutual engagement, joint enterprise and shared repertoire (Wenger, 1998). For mutual engagement, members of a community interact and need to know what they can and cannot do. This relates to their 'source of coherence' (Wenger, 1998:73) in functioning (Smith, 2003). Joint enterprise is the result of negotiation in mutual engagement toward the community's shared goal (Wenger, 1998). As Gee (2005) and Davies (2005) pointed out, there is no clear cut boundary, and decision making lies with the members of the community (Davies, 2005); I perceive this not as vagueness, but as autonomy.

In this research the TaLK programme and the local schools are perceived as communities of practice: both fulfil the criteria of enterprise, mutual engagement and repertoire stipulated in communities of practice theory. The shared repertoire is the capability created among community members by their practical use of 'language, routines, sensibilities, artifacts, tools, stories, styles' (Wenger, 2000:229), representing the history of a community which is inherent and shared by members (Wenger, 1998).

The Korean mentor teachers are perceived as coordinators who interact with the other community (the TaLK team) as representatives of their local schools. The TaLK scholars are perceived as agents and brokers. Each individual has intention of self as an

agentive being. For agent beings, according to Lasky (2005), people and their context are intertwined and reciprocally influential. Identity is fluid and ongoing. As TaLK programme participants, the novice teachers were expected to deliver the TaLK programme's intention of offering opportunities for elementary school students in rural areas. As agents, their course of action in their local schools can be perceived as their decision chosen from various possibilities (Daives & Harré, 1990). As agents and brokers, they were transferring knowledge from one practice (TaLK programme) to another (local schools) by positioning neither as insiders nor as outsiders (Wenger, 1998).

Secondly, this chapter has studied situated learning theory. People learn in the situation. They seek legitimacy for membership of their community, through legitimate peripheral participation. The novice teachers wanted to acquire legitimacy in the practice, and to do so, they were learning in their practice.

Two main concepts of situated learning have been introduced. Learning-in-practice means the learning of novices in their practice to be full participants of the community. Identity-in-practice refers to the co-relationship and co-influence of the novices and their practice. Novices cause changes to and are influenced by the practice.

'Communities of practice correspond to the different subject positions individuals adopt on a moment-to-moment and day-to-day basis, and indeed throughout their lifetimes, depending on who they are with' (Block, 2009:25). Thus, within community of practice theory, it is important to understand situatedness in the practice. Situated learning theory itself 'cannot completely capture the complexities of a novice teacher entering, participating, and engaging in the language teaching profession' (Block, 2009:30).

Thirdly, this chapter has discussed prior research on teacher development. Several studies have shown the process of novice teachers' development in the practice where they were situated, whether or not they had undergone a planned training programme. Britzman (1994) distinction between the teacher role and teacher identity has also been briefly discussed, and I perceive those two as being interconnected, as they are socially constructed in a situated practice.

The above points will be discussed in greater depth with empirical data in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. The study will apply triangulation of the theories, looking particularly at the ways in which the TaLK scholars managed difference and sense of belonging in their entering, joining in and engaging in their local school practices in Korea. In this way, the study will observe how the young novice American teachers start to adopt the role of teacher which they have observed or learned, until, with experience, they come to recognize themselves as teachers and to develop in that role, interacting with the people in the practice, and therefore learning.

In the next chapter, the methodology and method used in this study are presented.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This research is designed as an ethnographic study with three in-depth case studies. This chapter will present the rationale for the methodology and methods applied. It will also describe the research design, provide a time-line and give details of the methods used for data collection.

The aim of this study is to explore the teacher development of three novice teachers through their daily lives. It investigates how the gap between policy at national level and its implementation at school level would influence those novice teachers. In addition, this research explores the three novice teachers' considerations of and reactions towards issues and challenges that occurred as a result of that gap, and because of the differences between them and the local Korean school teachers.

My research questions are:

1.   How do young novice American teachers work within schools and what does this tell us about the usefulness of the TaLK programme?

2.   What opportunities and challenges are there for young novice American teachers to develop as teachers in their Korean elementary schools?

3.   How do young novice American teachers respond to cultural and social differences during their time in Korea?

My research questions seek to understand the relationship between participants and the local practice and how this influences the novice teachers' teacher development. This requires taking a close look at the relationships of those teachers with others in their schools.

This chapter explains the methodologies and methods applied in this study. Section 3.2 discusses the methodological approach, and describes the research design.

3.2 Methodological Approach

Ethnography provides a description and interpretation of the culture and social structure of a social group ... The main purpose and central virtue of this approach is often considered to be its production of descriptive data free from imposed external concepts and ideas. Its goal is to produce 'thick description'.

(Geertz, 1973 cited in Robson, 2002:186)

To provide such thick description, ethnographic study starts from the empirical evidence in context and arrives at a theory inductively (Blommaert & Dong, 2010). Ethnographers describe people's daily lives. 'Linguistic ethnography argues that ethnography can benefit from the analytical frameworks provided by linguistics, while linguistics can benefit from the processes of reflexive sensitivity required in ethnography' (Creese, 2008:232).

In my study, linguistic ethnography functions as a base to understand small phenomena in the larger picture of society. This is because, first of all, 'identities are embedded within the relations of power' (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004a:15) of local and global,

and to study the relations and the position of the actors in the context, it is necessary to look closely and in detail at the situation. This is key to understanding the bigger picture of society, and can be achieved through ethnographic methods. For example, the TaLK scholars in this study are situated in a dichotomic position in the Korean context: a rather powerful position as a speaker of a powerful language, albeit not an official language in Korea, and a powerless position as a speaker of a minority language. This mixture of powerfulness and powerlessness was a feature of the TaLK scholars' lives in Korean society and in their Korean schools.

Second, ethnography encompasses linguistic ecology. As this study is about people in a certain context, it contains an ecological aspect. When the researcher works together with the study participants, she becomes part of the research, and this was the case in the data collection scheme of my study. This is described by Erickson as an 'ecological relationship with auditors' (Erickson, 2004a cited in Creese, 2008:232).

'Linguistic ethnography views language as communicative action functioning in social contexts in ongoing routines of peoples' daily lives. It looks at how language is used by people and what this can tell us about wider social constraints, structures and ideologies' (Copland & Creese, 2015:27). Therefore, in this research, linguistic ethnography provides a useful methodological framework for studying the TaLK scholars' daily lives and their process of learning to be teachers in the context.

3.3 Research Design

In my research design, there were two settings: the TaLK/EPIK programme, and the schools. First of all, I was curious about the TaLK/EPIK programme and its implementation in real teaching practice, as well as its influence on the TaLK/EPIK

scholars' teacher development. Before I moved into the actual context, I had the opportunity to meet with two people from NIIED: one in charge of EPIK, and one involved with the TaLK programme. Through the meeting, I gained a sense of a gap between the policy and the reality. The representative from EPIK mentioned that even though the basic requirement for EPIK programme participants was that they should hold a BA degree, applicants who did not possess a TEFL/TESOL/CELTA/ESL or equivalent qualification would be excluded from the paper application assessment process (see Appendix 4), thus indicating a difference between the advertisement and the actual criteria for recruitment. That EPIK excluded applicants without these qualifications at the first stage of the assessment process was 'shared knowledge' in the EPIK practice.

After their arrival in Korea, TaLK scholars complete several stages during their time on the programme. First, the TaLK programme offers three weeks of training, called 'TaLK orientation'. Then, the TaLK scholars are moved to the educational office of their allocated province, and receive another week of training there. Thus, in total, they get four weeks of training.

Figure 11: TaLK orientation & School allocation scheme
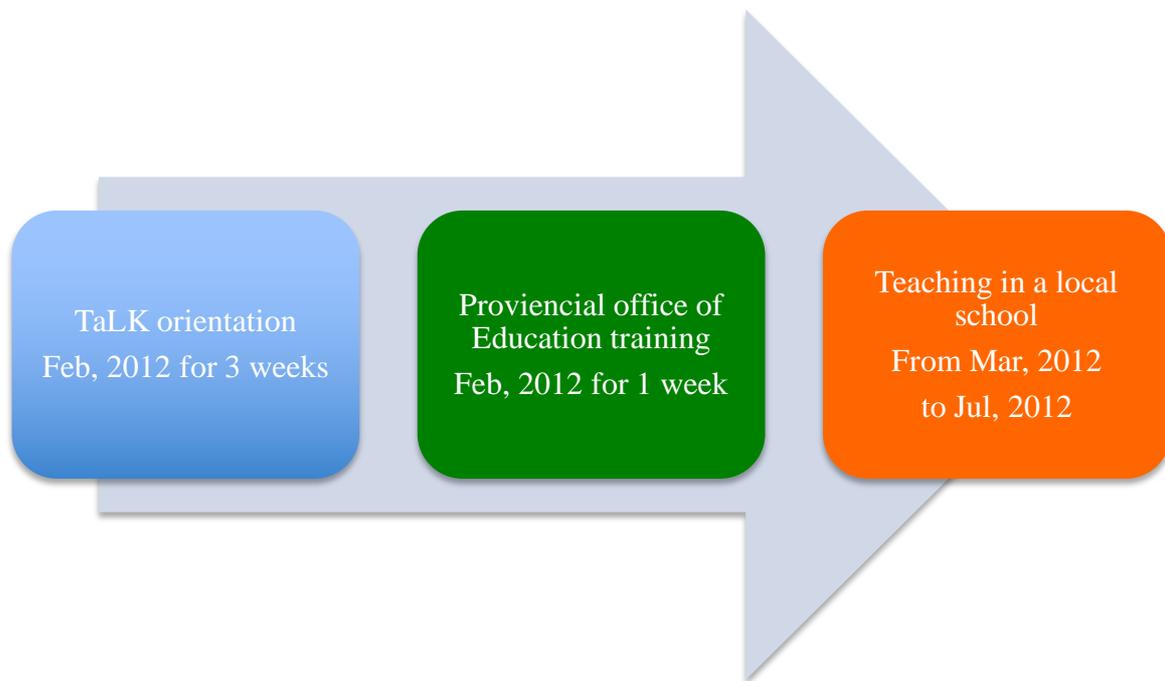
The above figure shows the sequence of the TaLK orientation and school allocation. The detailed content of the programme of training is shown in Appendix 5.

I designed my research to explore both settings directly by participating in and observing both the TaLK orientation and the schools. However, my request to observe the orientation, which I submitted along with a research plan (see Appendix 6), was refused.

With no possibility of gaining direct access to the TaLK orientation programme for observational purposes, I turned to focus on the policy documents themselves (see introduction to this thesis) and to the way my three key participants interpreted them in their school practices.

In this way, I gained detailed information about the TaLK training through the experiences reported by the TaLK scholars.

The second setting comprised the seven local schools to which the TaLK/EPIK scholars were allocated. Fortunately, after overcoming some challenges, I received permission from all seven schools; however, owing to limited space, in this thesis only three schools will be introduced, alongside the three key participants. Appendix 7 & 8 show the time schedule for the fieldwork.

In the school setting, I wanted to explore the TaLK scholars' daily professional lives. During the fieldwork, I tried to write down my opinions on happenings I observed, rather than talk about them in the school. At the same time, I had to build relationships with the participants, as I had no previous connection with them. Owing to the issues and challenges they faced in the local schools, during the interviews the participants and I often gossiped about the schools and the teachers, and were therefore in a 'situation of deliberate positioning of others' (Harré & Van Langenhove, 1991). Although this had not been intended or anticipated, it might have contributed to the rapid building of close relationships between me and the TaLK scholars. As the interviews themselves became less structured and more open, I let the participants talk freely about their experiences in their schools. This seemed to work well, as I was perceived by the participants as someone who listened to their story and was on their side, and this deepened the relationship. As the interviews were mainly about the TaLK scholars' schools, the Korean teachers, teaching and issues they were experiencing, I decided to conduct them away from the school environment.

In this section, I have explained the design of my research, and specified the two broad settings of the research: the TaLK programme and the local schools. I have also described the setting of the training received by the TaLK scholars.

3.4 Finding Gate Keepers & Recruiting Participants

One early challenge I encountered was finding gatekeepers to connect me to the participants, as I did not know anybody involved with the TaLK programme. I addressed this by using e-mail to contact people in the English Education Department in the Ministry of Education. I also sent e-mails to people in the EPIK and TaLK teams. The senior officer in the English Education Department in the Ministry of Education found my e-mail in his junk folder, and as the department was planning to send two people to England to advertise the TaLK/EPIK programme, he asked them to meet me before they returned to Korea. During our brief meeting at Heathrow airport I was able to get some idea about the programme, but because of confidentiality regulations I could not get access to information about actual TaLK participants. Therefore, I decided to look for participants directly on my own.

I began by asking for help from the English department where I had studied for my MA degree. They had many students who studied TEFL/TESOL by distance learning, and my information leaflet and consent form was sent out through their internet server. Secondly, I distributed information leaflets (Appendix 9,10) and consent forms (Appendix 11,12) around local schools where the TaLK programme was being implemented. I sent this information to five schools in Korea on three occasions, twice whilst in England and once immediately after I arrived in Korea, but unfortunately, there was no response at all. Thirdly, from November 2011, I started looking for potential participants on Facebook. As the relevant Facebook groups were closed, I had to find a way to gain access. I contacted the group managers with details of my research (see Appendix 13) and they allowed me access to the group page. So, at this point, they

became the gatekeepers between me and the TaLK scholars. The invitation message was posted on the group page, and then I sent a Facebook message to individual TaLK scholars in the group, as shown below.

Figure 12: Facebook messages to TaLK participants
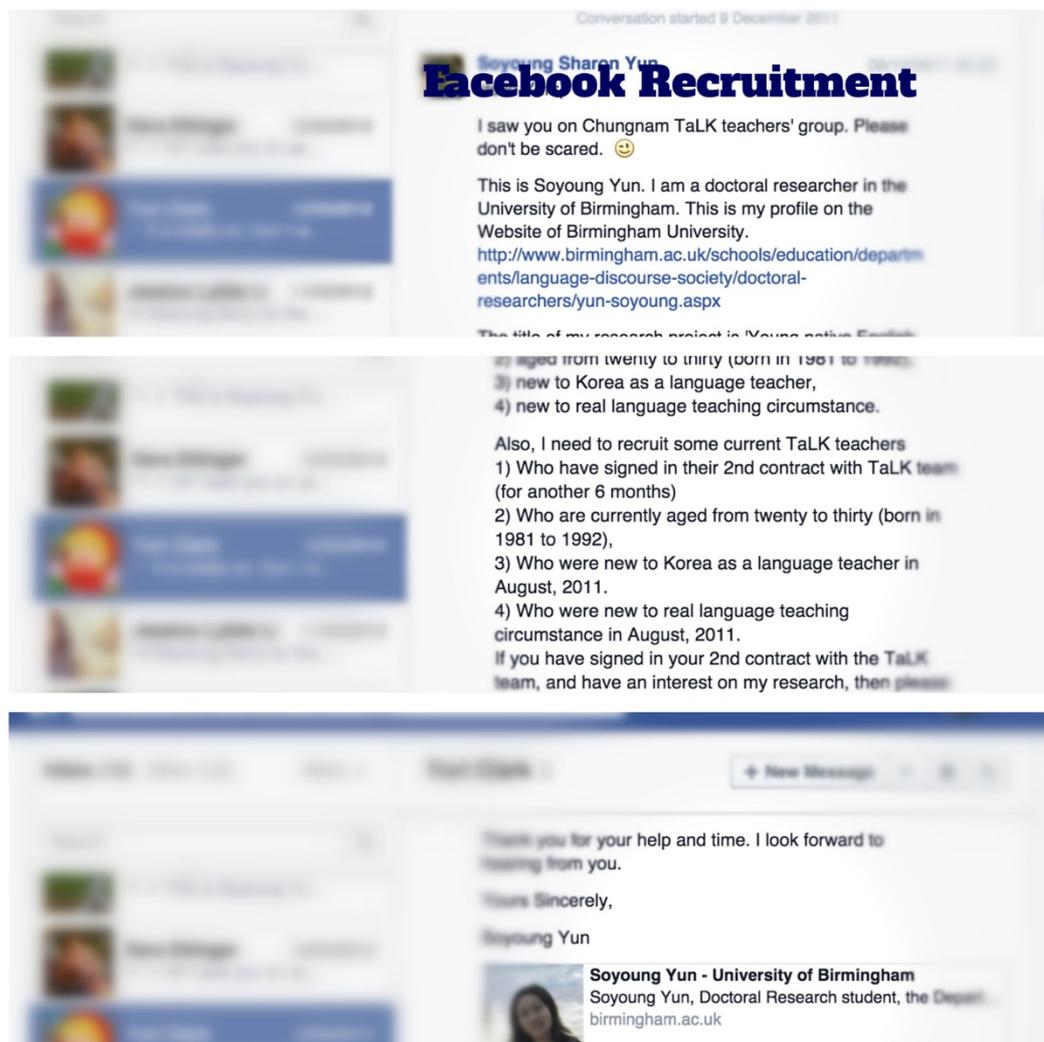
As shown in the above picture, in each message I specified the group page in which I had found the TaLK scholar's name. Then I included my information with the link to the university homepage, so that potential participants could satisfy themselves that my

research intention was genuine. I also briefly listed the features I was looking for in participants, and gave a description of my research (see Appendix 13).

After contacting around 150 people through the Facebook message, many of them showed interest, but did not join in the research for various reasons: no financial compensation, too much work, loss of interest, or fear of being detected by TaLK as participants. By the time I arrived in Korea only five people had confirmed their participation, and of those, one dropped out immediately after the first interview. Although he gave me permission to use the first interview data, it has not been included in this study.

So, at the very beginning of my fieldwork, there were only four participants. I first met the final two participants on the way to a café to interview one of the TaLK scholars who had already joined the research. It turned out that the three knew each other, so while they were exchanging greetings I gave the two I had just met the information leaflet and my card. A few days later, they confirmed their participation. However, to maintain confidentiality, I did not inform their acquaintance who was already part of my research of their agreement to participate. So the number of participants increased to six, but I still thought that I needed at least one more person.

As the final option, I visited one of the schools to which I had previously sent correspondence regarding the research, the school was where I was attended when I was an elementary school student. At the same time, according to my researcher diary which was written on 25th of March, 2012, all the sudden, I was curious how much that school has been changed, and also how I might view the school differently from when I was an

elementary school student. Also it looked easier to be accepted once I was one of the graduates of the school. I am pleased to say the school agreed.

Overall then, eight TaLK scholars responded positively to my participation request (Appendix 14). Except for the one who dropped out after the first interview, the remaining seven participants continued their involvement with my study until the end of their contract, even though some of them went through crises as to whether they should cease their participation. For me, this whole journey of recruiting participants was a difficult but important learning outcome of undertaking doctoral work. It brought home to be the challenges of negotiation with a range of stakeholders including novice teachers, experienced teachers, head teachers and Korean government authorities. I needed to be able to take account of all the possibilities in the process of entering the field. Although the process of recruitment was a long and painful one, it was worthwhile, as the seven participants provided rich accounts of their experiences in Korean schools.

Of the seven participants who took part in my fieldwork, only three will be introduced in this thesis. These are Abigail, Evan and Fiona. The reasons for this are outlined below.

First of all, due to the word limit, I could not include all the data from all seven participants. As my research question is about how policy is implemented in the practice, I decided to narrow the focus to one programme. Originally I was going to focus on both the TaLK and EPIK government sponsored programmes but decided to settle on one. The TaLK programme offers freedom in curriculum design, allowing scope for the development of curriculum and teaching materials, while EPIK teachers have to use

national textbooks; therefore I considered that TaLK would allow more opportunities for the participants to learn as teachers. Among the seven participants, five belonged to the TaLK programme.

Then, as the five TaLK scholars were of different nationalities, I decided to focus on US nationals. This left four scholars. I also determined to the schools where I could achieve the agreed of observations at least three times once in two months. Using these criteria, three novice teachers who are American nationals who took part in the TaLK programme and who were in the schools where gave me firm permission on observation were selected for inclusion in this thesis. The brief biographical accounts of these three scholars will be presented in section 3.6.1., to demonstrate their position at the time of their participation in this study in 2012.

3.5 Research Methods

As this study is a linguistic ethnographic research with a case study of each participant and his/her teacher development based on the research questions, three methods were applied: interviewing, diary study and observation. The selection of research tool is an important decision, and must be based on whether the tool is capable of finding answers to the research questions. In this research these three methods seemed most suitable to achieve a rich account of the participants.

3.5.1 Diaries

The participants in this research were asked to compose diaries over the three phrases of the study, and to send the diaries via e-mail. As some of my participants had joined

about a month late, I had to change the time schedule to be realistic for those people. As shown in the table below, two different times were given, according to the point at which the participants joined the research.

Table 2: Suggested Diary submission dates

Diary	Old participants	New Participants	Memo
1st	15/Feb – 27/Feb	20/Mar – 30/Mar	Prompt 1
2nd	01/Mar – 07/Mar	01/April – 07/April	Prompt 2
3rd	08/Mar – 14/Mar	08/April/ - 14/April	Prompt 3
4th	15/Mar – 21/Mar	14/April – 21/April	Prompt 3
5th	22/Mar – 28/Mar	22/April – 28/April	Prompt 3
6th	23/April – 29/April	17/May – 24/May	Prompt 3
7th	21/May – 27/May	15/June – 21/June	Prompt 3
8th	18/June – 24/June	15/July – 21/July	Prompt 3

The plan was to collect eight diary entries for each participant, although in the end the number of entries submitted differed among the participants. Also, the TaLK scholars were asked to write their diary entries in a template, which I thought would give an appearance of a somewhat official document that required their responsibility in producing and submitting the diaries. Therefore, the basic format of the diary was the same for all three participants.

Figure 13: Dairy Template

Because the diary entries were submitted via e-mail, all are in electronic versions. An example is given below.

Figure 14: Example of a diary entry

The length of diary entries varied. Some participants wrote five to six pages, while others wrote only one or two pages. Three diary prompts were given, as shown in Appendix 15, 16 and 17.

The first diary prompt was given in February 2012, during the TaLK/EPIK training. It asked the participants to give their impressions of Korea and their experience in the TaLK programme.

Figure 15: First diary prompt

soyoungyun0725@gmail.com
011-9815-7519

	[1st] **Diary Prompt**	Date: 13 / 02 /2012 (dd / mm / yyyy)

1. In the first diary, you might consider writing about
• The first impressions of Korea, Seoul and the region that you are currently staying in
• The on-going impressions of Korea, Seoul and the region that you are currently staying in
• Happenings you experience in your new daily routines
• New friendship and relationships.

2. Could you also reflect on your learning experience while participating in the TaLK training programme
• The classes, sites, materials and resources in the training programme
• Particular points of learning during the training programme
• Happenings (social, personal, linguistic) during the training programme
3. Finally, you need to write about the things that you want to say more.

Please reference the diary-examples.

In March, the participants were asked to keep weekly diaries describing their life and experiences in their new schools. These diaries were submitted monthly between April and July, by e-mail.

The second prompt asked the participants to give details about their school life, and the third asked for general information about their life in the school.

Figure 16: Second diary prompt and general diary prompt
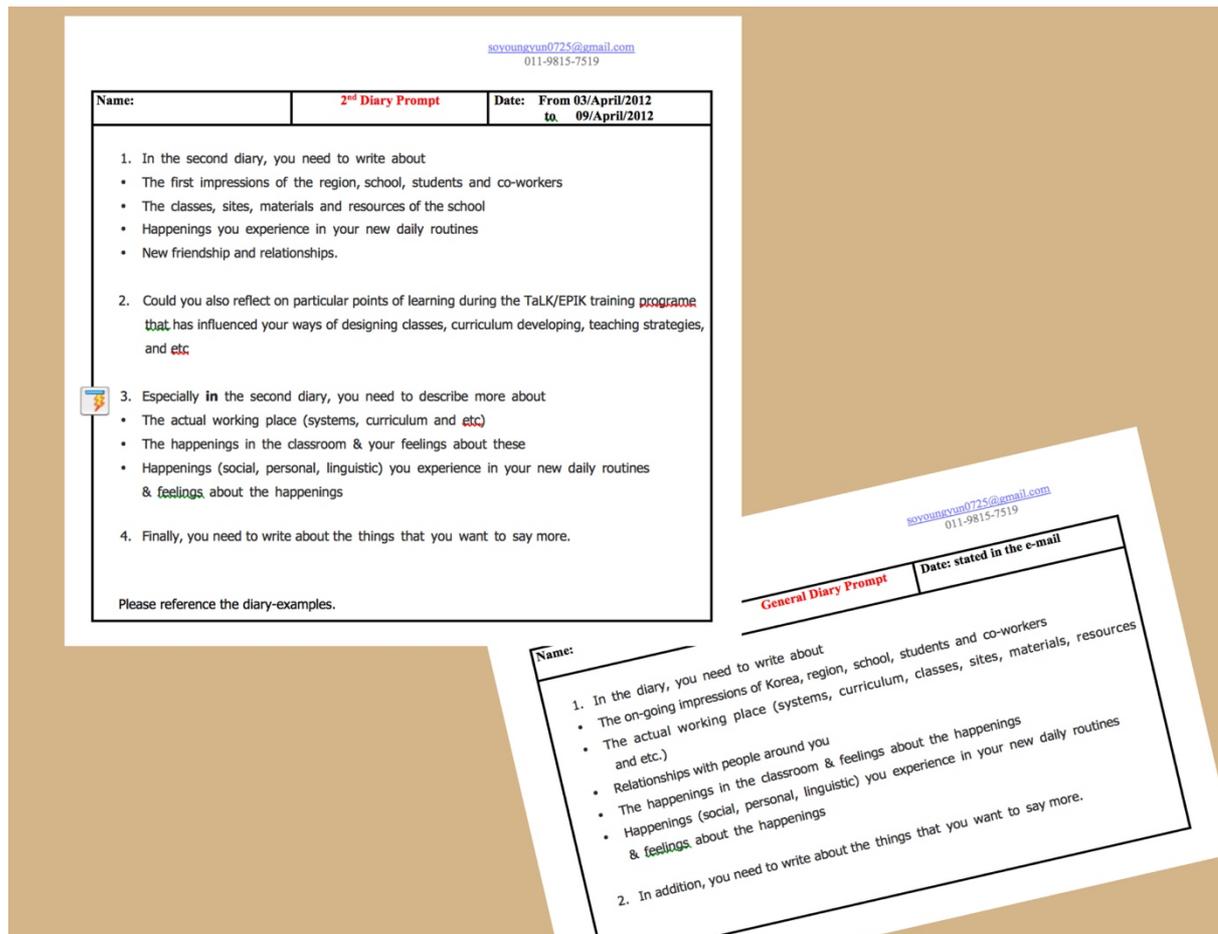
Based on the prompts shown above, the seven participants produced 50 diaries in total, and I was able to see a variety of diary entries based on the same general prompts. Thus the diaries provided 'a documented account of novice teachers' experience' (Numrich, 1996:132), and gave me a rich picture of the TaLK scholars' lives as teachers in South Korea. Because I expected the diaries to function as periodic snapshots of the

participants, the categories in the prompts match the research questions of the study, in order to study the changes in the participants' self-perceptions.

Assessing the richness of the diaries, I could see in almost every participant's first and second diary that they tended to supply (Numrich, 1996) general information according to the given prompts, but later on they started to describe events around them in more personal ways, with descriptions of their feelings. As the relationship between the diarists and me grew closer, they seemed more open in talking about their inner feelings and experiences. This naturally enriched the data. These young novice teachers, who were newly exposed to an actual teaching context, supplied regular snapshots of their teaching lives through the completion of their diaries.

In addition to this, as Numrich (1996) pointed out, the diary studies worked as a tool to probe more deeply into the minds of the research targets than can easily be reached by observation and interviews. They can also reveal 'idiosyncratic variables' (Gaies, 1983 cited in Numrich, 1996:132). To enter further into the minds of the TaLK scholars, issues or variables such as challenges they faced and changes in their positioning as teachers render the diary study more important as a method of obtaining data.

For the third diary entries, as mentioned before, general prompts were given; hence, the presence of 'researcher-administered' (Crosbie, 2006:9) features is undeniable. However, as the TaLK scholars completed the diary entries with their own various experiences, the diaries in this study also resemble 'self-administered diaries' (Crosbie, 2006:2). I would say that the diary in this study is a mixture of researcher-administered

and self-administered, as the suggestions were very broad and the participants chose for themselves some events to write about.

The diary entries from the TaLK scholars offered me an insight into how they perceived their own stories in their local schools. In addition, there was 'more' than a researcher expected to see. For example, one of the key participants, Abigail (see section 5.2.1.1) made a note about working with other teachers, which became an important focus as my study continued.

> I have learned to be flexible in what I teach, because the homeroom teacher and mentor teacher tend to add things that are not in my lesson plan. Usually it has to do with activities. It isn't a bad thing, just something to get used to. It is their classroom as well. I am hesitant to stray away from the book even though Amy said I could. I feel limited since the topics are so narrow. I guess I could add in different activities. I also feel like I haven't gotten to use much of the information that I learned in orientation since I am coming to another teacher's set rules and plans.
>
> [20.MAR.2012 – Diary 4/ Abigail]

In the extract above, Abigail was revealing her teaching scene, and showing that it was the Korean teachers she co-taught with who held the authority in the classroom. She also wrote about what she learned through her experience of teaching; in the practice, Abigail learned that she had to be flexible.

As in the example above, 'idiosyncratic variables' (Gaies, 1983 cited in Numrich, 1996:132) are observed throughout my data sets: they showed me more than what I had expected to see. Therefore, I could decide to investigate interesting episodes more thoroughly, or to include some unexpected aspect that was noted in the diaries. I was also able to gain direct insights into how the participants were feeling and thinking. As

they were asked to complete a diary within a suggested period of time, the participants' stories were continuously updated, and eventually I was able to collect seven or eight diaries at one specific time; for example I received all the fourth diary entries in the second week of March.

There are some limitations to diary study. First, the richness of the data provided by informants could be significantly diverse, from very weak data to completely rich data, since 'the diary places a great deal of responsibility on the respondent' (Robson, 2011:267). While two of my key participants produced long diaries, the third could not be encouraged to produce anything other than fairly short entries. Second, Lee (1993:116) points out that there is a danger of sample bias, as the participants could change their behaviour. Third, keeping a diary seems a simple procedure, 'but the process does require discipline and patience' (Bailey, 1990:218). Therefore, the diary submission plan that was suggested in my information leaflet would be a task demanding both time and effort, and would represent a significant burden for the participants.

As one of my participants, Fiona told me, after signing the consent form she had regretted it immediately and wanted to drop out, as the data collection scheme outlined in the information leaflet seemed so demanding [4th. May. 2012 - researcher diary]. However, during our first meeting she changed her mind. This indicates how the workload could influence the participants and lead to 'sample attrition' (Lee, 1993:116; Robson, 2011:268). At the same time, it demonstrates the interactive function of the interview, as that was the setting in which Fiona changed her mind and decided to continue.

3.5.2 Interviews

Alongside the diaries, I used interviews as a data collection method. Interviewing is a 'talk-in-interaction approach' (Baynham, 2010:1), which results in the creation of shared stories between the interviewer and interviewee. I planned the questions I wanted to ask, and used the diaries that had been submitted as prompts. The interviews were audio-recorded for subsequent transcription, using two voice recorders in case of technical problems with one of them.

In the field, my interview format was changing. It had begun with structured interviews (see Appendix 18), and as I knew nothing about the participants the first interview was basically seeking their personal information. In the second interview the format changed to semi-structured (see Appendix 19), where I prepared broad questions in relation to the opportunities and challenges that might be occurring in the schools. Subsequent interviews were unstructured to allow the TaLK scholars autonomy in their choice of story and issues they wanted to relate. Of course I also prepared some follow-up questions in relation to issues and stories in their diary entries. Hence, at that point, the data from different collection methods started to complement each other.

In terms of the power relationship between the TaLK scholars and me, the interviews were constructed as informant interviews (Powney & Watts, 1987 cited in Robson, 2002:271). I wanted to create an atmosphere of equality, by avoiding probing expressions. I left the pauses as they happened, as they were also part of the data collection. Also, since the whole process of interviewing is considered one of co-construction (Codó, 2008; Talmy, 2010; Talmy & Richards, 2011) between interviewer and interviewee, I wanted to keep a healthy balance by being neither too subjective nor

too objective. To be a successful interviewer, it is helpful to recall the following essential precepts, suggested by Robson (2002):

1. Listen more than you speak
2. Put questions in a straightforward, clear and non-threatening way
3. Eliminate cues which lead interviewees to respond in a particular way
4. Enjoy it (or at least look as though you do)
5. Take a full record of the interview

(Robson, 2002:274)

While I was interviewing, I bore these five elements in mind. I found that I could become immersed in the conversation, even though I was still thinking about Robson's precepts, and was able to enjoy the interview. The advice was very helpful to me as a researcher who was conducting interviews for the first time, and other novice researchers may feel the same.

The interviews produced 'extended accounts from informants' (Codó, 2008:159). The descriptive feature of the interview allowed the TaLK scholars to 'specify, delineate, or describe naturally occurring phenomena without experimental manipulation' (Seliger & Shohamy, 1989:124) by talking about their lives in Korean schools. As my second interview was semi-structured and subsequent interviews were unstructured, the respondents' perceptions and their unique responses seemed to be developed and expanded more widely. 'Less structured approaches allow the person interviewed much more flexibility of response and at the other extreme is the "depth interview"' (Miller & Crabtree, 1999 cited in Robson, 2002:269-270).

In the first interview, the participants were answering the questions I raised. In between the answer and the next question, there were short awkward moments of *pause*: I was

reading the next question, and the TaLK scholar was waiting to hear it. This happened less as the relationship became stronger, and also they were asked to feel free to talk. The opening of the interview changed from formal to the informal 'How's your life?' From the third interview onwards, I brought the participant's diary to the interview scene with some parts highlighted if I could not fully understand them or if I needed further explanation. In the interview, I asked about these things and about some of the events reported in the diary that had led to some kind of outburst of personal feeling and opinion.

The interview method does bear certain risks, such as that of misinterpretation by the interviewer. However, as these were face-to-face interviews, I could reaffirm anything that I had misunderstood. Also, whenever I asked a question that related to the research, such as 'What kind of teacher do you want to be?', I tried to control my facial expression and reaction, in case they noticed my greater interest in their replies and looked for things to say that would look good in my data. In addition to this, I asked the same or similar questions several times over the course of the interviews. The primary reason for this was to see the change in their perceptions of teaching, school and life in Korea. It was also to find out whether there were any fluctuations in their opinions or behaviour.

To ensure the fluidity of interview conversations, when I was asking about events from their diary, I would read the exact sentence, and this would elicit an instant and direct explanation of the event.

3.5.3 Observations

According to Grix (2010:130), observation is 'the chief technique of data collection for ethnographers and anthropologists, who submerge themselves in the culture, customs, norms and practices of the people they are studying'. Grix also comments that 'one of the aims of actually being among the subjects of investigation is to understand how everyday life is conducted' (in Punch, 2000:184) by 'discerning specific patterns of behaviour, gestures, use of language, symbols and tradition' (Grix, 2010:130).

Each participant was observed three or four times in the nine-month period, and all the observation dates were agreed with the school. To confirm the dates, I sent out a document about observation dates to the local schools (Appendix 20). The classroom observation was planned for three different time phases of their teaching: 1) The first month (March, 2012), 2) the third month (May, 2012), and 3) the fifth month (July, 2012). Of course the observation dates were subject to negotiation with the Korean mentor teachers, but in general, most of the participants were able to follow the schedule as originally planned. I found it very valuable to be able to enter the schools where my participants were working and to join them in their classrooms, where I was present as an '"interested" observer' (Clarke, 2008:3). I was able to feel each school's unique atmosphere, and this helped me to comprehend the nature of each participant's workplace.

In this research, participant (direct) observation was conducted. In the observations, I sat in the classroom and wrote field-notes, while the participants wore microphones so as to record their speech in the classroom. A field-note is an ethnographic account that describes 'the units, criteria, and patterning of a community' (Hornberger, 1995 cited in Creese, Takhi & Blackledge, 2015:267).

Figure 17: Examples of fieldnotes
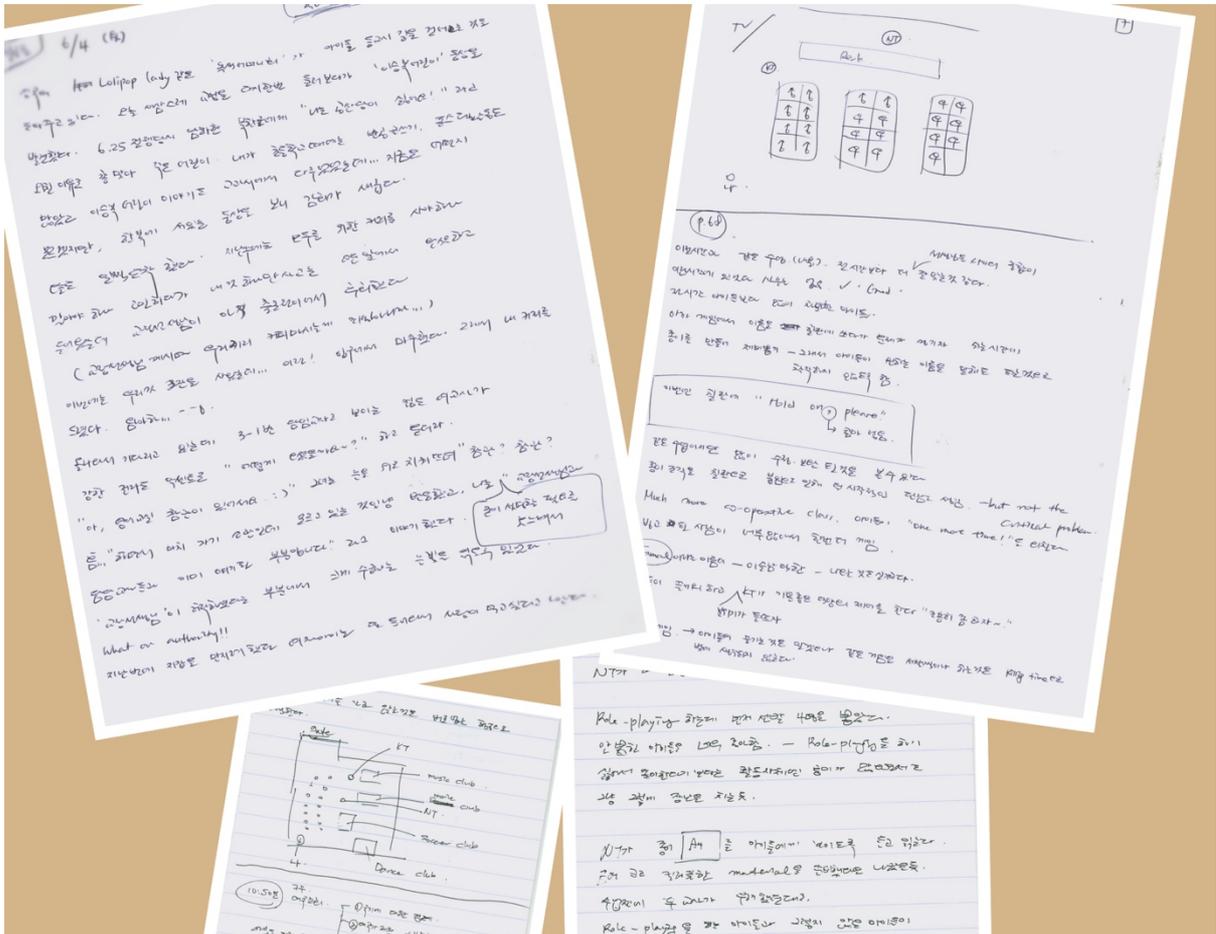
The main function of the field-note is to capture the moment that the researcher is observing. This note-taking has the function of 'recording snapshots of empirical phenomena' (Grix, 2010:130). As a cultural self (Creese, Bhatt, Bhojani & Martin, 2008:199), I was observing and writing the field-notes, and therefore they do contain some of my personal features, such as 'gender, ethnicity, age, social class' (Creese *et al.*, 2008:200). Moreover, due to my immaturity as a researcher, some parts of the field-notes also contain scribbles expressing my anger, where I treated them 'as a place to 'vent spleen, to have control'' (Jackson, 1995 cited in Creese *et al.*, 2008:203). Although

I also wrote researcher diaries, my immediate feelings and emotional responses were written in the field-notes.

> Fieldnotes are primary data sets, ephemeral, neither right or wrong, an interpretation to be contested and agreed upon and to be further analysed in relation to other data sets. Like other data within qualitative research – interactions, interviews, documents – they are partial and incomplete. However, like other data sets they are also evidentiary.
>
> (Creese *et al.*, 2008:212)

Although a field-note itself is 'partial and incomplete', it is also evidentiary data that triangulates with other data. As field-notes were made for observations with all seven participants' classes, their 'iterative nature' (Creese *et al.*, 2008:201) allowed me to compare the nuances between them, to see my positionality in the field with each participant. Although the process of making the notes was repetitive, the points I raised were different not only in terms of content but also in terms of relationship with the participant. The nuance of my field-note could be soft or judgemental, according to how close I was to the participant, as this influenced how I understood their behaviour in the classroom. Through the field-notes, I could see my different standpoints.

Also, even though my research interest was not on the students and the Korean teachers in the classroom, it was unavoidable to glance at them during the observation process. As an ethnographer, I tried to keep the gaze wide for a while. I was trying to understand the TaLK scholars and their working practice and interaction with co-workers, and I recorded what I observed in my field-note.

In summary then, the data collection methods used in the field were diary, interview and observation. The dates when data from each participant were collected are shown below.

Table 3: Summary of the three participants' collected data

	Name	Born in	Nationality	E-mail	Contract	Gender	Contact Number
ABIGAIL	**Abigail**	1988	American (Chinese/ Italian)	██@███.n et	From Feb.2012 (6months)	Female	010 -2██-██9 Skype: ██████Z
	Data Set from Abigail						
	Diaries			14			
	Interviews			8			
	Number of observations & Fieldnote entries			3			
	Field Documents			10			
EVAN	Name	Born in	Nationality	E-mail	Contract	Gender	Contact Number
	Evan	1985	American (Anglo)	██████ @gmail.com	3rd term in TaLK	Male	010-3██-██2
	Data Set from Evan						
	Diaries			6			
	Interviews			7			
	Number of observations & Fieldnote entries			4			
	Field Documents			7			
FIONA	Name	Born in	Nationality	E-mail	Contract	Gender	Contact Number
	Fiona	1988	American (Bangladesh)	██████ @aol.com	From Feb. 2012(6mon ths)	Female	010-4██-██5
	Data set from Fiona						
	Diaries			8			
	Interviews			10			
	Number of observations & Fieldnote entries			4			
	Field Documents			18			

3.6 Study Participants & Data Analysis

3.6.1 Study Participants

In this section, I present biographical accounts of the three participants based on their past history, present experience and expectations for the future. As Giampapa points out, 'past, present, and future identities are historically, socially, and politically located' (Giampapa, 2011:134).

For each participant, their data set is first summarized in table form. This includes name, age in 2012, family origin, immigration history, family members, language (heritage language), place of residence and previous teaching experience. Then their background, present experience and future expectations are presented through their own words from the interviews and diaries. This is intended to support understanding of the individual participants, since 'Autobiographical narratives have interactional as well as representational functions. That is, autobiographical narrators act like particular types of people while they tell their stories, and they relate to their audiences in characteristic ways as they tell those stories' (Hill, 1995; Schiffrin, 1996 cited in Wortham, 2000:158).

My intention here is not to analyse the content of the biographical accounts, but to provide the reader with a sense of the three participants in relation to their past, present and future, through their own voices. Knowledge of the key participants' life histories before their participation in the TaLK programme should orient the understanding of the challenges and differences they encountered in the local schools. This is also intended to provide a justification of the argument behind the research questions regarding

communities of practice, and how these young novice teachers were working and learning to be teachers in the different communities of practices.

3.6.1.1 Abigail

Abigail was 25 years old when the data were collected. About the first site on Abigail, I wrote as 'The TaLK scholar and her mentor teacher were nice, kind and generous' [14. Mar. 2012 - researcher diary]. She had come to Korea to join the TaLK programme, and had signed a 6 months of contract in February, 2012, so when she joined this research project she was in her first semester as a TaLK scholar. Abigail's data were collected as shown below:

Table 4: Data sets from Abigail (All dates refer to the year 2012)

	Diary		Interview			Observation	
FEBRUARY	1st	26/Feb	1st	15/Feb	Phone interviewing -Structured Interview		
MARCH	2nd	06/Mar	2nd	16/Mar	In a medium-sized city in the south of Korea		
	3rd	13/Mar					
	4th	20/Mar	3rd	26/Mar			
	5th	28/Mar					
APRIL	6th	24/April	4th	09/April	-face-to-face,	1st	09/April (Full day)
MAY			5th	08/May	-Semi-structured interview -unstructured interview		
JUNE	7th	03/June	6th	04/June		2nd	04/June (Full day)
	8th	22/June	7th	25/June			
JULY			8th	23/July		3rd	23/July (Full day)
AUGUST			9th	8/August	In a medium-sized city in the centre of Korea -face-to-face, -unstructured interview		

This table shows the dates when data were collected from Abigail. Diaries were submitted via e-mail, and interviews were conducted under various conditions; in the table I specify whether the interview took place via the telephone or face-to-face, and also whether it was a structured or semi-structured interview.

Abigail wrote a personal blog on which she published several diaries related to her life as an English teacher in South Korea. I got her permission to use the blog as a data set in addition to other sources collected for this research. The diaries are labelled as pre-diary-(number) and are six in number. This means that Abigail has produced six more diaries than other participants.

Abigail's background information is shown in the table below.

Table 5: Participant summary – Abigail

	Description	Abigail's words
Name	Abigail	
Age	23 (in 2002)	
Family Origin & immigration history	Paternal side: Italian, 1st generation of immigration: Great grand mother	Both of my parents grew up speaking English at home. My father got a little Italian from his grandparents but his mom wanted to be American so she did not learn Italian. My mother grew up speaking English in the home and my grandmother would speak Cantonese. My grandmother understands English but she cannot speak English well. [22.JUNE.2012 - Diary 8 / Abigail]
	Maternal side: Chinese, 1st generation of immigration: Grand mother	A: …(ellipsis)… So my grandmother only speaks Cantonese. She knows some English words, mostly food… um… but mostly it's just us pointing and trying to communicate with each other cause we didn't grow up around it, cause we were in California. … (ellipsis)… almost all the kids could understand her? To some extent…? We don't really know how much they actually understand… (ellipsis)… so most, all the rest of the kids can't really speak any Mandarin …[25.JUNE.2012 - Interview 7 / Abigail]
Numbers of Family members	5(both parents, Abigail, twin sister and younger brother)	
Language	English (Loss of heritage language)	A: … our mum should have sent us to Chinese school because usually the only place you can really learn it around where I am is in San Francisco because not a lot of people speak Cantonese anymore… Because most people speak Mandarin now. And they should have sent us to Chinese school for the weekend, but it was a little hard 45 minutes away from home and I was like "You should have done it anyway!" I wish I could speak Cantonese cause you can't learn it even in like universities or anything, they all teach Mandarin so it's really hard to learn Cantonese. If you don't live in like San Francisco or LA where the major population are Cantonese speakers, so sadly she doesn't speak any Chinese. And we don't speak any Chinese either. [25.JUN.2012 - Interview 7 /Abigail]
Living in	California, USA	
Previous teaching experience	yes	I worked in a second grade classroom in Roseville, CA at Blue Oaks Elementary School. I had applied to the TaLK programme wanting to travel and to acquire more teaching experience. [22. JUN. 2012 - Diary 8 / Abigail]

As a language teacher, in Korea, Abigail was experiencing a stage in her journey towards a final goal: to be an elementary school teacher in the USA. That goal was very firmly stated in her data, and she held a clear career plan. Abigail believed that her previous and current teaching experience would support her journey to be an accredited teacher in the near future. Alongside this clear plan to be a teacher, she also expressed her ideal image of a teacher as shown below:

Figure 18: Self description of Abigail
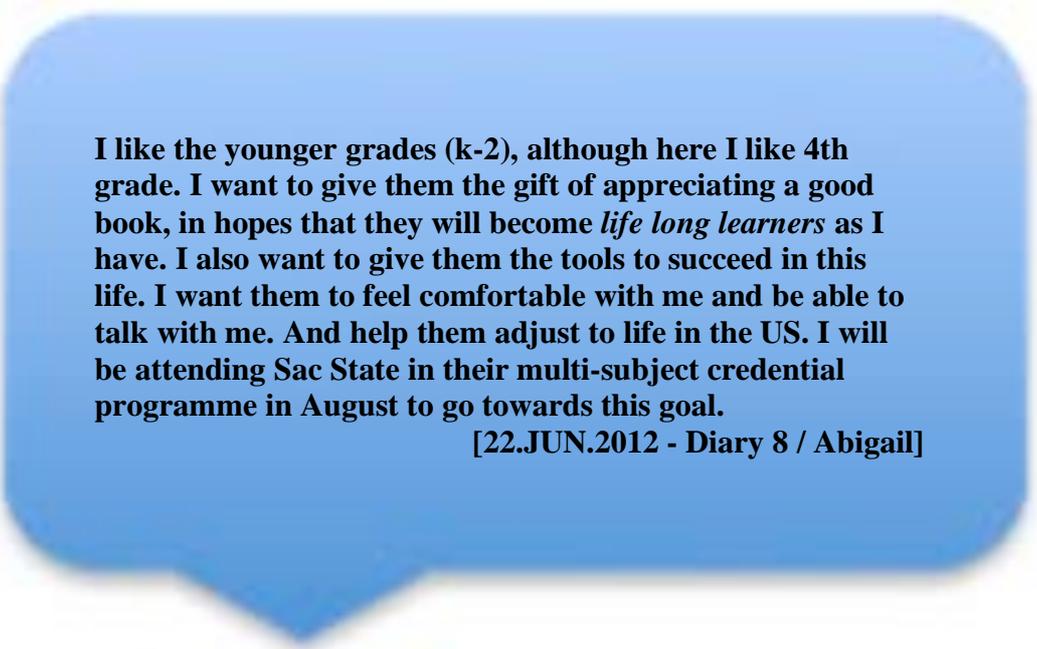
> **I like the younger grades (k-2), although here I like 4th grade. I want to give them the gift of appreciating a good book, in hopes that they will become *life long learners* as I have. I also want to give them the tools to succeed in this life. I want them to feel comfortable with me and be able to talk with me. And help them adjust to life in the US. I will be attending Sac State in their multi-subject credential programme in August to go towards this goal.**
>
> **[22.JUN.2012 - Diary 8 / Abigail]**

In the extract above, Abigail was clearly stating the value she placed on learning, expressing her expectation that her future students would be 'life-long learners'. As a teacher who puts great value on learning through books, she mentioned that she wanted to give her students 'the tools to succeed' in their lives by giving books as gifts. What Abigail dreamed of for her future self was to be a teacher who cares deeply about

learning, one whose students feel comfortable in her classroom and to whom students feel free to talk.

3.6.1.2 Evan

Evan was 27 years old when the data were collected. According to the note I wrote in my research diary, he was 'tall, big of frame and seems sturdy' [20.MAR.2012 – Researcher diary]. He had come to Korea specifically to join the TaLK programme, and had signed a year's contract in August, 2011, so when he joined this research project he was in his second semester as a TaLK scholar.

Table 6: Collection of Data sets, Evan

	Diary		Interview		Observation		Essays	
Before Joining the Project							1st	Oct/2011
MARCH	1st	28/March	1st	28/March				
APRIL	2nd	01/April	2nd	19/April				
	3rd	23/April						
MAY	4th	03/May	3rd	06/May	1st	14/May		
	5th	17/May						
JUNE	6th	15/June	4th	19/June	2nd	19/June (Open Class)	2nd	Topic: PowerPoint
JULY			5th	10/July	3rd	13/July (Hagwon Observation)		
			6th	16/July	4th	16/July		
AUGUST	7th	28/Aug	7th	01/Aug			3rd	Farewell Speech

Evan contributed several data sets for this research project. An essay that had already been submitted to the TaLK team is included as data here along with one other essay

and the text for a TaLK farewell speech, written in 2012. The first essay was about his desire to explore Korea. The title of the essay that had already been submitted to TaLK was 'Context, Flexibility, and the Negative Effects of Powerpoint' (see Appendix 3). In it, Evan tried to explain how a teaching strategy could be implemented in a real context, and how it should be amended to be efficient; he was problematizing teaching practices in Korea and arguing that they needed to be changed. The farewell speech was mainly about his experience and what he had learned through his participation in TaLK. In addition, Evan submitted eight diary entries.

Evan's background is shown in the table below.

Table 7: Participant summary - Evan

	Description	Evan's words
Name	Evan	
Age	28 (in 2002)	
Family Origin + Immigration history — Paternal Side	German 1st gen of immigration: Grandparents	E: Yes. Both of them lived most of their lives in Southern California. Uh, I think my great grandparents escaped Germany during World War I? Uh, I don't know much about my dad's side of the family. They were poor farmers I think… [28.MAR.2012 – interview 1 / Evan]
Family Origin + Immigration history — Maternal Side	American (Anglo)	
Numbers of Family members	10	I come from a family that, at its height, saw 10 people living together in one house, a rarity for families in America. [October, 2011 – TaLK essay 1 / Evan] E: My FAMILY was multicultural. Um, at our height, there were 10 people at our house. My mother adopted five kids. She gave birth to me and my younger brother. My three sisters are black, my older brother is a Native American, so. I got that kind of experience first-hand. And in Korea, No. Sorry. [28.MAR.2012 – interview 1 / Evan]
Language	English	
Living in	California, USA	Super-ville, CA was one of many stopping points for emigrants to America, resulting in a large population of disparate Asians congregated in a small and relatively isolated place. Their patchwork quilt of experiences, expectations and interpretations from both Asia and America added a wonderful Technicolor kaleidoscope to my worldview; a view I was eager to explore, understand and share with as many people as I could.[Oct 2011 - TaLK Essay / Evan] E: …where I grew up in Super-ville, California, Super-ville was a stopping point for the immigrants coming from Asia. So… there are a lot of (inaudible) people in Super-ville, um… a lot of Han, Chinese people, there's a small Japanese population, and there's a smaller Korean population. [28.MAR.2012 – interview 1 / Evan]
Pervious teaching experience	None	

Evan described himself as a curious person, and also as 'jovial and amiable'.

Figure 19: Self description of Evan

> **I tend to consider myself a curious person, someone who over-analyzes problems to a detriment in the hopes of promoting understanding within me and others. I try to be amicable with others, though I've slowly learned how to stand up for myself and my ideas after a lifetime of disagreement from those in my immediate community (people did not approve of my Liberal tendencies). I was an academic overachiever in school, though I rarely participated in the activities of richer kids (since, being a poor child, no one told me or my parents about the opportunities available to me; I still wonder to this day what would have happened had I known about some of the high school honors societies which were available). I tend to be jovial and amiable, especially to easy-to-impress foreign children. If I had any flaw I'd like to improve, I'd want the ability to approach and manage communication with women whom I find attractive (attractive women are my only major bain).**
>
> **[01.AUG.2012 – Diary 7 / Evan]**

However, he also stated that other people did not approve of his liberal tendencies, and that he experienced disagreements. Also, he was positioning himself as a smart kid, so that although he was poor and could not join in activities with rich kids, he could still compete with them.

3.6.1.3 Fiona

Fiona was 25 years old when the data were collected. In the research diary that was written on 20th of March, 2012, I was stating about the first sight on Fiona as 'she looked thin and small so weak constitution. Also she looked introversive person'. She had come to Korea to join the TaLK programme, and had signed a 6 months of contract in February, 2012, so when she joined this research project she was in her first semester as a TaLK scholar.

Table 8: Collection of Data Sets, Fiona

	Diary		Interview		Observation	
MARCH	1st	28/March				
APRIL	2nd	05/April	1st	03/April	1st	06/April
	3rd	17/April	2nd	20/April		
	4th	23/April				
MAY	5th	01/May	3rd	03/May	2nd	29/May(Open Class)
	6th	24/May	4th	29/May		
JUNE	7th	22/June	5th	08/June	3rd	21/June(Open Class)
			6th	21/June		
JULY	8th	20/July	7th	03/July	4th	13/July
			8th	13/July		
			9th	20/July		
AUGUST			10th	05/Aug		

The table above shows the data sets for Fiona, and the dates they were collected. For this research, Fiona submitted various kinds of data sets related to her teaching, her relationship with the school and her life in her school and in Korea. Fiona met me ten times for interviews. Classroom observations were conducted four times and she also submitted eight diary entries.

Fiona aspires to give help to people who need it. That is one of the reasons why she wants to become a doctor, and also why she decided to come to Korea. Before making

that decision, she was interested in Korean pop music. Fiona's background information

is shown in the table below.

Table 9: Participant summary - Fiona

	Description	Fiona's words
Name	Fiona	
Age	23 (in 2002)	
Family Origin — Paternal side	Bangladesh	My family is originally from Bangladesh. I moved to America when I was four. [22.JUN.2012 – Diary 7] F: and then… my family moved to America when I was four. S: Uh-huh. (Pause) How was the life in… America? F: I like America… I went to America at a very young age, so… it's kind of my… home. (Laugh) [03.APR.2012 – Interview 1]
Family Origin — Maternal side	Bangladesh	
Numbers of Family members	4	My family consists of my father, mother and brother. My parents are very traditional and conservative. Although, my father is more liberal and willing to have an open mind about things. My brother and I are a lot alike and have many similar interests. We get along for the most part. [22.JUN.2012 – Diary 7 / Fiona]
Language	Bengali English	
Living in	California, USA	It is a very diverse city and I was exposed to many cultures from an early age. I feel that this shaped my interest in other countries. [22.JUN.2012 – Diary 7 / Fiona]
Previous teaching experience	None	

Fiona rarely talked about her family, so other information about her parents and older brother was not given, except about her older brother's forthcoming marriage with a Spanish-American woman. Also, she did not give any particular explanation about her family's emigration to America, nor the language history of the family. Fiona is bilingual in Bengali and English, but she did not explain the way her parents taught her Bengali while the family were living in America.

When Fiona was asked to describe herself, she wrote as follows:

Figure 20: Self description of Fiona

> **My personal character is that I'm very hardworking and ambitious. I like to finish all my goals and projects on time and do the best job possible. I like to socialize with others but I can also enjoy my alone time. Some of my hobbies include reading, watching movies and volunteering. I like to learn new things and I dislike people who are not responsible. I was a very responsible and caring person. I tried to help people whenever I could. I was very studious and serious about school. I studied and did all my homework and got the highest grades in my class, but I never bragged about it because I feel that people who brag are very immature. For the most part I am the same person and I hope that I stay the same in the future.**
>
> **[22.JUN.2012 – Diary 7 / Fiona]**

Fiona's statements that 'I dislike people who are not responsible', and that despite her high grades in school she did not brag, as in her opinion 'people who brag are very immature', show that she places a high value on responsibility and being modest.

In this section, I have presented the data collection scheme, a summary of information for each participant, quotes regarding their future expectation or personal characteristics, and images of their classrooms.

Although the research yielded numerous valuable data sets (Appendix 21,22) and themes that I will be able to develop in a further study, here only the data sets related to answering my research questions are selected. Specifically, the cases of Abigail, Evan and Fiona will be studied in-depth in relation to their experience and learning in their schools and in Korean society.

The three data collection methods were mutually supplementary. Whilst I was doing the fieldwork, when I saw a unique behaviour or teaching performance by a TaLK scholar in his/her classroom, I could ask about it in the interview. Sometimes, they offered more detailed explanations about the event in their diary. In addition, behaviour I had found difficult to understand sometimes became clearer as I talked with the TaLK scholars and read their diaries. According to Robson (2002), interviews 'lend themselves well to use in combination with other methods, in a multi-method approach. We could do a case study that might employ some kind of relatively formal interview to complement participant observation' (Robson, 2002:270). So, the diary entries, interviews, and observations complemented each other, and functioned 'for triangulation purposes' (Heller, 2006 cited in Codó, 2008:162). As I was doing the fieldwork, reading diary entries, asking questions related to those diaries in interviews, and observing the participants in their classrooms, I could see how the data resources were connected, and that was the first broad analysis of my data.

I engaged with the data in the following ways:

1. During the data collection, I read the submitted diaries to prepare for interviews.

2. Interviews were structured around issues arising from the diaries. After I had finished asking the questions related to the diaries, I conducted an open interview, and various kinds of issues came up.

3. After I had finished the fieldwork, I read the data chronologically. I completed transcribing whole interviews and I read the transcriptions of interviews and diary entries together, chronologically. In the transcription, S denotes the researcher, Soyoung; A means Abigail; E means Evan, and F refers to Fiona.

4. I also read the sets of field-notes for each participant. This ensured triangulation of the data.

In the field, I could not 'conveniently tuck away the personal behind the professional, because fieldwork *is* personal' (England, 1994:85, Author's italics). When making field notes I found myself observing the classroom from a teacher's point of view, and including many comments based on my personal values. In retrospect those field notes revealed that I did 'not yet know what is significant … what to record' (Agar, 1980:161). Furthermore, as a researcher *in* the practice I was a 'socially located person' (Cameron, Frazer, Harvey, Rampton & Richardson, 1992 cited in Giampapa, 2011:133), and I found it difficult to avoid reflecting on my own subjectivities (Cameron, Frazer, Harvey, Rampton & Richardson, 1992). Albeit unwittingly, I was applying a paradigmatic framework of compare and contrast. I was too focused on each individual teacher's merits, rather than the interaction of the people in the practice as a whole. Later, as I

became more conscious of my role in the field as a linguistic ethnographer, I was able to look at those interactions, and to write more widely about the people and events in the practice.

Certainly, my field notes were an important part of the research process and of my own learning process. However, given the prominence of my own voice in the early field notes I did not want to rely on their portrayal of my participants.

In this study, the three participants' stories and various data were analysed first in case studies, to achieve a rich understanding of their lives in Korea and in their Korean schools. In the process of data analysis, I then decided to switch to thematic analysis. According to Miyahara (2015:69), '[T]hematic analysis is based on what Polkinghorne (1995) characterises as 'paradigmatic analysis', where the researcher starts the analysis by open coding of the data, building a set of themes by searching for patterns and meaning produced in the data, and then labelling and grouping them in connection with the theoretical framework of the research.' Whilst coding the data, the themes that emerged were categorized.

As this research is about real people in the practice (Gray, 2009), at the first stage of data analysis, as stated above, each participant was studied in-depth as a case study. 'In-depth case studies … draw on many ethnographic research methods, whereby researchers spend up to one-third of their total research time undertaking work in the field' (Grix, 2010:12). This can be done by showing each case as 'a complete description of a phenomenon within its context' (Yin, 2003:5), as revealed in their stories. The descriptive case study gives effective access to each participant's mind for

in-depth examination. As stated by De Vaus (2001:234), 'by developing a full, well-rounded causal account, case studies can achieve high internal validity'. Thus, the use of in-depth and descriptive case studies will enhance the internal and external validity of this thesis.

The three cases in this study cannot be taken as representative of all TaLK scholars. However, as mentioned earlier, these cases have their own value and can be theoretically generalized; thus they possess strong internal validity. In the area of identity study, internal validity is more important than external validity, as each person is unique. Through case studies, more deliberated interpretation of the participants' teacher development is revealed, and this will be presented in Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

3.6.2 Data analysis on diary entries

The diaries provided me with 'a documented account of novice teachers' experience' (Numrich, 1996:132), a monthly snapshot of the teacher lives of young novice teachers newly/recently exposed to a real teaching context. With a glance at these snapshots, I could trace their feelings towards the Korean mentor teachers and the co-workers. Through the diaries, I was able to see 1) the daily routines and issues with co-workers, 2) what the TaLK scholars did to meet the challenges they faced, and 3) how they reacted toward differences in the school.

With the diaries, I performed content analysis as shown below.

Table 10: Content analysis on Abigail's diary entries (see Appendix 23)

	DIARIES - Themes	1st (05/Feb)	2nd (09/Feb)	3rd (17/Feb)	4th (22/Feb)	5th (26/Feb)	6th (28/Feb)	7th (04/Mar)	8th (06/Mar)	9th (13/Mar)	10th (20/Mar)	11th (28/Mar)	12th (24/Apr)	13th (03/Jun)	14th (22/Jun)
1	Journey to Korea	•				•									
2	TaLK people	•	•	•	•										
3	Sightseeing		•	•	•	•	•							•	
4	TaLK orientation		•		•	•	•	•	•			•			
5	Clues - Personal Character		•	•				•	•	•	•			•	
6	Mention - Rural / urban		•	•					•					•	
7	Issues on Korean		•	•							•	•	•	•	
8	Koreans who want to talk with her in English			•		•									
9	Abigail's impression on Korea(n)		•	•	•			•	•						
10	Comments on the students		•			•	•		•		•	•	•	•	
11	Observation school/lesson/teacher/students							•		•	•	•	•		
12	About School & life in there								•		•	•			
13	Relationship with teachers								•	•	•		•	•	
14	School Facilities								•			•			
15	Actual teaching experience									•	•	•	•	•	•
16	Hierarchical relationships								•	•	•				
17	Initiate a classroom reform								•	•	•			•	
18	Instant feeling about teaching								•		•	•	•		•
19	Negotiation / co-teaching									•	•	•	•	•	•
20	Explaining lesson contents									•	•	•	•	•	•
21	Self-assessment							•		•	•	•	•	•	•
22	Discipline as a teacher												•	•	
23	Notice tension / complain												•	•	•
24	Journey to back home													•	•

Content analysis on Abigail's diary entries revealed that, once Abigail was actually in the local school, she started to write about teaching, self-assessment, teacher discipline and issues in the school. This might have been influenced by the prompts I suggested, but it also reflected the fact that life in the Korean school was now her daily routine. Over time, the diaries became more concerned with issues around teaching, materials, negotiation in co-teaching, and then her journey to go back home. This general pattern was also found in Evan's and Fiona's diary entries.

Then I moved to interview data analysis.

3.6.3 Analysis of interview data

There were two issues with audio recordings. First, as the interviews with the TaLK scholars concerned their schools and issues they faced there, interviews were conducted

away from school premises, in cafés or restaurants. As a result, the recordings were not sufficiently clear; often, I could hear loud chatting from the next table more clearly than the TaLK scholar's voice. Secondly, the audio recordings were much too long; over a year of fieldwork I collected a huge amount of interview data (see Appendix 24). This made the transcription a time-consuming process. In Evan's case there was one day when he talked for about four hours, and it was normal for his recordings to be at least one and a half hours. Appendix 25 contains the raw data of one of his interview transcriptions; it is 21 pages long. This was a huge challenge in the data analysis.

To transcribe the interviews, I re-listened to the audio tapes and typed out the interview content. 'Recordings are transcribed in detail, and the transcript often becomes the main object of participants' gaze. The transcript is a material representation that stabilises the ephemeral nature of interaction and affords close scrutiny of whatever the analyst has chosen to highlight' (Lefstein & Israeil, 2015:201). An example transcript is shown below.

Figure 21: Example of transcription

Interview 1 (Face-To-Face Interviewing / 28 Mar 2012) [length: 1:52:41]
In (_____)

S: And I will put this device close to you.
E: Yeah. Those things are notorious for bad recordings. I've used something similar.
S: (put the recording device close to him) Are you okay (with this)?
E: Yeah, as long as it fits me I'm fine. It looks like- uh, okay. Ah… Ok. I'll just speak LOUD. We need to go through the info.
S: This is the information leaflet for the school, this is for the parents, actually I was thinking to visit your school to explain those things but-
E: They don't seem to want to do that. I can ask again tomorrow, and she asks it to the Principal again?
S: Could you hand this to your mentor teacher?
E: Yeah.
S: With this, she will understand what the research about and she will understand that I'm not interested in…
E: As opposed to (inaudible)- that's fine.
S: This is the information and this is the consent form.
E: Uh, sure. It hasn't changed from the one in e-mail, huh? Then, I'm fine. I don't think that I have a pen- (Pause). How many subjects do you have so far?
S: Right now … I can't tell you. (laugh)
E: Does we having experience with the ethnography an extra study at all? Oh, Ok. What is today, the 28th?
S: The 28th.

(Pause)

When I had finished transcribing, I read the transcripts and highlighted some items that

I perceived as things I needed to focus on (see Appendix 25).

Figure 22: Example of highlight in transcript

> ...women are exploited.
> Then, uh, she talked about uh… colonization and the idea of race. RACE as a construct is meaningless… because it's culturally created. There's NO genetic race. Uh, In fact, there's… genetic differentiation between… uh… there's more genetic differentiations in a RACE of people then there are BETWEEN of the same races… Like, two Koreans genetically can be more… uh, can be more different than each other… than possible Korean to a… white person (Caucasian)… based on… criteria other than… 'How you look?'… like… there can be DESEISE of born ability, uh… there can be… uh, different types of developments uh… then they get n-(inaudible), they get assign (inaudible) to much power... So… Race was… fi-, a feminist interpretation, race was constructed to…uh… promote that POWER structure of man over woman… by instituting other structure that separates… us from them. And we are always better. White people are always better because we have more power, and we want to keep it that way. That's why (inaudible)-nary. That's why… if a white man has sex with a brown woman, and produces a mixed child, that child is brown. But, if a… white woman… has sex with a brown man, for example, and produces… a mixed child, that mixed child is not white. He's brown… Because, racial purity is what keeps us from them in terms of power. I noticed that Korea tend to do that too, because… while the idea of racial purity is kind of a misnomer, Koreans are very STRONG about the…. the PROPER Korean.
> I know that… a lot of, especially older man I talked with about this topic are all like "Yeah, the purity of Koreanness." That's why I can never marry… a Kor-, a traditional Korean woman, because I would be polluting her Koreanness. My children would… be… SOMETHING in between Korean and non-Korean. It's very weird, like they're that (laughs) hard-core about it. (00:49:50)
> And then you bring in the (matter of) exploitation of women… so that… control structure is basically there to keep women to do debating with the men. Ok. Uh, feminist here. So. THEN, uh… a large he(inaudible)-re comes to exploited women, FOR… the purpose of, uh… sexual… LITERALLY they're there for the men to have fun. There's no other STRUCTURAL reason why women exploited, this matter? Unless you assume that, a man need to get it later (inaudible) makes solders. I HAVEN'T HAD SEX IN OVER A YEAR, I seem to be doing okay… Why they can't get away with that? Because men have power over women. And these women are… totally screwed over. I (inaudible) usually what happens is that they take it one the chain and they move on their life, because… that's like me when I got motorcycle accident, what choice do I have? Well their choice was to say "Fuck you." And so they are fighting that type of power. And they have… regi-(inaudible)-cies because they have… considerably, humanly… offensive.
> Uh, being sexually exploited is not something we consider to be… equivalent to one of my kids punching another kid. If one… uh, two of my kids, when had basketball, they were throwing that each other. One of my kids threw a basketball and it hit the head of this other kid. That kid's crying. So I asked, "Hey, what's wrong?" And he yelled something at the other kid, Because… "You idiot! Why did you throw it to me?!" and now he's crying. I'm not going to send them to JAIL or to the court, because they threw BESKETBALLS at each other's head... That's not RATIONAL. So why is it not RATIONAL for these women to have retribution, or at least compensation for the ills that have been structurally imposed upon them, above (and) beyond what has been normally considered uh... good exploitation of women… That's fucked up! That's why I want to hear more about their stories. And plus it's a visceral, literal thing. These people exist. They're living history. This is kind of… this is why people should learn history and social science and all like good stuffs, because it did forms our lives, today. Which is why I wanna go and spend time with them before they're dead. Because Japan's intended that when you're DIE, then the issue will slowly drifting away. YEAH! Long answer.
> S: OK. I'm learning from you, (cynical laughs) as…
> E: I wish other people learn from me.

I did not do content analysis on the interview transcripts, due to the massive quantity of material. Although I read the transcripts several times, this was not enough to manage the huge amount of work efficiently. So, I decided to use Nvivo for data alignment according to themes (Park, 2012).

3.6.4 Reduction of themes from coded data

As mentioned above, I read the collected data several times. In linguistic ethnography, data are 'examined in terms of emergent meanings and significance for participants' (different) perspectives, generating a far richer understanding of context and contingency' (Rampton, Maybin & Roberts, 2015:39). So, repeated reading of the collected data was an important process that I had to undergo to achieve the required thick description.

After several readings, all the data were coded together through Nvivo software. Initially, the themes were too broad. I created separate folders for each participant, and coded the data several times. The first coding was done with the raw data according to person. In Abigail's case, I did coding twice, for Evan three times and for Fiona once. This was due to the difference in the amount of data they had supplied. The second coding was done with the data coded once, then the third coding was done with the data coded twice. During this process the important themes became clearer. Nvivo is a useful tool to code a large amount of work into several themes.

Figure 23: Nvivo screenshot
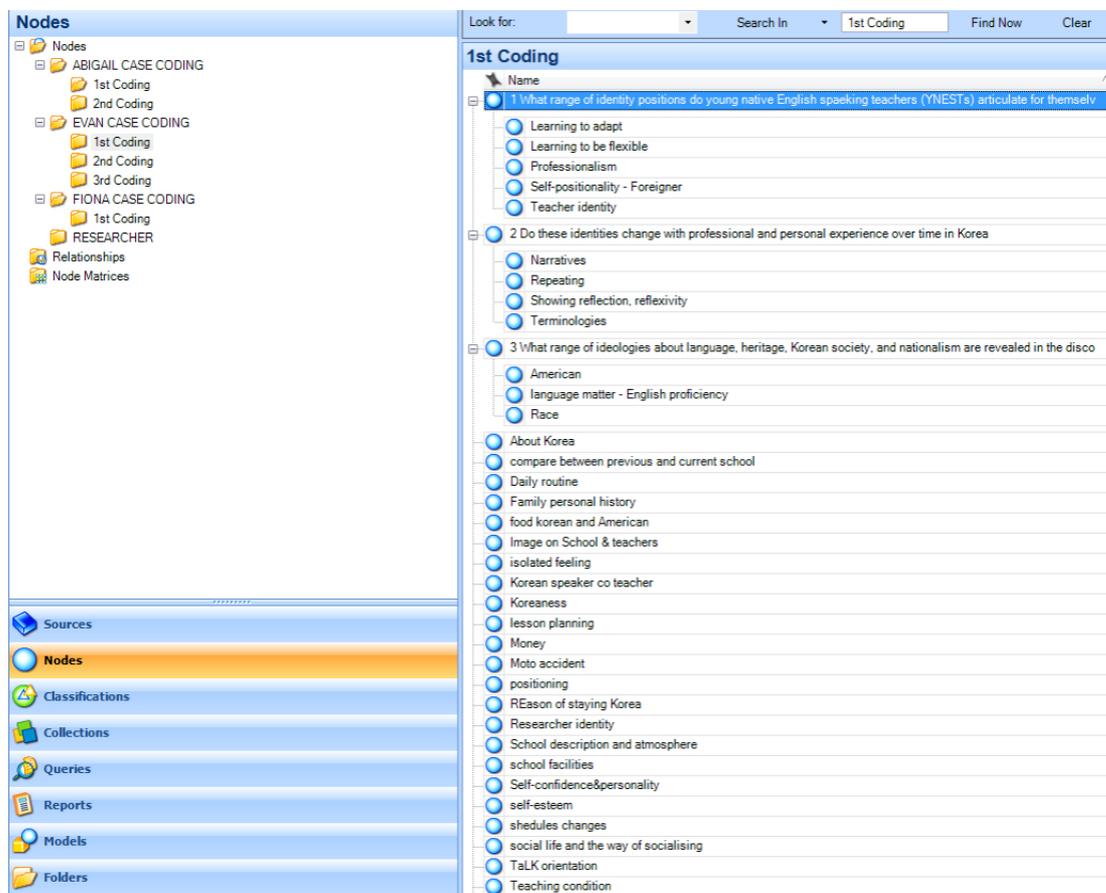
As can be seen in the above figure, when coding the data of diaries, interview transcripts and field-notes through the Nvivo programme, numerous themes emerged. For the purposes of data reduction and selection of themes, after coding those data sets under the themes, I subordinated the themes to research questions. Through that process, I could decide which themes would be discussed in this thesis and which will be saved for later.

Some themes relate to the TaLK scholars' family language history, immigration history, education and interests. For a long time, I believed that these were important aspects with regard to the identity positions of the TaLK scholars in relation to my original research questions (see Appendix 26). However, as my research questions became more

focused on interrelationships and negotiation in the TaLK programme and the local school, the communities of practices to which they belonged as TaLK scholars, the data relating to their lives before they were exposed to these two COPs became less important. In the same way, at the beginning of the process all the themes seemed relevant and important to me, but after several codings I could see the data and their characteristics more clearly.

After this process, I printed out the themes that seemed related to my research questions, then read them and highlighted the pieces of data pointing to the aspects I wanted to discuss.

Figure 24: Reading of coded printed out fragments of data

As shown above, the mixture of fragments from diary entries and interview transcripts that I coded through Nvivo appeared with the original reference name under the name of

the theme. I again highlighted parts that seemed directly relevant to my research questions, and also added some comments in relation to the pieces of data.

Then, to visualize the themes, I produced mind maps for each participant.

Figure 25: Mind map of Evan's data
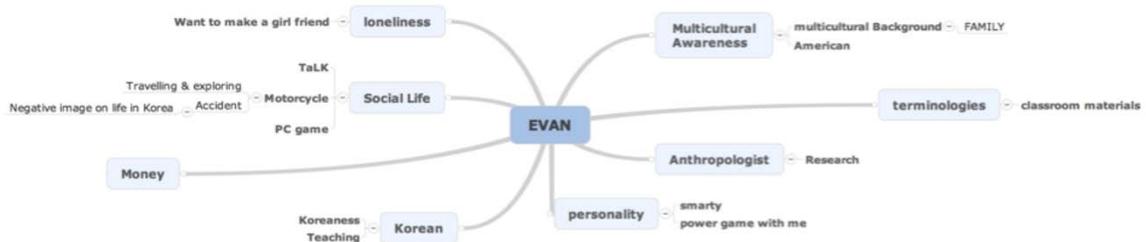
Through the mind mapping, the themes were shown visually, alongside their subordinate themes. As a result of this process, the relationships between themes, in terms of which themes could contain others, and which themes belonged to larger themes, become clearer.

After this process, I produced three case studies. However, the resulting text was still far too long, and in the end it did not help to answer the research questions. So, I decided to revise the case studies into three thematic analysis chapters, and that is the current version of my thesis. The three themes identified had overlapped across the three case studies, so while the previous case study was vertical, the thematic analyses are horizontal in terms of data analysis.

Figure 26: Process of Data management
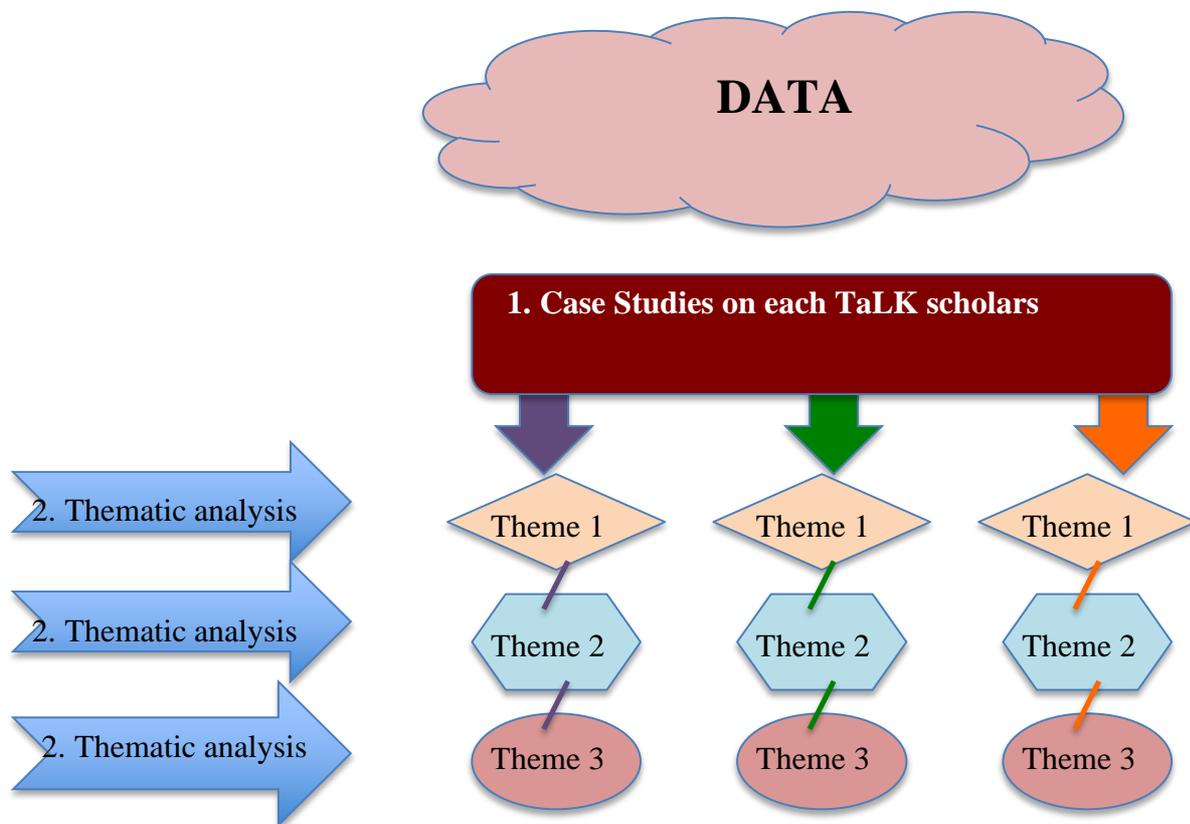
Through the process of coding and reading the coded data set, the data were triangulated.

Data triangulation involves the use of multiple sources of data, 'a process similar to that

used in some comparative analyses where the same object of study is analysed using a

number of different measures or variables' (Peters, 1998 cited in Grix, 2010:137).

3.6.5 Trustworthiness of my data

Before discussing research positionality, I would like to give a clear account of the trustworthiness of my data, its rigour, and the steps taken to ensure its validity.

The crucial aspects relevant to establishing rigour and validity in ethnographic/naturalistic research are: 'Truth value', 'Applicability', 'Consistency', and 'Neutrality' (Guba, 1981:79-80). The terminology related to these aspects varies according to context, as shown in the table below:

Table 11: 'Scientific and Naturalistic Terms Appropriate to the Four Aspects of Trustworthiness' (Guba, 1981:80)

Aspect	Scientific Term	Naturalistic Term
Truth Value	Internal Validity	Credibility
Applicability	External Validity Generalizability	Transferability
Consistency	Reliability	Dependability
Neutrality	Objectivity	Confirmability

As an ethnographer, I was engaged in naturalistic/interpretive study. Therefore, I will use the naturalistic terms given above, each of which will be explained in relation to my own research.

To ensure 'credibility' (Guba, 1981, Lincoln & Guba, 1985, Lincoln & Guba, 1986), it is necessary to 'establish structural corroboration or coherence, establish referential adequacy, and do member checks, in the hope that these actions will lead to credibility, and produce findings that are plausible' (Guba, 1981:83). In the field, I was engaged in

'prolonged engagement at a site' (Guba, 1981:84) as a persistent observer (Guba, 1981). This was required because 'the raw material of ethnographic research lies out there in the daily activities of the people you are interested in, and the only way to access those activities is to establish relationships with people, participate with them in what they do, and observe what is going on' (Agar, 1980:31).

I spent sufficient time in the field to find out the characteristics of the practice (Guba, 1981) and to build trust with the participants. As a result, I was able to gain a rich account of their experience in the schools and their interaction with the people there.

'The technique of *persistent observation* adds the dimension of *salience* to what might otherwise appear to be little more than a mindless immersion' (Lincoln & Guba, 1985:304, Authors' italics). It allowed me to recognize when 'something happened [that] I didn't understand' (Agar, 1980:31). I took photos of the classrooms and textbooks, and made audio recordings of the TaLK scholars' voices. These 'referential adequacy materials' (Guba, 1981:85) provided snapshots of the school atmosphere, to be used as 'a kind of benchmark against which later data analyses and interpretations (the critique) could be tested for adequacy' (Lincoln & Guba, 1985:313). I also recorded in my field notes the characteristic situational features, problems and issues (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) that I noticed in the schools.

Then, I did triangulation, not only of the sources and methods (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) used for the data collection, but also of the different cases, since there were both fundamental similarities and stark contrasts between the schools in their understanding of the TaLK programme and TaLK scholars. In this way I was able to discover the 'points of experience that make salient the differences between the ethnographer's

world and the world the ethnographer sets out to describe' (Hornberger, 2006:222), what Agar (1980:31) calls 'rich points'.

Based on these rich points, I was seeking 'coherence' (Agar, 1980:31), that is, 'an interpretation that explains … apparent contradictions' (Guba, 1981:85). I made assumptions based on 'a point of view … a *context* for the action, in terms of which the rich point makes sense' (Agar, 1980:31-32, Author's italics), and then expanded these assumptions via 'Frame[s]' that led me to 'link up different kinds of knowledge in different kinds of ways at different levels' (Agar, 1980:32). This procedure contributed to enhancing the credibility of my research.

'Transferability' (Guba, 1981, Lincoln & Guba, 1985, Lincoln & Guba, 1986) relates to the fact that, in naturalistic inquiry, the external validity cannot be specified (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). It means the applicability of the current research's in-depth, fully-developed interpretation to other contexts. Guba (1981:86) suggested three methods of showing transferability, namely: 'do theoretical/purposive sampling', 'collect "thick" descriptive data', and 'develop thick description'. According to Lincoln & Guba (1990:57), 'transference can take place between context A and B if B is sufficiently like A on those elements or factors or circumstances that the A inquiry found to be significant'.

Through the in-depth case studies and the thematic analysis, I was able to 'provide a sense of vicarious, "*deja vu*" experience' whereby readers '[could] "learn" from the experience, and, as is the case with all learnings, make application even in situations that do not appear on their faces to be similar' (Lincoln & Guba, 1990:57, Authors' italics). At the beginning of my data analysis, the field notes, interview transcripts and

participants' diary entries had become a huge corpus, representing the 'entire record of the field experience as it ha[d] evolved over time' (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 2011:171). I read them carefully, with 'emotional distance', 'to undertake an analytically motivated reading' (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 2011:174). By doing so, I was 'reviewing, re-experiencing, and re-examining everything that ha[d] been written down, while self-consciously seeking to identify themes, patterns, and variations within this record' (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 2011:173-174). Thus, the cases in my study were used 'as a basis for re-examining and reconstructing [my] own construction of a given phenomenon' (Lincoln & Guba, 1990:58).

In Chapters 4, 5, and 6, I have presented many of the issues my participants faced in the practice. Through their stories, I have reviewed their experiences to show how their paradigmatic frames as teachers were created, contested and developed in the practice. Through comparing and contrasting the three case study schools in two steps of data analysis - case analysis and then thematic analysis - I have been able to achieve thick description (Lincoln & Guba, 1981). As a result, the findings of my research could be applied in other teaching contexts, including those in which a national language policy is running.

The third crucial aspect is 'dependability' (Guba, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1985, Lincoln & Guba, 1986). This is closely linked to credibility, to the extent that there can be 'no credibility without dependability' (Lincoln & Guba, 1985:316).

In my research, dependability is established via 'overlap methods'; that is, a 'triangulation process, whereby different methods are used in tandem' (Guba, 1981:87), and by 'dependability audit', whereby there is 'someone competent to examine the audit

trail and to comment on the degree to which procedures used fall within generally accepted practice' (Guba, 1981:87).

As mentioned in section 3.5, I used several data collection methods. Issues emerging from my participants' diary entries and from classroom observation were revisited in the participant interviews. In this way, the 'different methods [were] pitted against one another in order to cross-check data and interpretations (Denzin, 1978 cited in Guba, 1981:85). Issues mentioned for the first time in interviews were revisited later in order to confirm the Truth value/Credibility (Guba, 1981) of my research and to strengthen the dependability of the data.

Throughout the whole process of my research, from data collection, through interpretation and finally presentation, my supervisor acted as a dependability audit (Guba, 1981) by questioning me on the rationales for the themes I chose to interpret and by providing advice.

In order to ensure the fourth aspect, 'confirmability' (Guba, 1981, Lincoln & Guba, 1985, Lincoln & Guba, 1986), Guba (1981:87) suggests two steps, namely 'triangulation', as already mentioned above, and 'practicing reflexivity'. In relation to these steps, Lincoln & Guba (1985) referred to Halpern's (1983) six audit trail categories:

The '(1) raw data' from my fieldwork were linked to '(2) data reduction and analysis products' (Lincoln & Guba, 1985:319); that is, I produced summaries of written field notes and other data sets using themes to link to 'hypotheses, concepts, and hunches' (Lincoln & Guba, 1985:319). When selecting from the coded data, I considered carefully, and during the process of coding them under the themes, my stance as a

researcher was changing (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 2011). From that point, the huge corpus of data from the field was refined and started to show its 'particularity' (Duff, 2006 cited in Hornberger, 2006:234), what Geertz (1973) called 'thick description'.

Then, the themes, relationships of categories, findings and their connection to the existing literature, and conclusions were subjected to '(3) data reconstruction and synthesis products' (Lincoln & Guba, 1985:319). I was 'inductively' processing the qualitative coding, 'creating analytic categories that reflect the significance of events and experiences to those in the setting' (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 2011:175).

In the process of data analysis, I made analytical '(4) process notes' (Lincoln & Guba, 1985:319) about procedures and decisions I had made in relation to methodological and theoretical considerations, and about points regarding trust values of my data, based on the 'perspective on the dialectical relationship between social reality and our representation of it, [which] has implications for understanding the crucial role of evidence about consequences in validity research … The practices in which we engage help to construct the social reality we study' (Moss, 1998:11 cited in McNamara, 2006:40).

Then, this was linked to '(5) materials relating to intensions and dispositions' (Lincoln & Guba, 1985:320). The notes that had been written in the field, and the questions and lines of inquiry that had arisen from the fieldwork, were then scrutinised more closely within the theoretical and methodological frameworks I applied. With regard to the final category, '(6) instrument development information' (Lincoln & Guba, 1985:320), I produced case study reports on each participant, then performed thematic analysis, before producing the written thesis, the 'final product' (Lincoln & Guba, 1985:384) of my research.

Thus, 'criteria for judging products are interrelated, and strength in one set of criteria may contribute to strength in another set, just as strength and power in some forms of quantitative analyses may be thought of as lending strength to other criteria' (Lincoln & Guba, 1990:58). Hence, consideration of the four interlinked aspects – credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability – has ensured the trustworthiness of my data.

According to Hornberger (2006:230), 'inference is always about the logical connection the researcher draws from research evidence to claims about the evidence – and also reflexively back on the inferential construct itself'. In this research, I was asking myself why things happened in a certain way in relation to 'what power, what interests … wrap this local world so tight that it feels like the natural order of things to its inhabitants' (Agar, 1980:26). The inference process requires 'justification backed by evidence' (Chalhoub-Deville et al., 2006:3) and must be critically constructed with consideration of 'who is making these inferences and for what purpose' (Chalhoub-Deville et al., 2006:3). In this case, I was interpreting and presenting the TaLK scholars' performance in the classroom, their stories about their life and experience, their interaction with other teachers in their schools and the connection between the experience and the happenings in the practice. Therefore, I began by focusing on each case, then identified and explored themes across those three cases. This also contributed to establishing the 'authority' (Hornberger, 2006:223) of the researcher in terms of 'interpretation of data – the right to claim that he or she has "got it right" in reporting findings' (Hornberger, 2006:223). According to Erickson (2004b:486), 'neither ethnographic data themselves nor interpretive themes and patterns simply emerge, but rather must be found by the

researcher' (cited in Hornberger, 2006:232). Thus, inference is 'integral to processes of data analysis and interpretation' (Hornberger, 2006:230).

In this section, I have explored the journey of my fieldwork and its interpretation in relation to the trustworthiness of my data.

3.7 Researcher Positionality

According to Giampapa (2011:134), 'researchers as social agents are located by and produce discourses that shape the ways in which we may negotiate, challenge, and manage identities and positionality within the field'. This matches exactly what I noticed happening in the field. My positionality was changing and negotiated in the practice of working with my three participants and others in the school community.

To conduct a good linguistic ethnographic study, I remained in the field during the data collection process, and took a close look at each participant over a period of nine months. I talked with them, visited their schools and read their diaries. As a researcher conducting ethnographic research, I became a part of the research. At first, I used many strategies to build close relationships with the participants rather than an artificial/official relationship, but later I began spontaneously to enjoy meeting them. As an interviewer, my focus was on listening to the participants' stories rather than speaking to them. So, I was the *listener* in the interview. Evan was always eager to speak; immediately after we sat down in the café, he would start to pour out his stories and his ideas, and would continue for hours (see Appendix 25). With Abigail and Fiona,

from time to time I had to use prompts and probes. Utterances such as 'huh?!', 'uh-huh', and 'oh!', and facial expressions were in much use in the interviewing.

'Researcher positionality clearly has the potential to shape data collection' (Copland & Creese, 2015:152) in the field. As Giampapa (2011:132) suggests, '… what "being" in the field entails is far more complex in terms of the ebb and flow of the researcher-participant relationship across space and time'. The field was constantly changing, and I had to 'to manoeuvre around unexpected circumstances' (England, 1994:81).

Even though I was positioning as *listener* in the interviews, when I noticed a response that was particularly interesting, I started to ask follow-up questions. In the case of an interview that has exceeded its duration as originally planned and agreed with the participants, this 'could have the effect of reducing the number of persons willing to participate, which may in turn lead to biases in the sample' (Robson, 2002:273). Although I had planned for an unstructured interview, when I detected awkward moments of pause, I would ask questions about diary entries. Even in the course of interviewing, I kept thinking about plan A, B, and C. One day, Abigail seemed unwilling to talk, so I decided to talk about my own life as a plan A. If she had still seemed unwilling to talk, plan B would have been to stop the interview. However, eventually, she started to talk about her life and the interview continued.

As England argued, 'the research encounter is structured by both the researcher and the research participants' (England, 1994:86). In preparing for the interviews I had available different interview plans, which I would utilise according to the participant's mood. In that sense, the data collected were decided by the participants themselves.

In the schools where the TaLK scholars were working I was engaged in 'participant observation' (Agar, 1980:163). That is, I was 'directly involved in community life, observing and talking with people as you learn from them their view of reality' (Agar, 1980:163). In this way I acquired knowledge of 'multiple voices and points of view' (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 2011:94), and was therefore acting alongside the researched to co-construct the research in the field. The focus of this study was on each person's standpoint and opinion. Therefore, each person's contribution was treated as a remarkable and priceless piece of information. According to the 'post-structuralist orientation' (Creese, 2008:229), individuals in a context will be explained through the sincere consideration of their experience in that context (Alcoff, 1988). In this post-structualistic perspective, society cannot be perceived as 'the conglomerate of individual intentions but, rather, must understand individual intentions as constructed within a social reality' (Alcoff, 1988:416). Anchored in this ontological and epistemological position, and speaking from my own past experience as a teacher in a private language institute (*hagwon*) for elementary school students, and from the study of previous research in the area of teacher education, at some point in the observations I strongly aligned myself with the 'experienced teacher' and started to evaluate the teaching of the Korean mentor teachers and TaLK scholars. In the interviews, when the TaLK scholars were complaining about issues and challenges in their school, I was more actively engaged with them, as if a friend were talking. While researching, I was another participant of the research, present as one of the subjects. I produced separate research diary entries (Appendix 27), as in the example shown below.

Figure 27: Example of researcher diary

Date: 15 / 02 / 2012
(.dd / mm / yy.)

연구자 일기: 네 번째

Original Version

오늘 Abigail과 전화 인터뷰를 했다. 인터뷰 시작할 때 녹음기가 잘 안켜지고 마이크 연결이 잘 안되서 Abigail이 기다려야 했다. 다음 인터뷰때는 모든 장비가 잘 준비되었는지 확인 한 후 시작을 해야 겠다. 오늘른 생각은 역시 얼굴을 보고 인터뷰를 해야 겠다는 것이었다. Pilot study에서도 느꼈던 거지만, 역시 전화 인터뷰는 더 알아듣기 힘들고, 얼굴 보면서 인터뷰하는 것 보다 관계쌓기 부분에서 많이 약할 것 같다는 생각이 든다.
Abigail은 잘 웃는 사람인것 같다. 첫 인터뷰라 긴장하고 실수도 많이했는데 잘 웃어주고 대답도 잘 해준다. 인터뷰를 하다가 다음부터는 얼굴보고 인터뷰를 하자고 이야기 하면서 사실 영어가 내 모국어가 아니기 때문에 얼굴보고 인터뷰하는 것을 선호한다고 솔직히 이야기 했다. 지금도 살짝 괜히 그런얘기를 한게 아닐까 하는 생각을 하지만, 솔직한게 최고라는 생각이 든다. 어차피 영어가 내 모국어가 아니거 눈에 보이고하는데 전문가인 척 할 필요 없다는 생각이 든다. 이 친구가 새내기 교사인 것 처럼 나도 새내기 연구자니까.☺

윤재가 자꾸 문 열고 들어오려고 해서 엄마한테 맡겨놓고 문을 잠그 놓고 인터뷰를 해야 했다.

어제, 엊그제와 마찬가지로, 오늘도 역시 연구에서 빠지고 싶다는 연락을 받았다.
It's just that after reading through the assignment I am not sure if I am still comfortable in participating in the assignment.
I haven't talked to TaLK or my school about this and I am not sure they would approve.

또 다른 탈락자가 나올 뻔 했다. TaLK에서 연구 참여를 문제 삼을 것을 걱정한 참여자(Claire)가 자신은 이 연구에 적합하지 않은 것 같다는 메세지를 페이스북을 통해 보내왔다. 아... 얼마 전에 한 명이 참여포기의사를 밝혀서 조금 의기소침해져있는데... 참여자 모집이 이렇게 오래 걸릴지도 몰랐지만, 이렇게 어려울지도 몰랐다.
메세지를 확인 했을 때 이미 자정이 다 된 시간이고 피곤하지만 그냥 잘 수가 없었다. 자정 넘어서까지 질문의 설명을 적어서 메세지를 보냈고, 모든 참여자 중 3명 정도만 참관 수업을 할 것이라는 내용을 담아 걱정이 되는 상황을 이해 하고, 그럼 참관을 하지 않겠다고 이야기하며 연구에 남아있어주기를 요청하는 이메일을 보냈다.

Date: 15 / 02 / 2012
(.dd / mm / yy.)

This is personal research, and there is no need to get approve from the TaLK team. (I already tried to contact to TaLK and asked some help. However, they told me that as this is my personal research, they do not concern about my research.) I can see the point that you are worried about.
In the case you do not want to be on an uncomfortable situation, I will not conduct any classroom observation. Is this will be okay?

If you feel fine, then I would like to ask you to do some Interviews + complete some Diaries (as mentioned in the information leaflet). All data from you will be kept confidentially as well. If you need some more time to think about this, you can take your time. :)

Some more comment: This is not a secret research, but I do keep my participants under the cover. You can inform to your school that you are participating in my research, if you want to do. However, as this research is about your identity transition process into a confident educator- not about TaLK and your school, I think that there is no need to get approve from the TaLK and your school. As I will not observe your class, and as you are sending me some diaries and meet me (or call) to do interview, you are personally participating in the research. :) Thank you Claire. Looking forward to hearing from you.

사실 내 연구는 참여자들이 처음 교수환경에 노출되고 시간이 흐르면서 어떻게 자신있는 교사로서의 정체성을 확립해 가느냐에 관한 것이기에, 참여자들의 일기와 인터뷰가 가장 중요한 자료였다. 물론 참관의 중요성도 간과할 수 있는 것은 사실이지만 참여자를 놓치지 않기 위해 참관과 필드노트는 포기해야 했다.

Ok, you're right, it seems fine :) I am free February 21st after 1pm.
I don't think I feel comfortable with classroom observation, though.

정말 고맙게도 참관을 하지 않고 개인적으로 개인연구에 참여하는 것이라면 자신도 마음이 편하다며 연구에 남겠다는 답장을 받았다. 아... 또 하나의 고비를 넘긴 기분이다.

[계획]
1) Telephone Interview with Abigail (done)
2) Face-to-face Interview with Bruce
3) Face-to-face Interview with Harry
4) Face-to-face Interview with Claire in 21st of Feb. at 13:00 in LC.

In the researcher diary above, I was writing about what I had learned from phone-interviewing with Abigail, and how I dealt with the crisis of participant attrition. At the end, there were lists of next steps for data collection.

In terms of my relationship with the participants, I become more like a friend who was listening to their stories rather than a researcher who wanted to collect data for a thesis. I had to put myself fully into the context in order to approach the participants closely; this seemed the best way to immerse myself in the research and produce good ethnography. My positioning in the field varied over time and in relation to the different participants. As England points out, research is 'a *process* not just a product', while 'reflexivity is self-critical sympathetic introspection and the self-conscious *analytical* scrutiny of the *self* as researcher' (England, 1994:82, Author's italics). Reflexivity

'refers on the one hand to the cultural attitude and approach of the ethnographic researcher, and on the other hand to certain practices, derived from the latter, which achieve rigour in the fieldwork process' (Nilan, 2002:369). Over time, I recognized the process of my learning by noticing and interpreting what I had done in the early stages of the fieldwork. Thus, I became more aware of my role in the fieldwork.

My 'macro roles' (De Fina, 2011:35) in the field were as researcher and Korean, while the 'situational roles' (De Fina, 2011:35) were various according to the situation: counsellor, friend, and sister. The shifting of my positionality does not refer to the data being provided by the participants and therefore my not holding authority as a researcher. Rather, it reveals the flexibility that the TaLK scholars and I shared in the practice as participants of my research.

According to Hornberger (2006:224) 'issues of authority, collaboration, and representation in applied linguistics research …may also be about relationships between researcher and researched; and may range from consultative to fully participatory relationships'. Therefore, in this section, I have given an account of my researcher positionality and reflexivity in relation to my participants.

3.8 Ethical Issues and Confidentiality

To adhere to research ethics, I needed to gain 'informed consent' (De Vaus, 2001; Codó, 2008) from the informants for the protection of their anonymity and confidentiality. I sent out the request for informed consent to the participants and I also explained the scheme to them verbally. They were asked to sign the form after they had read the information leaflet carefully.

In the information leaflet (see Appendix 9), I explained the whole data collection scheme in detail, including the frequency of classroom observations, interviews and diary entries. Once the participants had decided to take part in the research, it was not hard to obtain their signatures for the consent form (see Appendix 11).

Because the data collected through interviews and diary studies contain the informants' personal opinions, it was necessary to maintain 'confidentiality and anonymity' (De Vaus, 2001:146), to prevent any harm being incurred in the process of data collection (Oppenheim, 1992). To keep confidentiality, the interviews were conducted outside the school, in a café or restaurant. This was particularly important as the interviews would be focused on issues concerning the school, the Korean teachers in the school, and the TaLK scholar's life in the school in relation to daily routines, opportunities, and challenges. Sometimes, there were unforeseen events that affected the original plan. In such cases, my participants and I negotiated alternative dates, places or ways to carry out the task.

While conducting the data collection process, the names of the participants and of their schools, and the location of the schools, were disguised and written in pseudonymous form. As shown in the table below, the participants' names in each folder were replaced by pseudonyms, such as PK (Participant K), PJ, etc. The pseudonyms of each participant have been replaced by aliases, and these are shown in Table 11, below.

Table 12: Examples of pseudonyms and aliases

Real Name (i.e.)	Pseudonym	Alias	Real name of school	Pseudonym	Region of school	Pseudonym
Susie Cooper	**PK** (Participant K)	Kate	Korea high school	**SK** (School K)	Seoul	**LK** (Location K)
Douglas Smith	**PJ** (Participant J)	Jade	Korea elementary school	**SJ** (School J)	Busan	**LJ** (Location J)

To keep my participants safe, I made sure I always had a bright smile when I met people in their schools. As a human being, whilst I was listening to the stories from the TaLK scholars I was sometimes made very angry. However, when I visited the schools, I tried my best to hide any negative feelings so that the school staff would not be suspicious about what the TaLK scholar might be telling me. As I was standing between the TaLK scholar and the schoolteachers, there was a possibility that any careless behaviour or utterance from me would have a negative impact on the TaLK scholar. When school staff asked about my research, I responded by mentioning only positive aspects that the participant had mentioned. Also, I made sure that every folder I was carrying was labelled with a pseudonym, so that the Korean teachers could not detect who was who. It might be argued that this was 'hiding' things from the school and that it raises an ethical issue. However, I consider that, ethically, the most important thing I need to do in the field is to protect my participants.

3.9 Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined the research design and methods used for data collection. The chapter began by presenting the rationale for the chosen methodology, ethnography and linguistic ethnography. As my research is about teacher development, I decided to adopt methods that would strengthen the subjectivity of the participants, thus enhancing each participant's 'personal practical knowledge' (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000:3), hence the selection of diary, interview and observation as data collection methods. Use of these methods also allowed me to present the three key participants' biographical accounts through their own words, thus producing a broad understanding of each participant's background, current experience and future aspirations.

The chapter has also presented my own journey of learning to be a researcher, showing how, as a novice researcher, I found gatekeepers and participants. I have also stated my researcher positioning during the fieldwork. In addition, issues regarding ethics, confidentiality and trustworthiness of my data have been discussed. Through the whole process of decision making, reasoning on the decisions made, considering ethical and confidentiality issues and also perceiving myself as a researcher, I have learned a lot in terms of how to collect data, what I should consider in the process of data coding, which angle I should apply for data analysis, and why I am standing in there as a researcher. I was looking at the three participants' learning journey to be teachers, but, at the same time, it was also my own journey to become a researcher.

From the next chapter, the empirical data collected from the three key participants will be analysed within the theoretical framework I presented in Chapter 2.

CHAPTER 4

**THE TALK PROGRAMME AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION
IN SCHOOL PRACTICE: SUPPORTING THE YOUNG
NOVICE AMERICAN TEACHERS (TALK SCHOLARS)
IN SCHOOL**

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will examine the implementation of the TaLK programme in the school practice, and how this influenced the TaLK scholars. As discussed in Chapter 2, I consider the TaLK programme and local schools as communities of practice, while the TaLK scholars are agents/brokers, and the TaLK members and Korean teachers in the local schools are coordinators. The local schools were the learning practice for the TaLK scholars. In some cases, the working conditions imposed by the schools differed from what the novice teachers had been led to expect during the TaLK training, and they had to adapt themselves to the new situation.

The membership of a community of practice is continually changing, according to the entry of new members and exit of others (Wenger, 1998). Schools' membership of the TaLK programme and the allocation of new TaLK scholars have a mutual and reciprocal relationship, since the TaLK scholars actively seek belonging in their schools, and then influence the type of membership engaged in by those schools. In order to study the influence of the agent on the practice, and vice versa, this chapter will examine the following three aspects (Wenger, 1998).

First, to see how the TaLK programme has been implemented in the school practice, with reference to the support provided to TaLK scholars by TaLK and by the school, it will study the daily routines and timetables provided by the school, along with other

sorts of support. As pointed out by Kramsch & Whiteside (2008), people learn in the practice and the meaning of the practice comes from its daily routines. for each participant a classroom portrait is included, without any detailed explanation. Rather than add any explanation, I decided to 'let the picture tell the story'. I hope that through the picture, the reader will be able to get a sense of the classroom atmosphere and facilities that the TaLK scholars experienced.

Second, it will examine the communication channels that determine who are legitimate participants (Wenger, 1998; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Eckert & Wenger, 2005) in the practice. This will focus on the relationships between the TaLK scholars and the other people in their schools.

Finally, it will study how key coordinators act as a bridge between the TaLK programme and the TaLK scholars on one hand, and the TaLK scholars and the local schools in which they are placed on the other.

As membership in a community of practice is cultivated in normal daily routines and interaction, examining how the TaLK scholars interact with the established members of their schools will reveal rich information to help answer the first research question: How do the young American novice teachers work within the schools, and what does this tell us about the usefulness of the TaLK programme?

4.2 Daily Routines and Timetabling

After three weeks of TaLK training and a week of POE (Provincial Office of Education) training, the TaLK scholars were allocated to elementary schools in various regions of South Korea. Abigail was allocated to a medium-sized city in the south of Korea; Evan moved from a small to a larger city in central Korea, while Fiona's school was in a medium-sized city in central Korea.

A crucial element of any good community is an atmosphere that combines familiarity and excitement (Wenger *et al.*, 2002a). Daily routine gives 'the stability for relationship-building connections; exciting events provide a sense of common adventure' (Wenger *et al.*, 2002a:62). In this section, the three participants' daily routine and timetabling will be studied in order to discover whether the schools were functioning in a way that fulfilled this criterion of offering both familiarity and excitement, thus allowing the forging of bonds between newcomers and existing staff.

Hornberger & Johnson (2007:527) refer to policies 'creating a space', and in the context of this study, the space determines the boundary of access of the TaLK scholars to the practice. In order to support the novice teachers, each school allowed them to use its own facilities and materials. With the exception of the textbooks provided by TaLK, this was the responsibility of each individual school.

With regard to the school day, the TaLK programme guidebook, distributed in 2012, specifies the working hours as below:

In general 1st and 2nd graders start at 13:00; 3rd and 4th graders start at 14:00,
and 5th and 6th graders start at 15:00. This may differ from school to school.

(Jeong, 2009:09)

As English class teachers, the TaLK scholars were contracted to work after normal school hours; however the actual working hours were different in each case, due to the different arrangements at the three schools.

In Abigail's case, although she was contracted as a part-time after-school English class teacher through the TaLK programme, the school demanded that she work the hours of a full-time teacher. She had to arrive at school by 9am, and remain until 5pm, even on days when her classes began later or finished earlier. The classroom scenery where Abigail was teaching will be shown below.

Figure 28: Abigail's classroom

The photos are Abigail's English classroom where mainly she taught. The picture in the middle row bottom is English activity room where she was conducting role-playing activities.

Evan was hired as an after-school English teacher, and worked the normal hours expected of TaLK scholars. His classes started after the lunch break, and he was not required to be present in the morning. Evan reported:

I've developed the habit of waking up as late as possible to arrive at my school with just enough time to prep lesson ideas and head to lunch. … Arriving between 11:30am and noon, I usually greet the groundskeeper (if I see him) and the principal/vice-principal … Lunch starts around 12:05-12:10 … with a quick exit around 12:25-12:30. After a few final preparations for class I typically begin teaching around 12:45 (5 minutes after the scheduled start time), though that can be later on some days (since my lunch lasts only 20 minutes or less I imagine some homeroom teachers give their kids 10 minutes past the class start time to finish eating).

[01.APR.2012- Diary 2 / Evan]

After my class periods end, usually around 3:40, I say goodbye to the principal and vice-principal (unless there's a staff meeting), and ride my motorcycle home.

[01.APR.2012- Diary 2 / Evan]

Evan's daily routine was fairly fixed, and represented a huge difference from his previous Korean school. He showed flexibility in postponing the start time of the first class, as he knew that students would be late. Evan's classroom will be shown below.

Figure 29: Evan's classroom

As shown above, his class was well-decorated with posters, books and colourful desk and chairs.

In Fiona's case, although she was an after-school English teacher and did not start teaching until around 2 pm, she arrived much earlier. In her first diary, Fiona stated that she was in school from 11 am to 6 pm. Fiona was teaching in a science classroom.

Figure 30: Fiona's classroom

As shown above, the classroom was well-decorated with various equipments for science lesson.

Thus, as shown above, although all three participants were hired through the TaLK programme, their actual working conditions were different, according to the schools' interpretation of the policy and the condition of school facility. The way that the novice teachers adapted to these different demands had social meaning (Wenger, 2008).

The TaLK scholars' daily routines did share some common features. First, all were required to engage in 'desk-warming', a practice whereby people remain in their seat even if they have no work. In this case, when there were no classes to teach, the TaLK scholars would use this time to do lesson planning or journal writing.

> A: … I know a couple of TaLK scholars that do a thing called 'desk-warming', which means their school wants them at 9 o'clock, when school starts, but I mean basically it's just their prep-time, I guess. … But you might get a school that demands it and there's nothing you can really do. If it's not hours that you're getting paid for, then you just do what your school tells you to do. Only unless they give you extra work that's when they're like, we need to talk to them to see if they're getting overpaid for them since they can't give you more than that, you're signed up part-time, not full-time, as scholars.
>
> [24.APR.2012 - Interview 6 / Abigail]

As shown in the interview extract above, Abigail took a neutral and accepting attitude towards her school's demand for desk-warming hours. Rather than looking back to what the TaLK team had stated during the training, she tried to adjust to the practice. Nevertheless, she still seemed to compare the situation in Korea unfavourably with that in the United States. In other words, she accepted the situation as 'the way things are', or 'the Korean way'.

Fiona showed a similar attitude toward the 'desk-warming' hours. Because of the distance from her house to her school, and the times between buses, she had no choice but to leave home early, arriving at school around 11 am.

> F: (laugh) But on Monday, I… have my first class at 2, but… before that I have to come in early because of the bus schedule, so… I spend the time in school.
> S: What do you do during the 2 hours?

F: I… I go on the computer… and lesson plan… things like that…

[03.APR.2012 – Interview 1 / Fiona]

Fiona regretted the time lost to travelling to school. She expressed her feelings about her daily routine as follows:

> … the teaching time is good; however, due to the bus schedule I find myself arriving to school very early before my classes begin. I feel that I could be more productive if I were able to use that time at home.

[05.APR.2012 – Diary 2 / Fiona]

Both Abigail and Fiona adapted to the situation by using the imposed desk-warming hours to engage in meaningful work such as class preparation. This was another form of negotiation of meaning, a 'process by which we experience the world and our engagement in it as meaningful' (Wenger, 1998:53). In this way they were developing themselves as teachers, even though the situation was imposed by the school.

Secondly, for all the TaLK scholars, the teaching schedule was decided and managed by the school. In Abigail's case, during her working day of nine to five, she taught both daytime and after-school English classes. However, owing to factors within the school, her classes were sometimes cancelled or moved. This indicates that the teaching atmosphere was one of coercion rather than co-operation, quite different from what was intended by the TaLK programme.

Similarly, Evan reported that in his school,

> I typically teach anywhere from 2 to 4 classes a day, each day having a different mix of students (usually to fit around other part-time teachers who run music classes). Since the 6th grade kids have a major test coming up in June I only see them for one of their three scheduled times (since study hall is at the end of the day, and 2 of the 3 classes were previously scheduled for the end of the day in my room). I never quite figured out why they didn't just rotate the schedule to fit their study hall around my classes.
>
> [01.APR.2012- Diary 2 / Evan]

The combination of two grades in one class was the school's decision, not Evan's. Also, Evan's lessons were attended only by those students who were not taking music, the other after-school lesson, and as the 6th grade students were preparing for an exam, the frequency of their attendance was only one third that envisaged in the original schedule. Furthermore, the school was rotating the use of classrooms, and Evan had to comply with this. The fact that his classroom setting and timetable were imposed by the school seems to indicate that Evan was placed in a position of passivity, with no choice but to accept these conditions.

Another problem for Evan was that his timetable did not include any break times. According to my report on the first classroom observation:

> No. It seems that there is no clear time to take a break, between the classes. I asked Evan about the break time, and he told me that his classes were designed without any break time. Therefore, to take a break, he had to finish his classes about 5 minutes early. As far as I know, elementary school students normally have 40 to 45 minutes for study and 10 minutes for break, but I have no idea why the schedule was designed in this way.
>
> [14.MAY.2012 - Fieldnote 1-2 / Evan]

Evan coped with the lack of scheduled break times by being flexible over the start and finish times of his lessons. However, due to the lack of clear communication channels, information about changes in the schedule was often not passed on to Evan and he found it difficult to interact with other people in the school. In the practice, he was not legitimated as one of the community members.

Later, Evan asked his mentor teacher for a fixed break time between classes. The timetable he then received is shown below:

Table 13: Evan's timetable

		Mon	Tue	Wed	Thurs	Fri
1	12:40-13:20	Grade 3 (8 students)	Grade 4 (11 students)	Grade 5 (10 students)	Grade 6 (11 students)	Grade 3 (8 students)
2	13:20-14:00	Grade 1&2 (16 students)		1&2 (16 students)		
3	14:10-14:50	Grade 4 (11 students)	Grade 1&2 (16 students)	Grade 3 (8 students)		Grade 4 (11 students)
4	15:00-15:40	Grade 6 (11 students)	Grade 5 (10 students)		Grade 5 (10 students)	Grade 6 (11 students)

As can be seen from the above timetable, which I received on 19th June, 2012, Evan was finally given a specific time for a break between classes, although there was still no break between the first and second classes.

Fiona experienced similar problems in her daily routine, where the original class schedule was not implemented as it had been planned. As she explained:

> One issue I had this week was that the Head Teacher switched the schedule at the last minute on Wednesday and I had to teach 3-6 graders all in one class. It was very stressful and hectic in the classroom.
>
> [23.APR.2012 – Diary 4 / Fiona]

Evan also taught a class with a mixture of grades. However, this was specified in the timetable from the beginning, and there were only two grades in the class, so it was a more manageable situation. In contrast, as shown in the above vignette, Fiona's school allocated four different grades into one classroom. As a result, Wednesdays became chaotic, with Fiona forced to control and teach students under very difficult circumstances.

Thirdly, the TaLK scholars' physical location was separate from that of established members of school staff. For Abigail, although she was based in an English classroom rather than the teachers' room, she shared it with Amy, her Korean mentor teacher, so did at least have company. However for Evan, being based in the English room rather than the staffroom meant that he had little opportunity to interact with the other teachers. As Wenger (1998:130) notes, when individuals can sustain mutual engagement, 'they will end up creating a locality of their own, even if their backgrounds have little in common'. This was impossible for Evan, because the physical distance from other teachers made mutual engagement difficult. Meanwhile, although Fiona spent time in the teachers' room because her classroom was normally in use for science classes, she still found it hard to achieve mutual engagement with the Korean teachers.

As shown in the above three cases, the TaLK scholars' actual daily routine differed from what the TaLK team had led them to expect. The co-teaching sessions promoted by the TaLK programme were implemented according to each local school's understanding, and the schools interpreted the presence of the TaLK scholar as being for their convenience. Through these experiences the TaLK scholars underwent a process of reification of their concepts about being a teacher, whereby they learnt to pay attention in a particular way, 'enabling new kinds of understanding' (Wenger, 1998:60).

4.3 Communication Channels

The TaLK programme aims at the creation of a successful co-teaching environment between a native English speaking teacher and a Korean teacher. For the co-teaching to be successful, the two parties need to communicate actively; therefore, communication channels must be established. The successful creation of communication channels will open up interactions of insider and outsider perspectives and thus allow a school to become a good community.

'Only an insider can appreciate the issues at the heart of the domain, the knowledge that is important to share, the challenges their field faces, and the latent potential in emerging ideas and techniques' (Wenger *et al*., 2002a:54). This must be combined with an outsider perspective, which will allow the members of the community to see the possibilities (Wenger *et al*., 2002a). In this study, this process of opening up dialogue between inside and outside (Wenger *et al*., 2002a) refers to the creation of communication channels among the members of the school community and the TaLK

scholars, whereby the practice becomes a place 'of negotiation, learning, meaning and identity' (Wenger, 1998:133).

The failure to create secure communication channels in the schools significantly influenced the participants' 'mode of belonging' (Wenger, 1998:183). This will be discussed in terms of three modes of belonging: engagement, alignment and imagination.

4.3.1 'Engagement' in terms of local interaction and global participation

Engagement refers to the way people engage with each other and with the world in terms of shaping self-perception in relation to experience (Wenger, 2000). In the practices observed in this study, there were no significant 'communication channels' through which the TaLK scholars could interact with the people in their schools.

4.3.1.1 Abigail

Abigail insisted that because of the lack of a shared language, she could not be fully accepted within the practice. Whilst this language difference was a main barrier to relationship building, Abigail was the only one of the participants in this study to achieve a close rapport with the teachers in her school. Other teachers in the school were welcoming towards Abigail, and her relationships with them were friendly. She went out for lunch with them and everyone, including the principal, was kind to her.

The teachers went out for a lunch together. We went to a restaurant in the city centre. I think it was raw meat *bibimbap*, but I could be wrong. It tasted good and was not that spicy. It seemed like with water, people could serve themselves or at least they did. My co-scholar poured me water. We left after the principal was done eating. She was impressed that I liked the meal being that it was Korean. I said delicious, and she smiled.

[06.MAR.2012 - Diary 2 / Abigail]

As we were leaving the office, I knew to say goodbye to the principal. She saw us leaving, and quickly made us feel welcome. She held my co-teacher's hand and said something I assume welcoming to her. And she said to me in broken English grasping my hand, 'family', meaning we will be like family.

[06.MAR.2012 - Diary 2 / Abigail]

In order to engage with one another, shared experiences such as 'doing things together, talking, producing artifacts' (Wenger, 2000:227) are needed. In this case, it seemed that the local school was attempting to build a relationship with Abigail so that she could be fully engaged in the practice. However, Abigail was still convinced that rapport could be built only through conversation and a shared language; she linked the issue of relationships to that of linguistic proficiency:

It is hard when I cannot speak any Korean to try and communicate better with the teachers…

[20.MAR.2012 – Diary 4 / Abigail]

I feel like it takes time to be accepted. Because when I am at school people seem to say hi or nod and then continue talking to the other teachers in Korean. I wish I knew how to speak Korean. Sigh. I guess I should just be patient with them and a little more understanding. It is just frustrating.…

[20.MAR.2012 - Diary 4 / Abigail]

Abigail felt like an outsider and explained this in terms of the lack of a shared language. Indeed, although language is not the only thing needed to build a close rapport,

language difference does create 'a very basic barrier to communication' (Wenger *et al.*, 2002a:119). To mutually engage, people need to possess mutual understanding that directly links them to 'mutual sense-making' (Eckert, 2006:1) that is 'consensual or conflictual' (Eckert, 2006:1). To achieve such conventionalized understanding, 'shared experience over time, and a commitment to shared understanding' (Eckert, 2006:1) are crucial. Because Abigail was a newcomer to the practice, there was a lack of shared experience, while the language barrier blocked any commitment to shared understanding between Abigail and the Korean teachers as they could not communicate efficiently. Therefore, there could be no engagement mode of belonging in the relationship.

> S: I could see that there is still a language barrier between you and the Korean teachers.
> A: Yeah, I mean it's a kind of thing that can't be helped.
>
> [24.APR.2012 - Interview 6 / Abigail]

I raised the possibility that the Korean teachers might be worried about making mistakes in front of their colleagues, but Abigail insisted that 'they don't really talk'. Although engagement could have been achieved through non-verbal sharing within the community of practice, she seemed to perceive verbal interaction as the primary means of relationship building.

> S: Ok. Then this aspect is repeatedly stated in your diary… 'The teachers are saying in Korean to each other' and they tend to say something to you but they are afraid to make a mistake in front of the others…
> A: Yeah… 'cause they don't really talk. They usually say 'Hi'. Um… but like… at lunch, no one talks to me. They just kind of say 'Hi' and then go off to talk.   [08.MAY.2012 - Interview 5 / Abigail]

Therefore, because Abigail had only rudimentary knowledge of Korean, and the Korean teachers did not have advanced skills in English, these two agents could not create a shared context where close communication and interaction could take place.

Regarding the lack of communication, Abigail said that she needed to be more patient and more understanding. So, rather than putting effort into engagement, Abigail seemed to choose to sit back and wait until a close relationship was built by the passing of time.

4.3.1.2 Evan

Evan was also struggling in his new school. Wanting to build a close rapport with the Korean teachers as he had done in his previous school, Evan was ready to participate in any activity that the school suggested to him, but none was offered.

> S: … (ellipsis)… Are there any differences in what the school might want and you might want?
> E: Uh, different interests, uh?
> S: It could also be conflicts.
> E: They haven't asked me to do anything in particular yet… AT ALL.
> [19.APR.2012 – Interview 2 / Evan]

There were no communication channels between Evan and his school, and this intensified his feeling of isolation. He reasoned that the lack of personable relationships was due to the Korean teachers, including his mentor teacher, being too busy. As he explained in interviews:

> E: Well… there isn't much opportunity to communicate with them. … The other teachers at my school are teaching or busy. So, I don't really… casually talk to them…
> [19.APR.2012 – Interview 2 / Evan]

E: … We just say hello to each other. They are always in a meeting, or busy.
[16.JUL.2012 – Interview 6 / Evan]

Evan did not give any indication of what attempts he had made to communicate with the Korean teachers. However, it seems that both he and his fellow teachers were too busy to find time to communicate, and that influenced their mutual engagement.

Like Abigail, Evan raised the issue of language difference. He also said that he was unable to build any firm communication channels with other teachers, as he did not share any interests with them. Then, he stated explicitly that he did not associate personally with anybody in his school.

E:… And I don't associate personally with anyone at my school.
S: Oh?
E: At all.
[06.MAY.2012 – Interview 3 / Evan]

It seems that Evan understood frequency of casual meetings beyond the school walls as constituting a familiar relationship. Newcomers in a community eventually become established, but it takes time to become legitimized, and therefore move to the centre of the community (Wenger, 1998). Familiarity cannot happen quickly, and in that sense, Evan seemed a little too focused on rapport building. Unlike the other participants, this was his second practice, and he seemed to expect his rather central standing in his previous school to be repeated in this one, even though he was new and still in a marginal position. When his wish to be treated as an insider was not accepted, he started

to find other ways to counter his loneliness with activities outside the school. However,

because these were activities that he did alone, they were not wholly satisfactory.

> E: … So I just stick to solitary activities like riding my motorcycle, playing video games, working out, things that I need to do anyway, or I want to do anyway, that don't require contact with other people. Which is also why I haven't gone to see 'The Avengers' yet, because I wanna go and see it with someone, …

> [06.MAY.2012 – Interview 3 / Evan]

In reflecting upon his current relationships in the practice, Evan's previous experience

seemed to amplify the lack of personal association with other teachers. His statement

that 'That's probably why I feel more isolated in this city than I did in my previous

school, since I just don't associate with anybody really… ' [16.JUL.2012 – Interview 6 /

Evan] revealed his feelings of isolation and unhappiness. In mutual engagement, both

parties 'adopt and contribute to shaping the relations of accountability by which we

define our actions as competent' (Wenger, 1998:175). Evan interpreted the lack of

familiar relationships as being due to his incompetence in engaging with the people in

the school; he did not take into account that 'engagement … can also be narrow'

(Wenger, 1998:175).

Evan perceived his relationships with the people in his current school as being business-

like. This suggested a possible channel of communication through which he could

engage with his fellow teachers. According to Evan, he had access to the Korean

teachers when he had business with them, and vice versa. In several interviews, Evan described his interaction with the Korean teachers as a business-oriented relationship.

> E: … uh… I'll go to the 6th grade teacher, 'Oh, I want to… do the English portion of this exam, since that's the most effective thing to do. How can I do that?' 'Oh, I will give you the English book!' 'Oh, ok!' and she'll give me an English book (that I can use). BUSINESS. Yeah.
> [19.APR.2012 – Interview 2 / Evan]

> E:… Like the only time I had the vice-principal come into my class was when he peered in one day and said that the A/C (Air conditioner) should be set to a higher temperature. That was my most intimate interaction with him.
> [16.JUL.2012 – Interview 6 / Evan]

This business-like relationship was different from what Evan had experienced before, and was not what he had hoped for. He was frustrated that his relationship with others was not on a personal level.

> S: (change the topic quickly) Yeah, in the 6th diary, I could see that -
> E: I'm pretty frustrated. Yeah.
> S: Yeah, I could feel the pain. You -
> E: Oh! YEAH! It's PAINFUL! It's kind of annoying. It's really… a setback.
>
> [19.APR.2012 – Interview 4 / Evan]

In the interview quoted above, Evan repeated the word 'painful' with huge emphasis. The interview was conducted in April, one and a half months into his stay in the new school. That was rather a short time to build any firm relationships. However, he found the business-like nature of his daily interactions frustrating. Expressing a cynical attitude, he went on to compare his relationship to the school with the relationship with his landlady:

> My relationship with my school is just non-existent. That's the same with my landlady. She'll occasionally knock on my door and tell me how much I owe her for utilities. That's it.
>
> [16.JUL.2012 – Interview 6 / Evan]

In summary, Evan missed the familiar relationships he had enjoyed in his previous school. The lack of mutual engagement in his current school made him frustrated and cynical toward his new situation.

4.3.1.3 Fiona

Fiona also experienced difficulty in building a relationship with the Korean teachers at her school. Although they were helpful towards her, Fiona felt that the relationship was no more than functional.

> F: I tried to ask for help for… like, copying things. They helped me or like… uh, the vice-principal always like brings rice cake (inaudible)… um… and the Head Teacher actually gave me this cake… roll cake, today. So… they, they're, like… most of the teachers are very… like… like… um… friendly. It's just like I think… they just (inaudible) 'cause they don't speak English, so… maybe that's why…
> S: Hmm…
>
> [03.APR.2012 – Interview 1 / Fiona]

Like the other participants in this study, Fiona found that the language difference made it difficult to communicate with the Korean teachers in her school. Although she had said that it would not be difficult to communicate, once actually allocated to her school the language barrier did become a problem, as it hindered her engagement with the

people in the practice. Fiona perceived the language difference as a challenge she had to overcome in order to build better relationships with the Korean teachers. She talked about the difficulty in interviews:

> F: In my school? Uh… in… in the little bit… yes, I feel a little bit isolated, because that… the other teachers … don't speak very much English, so… it's difficult for us to be friends…
>
> [03.APR.2012 – Interview 1 / Fiona]

> F: The hardest thing is that to (inaudible) um… have like conversation…but then… just like become friends with them? Because… I feel… I don't know Korean, so I don't want to… I don't want to make (inaudible)… I don't want to… make them feel bad by speaking… English too much because I don't think they're too confident in their English so… I think just like… trying to communicate and become… friends with them is probably the hardest. Like build the good relationship… so…
>
> [06.APR.2012 - Interview 2 / Fiona]

Because there was no common language, Fiona felt isolated in her school. At the same time, she was worried about the possibility that she might make the Korean teachers feel bad by forcing them to speak in English. This may have made Fiona reluctant to join in actively and move toward the 'middle ground' (Kanno, 2003:128) of the community of practice, and to choose not to initiate conversations with Korean teachers. However, in her case the language barrier did not stop her from trying to communicate and engaging with Korean people. Instead, Fiona decided to learn Korean.

Yet despite her efforts to build positive relationships, Fiona faced a situation of negative engagement with the principal and her mentor teacher. This had a direct influence not only on Fiona's teaching performance, but also on her self-perception. Although the mentor teacher and the principal had both seemed very welcoming in Fiona's first diary,

they were revealed as strict in the rest of Fiona's data sets. The communications with these two teachers were one-way conversations in a hierarchical structure. The principal would say something to the mentor teacher and the mentor teacher would deliver this to Fiona. Speakers' linguistic patterns are developed and fixed in the practice according to their actions there (Eckert, 2006). According to Roberts (2006:628), 'in hierarchical organizational structures where power is centralized, negotiation may be limited to key figures of authority within the organization, the voices of members of a community may be somewhat muted', and Fiona's school exemplified this situation. Sometimes Fiona would ask a question or make a request, but this was not welcomed by the mentor teacher, Mrs Paeng. Eventually Fiona gave up trying to ask questions and decided to accept what the school dictated. In this way she accepted her own non-acceptance by the school and disengaged from the negative engagement with the mentor teacher and the principal.

Fiona's situation was slightly different from that of the other TaLK scholars in that there was a small community of non-Korean teachers at her school.

> There also two other English teachers. One of the teachers is also from the US.
> [05.APR.2012 – Diary 2 / Fiona]

These teachers had been hired through a recruiting scheme run by the region and one of the regional universities. Fiona was in charge of after-school classes, while the other native English speaking teachers took responsibility for other classes. The engagement

among them was positive, as they shared the same language. They could communicate easily and, eventually, build mutual close relationships.

Fiona also reported that she had a positive relationship with the Korean vice-principal. He at least tried to communicate with Fiona in English.

> S: How's your vice-principal, then? 'Cause I had a similar impression of him.
> F: Oh, he's, he's nice. He's nice. He is always talking to me in English and (laugh)… trying to chat with me and things like that. He is very… he I think is actually nice, like… he is… how he is. Yeah.
> S: Uh-huh. That was the only time that I could share, share the conversation with the vice-principal without any… pressure.
> F: Yeah. He is very nice.
> S: Yeah.
>
> [03.MAY.2012 – Interview 3 / Fiona]

In Fiona's perception, the reason she was able to build a good relationship with the vice-principal was that he tried to talk to her in English, and made a point of talking to her whenever they met. Both of them put commitment into mutual engagement. Thus the only communication channels that Fiona could use in her school were with people who spoke to her in English. Her lack of communication with the Korean teachers influenced her perception of those teachers and of her workplace, which she came to see as strict. On the other hand, her belief that the lack of familiarity with Korean teachers was caused by the language barrier seemed to be proven, as she was able to build a reliable relationship with the two other native English speaking teachers and with the Korean vice-principal who spoke to her in English. The fact that there were two other native English speakers at the school meant that it was possible to make a significant comparison.

> A new friendship that I formed was with the other English teacher that works at the school. We are able to communicate better since there is no language barrier and we can share insights about teaching. She also seems to understand my problems with the school.
>
> [05.APR.2012 –Diary 2 / Fiona]

Although Fiona did not mention this teacher in her data sets more specifically, it seems clear that she could be more open with her than with her Korean colleagues, and therefore that she might be the person whom Fiona could trust in her school.

4.3.2 'Alignment' in terms of information channel

Alignment here refers to 'a mutual process of coordinating perspectives, interpretations, and actions so [participants] realize higher goals' (Wenger, 2000:228). This process 'bridges time and space to form broader enterprises so that participants become connected through the coordination of their energies, actions, and practices' (Wenger, 1998:178-179).

In the practice, the agreed higher goals to be achieved were the conduct of successful team-teaching sessions and therefore the provision of bilingual English education. To this end, the TaLK team created team-teaching sessions of one TaLK scholar and one or two Korean co-teachers (Seok, 2010). To achieve the goal, the teachers needed to co-operate and negotiate to align for connection with each other as members of the community. However, the lack of information channels meant that this was not easy to achieve. In the schools, nobody explained to the TaLK scholars what was going to happen or why it happened in a certain way. In this situation, the novice teachers had to find ways to build connections to the school.

The most significant evidence of the lack of information channels was lesson cancellation without notice. Schedules were changed, lessons were cancelled, and school events such as sports days were not communicated in advance. Classes were subject to frequent changes without notice. In this way the schools were exerting their power to direct and control energy and to 'inspire or demand alignment' (Wenger, 1998:180). The schools demanded that the TaLK scholars align themselves to the demands made upon them.

Before long, Abigail found herself in the position of having to lead a lesson she had not prepared for. In the third interview, Abigail reported as follows:

> S: But sometimes, you… sometimes, as you mentioned, you need to conduct a class that you hadn't prepared for.
> A: Yeah that happened to me. It was like 'Oh! Cool!'
> S: Is it ok?
> A: Yeah I mean… it's ok. I just kind of go with it… and go like 'OK, we're doing this now…that I haven't read!' … but yeah it's just like some of those… communication things… I think sometimes get a little lost … or people just don't think… 'cause I'm not used to this system, or like how things work like they don't have to tell me 'cause they are used to having people that know how like school's system works like… that sort of thing.
> <div align="right">[26.MAR.2012 - Interview 3 / Abigail]</div>

On another occasion, Abigail was not informed that her class had been cancelled because the homeroom teacher was holding an open class:

> S: …(ellipsis)… It seems like things change…
> A: Oh, yeah. So frequently. Like all the time when you're like, 'Ok, cool' (laugh) really just kind of like go with my plans. On Wednesday, I knew that they were having like, their parent-teacher open class, where the parents come in and look at a class, but I didn't know when. It was gonna be in second period and usually in third grade, so I was sitting in, I didn't know who the

teacher was I was just setting up and I'm pretty sure that the students were trying to tell me, they were like 'English! We're having English!' And the teacher comes in and is like, 'Abigail I'm so sorry!' She's like 'You can't teach today' and I had to like look at the parents and be like, 'Oh okay then, we'll talk to you later then' and then I go back to the English room. (Laugh) … (ellipsis) … they'll be like 'Oh, and we're teaching this in second period' and like today was … um… Amy had, … 'cause she's not gonna be here on Wednesday 'cause she has to go to Seoul, um… she's in the sixth grade and I realised that was today. That it was at second period, it was like 'Oh!' She's like, 'Sorry Abigail I forgot to tell you'. And I said 'It's ok, I'm learning how things get prepared.' (Laugh) But I didn't know that will be second period (laugh). I thought it was like another day…

[26.MAR.2012 - Interview 3 / Abigail]

Abigail believed that her difficulties were ones shared by other TaLK scholars:

A: Yeah… I couldn't tell you. It seems to be common 'cause there are other TaLK scholars who have done that too.

[08.MAY.2012 - Interview 5 / Abigail]

As a result, she perceived such incidents as something she needed to accept rather than question. This also aligned her with other TaLK scholars and the community of practice that hired them, rather than the actual practice of belonging.

The same thing was happening in Evan's school. The lack of communication channels meant that he was informed very late about schedule changes and about school events. Often, the information came through his students or through other TaLK scholars' conversations using social networking.

E:… Uh, they had a Sports Day on Friday. Right. And nobody told me. I noticed online that some of my other foreigner friends were posting 'Oh, hey, it's Sports Day tomorrow!' And I went 'Oh! Good for you! I don't know

when my school's Sports Day is, guess it will be soon!' Showed up on Friday… Sports Day. My mentor teacher runs out and says 'Oh, I'm sorry Evan. I didn't tell you. You don't have to be here today.' I went, 'Oh! Okay.'

[06.MAY.2012 – Interview 3 / Evan]

E: There was a workshop on that day? But nobody told me. And the kids were pushing to get in.

[19.JUN.2012 – Interview 4 / Evan]

E: … (ellipsis)… on Friday I have a mandatory trip.
S: Ah!
E: Yeah, I think they're taking us to Seoul. We might go to see Namsan Tower? But everyone's already been there. I don't know what happened on the last trip. So… I don't know. They haven't told me anything. My mentor teacher hasn't told me anything. The only reason I know this is because the foreigners on Facebook said, 'When do we have to meet up on Friday?' And I asked, 'There's a trip?' And the others said, 'Um, yeah, we have to meet at 8am.' And I was like, 'Oh, that's good to know.'

[19.JUN.2012 – Interview 4 / Evan]

E: … And then the 4th graders came in, saying, 'Oh, we're moving up. The class time's now, and not an hour later', … (ellipsis)…and I went… 'Really?' And I happened to see my mentor teacher walk by in sports clothes, like in field and track clothes, and I went, 'Um, is there a class right now?' And she said, 'Yeah, we moved it forward, and you can go home after two classes.' … (ellipsis)… So both those lessons were torn apart. So I just worked on that diary that I sent you… (ellipsis)…Well, I am depressed. I'm tired (inaudible). … (ellipsis)… so, yeah. I felt very depressed then. I wasn't a very happy camper. But…

[19.JUN.2012 – Interview 4 / Evan]

E: (Sees the children) Hello, hello! See you guys on Thursday!
Students: No, no. Swimming.
E: Oh, swimming? Everybody? Oh. Yeah, then Friday. Bye bye! Ah. Then I won't have 6th grade on Thursday. Okay. That's good to know. Okay. That's usually how I learn.

[16.JUL.2012 – Interview 6 / Evan]

The instances reported above show how Evan's school followed a pattern of 'all-powerful and others powerless' (Wenger, 1998:181).

In the end, the TaLK scholars became so accustomed to the cancellation of classes without notice that the need to accept such incidents became 'shared knowledge' (Wenger, 1998:85) among them. As Evan reported:

> E: … But yeah, so this lack of info and communication at this point is normal to me.
>
> [16.JUL.2012 – Interview 6 / Evan]

Eventually, the lack of communication channels other than the business channel influenced Evan's attitude toward the people in his school, and he stopped trying to build relationships with them. He expressed his cynicism verbally, with 'whatever'.

> E: … I don't really have one. I do eat lunch with the principal and the vice-principal every day. Others say that they would be intimidated to do that, but I'm just like, 'Whatever'. But other than that, not much. They aren't very involved in my life. They're very laissez-faire, they're like, 'Oh, he's the foreigner guy'.
>
> [16.JUL.2012 – Interview 6 / Evan]

Alignment functions by allowing people to 'become part of something big because we do what it takes to play our part' (Wenger, 1998:179). However, it can also function to exclude people, by not allowing them to participate in the practice. As Evan clearly boycotted further relationship building with established members of the school community, he had no reason to put effort into aligning himself toward a shared goal. In fact, he did not even know what the goals of his school might be, as nobody told him

about anything. Then, as he felt that he was not involved in the community, he decided to separate himself from it entirely, stating 'they aren't very involved in my life'.

Interestingly, the pattern of lack of proper communication was widely reported by the participants in this research, but no one expressed an opinion as to the reason for it; they just accepted things as they were and followed what the school told them. To some extent, this passivity might have been an effort to align themselves with the roles their schools expected of them, although nobody clearly stated this intention.

The alignment process has to bridge 'time and space to form broader enterprises so that participants become connected through the coordination of their energies, actions, and practice' (Wenger, 1998:178-179). The fundamental meaning of the novice teachers' participation in the TaLK programme, offering English education for rural elementary school students, needed to be able to implemented by the local schools supporting the TaLK scholars by creating a practice where they could coordinate their energy and action.

As newcomers, the TaLK scholars needed to be connected with pre-existing enterprise to align them in the practice and to share the common goal. However, as has been shown, this seemed to be considered as the concern of the TaLK scholars alone, whilst in fact it required effort from both sides.

4.3.3 'Imagination' of the participants in terms of expected teacher-self

Imagination refers to 'constructing an image of ourselves, of our communities, and of the world, in order to orient ourselves, to reflect on our situation, and to explore

possibilities' (Wenger, 2000:227-228). As in Wenger's (1998) story of the stonecutters, some people see things simply as they are, but others imagine what they will be like in the near future. In the same way, some of the TaLK scholars were imagining their future teacher-selves. The experience was the same, but the interpretation differed according to the person. 'As a result, they may be learning very different things from the same activity' (Wenger, 1998:176).

According to Dewey (1997:27): 'The quality of any experience has two aspects. There is an immediate aspect of agreeableness or disagreeableness, and there is its influence upon later experiences.' In Abigail's case her experience in the classroom influenced her imagined future self as a teacher, in terms of what she regarded as appropriate to a teaching professional. This was particularly evident in her reaction to a distorted form of ad hoc communication that was opened and closed by the Korean teachers. She noted that the Korean teachers used a pop-up screen to chat during lessons:

> A: Yeah! Or like messages, because they have messages on top of their computer, and it'll just pop up in the middle of class, which for one, disrupts the class, and we lose our focus, and two, I just can't understand why they don't do it during the break time? Which is when you would do it at home, only unless it's something urgent like the principal really needs to meet you, but other than that, the teachers talk like between the classes and interrupt their own classes. Which I don't understand why it's so acceptable here. (Laugh) Or when the teachers would just be like picking up their cell phone and be like, 'Hello?' And I'll be like 'But we're in class right now, what are you doing?'
>
> [04.JUN.2012 – Interview 6 / Abigail]

Interestingly, Abigail was not invited to join this 'pop-up screen chatting' communication platform, perhaps because of the language difference or her status as a temporary English teacher. However, Abigail did not regret the exclusion. Rather, she

argued that this kind of communication was inappropriate, as it disturbed the teaching and therefore interfered with the functioning of the school. She reacted to the pop-up screen by minimizing it and ignoring it.

A: Yeah… It's like I can never read them so I just like minimize them and like keep going.

[25.JUN.2012 - Interview 7 / Abigail]

Abigail also raised the issue of teachers rushing into the classroom to ask questions that were not related to the lesson.

A: Yeah, she's not the only one though. Some of the teachers would do that when their students go to music class or something? And they'll just come into the class and toward the teacher teaching, and asking a question, and sitting there like, so yeah it's not just her, a lot of the teachers do it… and constantly get like message pop-ups during class. And sometimes it would be like 'Do you have this and that', I mean I can only understand them if Areum translates the pop-up messages for me, 'cause it's all in Korean. And sometimes it'll be like 'Do you have this in your classroom, bring it to the after school class today'. Or to have a picnic or something, it's like 'You couldn't wait until lunchtime to tell me that?' But it seems like people don't talk during lunchtime.

[04.JUN.2012 – Interview 6 / Abigail]

Abigail's response to what she saw as inappropriate communication channels indicated her development in terms of her imagined ideal classroom setting and teacher behaviour. This was not imposed upon her, but developed through the process of experience; by observing and reacting to the behaviours of others, Abigail was able to gain a clearer idea of where she wanted to align herself as a teacher. In doing so, she was identifying what she considered appropriate to a classroom teacher, and that identification process

(Varghese *et al*., 2005) was a learning process, 'generating new relations through time and space that become constitutive of the self' (Wenger, 1998:177).

In summary, the communication channels between the TaLK scholars and their schools, and the relationships between the participants and the people in the practice, varied from one case to another. The language difference was a significant common factor influencing these communication channels. However, the participants' responses to this, and therefore the learning from the experience, differed.

4.4 The expected roles of mentor teachers and co-teachers & their relationships with the TaLK scholars

'Teachers are the agents through which knowledge and skills are communicated and rules of conduct enforced' (Dewey, 1997:18). In order to deliver the TaLK programme to the students, a link was needed between the agents (the TaLK scholars) and the schools. It was expected that this role would be fulfilled by the Korean mentor teachers in the local schools, and perhaps also by the Korean co-scholars. However, it was unclear whether the Korean mentor teachers and co-scholars perceived this as their role or tried to implement it.

In the process of their professional development, novice teachers need to be able to 'build effective working relationships' in order to access the school community (Sim, 2006:80). For the TaLK scholars in this study, the Korean mentor teachers who acted as coordinators represented the 'access to their social justice' (Toohey, 1998:64). They

needed to be able to lead the TaLK scholars and to link them up to the other community members by creating and managing both formal and informal events to foster their development (Wenger *et al.*, 2002a). They also needed to be able to identify and assess the main issues of the community and to facilitate the strengthening of the practice (Wenger *et al.*, 2002a).

To examine this further, this section will focus upon the relationship between the participants and the Korean mentor teachers and co-teachers.

4.4.1 Abigail and her co-teachers

In her school, Abigail worked in regular classes with five co-teachers. She had a mentor teacher, Amy, and a Korean co-scholar, Areum. During the daytime English classes, Abigail taught with each class's homeroom teacher: Youngmi, Hyaejin and Soomi. She also conducted kindergarten lessons, during which the kindergarten teacher sat in the classroom, but did not officially participate as a co-teacher. Although in this class Abigail could teach alone, the presence of the kindergarten teacher made her feel that she was still under supervision. Later, Abigail reported some situations where the kindergarten teacher had joined in the teaching. Therefore, three teachers - Abigail, Areum and the kindergarten teacher - were co-teaching the same class.

Details regarding the teachers in Abigail's classes, and their roles, are given below.

Table 14: Teachers and co-scholars working with Abigail

	Name of the teacher	Named by TaLK team	Their role in the class	Name in this Study	Co-teaching Classes
0	**Abigail**	TaLK Scholar	- English Teacher	TaLK scholar	
1	**Amy**	Mentor teacher	- Mentor teacher (help the TaLK scholar to get used to school and serve as advisor) - Korean co-teacher - Korean English teacher	Mentor Teacher	5th and 6th grades (Daytime)
2	**Areum**	Korean co-scholar	Korean co-teacher	Korean co-scholar	After-school classes
3	**Yongmi**	n/a	Korean co-teacher	Yongmi teacher	Homeroom
4	**Hyejin**	n/a	Korean co-teacher	Hyejin teacher	Homeroom
5	**5-1 teacher (fifth grade group one)**	n/a	Korean co-teacher Teacher in charge of English in the school	Soomi teacher	Homeroom
6	**Kindergarten**	n/a	n/a (usually sitting in the class)	Kindergarten teacher	Kindergarten

With the exception of Areum, the Korean co-scholar, the Korean teachers had been working in the school longer than Abigail. However, the mentor teacher, Amy, was also on a temporary contract, and was therefore perceived as less powerful than the other Korean teachers.

4.4.1.1 Korean Mentor Teacher: Amy

Abigail taught English with Amy 'during the regular school hours' [13.MAR.2013 - Diary 3] in the English classroom. Like Abigail, Amy was a temporary teacher. She was hired by the local education authority (POE) to teach English conversation. In 2012, when the fieldwork for this study was being conducted, she was studying for her

Master's degree. Because of their temporary status, the school treated Abigail and Amy

differently from other teachers. For example, as Abigail reported:

> We had a ceremony with the parents in the gymnasium. The teachers were
> introduced, except I wasn't introduced by the principal and neither was my
> mentor teacher. That seemed a little odd, but I am pretty sure everyone could
> figure out who I was.
>
> [20.MAR.2012 - Diary 4 / Abigail]

In Korean society, there is a significant difference in status between people who have

regular positions and those hired on temporary contracts, who are called '*giganjae

gyosa* (기간제 교사)'

(http://www.mediatoday.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=119586). This tendency of

Korean society may have influenced the Korean teachers in the school, who then

marginalized the two temporary teachers from their school community. Amy's desk was

next to Abigail's in the English classroom, which was at a distance from the teachers'

room.

As a mentor teacher, Amy supplied examples of curriculum that Abigail could use for

her teaching.

> She gave me an example curriculum that she uses in her English class that
> corresponds with the textbook I think. It seems much harder than I expected.
>
> [06.MAR.2012 - Diary 2 / Abigail]

Abigail reported both positive and negative aspects of teaching with Amy. As an

example of the latter, she wrote about how Amy had referred to a student as having low

intelligence. What surprised Abigail was that Amy said it in front of the student.

Amy has also said in front of a student that they have low intelligence, which seems a little harsh. I know you wouldn't say something like that in the US. He should be encouraged more. I hope that he will be in my after school programme. I get the feeling that the 'low intelligence' kids are the ones that come from poorer families where they cannot send them to *hagwons*.

[20.MAR.2012 - Diary 4 / Abigail]

I asked Abigail more about the situation.

S: Then… she… um… what was the exact situation behind this happening?
A: Um… we're doing … um… doing an exercise on paper… and I was trying to help him… but she wanted me to go over the rest… of the… answers with the class… so she told me like… kind of as an explanation… I didn't think she should have done it in front of the student, she told me after the class for like… from aside… 'cause it's just not professional to say things like that to a student… um…

[08.MAY.2012 – Interview 5 / Abigail]

Soon, Abigail started to observe Amy's biased attitude towards some students.

In 6-3, two of the troublemakers did not pass. Amy said they did not and didn't give them much of a chance because she didn't like their attitude. But in other classes, she let students read the English dialogue, which I did not think was fair and defeated the purpose of having a speaking test.

[03.JUN.2012 - Diary 7 / Abigail]

One of the expected essential roles of a mentor teacher as coordinator is to vitalize the community of practice by connecting members of the community (Wenger *et al.*, 2002a). However, for Amy, students seemed not to count as members of the community;

rather, she interpreted the relationship of teachers and students as a power relationship. This was exemplified by Amy's use of the imperative in the classroom. In the field-note, I wrote:

> Amy uses imperative words such as 'Read!' She's answering the phone while she is in the lesson. Abigail observes both Amy and the students with concern.
>
> [04.JUN.2012 - Fieldnote2-2 / Abigail]

As mentioned in the field-note, Abigail seemed worried by Amy's approach. This was put to her in an interview.

> A: … Sometimes I think she, or actually some of the homeroom teachers, kind of label the students and be like 'Oh they're the bad kids, I won't give them another chance' and be really hard on them… Whereas they're very lenient with the other students that do the exact thing. Umm…so sometimes, um, I'm worried about that …
>
> [04.JUN.2012 – Interview 6 / Abigail]

Abigail commented that other Korean homeroom teachers also labelled students according to certain categories, and this made her feel concerned.

Apart from these concerns regarding Amy's behaviour towards the students, Abigail reported that her relationship with her mentor teacher was good, and that she could work well with her in the co-teaching sessions.

It was fun to teach with her. We started a new unit, What are these? It went well despite the bickering of who would be what part. … (ellipsis)… Amy and I worked well together. … (ellipsis)… Amy and I ended up having to teach 6th grade instead of 5th grade. We did a lesson that neither of us was prepared for but we did well.

<div align="right">[03.JUN.2012 - Diary 7 / Abigail]</div>

S: That's good. Then how's the relationship with the mentor teacher … (ellipsis)…
A: Um… with the mentor teacher, it's the same. It's good. We work well together and get along well. …

<div align="right">[23.JUL.2012 – Interview 8 / Abigail]</div>

However, while the teaching with Amy went well and the relationship was generally good, Amy's role as coordinator was not prominent. Among the several roles assumed to belong to a coordinator is to 'plan and facilitate community events' (Wenger *et al*., 2002a:80), but in Amy's case the only planning was in terms of limited curriculum design for English classes. This may have been because, as a temporary teacher, Amy did not have the necessary status to organize events and raise issues (Wenger *et al*., 2002a). In fact, she shared the same lack of legitimacy as a member of the community that Abigail experienced.

4.4.1.2 Korean co-teachers

Abigail and Areum co-taught in after-school classes, where Areum's role was that of interpreter and co-teacher. They had a co-operative working relationship, which had begun when they first met at the POE orientation, where they had a chance to co-teach in a model class session.

> The model classes were good. My co-scholar, Areum and I did well. We taught the body parts. Sang 'head, shoulders, knees and toes'. Also played 'Simon says', which was fun, although our 'third graders' were hard to get out so we had several leaders. I made sure to give time for Areum to teach. I noticed that not all did so evenly, but that might be because they all seemed very shy of their speaking ability in English. Everyone did pretty good, I was impressed.
>
> [04.MAR.2012 - Blog Diary 6 / Abigail]

In the co-teaching model class Abigail resolved to give Areum time to teach, and implemented this decision. She recognized Areum as a proper teacher who was supposed to have the right to do some teaching.

After they had been allocated to the school, in their after-school classes Areum carried out her role as co-teacher and interpreter. That support functioned properly and Abigail's teaching performance was more efficient, as Areum was not only translating but also checking whether the students had understood correctly or not.

> I started out with phonics. Thankfully, I had Areum with me to translate my directions, and check to see if they knew it.
>
> [20.MAR.2012 - Diary 4 / Abigail]

In terms of relationship, Areum and Abigail built a close rapport as co-workers and friends.

In the classes with Amy and Areum, because Abigail could communicate with them in English, the lessons went more smoothly than when she was teaching with the homeroom teachers. The team-teaching format is expected to create a 'variety of interactional patterns' (Creese, 2006:437). To achieve this, the teachers must be

prepared to engage in negotiation and collaboration (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001). This was the case with Amy and Areum, but in other classes, the responsibility for teaching role lay solely with Abigail, while decision-making authority lay with the Korean teachers. As there was no cooperation or 'willingness' (Lasky, 2005:913) to negotiate in terms of teaching in those classes, Abigail often mentioned the difficulties caused by the language barrier.

> A: It's a little hard with the kindergarten teacher 'cause she doesn't speak a lot of English and obviously doesn't understand a lot of English so it's hard for me to communicate with her when Areum is not there 'cause I have… I meet her just on Tuesdays so it's just me and the kindergarten teacher, and it's hard to communicate with each other. Because she doesn't speak English very well and I don't speak any Korean so...
>
> [25.JUN.2012 – Interview 7 / Abigail]

Moreover, although Abigail was the one doing the teaching, the classroom initiative was held by the classroom teacher, which created a difficult situation in which to teach. The Korean homeroom teachers expected their role in the classroom to be that of interpreters who would translate Abigail's words for the Korean students. However, due to miscommunication, this role was not performed as expected.

To summarize, in the practice, Abigail's mentor teacher did not function effectively as a coordinator. Although Abigail and Amy got on well, Amy's low status in the school and the difference between her style of teaching and Amy's ideal meant that she was not the ideal person to fulfil that role. Then, Abigail worked well with her co-teacher Areum, but with the other Korean co-teachers the working relationship was impaired due to the language barrier. The school's decision to let Abigail work with six different co-teachers placed her in an unstable teaching condition, whether or not this was intended.

Another problematic aspect was that the teachers did not perform their co-teaching role. This meant that in the team teaching sessions that did not include Areum, Abigail tended to do all the teaching.

4.4.2 Evan

This section will discuss Evan's two main co-workers in his new school, and his co-operation with them.

4.4.2.1 Korean mentor teacher, Eunju

Evan's new mentor teacher, Eunju, was younger than Evan. He perceived her as being more mature than him in her outlook, but also as being in a powerless position, at the bottom of the school hierarchy.

> E:… Like um… I still feel like a college student, if that makes sense. I'm very old for a college student, I'm 27 western, 28 in Korean, I'm still acting like an idealistic college student. Yeah, but she's 25 Korean, just out of college for a year or two, just starting out, acting, I guess more mature, but…
> [06.MAY.2012 – Interview 3 / Evan]

> E:… Because she's so young. And she's at the bottom of the totem pole.
> [06.MAY.2012 – Interview 3 / Evan]

> E: … My mentor teacher that is the 2nd grade teacher who is always busy preparing the kids in 2nd grade, and since she's the youngest teacher there she has to be in charge of all the dirty work as well? Uh…
> There's an American phrase, 'Shit falls downhill', or 'Shit rolls downhill'. So the principal has something he doesn't want to do, he gives it to the vice-principal who gives it to the Head Teacher who gives it to the 2nd grade teacher at the very bottom, so she's usually the one who has to do it. So she appears to always be a little busy with a few things.
>
> [19.APR.2012 – Interview 2 / Evan]

In this situation, where his mentor teacher had to deal with many tasks passed on to her from the top of the hierarchical structure, Evan thought that any request from him for help would be additional work for her. Korean mentor teachers were perceived as experts compared to TaLK scholars. However, 'expertise needs to be considered situationally, being related to the circumstances of the enactment of the vocational practice' (Billet, 2001:441), and in this case, the situational context meant that Eunju was not able to exercise her expertise or to act effectively as a coordinator. Similar to the business-like relationship Evan described with the other Korean teachers in his school, he explained his relationship with Eunju as 'business-oriented'.

> E:… I don't really associate empathetically with her nor do I really associate personally with her. It's all very business with her. It's very interesting.
>
> [06.MAY.2012 – Interview 3 / Evan]

> E: … Um… I don't communicate very much with my mentor teacher at all, besides business, I don't associate with her even though she's my age. She seems to be on a different plane of existence than I am.
>
> [06.MAY.2012 – Interview 3 / Evan]

> E: … my… mentor teacher I don't consider to be anything other than a business associate or a fellow employee.
>
> [06.MAY.2012 – Interview 3 / Evan]

> S: Then last question.
> E: Yeah.
> S: Then what's the easiest question to interrelate, to communicate with your mentor teacher?
> E: The easiest?
> S: Yeah.
> E: Uh, simple business, like, uh, is my pay check coming? When is it coming? Oh it's late? Why is it late? Oh, okay, you don't know? Okay. And she'll just tell me she doesn't know. And my pay check was missing for a whole month, like, um, 'Okay…where is it? Kinda want my money! Kinda important!' Uh… That's the easiest thing, the simple business. Like, 'Is there anything you need to tell me?' I ask for that a lot, just so that she remembers. Uh… (inaudible) anything to worry about… Sometimes she'll remember to tell me something, sometimes she won't, like for example, Sports Day, I didn't ask, yeah, those are the easiest things.

Evan found that he could interact with Eunju through business-oriented tasks. Nevertheless, rather than asking direct questions in a formal way, he chose to give her prompts by asking 'Is there anything you need to tell me?' Evan knew that his mentor teacher was young and in the lowest position in the school's hierarchical structure. There was no real evidence of her carrying out her coordinator role. As Evan stated, she always seemed busy with tasks that were passed on to her, and therefore, she seemed not to have the time or energy to be a supportive mentor teacher.

In terms of her role as mentor teacher, there were three things Evan expected from Eunju. First, he required her signature for confirmation forms and recommendation letters.

> E:… There's also a farewell party in July when we go to Yeosu Expo for the people leaving at the end of the year. I need to confirm by Wednesday? I don't know if my mentor teacher's confirmed or not. I need to ask her. I also need her to help me with my insurance at the hospital. Because that's the only money I'm gonna get back for my motorcycle. I need her to help me with this, because I need to get a doctor's chart and paperwork. But right now since she's teaching, I can't just go and say hello to her. So, yeah.
> [19.JUN.2012 – Interview 4 / Evan]

During one classroom observation day, there was a long gap between classes as a class had been cancelled at the last minute. So, we decided to do an interview in the school. Whilst we were talking, the mentor teacher came into the classroom, and Evan grabbed the opportunity to ask her to sign him up for the TaLK trip to Yeosu Expo and also

asked her help to fill in the paperwork for his insurance. The actual interaction between

Evan and Eunju was captured as below:

> E: Yes. So I need to still talk to you about the… insurance, I need to fill out the paperwork, and did you confirm about me going to Yeosu Expo?
> Mentor teacher: Yeosu Expo? (pause)
> E: Yeah, the TaLK farewell union? I got an email from the TaLK officials that the uh… confirmation deadline for the reunion was the 20th. (Pause.) Have you received any information about this? [Long pause for 47secs.] Have you received any information about this? That would be that.
> M: No… I will be away for… business trip… and… the deadline is tomorrow?
> E: Yeah, that's the sign-up deadline. And when's the province's Essay Contest deadline? The 20th?
> M: Yeah. The 20th of August.
> E: Oh. Okay. Those are the two big ones. Okay. I need to print out the papers.
> M: Yeah.
> E: Okay. Okay…
>
> [19.JUN.2012 – Interview 4 / Evan]

Eunju did not seem to know about the TaLK trip to Yeosu Expo, even though it was a

day before the deadline. It seems that, due to her being so busy, she was unable to fulfil

her responsibility as a mentor teacher properly, by doing the things Evan expected such

as dealing with official documents that needed her signature.

The second thing Evan expected of Eunju was to provide him with help. Although he

understood her position, he seemed disappointed by his mentor teacher's powerlessness.

Eunju could not 'manage the boundary between the community and the formal

organization' (Wenger *et al*., 2002a:80), and was too busy to '[identify] important

issues' (Wenger *et al*., 2002a:80). Because Eunju held less power than many other teachers in the school, Evan had no choice but to accept the situation and wait for help. This situation might have influenced not only Evan's blunt way of speaking about Eunju, but also his perception of himself.

Figure 31: Changes of Evan's self perception

MAY
- E: … So… at a personal level I understand why she does that? But it sucks for me because I need help! And I know I need help! So help me! [06.MAY.2012 – Interview 3 / Evan]

JUNE
- E:… Plus I don't socialize with anyone at my school… so… that's my venue… that… I don't talk to people. I can't socialize with my students… And… I can't socialize with people back home, because when I get up, they're all asleep. So, yeah. That all tend to add up on to… not switched on. [19.JUN.2012 – Interview 4 / Evan]

JULY
- I'm anti-social. It might be interesting to see the foreign teachers who are much more active in their own groups and interactions. I see all these pictures on Facebook with foreigners who socialize very often. I get depressed looking at that. Maybe I have Aspergers. [16.JUL.2012 – Interview 6 / Evan]

As shown in the figure above, the lack of communication channel with the Korean teachers had a drastic influence on Evan's perception of his status in Korea. He saw himself as someone who needed help and, in the end, might be unable to build a relationship due to his own failings.

> E: … However, that seems to be more of a… personal as opposed to a more
> of a cultural thing with this particular co-teacher, this mentor teacher.
> …(ellipsis)…So she gets everyone's shit. And now I'm giving her more shit,

because I need help. And she just has to deal with it. And I think how she deals with it is she puts it to the side, since she's got other stuff to do. Other stuff to worry about…

<div align="right">[06.MAY.2012 – Interview 3 / Evan]</div>

The third role Evan expected Eunju to play was that of translator. Here the business-like relationship was played out as Evan accessed Eunju for his business purposes, such as preparation for teaching, by asking her to translate some words.

S: Then what was the easiest thing in interacting with them?
E: Uh, (pause 3 sec.) business?
S: Easiest.
E: Yeah, the easiest thing to interact with them was business. Uh… If I need… If I'm doing a lesson plan… and really need to translate some key words, I can try to find my mentor teacher wherever she is… one of the students will know where she is… and I can ask them in Korean and then they will direct me to her… and then… I can IMPOSE on her free time and say… 'What is this in Korean?' and then she will say 'Oh, this is this and …' 'Oh! Ok. I will use this. Cool!'… or…

<div align="right">[19.APR.2012 – Interview 2 / Evan]</div>

As shown above, Evan was actively seeking help with translation for his teaching, but at the same time, it was his way of taking revenge, by imposing on Eunju by taking up her free time.

Eunju was the youngest teacher in Evan's school, and the busiest. In her role as coordinator, she should have been offering mentoring, for example by observing Evan's classes and giving him feedback. Evan was desperately seeking for help from her, but it was not given. At some level, it seems that Evan was simply an additional responsibility imposed on her. This led Evan to perceive Eunju as not performing her role as a mentor

teacher, and as a result his attitude towards her became blunt. However, Eunju's failure

was not entirely her fault; the school was also to blame, since the role of coordinator

and mentor should not have been assigned to a teacher with such low status/low power,

so that even hard to raise her voice in the school.

4.4.2.2 Korean co-teacher, Jooeun

One of the significant differences compared with Evan's previous school was that, from

March to June, he had no co-teacher. This was a big challenge for him, but at some

point, he came to see it as an advantage, and teaching alone came to represent freedom:

> E: … But… the advantage of not having a teacher is that I can get a lot more latitude in my classes, I can do whatever I want… and… I can change my class at the moment that I've noticed, if I feel like it, then it's not gonna happen... I have done that. If I had a Korean co-teacher, changes have to be much more ORGANIZED and much more STATIC in my teaching style… I mean I have to in this way, if it's working or not, because I need to coordinate things (beforehand) with my co-teacher. Here, I just… do whatever I want.
>
> [19.JUN.2012 – Interview 4 / Evan]

However, in the last month of teaching (July, 2012), the school decided to recruit a

Korean co-teacher, Jooeun, to work with Evan.

> S: How has your life changed at school?
> E: Well I got a co-teacher.
> S: Oh!
> E: Last week.
> S: What a surprise at the end of the contract.
> E: Yeah.
>
> [10.JUL.2012 – Interview 5 / Evan]

Evan expected that the new co-teacher would be an active teacher, as the co-teacher in his previous school had been; that is, he expected his co-teacher to show 'willingness' (Lasky, 2005:913). Unfortunately, however, the new co-scholar, Jooeun, was 'very quiet and seemed shy' [16.JUL.2012 - Fieldnote 4]. As with the other teachers in the school, Evan was able to build only a business-like relationship with her. A few weeks was not enough time to get used to each other as teaching partners, and this caused Evan other difficulties. Yet again, this was something Evan simply had to accept.

> E: … That is my co-teacher. I don't do very much with her, I don't associate much with her unfortunately. It's very cordial, business-like relationship…
>
> [16.JUL.2012 – Interview 6 / Evan]

> S: How is the relationship between you and your co-teacher?
> E: Business. I'll ask her how she's doing, and she says, 'Fine'. And so I go, 'Okay!' It's like every day, I'm saying that every day. That's about as far how my interaction with her goes.
>
> [16.JUL.2012 – Interview 6 / Evan]

When Evan's attempts to converse with Jooeun did not go as he expected, he ceased his efforts to build a relationship as co-workers and decided to teach as he had done before.

> E: That's why I try to play up my interactions with her. I try to keep the conversation going. And if it doesn't, I'm just like, 'Whatever'. I have a working relationship with her. So…I don't know. I just go, 'Okay'. And I just teach the classes like I did before, and I just ask for her help when I need a Korean teacher as company. She doesn't take the responsibility as a co-teacher. In the 1st and 2nd grades there are things I need help with, but I just choose my own battles. But this one time she did help me with some boys without me asking her to do so.
>
> [16.JUL.2012 – Interview 6 / Evan]

Evan could see that there was an advantage to having a Korean co-teacher. However, as it was the last month of his teaching, it was hard to apply a new style to accommodate her into the teaching practice.

> E: Unless I tell her… (ellipsis)… But I'm a little busy sometimes to tell her. … (ellipsis)…To accommodate her, I could pre-plan everything. But I don't do that as a person.
>
> [16.JUL.2012 – Interview 6 / Evan]

Evan's statement 'I don't do that as a person' could be interpreted positively as him not expecting Jooeun to play any particular role in the classroom; however, a negative interpretation might be that he saw Jooeun's presence as irritating, because he had to pre-plan to accommodate her as a co-teacher. Although the new arrangement would be co-teaching as TaLK intended, the fact that it was implemented so late meant that Evan interpreted the change rather negatively. Therefore, rather than accommodating the new co-teacher, Evan decided to carry on as before. He indicated that Jooeun had been involved in the teaching in a small way by expressing her opinion on Evan's decisions and materials.

> E: She was actually the one who said that these crossword puzzles were easy. She copied them, she photocopied them on pages.
>
> [16.JUL.2012 – Interview 6 / Evan]

In one interview, in relation to the class where the final observation had been conducted, Evan commented on what it was like to teach with a newly allocated Korean co-teacher.

> E: Well the other effective way would be to discipline them to keep them in line, but that doesn't seem to be her strength.
> S: And I saw that you gave her a chance to speak out in front of the students, to explain something, and I saw that she could do something but -
> E: It was difficult, she didn't have their attention.
> S: Right.
> E: She failed to command the class. I don't really command that class that much either. I noticed half-way through the activity that I couldn't really shift to something else so I just kinda went on.
>
> [16.JUL.2012 – Interview 6 / Evan]

Here Evan's comments were something like an assessment, similar to the way he had spoken about Eunju and her teaching performance in his classroom, and I was doing the same. Both Evan and I were placing Jooeun as a novice, who was failing to manage the children by gaining their attention. By positioning her as 'novice', and commenting on her teaching performance, Evan and I were revealing our self-perceptions as 'experienced', to some extent 'expert', teachers.

4.4.3 Fiona and Mrs Paeng

Fiona had to teach alone; she had no co-teacher and did not take part in any team teaching. Her most significant relationship was with the mentor teacher, Mrs Paeng. According to Fiona, Mrs Paeng was a strict person.

F: … (ellipsis)…My… mentor teacher, she is a strict teacher, too… yeah…
so… (ellipsis) …

[03.APR.2012 – Interview 1 / Fiona]

Their relationship was not a familiar and supportive one, and Fiona was unable to get

the help she expected. Owing to an incident in relation to housing, the relationship

became even more strained. Specifically, the condition of the Fiona's house was not

what she had expected:

However, I do not like my apartment. … (ellipsis)… It has absolutely no
furniture and I had to buy a mat to sleep on the floor. The TaLK programme
does not mention that we could be living in such conditions.
I feel that scholars have a right to know these things before they apply.

[28.MAR.2012 – Diary 1 / Fiona]

As there was no furniture in the accommodation, Fiona needed to buy these things

herself. However, as she had already spent all her settlement budget, she sent an e-mail

to the TaLK team to ask about the situation.

F: Um… she's been helping me more latterly, but at first, she kept little bit
of distance that, we had little bit of disagreement, so after that she's like…
after the disagreement, I kind of… I e-mailed to TaLK a little bit and after
that she's been… trying to help me… I didn't complain about her, I asked
them some questions… but they still called her, she got angry at me over
that…

[03.APR.2012 – Interview 1 / Fiona]

Although the purpose of the e-mail was to ask about furniture, when the TaLK team

followed it up by contacting the mentor teacher she thought that Fiona had complained

about her, and became angry. As Fiona reported:

F: I could um…Basically… I e-mailed TaLK because… I didn't have furniture in my house, so… (Laugh) yeah. I didn't have furniture in my house, so I just e-mailed them and then I asked if I… um, they would… provide, like um… they would give… the school some extra money to provide me some… more furniture, so basically they contacted to my mentor teacher, and she thought that I complained against her, but…
S: You just ask…
F: I didn't complain against her and so… uh… she confronted me about that she asked me to see the e-mail that I sent. And after I showed her the e-mail, she… she… was less angry with me, because… she realised that I didn't… complained about her… anything, but yeah. … So… basically… they… ur, yeah. I had (inaudible) settlement allowance from my… it's supposed to be your... own money and not supposed to rebuy the furniture with that, so… I had to… spend my own money to buy like… a desk and a chair. (Laugh)
S: But I thought that the desk and the furniture thing need to be prepared by the school.
F: I thought, too. But… I guess so… (Laugh)
S: what's the… what's the response from the TaLK about your e-mail?
F: Um… they told me to contact to my POE, and I e-mailed to my POE but they didn't respond… so I just spend my own money…
S: They are… kind of tossing (around) their responsibility to each other.
F: Yeah (laugh) and… I don't have a bed, so… (Laugh) so yeah. I've had a few problems with… uh, that's why … (ellipsis)…

[03.APR.2012 – Interview 1 / Fiona]

The vignette above is quite long, but it illustrates the mismatch between the TaLK programme policy and the actual implementation of the programme in the local school. To some extent, this was the responsibility of Mrs Paeng, as she was the coordinator who ought to have dealt with the process between the two organizations (Wenger *et al.*, 2002a), the TaLK programme and the local school. Fiona sought help by e-mailing the TaLK team. However, her action revealed the presence of 'disagreements, tensions, and conflicts' (Wenger, 1998:77) in the community of practice, and that was not acceptable to Mrs Paeng.

Later, Fiona was made a laughing stock by the mentor teacher.

> S: Ah, so last time she show it to everyone?
> F: Uh-huh… like, when I … when I asked, it wasn't even a complaint, when I asked my questions to TaLK, she made me to print out the email and… showed it to… everyone. So after that, I didn't wanna (laugh) say anything anymore.
> S: Hmm… Ok.
>
> [08.JUN.2012 - Interview 5 / Fiona]

When Mrs Paeng showed Fiona's e-mail to everyone, she was expecting that the other Korean teachers would agree with her understanding that Fiona had acted inappropriately. By doing so, Mrs Paeng was also pushing Fiona away from the 'middle ground' (Kanno, 2003:128) area of their school community, and thus marginalizing her.

As noted by Kanno (2003), language difference is something that needs to be negotiated in a practice's culture. However, relationships also have to be negotiated. In the local schools, just as teachers needed to be willing to collaborate (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001), they also needed to be willing to negotiate. However, Mrs Paeng did not reveal any will for negotiation, and her relationship with Fiona continued to fluctuate due to several issues in relation to late payment, food and vacations. Sometimes it seemed to improve, but then it would deteriorate again.

> I also feel like my relationship with my mentor teacher improved slightly … (ellipsis)… Maybe from now on things will only get more positive. I am hopeful for that.
>
> [17.MAR.2012 - Diary 3 / Fiona]

> F: So… it's good and bad. I don't understand uh… what kind of relationship we have right now… I don't know if it's like… where…where… like… I don't know how our relationship… is good or bad.

[03.APR.2012- Interview 1 / Fiona]

My relationship with everyone has improved. The most significant one is with my mentor teacher. I feel that she may have more respect for me now.

[25.MAY.2012 – Diary 6 / Fiona]

S: So, how's your mentor teacher, is she… good to you?
F: (Sigh) Yeah… it's ok now. Because now I just only (inaudible) ask her (inaudible) much, so… I usually do (inaudible) try to do everything alone, so… now… it's like… (ellipsis)…Umm, yeah. We say like… 'Hi, how are you?' and… (inaudible) that.
S: Like formal relationship?
F: Uh-huh.

[08.JUN.2012 – Interview 5 / Fiona]

The above quotes show the changes in Fiona's perception of her relationship with the mentor teacher over time. Due to the problems in that relationship, Fiona had only partial possibility of interaction with the people in the context. As Kanno points out, '…*learning* is part of learning to take part in shared practice of a community' (Kanno, 2003:12) and Fiona was not allowed to take part in the shared practice of the school community.

In the practice, Fiona was new to teaching and had to teach alone. Whilst the mentor teacher kept complaining about Fiona's teaching, she did not even try to discuss the curriculum.

S: So, was there any chance to discuss about the curriculum with your mentor teacher?
F: No… she didn't really discuss with me…
S: So, she was (at least) asking you about the curriculum, or… ?
F: No, no… no.
S: No?
F: No. She… usually doesn't… talk to me. Just 'Hi. How are you?' Yeah. (Laugh) Unless I go to her and ask something.

S: Hmm…
F: Hu-huh, so… usually it's just 'Hi. How are you?'… Or… it's like the principal asked her tell me something, then she will… tell me.

<div align="right">[03.APR.2012 – Interview 1 / Fiona]</div>

As Fiona was new to teaching, and new to the school, she needed support from her mentor teacher. Without a co-teacher in her classes Fiona noted that: 'It is a challenge to teach the lower students because the language barrier is immense' [05.APR.2012 – Diary 2 / Fiona]. Problems with language difference and classroom management came up frequently in her diary entries and in interviews. However, the school neglected the importance of supporting novice teachers by offering 'opportunities for engagement' (Wenger, 1998:271), and Fiona received little or no support from her mentor teacher. Indeed, it seemed that Mrs Paeng did not even know her duties as a mentor teacher:

> However, she did not seem very informed about the TaLK programme nor her duties. She did not know that she was supposed to take me to the immigration office to get my alien card. She also forgot to give me the bus schedule on how to get to school.
>
> <div align="right">[28.MAR.2012 – Diary 1 / Fiona]</div>

> I feel that I was kind of the experimental TaLK scholar for my mentor teacher. Now she will be more prepared for the next TaLK scholar and they will probably not have as many issues as I did. One thing that did puzzle me was that Field had previous TaLK scholars so I wonder why my mentor teacher was so unprepared with me and why I didn't have any furniture. I might never find the answer to that.
>
> <div align="right">[22.JUL.2012 – Diary 8 / Fiona]</div>

As can be seen from the above quotes, Fiona positioned her mentor teacher as unprepared and as not knowing her duties, but expressed the hope that she would be better prepared next time, having learnt from her experience as mentor teacher to Fiona.

4.5 Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter, the TaLK programme and its implementation in the school practice have been studied with reference to the participants' daily routines and timetabling, and the actual support offered by the schools.

First, in terms of facilities, the schools were well prepared. The participants' daily routines were regular in terms of working hours, although there were frequent changes to the teaching schedule without notice. The timetable was imposed by the school, and was subject to change according to the needs of the school. In terms of implementing the TaLK programme into the local practice, there were huge differences between what had been intended by TaLK, and what actually happened.

Secondly, the chapter described the communication channels available to each of the participants. These are summarized in the table below:

Table 15: Types of communication channel

	Type of communication channel	Abigail	Evan	Fiona
1	Lack of a proper information channel	V	V	
2	Distorted communication channels	V		
3	Business channel		V	
4	Lack of personable relationship with teachers		V	V
5	Personable relationship with Korean teachers	V		
6	Mundane relationship with Korean teachers			V
7	Personable relationship with foreign teachers			V

As shown in the above table, in the cases of Abigail and Evan there was 'lack of a proper information channel', while Evan and Fiona experienced 'lack of personable relationship with teachers'. In each case there were unique and distinct communication channels not replicated in other schools. Abigail had personable relationships with Korean teachers in her school. Evan described his relationship with other teachers in his school as business-like. In Fiona's case, her relationships with the Korean teachers were mundane, whilst she had personable relationships with other foreign teachers in her school.

The tendencies shown in the table reveal a failure of engagement through interaction in the practice. This may have been due to the lack of *shared repertoire* between the participants and their schools, and between them and the people in their schools. The lack of shared repertoire became an obstacle to the participants' engagement with the practice and people in the practice, and was evident in various forms of disconnection between the participants and their schools. The novice teachers were invited to or excluded from various communication channels in the practice, and this influenced their perception of mode of belonging.

Finally, this chapter described the roles played by the mentor teachers and co-teachers, and their relationships with the TaLK scholars. The role of mentor teacher as coordinator in implementing the TaLK programme in the local schools is an important factor influencing the TaLK scholars in the practice and their ability to develop a sense of belonging through building a firm rapport with the community members. However, it was found that, in general, albeit for different reasons in each case, the mentor teachers

did not perform their expected role as coordinators by creating informal and formal events in relation to their expertise area and to foster relationship building (Wenger *et al*., 2002a). As a result, the participants had to deal with the circumstances they faced in their schools as individual agents.

In the practice, the TaLK scholars are the novices, and the Korean teachers are seen as experts. However, while it is natural for the novices to lack confidence due to inexperience in teaching, at the same time the supposedly 'expert' Korean teachers experienced difficulties in terms of their ability to communicate in English. The TaLK programme's intention to create bilingual classrooms, with co-teaching by one TaLK scholar and one Korean teacher, was usually not implemented in the local schools. Where there were co-teachers, often they did not carry out the roles expected of them. In the cases where there was no Korean co-teacher, the TaLK scholars needed to find ways to cope with the situation and be efficient in their teaching.

In the practice, it was not only the novices who were learning; the experts were also undergoing a learning experience. For example, Fiona stated that her mentor teacher would be more prepared for the next TaLK scholar, having learnt from the issues that she had faced with Fiona. Similarly, in the other schools the Korean teachers were influenced by the TaLK teachers and were therefore learning to be better prepared as mentors. Thus the TaLK scholars' experiences in their schools will remain in the practice as 'shared knowledge', and will influence the TaLK programme implementation in future. Through this process, the schools as communities of practice

are cultivating for growth (Wenger *et al*., 2002a), and learning to be learning practices

for the TaLK scholars.

CHAPTER 5

MANAGING OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES –
SITUATED LEARNING

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will present the opportunities and challenges the young novice American teachers (TaLK scholars) were facing in their schools, and how their attempts to manage these influenced their teacher development. As discussed in Chapter 2, in communities of practice, people are 'learning-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:155). Novices try to learn in practice to achieve the goal of the practice, and therefore, the practice shapes each participant's identity. At the same time, the participant's identity shapes the practice; this is referred to as 'identities-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:157).

Based on the situated learning theory discussed in section 2.3, this chapter will study the TaLK scholars' process of learning-in-practice and identities-in-practice, which represent their teacher development. Here the practice is the school where the TaLK scholar is working, and the teacher development is situated, as they are learning in located 'space and time' (Lave & Wenger, 1991:32).

First, section 5.2 will explore how their practices influenced the TaLK scholars' teacher development. As they were exposed to the actual teaching practice, each scholar began to establish their personal paradigmatic framework, and this was due to their experience in the practice rather than their actual selves. Based on the paradigmatic frame, they were learning-in-practice through comparing and contrasting their current experience to their previous experience, and thus constructing their knowledge on teaching. Here, I

use the term 'comparing' to mean putting two or more apparently differently things alongside each other, then looking to find the similarities and differences between them. The notion of 'contrasting' goes further, to encompass the idea of forming a positive or negative opinion.

Before being allocated to their local schools, the TaLK scholars received four weeks of training: three weeks of TaLK orientation and one week of POE training. In the schools, they were learning 'while engaged in life each day' (Lave, 1996:153), through observing what happened in the practice.

Secondly, section 5.3 will focus on the challenges and opportunities that each TaLK scholar faced in their school in terms of their creativity and freedom in classroom conduct. In the practice, the TaLK scholars could express their creativity in curriculum design, and this elicited various responses from the schools. Where their creativity was challenged, contested or refused by the school, each TaLK scholar showed a different understanding of that decision.

Kramsch explains how people have 'access to another reality' (Kramsch, 2009:2), which refers to another language. As English speakers in a Korean speaking country, the TaLK scholars faced 'another reality', as 'language constructs the historical sedimentation of meanings that we call our 'selves'' (Kramsch, 2009:2). Hence, in the practice, that is the local schools to which they had been allocated, the TaLK scholars were constructed and constructing meanings through language. Working in a context the language of which they did not share, and employed to teach their own language, English, their experiences would inevitably influence their subjectivity. This was due to the obvious language difference and the resulting lack of communication, as reported in Chapter 4.

In this chapter, the teacher development of the TaLK scholars will be shown through different aspects of their experience in their Korean schools. In addition, the chapter will show how this complementary information that the TaLK scholars gained through their experience of teaching in their local schools has influenced their journey of learning to develop as teachers.

5.2 'Learning-in-practice'

The novice teachers (TaLK scholars) received only four weeks' training before being allocated to their schools. Hence the schools were their main places of education. The TaLK orientation comprised '*complementary studies*' (Clarke, 2008:56, Author's italics) to provide the TaLK scholars 'with a broad repertoire of knowledge to draw on in their professional work with students in the classroom, as well as providing an initial foundation for further professional growth' (Clarke, 2008:56). Thus it provided only general ideas on teaching. In their local schools, they could implement what they had learned so far, and explore new ways to teach and learn. Indeed, in the practice, 'the practice is the ultimate mission; novices learn because they need to do their part in the practice' (Kanno & Stuart, 2011:239).

In the practice, negotiation was an essential facet of their learning trajectory, both internally and externally. Negotiation was crucial not only in the co-teaching context, but also with regard to relationships with established members of staff and the school system. In the process of negotiation, the TaLK scholars were developing and transforming as teachers, undergoing diverse types of positive, neutral, and negative changes.

This section will discuss the TaLK scholars' 'learning-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:155), specifically, the way their identity influenced their practice, and vice versa (Kanno & Stuart, 2011).

5.2.1 Personal paradigmatic framework

The first aspect that influenced the TaLK scholars' learning-in-practice was their establishment of a personal paradigmatic framework. Through their experience in the teaching practice they learnt about the teaching styles of Korean teachers and ways of building relationships with Korean students, and they started to build up belief in themselves as teachers. Through comparing and contrasting their current experience with their pre-existing experience, they underwent 'learning-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:155; Kanno & Stuart, 2011:239). Abigail and Evan provide significant examples, as discussed below.

5.2.1.1 Learning by comparison and contrast: Abigail

The TaLK scholars were learning-in-practice through their experience of teaching. Abigail had worked as an assistant teacher in America, and through applying a paradigmatic framework in her learning, she was comparing and contrasting her previous experience in the USA to her current experience in Korea, and learning from that. As a life learner (Chapter 6), she was always looking for ways to learn through comparing her new situation with previous experience.

The first thing she learned in the practice was the difference between the school systems in the USA and in Korea. Here, her pre-existing experience in an American school became a benchmark to compare with and also a standard in her perspective.

> I didn't realize that cause for us, when you have like parent night, it's after school it's not during school hours so I didn't expect it like when they said that I figured it was after school and not during school hours! But… just some of those like differences…
>
> [26.MAR.2012 - Interview 3 / Abigail]

In the vignette above, Abigail showed how, given her previous experience, she perceived the conduct of events during school hours as surprising. This gave her an insight into how the school system in Korea could differ from that in America.

Having found differences in terms of events within the school and their timing, and the activities used in teaching, Abigail revisited her point on differences between the two countries' educational systems as below:

> A: … Um… well I enjoy that, I enjoy… getting… um… to go… for third and fourth I enjoy going to the homeroom and kind of seeing other teachers'… like reward systems, and how they conduct a class… and… being able to meet the teachers even though… a lot of them… are shy to speak to me in English (laugh) hopefully they'll get over it, yeah… but it's been, it's fun to see the different educational system that's different from my own.
>
> [26.MAR.2012 – Interview 3 / Abigail]

Significantly, here she expressed her enjoyment at learning by observing other teachers' teaching, and the differences compared with the US educational system. These differences were present in the curriculum, reward systems, ways of teaching and school atmosphere, which were all new to Abigail. She made the most of opportunities to observe the Korean teachers' teaching in order to learn from it. This was another form of '*complementary studies*' (Clarke, 2008:56, Author's italics), which added to and expanded Abigail's paradigmatic frame. Over time, as she started to look at differences

in more detail, her personal paradigmatic framework became more established and this accelerated her learning journey to be a teacher.

Secondly, from the very beginning of her time in the local school, Abigail started to compare and contrast the Korean teachers in terms of teaching styles and strategies. She made some comments on the lessons in her diary entries, as to what she could apply in her own class and what should be avoided. In her third diary, Abigail wrote:

> She had much better control of her students. I like to see the different reward systems that the teachers have.
>
> [13.MAR.2012 – Diary 3 / Abigail]

> The first teacher is cute but she wanted me to do the lesson, so I did a short introduction. And then went right into the lesson. They were my rowdiest class and I think it is partly because she doesn't have a great control over them as well as a rewards system. She doesn't command attention in the way that some of the other teachers do. But they were pretty good.
>
> [13.MAR.2012 – Diary 3 / Abigail]

Here, Abigail is writing about one of the Korean co-teachers. Although she did not have a reward system or exercise great control over the students, the class was well conducted. Abigail focused on the fact that this teacher did not command attention in the way the others did. Through comparing and contrasting, she seemed to find practical features of local teachers' teaching strategies that were somewhat standardized into a certain way of teaching and speaking. This enabled her to identify the different way of commanding attention used by this Korean teacher, which seemed to represent an exception in the school. Hence Abigail was learning from this difference among Korean teachers.

Thirdly, Abigail was comparing Korean teaching styles and strategies with those found in American schools. Here, Abigail's experience as a teaching assistant in an elementary school in America formed an important benchmark. In some cases, the comparing and contrasting led to misinterpretation and therefore to underestimating the students. For example, on one occasion Abigail was conducting an Easter craft session. Contrary to her expectation, the Korean students could not use the glue sticks she offered them. Abigail commented:

> I assumed they could use a glue stick like Mrs Anderson's class. Well most of them couldn't. I should have just had them colour pictures of eggs.
> [24.APR.2012 - Diary 6 / Abigail]

As shown in the extract above, Abigail was comparing American students and Korean students, and this was linked to a negative contrast. Abigail upheld Mrs Anderson's class as the model, and endorsed her previous experience as the normative form of behaving. The Korean students were perceived as not fitting into this norm. At the same time, it was her 'learning-in-practice' that for the children in that classroom practice she would need to plan simpler activities according to their situational needs.

Abigail's experience working in an American school may have scaffolded her learning to be a teacher and, therefore, she unconsciously compared the current scene of teaching to that previous teaching scene. Hence she interpreted differences in her new experience as contrasts that did not fit into the norm as she understood it.

Abigail also commented on the differences in teaching strategy between America and Korea, in terms of the use of activities such as games.

In elementary schools in the United States, it is mostly teaching and worksheets with some games but not much.

[23.FEB.2102 – Diary1 / Abigail]

Contrary to Abigail's experience in the US, in her Korean classroom the game strategy seemed appropriate, as the children responded well to it.

A:… Um… and they seem to enjoy that to be active and then using their conversational skills along with the game.

[26.MAR.2012 – Interview 3 / Abigail]

Abigail perceived the 'game' as a strategy to draw out children's conversational skills. Later, she faced a situation where children were upset about the game result and did not engage in learning properly. This led Abigail to reflect on why games were used only occasionally in teaching in America.

I had Maymie, Irene and Emily. We reviewed classroom objects. Irene cried because she didn't win a round, and just put her head down on her desk. … (ellipsis)… I tried to see how Irene was doing but she wouldn't talk with me and Areum seemed a little uncomfortable. So it was frustrating. But later I saw her playing again. Maybe this is why teachers at home don't play games that much.

[22.JUN.2012 - Diary 8 / Abigail]

This event showed how Abigail could learn from unexpected reactions from the students, which would require an instant shift in direction in the classroom. In the TaLK training sessions she had been trained to use games in the class for efficiency, but had not been prepared for possible negative reactions.

In the situation described above, Abigail was trying to apply games in her classes, then faced some difficulties. The children were focusing on the game activity to the detriment of the learning content, and experienced positive or negative emotion according to whether they won or lost the game. Recalling her previous experience as both teacher and student in America, she concluded that such difficulties provided a reason for not implementing games very much in American schools. By doing this, she seemed to be affirming the norm in American schools.

Fourthly, Abigail learned about the atmosphere of Korean schools. Whilst she was comparing and contrasting teaching styles among the experienced teachers, she noticed that, in contrast to the situation in America, in Korea the school atmosphere and the teaching styles within it were constructed and developed in conventional ways. She reported that Korean teachers seemed to reveal their teacher identity in similar ways, such as by yelling at the students:

> S: … you mentioned that most of teachers used yelling as a way to control the class, and I agree.
> A: At all ages it seems, except for kindergarten… but they usually behave that badly.
> S: Even in kindergarten?
> A: …Not in kindergarten... Only if they are gonna get hurt… it seems like…
> S: I think because the teachers were educated in that way. They were using-
> A: Um… they were using the same way.
> S: And maybe they assumed that that's a the way to build their-
> A: Authority.
>
> [08.AUG.2012 – Interview 9 / Abigail]

Although Abigail seemed to agree with the researcher's comment that the Korean teachers might have been repeating what they had experienced from their own teachers,

she interpreted such teacher behaviour as a way to control the classes and therefore maintain teacher authority.

There are some 'stereotypical images of teachers' (Britzman, 1991:5). In Abigail's case, she seemed to possess a clear image of the ideal teacher and appropriate teacher behaviours, and she wanted to learn to be like those imagined ideal teachers. Such images are socially constructed in a location, and underlying them are features such as national, linguistic and cultural differences (Britzman, 1991). The Korean teachers' class management techniques were different from what Abigail expected, but through observing their teaching, Abigail was learning-in-practice about some distorted form of classroom management.

The final element of Abigail's learning-in-practice was the Korean school norm. According to Eckert (2000:31), 'norms define normal behaviour' of the practice. Abigail's understanding that Korean teachers teach in conventional ways informed her understanding of the way they socialized, thus expanding her overall understanding of one kind of norm in Korea.

Abigail noted that, unlike in American schools, the culture of the Korean school was hierarchical. This hierarchical nature existed as an underlying norm of the school structure.

> Another day of volleyball. I think I didn't do as well, but today it seemed like we had many more people probably because the principal was there.
> [20.MAR.2012 - Diary 4 / Abigail]

> A: … um… and difference in like how schools are set up. Or like the school system… they're not… I mean the principal is very important but it's not as hierarchical, as it is here.
> S: Yeah.

A: Um… I mean… I guess… you would have like … I mean the principal would hold more power, but it wouldn't be like if the principal said something that you had to do it, like… it seems like it is her… um…
S: Yeah, that's true.

[26.MAR.2012 – Interview 3 / Abigail]

From Abigail's perspective, this hierarchical structure caused a breakdown in communication among people in the school.

A:… And also I think what would help would be, not to like, say anything bad about like… hierarchy, but I don't like how they consider the principal at such a high level, above everyone else? It doesn't open means of communicating with each other. And allow them to help each other and benefit as a whole? It's more like, 'She says I need to do this, I have to do it. I can't discuss it with her.' Instead of discussing it with her, they say they have meetings for discussion? But it seems like if you're always afraid that what you say is going to get you into trouble, or not going to go over well with the principal or the vice principal? Then that breaks down communication and you can't improve as a school because you're too afraid of what you're going to say. It's like having a dictatorship. Like no one wants to be the person who is sent to camp to do work or something, so…

[04.JUN.2012 – Interview 6 / Abigail]

Abigail had a sceptical attitude towards the hierarchical structure of the school, as it created an atmosphere of top-down command, rather than equal communication. Thus it ruined the 'familiarity and excitement' (Wenger *et al*., 2002a:61) of the community gathering.

The comparisons and contrasts discussed above were all made after Abigail's actual participation in the teaching practice or through observation of the Korean teachers. Through such comparing and contrasting, Abigail was able to develop her own ideal school atmosphere as one that was non-hierarchical, and allowed equal communication.

Abigail's interpretation of her observation was her way of learning. Whether she was interpreting what she observed as the normative scene or as not conforming to the norm, she was, nevertheless, 'learning-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:155).

5.2.1.2 Learning by comparison and contrast: Evan

Comparing and contrasting between different Korean schools appeared frequently in Evan's data set. He was the only of the TaLK scholars in this study to be able to do this, as he was the only one who had previously worked in another Korean school. To some extent, to Evan, his allocation to a new school represented a 'fresh start' (Liu & Fisher, 2006:356). From the beginning of his life in the new school, he started to compare his experience with that in the previous school, especially by comparing students and teachers.

> E: … The students themselves are about the same. They're a mixed bag. These students are in individual grades, so it's easier to teach them. But what made the previous school easier was ultimately that I had an excellent co-teacher. And that was the one thing I had really going for me. He was in the top tier of the world of co-teachers. The classes were much more effective. My classes are much less effective here because I don't have that extra help.
> [16.JUL.2012 – Interview 6 / Evan]

It seemed as if Evan was complaining about his current school and situation; however, this was his way of learning-in-practice. Evan had gained knowledge on teaching through his experience in the previous school, and he accepted it as the norm in Korea. However, in the new school, that norm did not exist, and the teaching conditions were very different from what he had encountered before. In complaining, Evan was pointing out the differences; it was his way of interpreting his situation.

As the new school was different from the previous school, even though Evan was not happy with it, he had to adjust to the new school's system. During the process of comparing and contrasting, some of the issues raised represented the difference between the two schools, and caused Evan to learn to accept things as they were. In Evan's perception, the previous school system was better than that of his current school.

> Due to scheduling between lunch and my first class I typically had an hour or more off at my previous school during normal break times which I used to inquire about problems, concerns, or performance input (socializing directly with the teachers was difficult, even there). At my new school I don't do even that.
>
> [01.APR.2012 – Diary 2 / Evan]

> E: … The other school was better organized. The mentor teacher was more organized than this one so information would get to me faster, things like that.
>
> [16.JUL.2012 – Interview 6 / Evan]

Life in the previous school had become a nostalgic memory that offered a benchmark for teaching atmosphere and school system, so that for Evan it came to represent a perfect teaching environment. Based on this benchmark, he could compare and contrast it with his current experience in the present school. This was a significant part of his learning process as a teacher. He started to miss the previous school's system, but he had to find a way to get used to the new school. Hence, the difficulties and differences in the new school become learning-in-practice for Evan.

Evan had learned and developed certain forms of teaching strategies and curriculum development in the previous school, but as the teaching practice had changed, he had to seek ways to adapt those strategies and the curriculum design to the new setting. For example, in his previous school Evan's lesson plans had tended to be rather vague.

However, in the new school, this did not work properly. The first refinement was to change his curriculum design to become much more specific.

> Unfortunately, the previous teaching strategies I developed for my old school are falling flat at my new school. I learned to keep my lessons vague, using help from my Korean co-teacher to promote and command understanding, and having each class member participate in a big project (whether it was as simple as building a construction paper tree, analysing some simple English writing or grammar, or for the older kids breaking down small English sentences with the help of my co-teacher).
>
> [01.APR.2012 – Diary 2 / Evan]

As there was no Korean co-teacher who Evan could rely on, Evan had to be more specific in his lesson planning.

The second adaptation that Evan applied in his new classroom was to reduce the number of lesson points. It seemed that in the previous school Evan had more freedom in lesson planning; he had adopted a fluid pattern of teaching, following certain separate tracks and therefore covering several points within one lesson.

> I find that, at my previous school, I had to keep three separate tracks of lessons, so three running lesson points. So… I couldn't use one lesson for multiple classes with small changes. At this school, I find that… I can use one lesson multiple times, as long as I adjust, if I'm teaching to their level. Like third graders haven't learned directions yet in their official curriculum. So I know that I'll have to spend more time on going forward, behind, upward, straight, turn left, turn right. With the older kids, they should know it, because they've done it before.
>
> [06.MAY.2012 – Interview 3 / Evan]

However, perhaps due to the different school systems, in the current school Evan was able to use one lesson plan in several classes with minor changes. It was not clearly stated whether Evan was asked by the school to follow the content in the official curriculum and could, therefore, simply follow lesson points that had already been covered in the daytime English class. This may be what reduced Evan's efforts in lesson planning in both positive and negative ways.

Evan also had to get used to teaching alone. Unlike in the previous school, there was no Korean co-teacher until the last month of his teaching. Eventually this forced Evan to lower his standards of student achievement.

> Without a reliable Korean speaker in the classroom (since my Korean skills are not nearly adequate to such an advanced task), I've been forced to either lower my standards (which can be difficult, since I know my kids would benefit from being challenged more), or relying on more advanced students realizing my instructions and translating them into Korean for their classmates (which can't be relied on for accuracy).
>
> [01.APR.2012 – Diary 2 / Evan]

> E:… Or, if I had a Korean speaker in the classroom, who's Korean, um… when I had my co-teacher at my previous school he could communicate those ideas in Korean that I could not in English. And then they went, 'Ah!' And then they could use those ideas to conjugate English better than they did before, like making proper pronoun choices. Like, 'I like my book.' Sometimes they say, 'My like my book.' But not it's 'I like my book.' And then the more you do it, the more they understood, the more they understood, the stronger that connection became and then they could use it correctly. I can't do that with my current class because that's just too many layers beyond their understanding right now. So, I can't do that. Yeah.
>
> [06.MAY.2012 – Interview 3 / Evan]

Evan had to rely on 'more advanced students' understanding his instructions and translating them into Korean, even though he could not be sure whether the translation

was correct. However, as he knew that there was nobody to act as a bridge between him and the students, Evan was also adopting and applying Korean words, gestures and facial expressions. In this way, he was developing further as a teacher, trying to become a bilingual teacher himself.

> E: … And I still use, uh… Korean instructions… like if I want to tell them something, I still say 'E:여기, 얘들아.[Look, kids.] (Inaudible)' And… I know the Hagwon boys, it's REALLY good for their attention. Uh… I think it was one of 8th grade students, he said, 'Teacher! Your ENGLISH, uh, your KOREAN is GOOD!' And I said, 'No. 아니. [No]!' And they said, 'Wow! You speak Korean!' And I went '어, 조금. [Yes. A little bit.]'[And they went] Huh!!! Huh!!!'
>
> [19.JUN.2012 - Interview 4 / Evan]

By being a bilingual teacher in his classroom, Evan could develop his skill in interacting with the students. This brings to mind the point raised by Hornberger & Johnson (2007:527) that the teacher can, if s/he chooses, 'incorporate minority languages, thus creating a space in which multilingualism is used as a resource'. Evan used the Korean language to open up a space for interaction with the students, and they responded positively. In this way, Evan could fill the gap that was created by the lack of a Korean speaking teacher in the classroom.

These three main refinements in Evan's teaching performance represented a rather regressive tendency in his learning to be a teacher, as he decided to simplify his curriculum and his expectations of students' learning. However, he was learning skill in negotiation. In a situation where the teaching condition was totally different from that of the previous school, Evan had to find a way to negotiate with the practice. This was a

difficult process; however, the difficulty itself offered an opportunity for Evan to accept the situation and learn from it.

Among these three refinements that Evan had to decide to accept, the lack of a Korean co-teacher was the one that influenced him most. At first, not having a Korean co-teacher threatened the smooth flow of his lessons, but later, it became an opportunity for him to learn-in-practice to develop himself as a bilingual teacher. Varghese *et al*. (2005) report that, 'teachers were actually involved in a more challenging process wherein they actively sought and negotiated an identity as bilingual teachers and often developed conflicted and marginalized professional identities' (28-29). Without help from a Korean co-teacher, Evan had to lead his classes alone. To be able to do so he had to cope with the given situation, which required that he reduce the number of learning points in each lesson, make his plans more specific and seek help from students for translation.

Evan seemed to perceive his current school as a site where things were not subject to being changed. Later, this lowered his morale as he continued the process of trial and error.

> I wonder if it's worth investing the time and effort to change my circumstances when I'm scheduled to leave in 2-3 months.
> [17.MAY.2012 - Diary 5 / Evan]

His reaction was mainly due to the lack of time he had left in the school, but he also perceived that it would be worthless to put effort into refining his practice.

Evan's learning-in-practice in the previous school had formed the 'paradigmatic frame' that he was to bring to the new school, a frame developed through '*complementary studies*' (Clarke, 2008:56, Author's italics). In the current school, his learning-in-practice was to simplify the teaching content and focus on interactional skills rather than applying various teaching strategies. This now formed part of his learning process and contributed to shaping his teacher identity.

What novice teachers 'experience as learners of teaching dramatically shapes their views of practice' (Korthagen, Loughran & Russell, 2006:1026). By comparing and contrasting, Abigail and Evan clearly showed what they had learned in their new practice. In the learning-in-practice, previous experiences are implemented as benchmarks on the journey to becoming a teacher, and this is a continuous process, in which novice teachers collect benchmarks that may be compared and contrasted and therefore adjusted to be suitable for their teaching practice. Therefore, whilst they are managing opportunities and challenges in the practice, they are learning from the practice, and this learning shapes their teacher identity.

5.2.2 Learning to be a teacher: future aspirations and dealing with challenges

Whilst novice teachers are 'learning-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:155), they undergo learning they had not expected. As discussed in the previous section, in the practice the TaLK scholars were actively seeking for learning by comparing and contrasting their current situation to their previous experience. However, they were also forced to learn-

in-practice according to the situations imposed upon them by the school, and this enforced learning was part of the TaLK scholars' journey of learning to be teachers.

5.2.2.1 Future aspirations of Abigail and Fiona

At the beginning of the fieldwork, the TaLK scholars were asked about their aspirations for the future. Their reasons for coming to Korea and their future aspirations will be briefly explained.

Abigail aimed to be a teacher. The question about her aspirations was asked several times, and her answers are shown below.

Figure 32: Abigail's statement on her future goal

Feb
- A: Um… I wanted... I… my goal is to be a credential teacher in elementary school, so I thought that this gonna be a good experience, and I also had two friends back at home, went through TaLK, too. They enjoyed it as well. [15.FEB.2012 - Interview 1 / Abigail]

May
- A: After I go to this school, I'll be a teacher. If I pass. [08.MAY.2012 – Interview 5 / Abigail]

June
- I want to be a patient and loving elementary school teacher.

- I had found that I wanted to be an elementary school teacher and wanted to take a year off before I went back to pursue my teaching credential. …(ellipsis)… I had applied to the TaLK program wanting to travel and to acquire more teaching experience. When I leave in August, I will begin my teaching credential program at a State University.

- I will be attending a State (university) in their multi-subject credential program in August to go towards this goal. [22.JUNE.2012 - Diary 8 / Abigail]

To achieve her career goal, Abigail wanted to get experience in teaching, and this was one of the steps she needed to go through to be a 'credential teacher'. So, her entire teacher life in a Korean school was part of her journey to be a teacher.

Fiona was planning to go to postgraduate school to study chemistry, as she wanted to become a doctor. More specifically, Fiona wanted to provide medical treatment to people in poverty. As she also stated that if she could not be a doctor she would volunteer to work in third world countries, it was clear that her actual future goal was to give help to those who needed it. Being a doctor was one way to help people. In the first interview, she was asked why she had decided to come to Korea, and she said that she wanted to help children who wanted to learn English. She had perceived TaLK as a volunteer programme intended to support Korean children living in poor rural areas.

Figure 33: Fiona's statement on her future goal

APR
- S: Why did you decide to be a language teacher in Korea?
- F: Um… I had an interest in Korea before I came here. And then I also… liked the TaLK programme because… they said… it would… be helpful… to the rural… uh, rural children. And I like to volunteer so I thought that it would be a service-oriented programme. That's why I came to… teach with the TaLK programme. [03.APR.2012 – Interview 1 /Fiona]

JUN
- My future goal is to be a doctor and build clinics in third world countries and if that is not possible then I want to volunteer in third world countries. [22.JUN.2012 – Diary 7 / Fiona]

JUL
- My future plan is to go to medical school once I go back to the US. Although, after coming to Korea I'm not sure if I have a passion for it anymore. I feel like teaching is a good job and I would love to continue to teach children. If I find that medicine is not for me, I plan to come back to Korea. [22.JUL.2012 – Diary 8 / Fiona]

Her teaching life in South Korea seemed meaningful to her as she was able to offer help to elementary school students in rural areas of South Korea, and this was in the same line as her aim to be someone who helps people who are in need of help. Although the context was different, for Fiona the meaning was the same.

As shown above, Fiona's goal to be a helper by taking on the role of doctor was sustained until the fifth month of her contract. However, in the final month of her stay in Korea, Fiona stated the possibility that she could become a teacher. After her six months as a teacher, teaching seemed meaningful to Fiona in the sense that it would be another form of helping others. At that point, it seems to have become another option for her future, and clearly the experience in a Korean school had influenced her by giving a positive impression of the teacher role.

In the local schools, the TaLK scholars experienced both opportunities and challenges. All experiences, whether positive, neutral or negative, functioned as building experience and therefore a mean of learning for the novice teachers, which influenced their future goals. In the following sections, the process of Abigail and Fiona's learning to be teachers will be explained.

5.2.2.2 Managing Wednesday class: Fiona

One of the biggest challenges Fiona faced in her school was the situation with her Wednesday class. The pupils attending the class kept changing, so that Fiona could not predict even which grade she would have. Different levels, ages, and grades of students were put into the Wednesday class and, as a result, Fiona felt frustrated.

Another issue is my Wednesday class is constantly being changed so I never know what grade I will be teaching and at what time. It is very frustrating.

[01.MAY.2012 – Diary 5 / Fiona]

The constant changes were due to the bus schedule, as some students had to get the 4 o'clock bus.

F: Uh… yeah. The first class I have on Wednesdays… first, uh, kinder-, Wednesdays… I teach from morning, and I start (inaudible) kindergarten. And then I teach the 1st and 2nd grade… and then, it's like the class, 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th graders… and then, it's the… class of… just 3rd and 4th grader… there's just a few students… and the reason that they just combined the classes… because like… some of the 3rd and 4th graders have to take the 4 o'clock bus.
S: Ah…

[08.JUN.2012 – Interview 5 / Fiona]

As a result, in addition to Fiona's normal classes on Wednesdays, she taught a combined class of 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th graders, and had to manage the different levels of students together. Rather than asking the mentor teacher for help, Fiona decided to find her own way to resolve the problem she was facing in her classroom.

I still have the same issue on Wednesday where I must teach 3-6 grades at once. I decided that on Wednesdays I will do some art project or show a movie. It will be a fun day for the students since they are always studying. This will also reduce my stress since I cannot teach so many varying levels of English.

[25.MAY.2012 - Diary 6 / Fiona]

After a short period attempting to teach all the levels in her class at once, Fiona accepted the reality. She was moving forward from awareness of the situation by expanding her understanding of the practice.

S: So… on Wednesdays, the lessons are frequently changing?

F: Oh, yeah. They still… do that. Cause that, now I just think like… on Wednes-, well, for my… what they do is they put my 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th graders… all in one class, so… I realized that I cannot teach…

… (ellipsis)… So… I just realiz-, decided… that on Wednesdays, when they do that… I am going to... do like, art (inaudible) craft class, or show a movie… or just review and play games… that way… the… that way, I am not… they… can look-, have fun on Wednesdays and I can… try to… at least make them… you know, not stress myself. Because… the first few times it happened… I tried to teach all the levels… and it didn't… it didn't… go well. (Laugh) because… the 3rd and 4th graders are asking me one thing and there are 5th and 6th graders asking me… and I was trying to teach two classes, but, so now… I told them on Wednesdays we will do some sort of… activity… that everyone can do…

S: Well, they will know it. They will know that… kind of classroom –

F: Yeah. It was a… 5th graders are asking…ur, like always asking me 'Teacher, why? Why?' So many… (Inaudible)… They know. They know that it's impossible to teach, so… I think they… like the 5th and 6th graders… know that… I cannot teach…

… (ellipsis)…

F: So… they try to, they try to make them come to English class, but… obviously they cannot learn… when there are so many different levels…

<div align="right">[08.JUN.2012 – Interview 5 / Fiona]</div>

As shown above, it was clear to Fiona that she could not teach so many different grades all together. Normally in terms of classroom management, Fiona would try to rely on Korean teachers. However, at this time, she faced the situation on her own as a teacher. To manage the students, Fiona organized an activity-oriented class that every student could participate in no matter which grade they were. By designing the Wednesday class in this way Fiona demonstrated her creativity, and her direction of learning - '*telos*' (Lave, 1996:156, Author's italics) - was changed from designing curriculum to becoming more efficient in successfully managing the different levels of students. Thus, a challenge helped her become more creative in her teaching, and led to her learning from the situation.

Fiona led the class she created alone, instead of expecting help and support from the Korean teachers. The situation was one that made Fiona feel frustrated, but the experience influenced her way of perceiving herself as a teacher who is able to manage a chaotic class on her own. Here, Fiona was learning to find ways to manage the classroom as a teacher who could handle the situation that had been imposed on her. The school placed her in a situation of having to manage a classroom with four different levels of students, whilst not sharing any linguistic repertoire with those students. Although the classroom should not have been created in that way, it became complementary information that led Fiona to know what is the manageable size of a classroom, and how the teacher can adapt to a given situation.

5.2.2.3 Lesson preparation: Abigail

For Abigail, in her process of learning to be a teacher, lesson preparation was a meaningful activity. When she arrived in her school, she was delighted with the resources available to her to use in her teaching.

> I also loved that I got many resources for games, materials and power points.
> I feel like I am well prepared for teaching in the classroom.
> [26.FEB.2012 - Diary 1 / Abigail]

This preparation of materials was enough to enhance Abigail's perception of herself as a prepared teacher. In addition to the materials already available in the classroom, Abigail produced additional materials for use in her teaching sessions. The high value she placed on preparing classes in advance with various supportive materials was something I noticed in my classroom observations. The materials ranged from simple drawing and

colouring materials to props for use in role-play activities, such as the fairy crown and magic wand shown in the image below.

Figure 34: Materials Abigail prepared for students

As shown above, in her school, Abigail had freedom in terms of material creation. This created an opportunity for her to learn, and she responded by producing various kinds of creative teaching materials to use in her classroom. Abigail spent a good deal of her time in this activity, and her creativity in material preparation was evident in the materials she produced.

Abigail also used to plan and prepare her lessons in advance.

> I got all my preparation for this week done. Only took me until May to be able to prepare ahead.
>
> > [03.JUN.2012 - Diary 7 / Abigail]

Lessons were planned a week in advance. This preparation was something that made Abigail feel like a real teacher, and for that reason, she did the work voluntarily.

In relation to the materials development and her self-perception as a teacher, Abigail was showing significant changes in her discourse regarding her classroom and teaching. In a diary written before she actually started teaching, Abigail had revealed her worries about classroom management.

> Classroom management makes me the most nervous. I am afraid that I won't be able to control my students. But I liked that I got many different ideas for classroom management so I can see what ones work the best with different ages.
>
> > [26.FEB.2012 - Diary 1 / Abigail]

At the same time, she showed a positive expectation by stating that she had several ideas for classroom management, and that was her starting point of being a language teacher in Korea. But Abigail also revealed her nervousness.

> I was nervous to be the head teacher.
>
> > [13.MAR.2012 - Diary 3 / Abigail]

> The bells rings, and I am suddenly nervous.
>
> > [13.MAR.2012 - Diary 3 / Abigail]

Sooner or later, after Abigail had actual access to teaching, this nervousness was disappeared. In the practice, Abigail tended to speak about what is appropriate and inappropriate, what needs to be considered, and what she needed to learn to be a teacher. She could achieve this knowledge through participation in the practice, and this was what she was 'learning-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:155).

Abigail sought her teacher development from the actual teaching role as an EFL teacher, and the effort given to lesson preparation and helping students' learning led her to feel like a real teacher.

> Today though, I did feel more like a teacher because I got to help individuals with the worksheet.
>
> > [28.MAR.2012 - Diary 5 / Abigail]
>
> I feel like a real teacher now, making hand-outs.
>
> > [28.MAR.2012 - Diary 5 / Abigail]
>
> In kindergarten, one of the boys asked to hear the ABC song again at the end of class. I was like of course, we can, anything to get you guys excited for learning.
>
> > [24.APR.2012 - Diary 6 / Abigail]

Although she could not hold the subjectivity in the classroom, Abigail's narrative shows her authority as a teacher through material creation. Later, she became more active in her teaching:

> I am getting out from the desk more often and relying on the computer less and less.
>
> > [24.APR.2012 - Diary 6 / Abigail]
>
> 6-3 was out of control, I actually had to yell to get their attention which worked well. They were very surprised to hear Teacher Abigail do that.

[24.APR.2012 - Diary 6 / Abigail]

In terms of classroom management, Abigail was also trying to get the students' attention. She started to leave the desk more frequently than before, and what she describes in the quotes above is evidence of her recognition of herself as a teacher who is leading the whole class, and, therefore, needs to move forward and also to control the class.

In summary, as shown above, in their schools, these two teachers' personal paradigmatic frameworks were applied in the process of their 'learning-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:155). Their pre-existing paradigmatic frames were contested and engaged with the learning from their lives in the local schools. The TaLK scholars' existing knowledge on teaching was contested in their new teaching practice, and through comparing and contrasting their current and previous experiences they were 'learning-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:155), adding to and broadening their paradigmatic frames as teachers. They were also learning-in-practice by managing situations that had been imposed on them.

5.3 'Identities-in-practice': Mutual Engagement

As noted by Lave (1996), the subject and the practice are mutually engaged with and constitute each other. The TaLK scholars' 'identities-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:157) were narrated and enacted (Kanno & Stuart, 2011) in the local schools through the novice teachers' construction of identity and performed identity (Kanno & Stuart, 2011) in the

situation. This may be the next step of 'learning-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:155), as the teachers actually started to reveal themselves in relation to the practice as teachers.

Whilst the TaLK scholars were 'learning-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:155), they found the ways in which they needed to perceive themselves in order to negotiate and engage with the community members. They revealed a 'narrated identity' (Kanno & Stuart, 2011:240) as 'accepters', according to which they would be flexible by following what the schools told them.

In their classrooms, the TaLK scholars also applied many strategies that they had learned from their previous experience of teaching and from the TaLK training programme, and which they had already compared and contrasted with their own personal paradigmatic framework; in this way, they were moving one step closer to being teachers. However, this was observed by the schools and interpreted in different ways. Each teacher had a unique reaction and response toward their school's comments, and this shows the TaLK scholars' different 'enacted identities' (Kanno & Stuart, 2011:240) in the situation. This will be discussed below.

5.3.1 Being flexible to negotiate with the school

As has been discussed in Chapter 4, in general the schools imposed the daily schedule, timetable and communication channels. None of these areas were open for negotiation, and therefore the TaLK scholars were in a position where they had no choice but to simply 'accept' what their school said.

5.3.1.1 Abigail

In Abigail's case, the school atmosphere influenced her self-perception as a trainee teacher; her status in the school was very low so that she could not hold any subjectivity as a teacher of the classes that she led. Although Abigail was teaching the lessons, the higher authority and the right to make decisions lay with the Korean teachers she co-taught with. In the practice, Abigail learned to be flexible.

> I have learned to be flexible in what I teach, because the homeroom teacher and mentor teacher tend to add things that are not in my lesson plan. Usually it has to do with activities. It isn't a bad thing, just something to get used to. It is their classroom as well. I am hesitant to stray away from the book even though Amy said I could. I feel limited since the topics are so narrow. I guess I could add in different activities. I also feel like I haven't gotten to use much of the information that I learned in orientation since I am coming to another teacher's set rules and plans.
>
> [20.MAR.2012 – Diary 4 / Abigail]

The need for flexibility was due to the unpredictability of the lessons and teaching themes, as the Korean teachers would add new things without discussing them with Abigail. It was also due to her resistance towards the school's forced positioning of her as a teacher who is expected to follow what the school says.

Once in the actual teaching practice, Abigail was no longer able to apply her learning from previous training, as she stepped into other teachers' rules and plans and had to work with topics that she found to be very narrow. Over time, this learning became Abigail's 'narrated identity' (Kanno & Sturt, 2011:240), that is, a 'discursively constructed [identity]' (Kanno & Sturt, 2011:240) in the Korean school. Therefore, Abigail decided to be flexible in the school, in which she could not hold subjectivity as she was placed in a teaching situation that already belonged to other teachers. The

school expected her to play a certain role (Harré & Van Langenhove, 1991) that did not match her own expectation, and through the school's imposing roles on Abigail in the situation, Abigail's narrated identity was constructed as that of 'accepter'.

Informed by the high value she placed on learning (Chapter 6), Abigail perceived herself as a practitioner teacher who was in the process of learning, and she tried to be 'flexible' rather than identify challenges as problems. This also applied to the linguistic challenge that had caused some difficulties in her teaching collaboration and driven her to perceive herself as not being accepted by the school members. Thus, flexibility became part of the knowledge that Abigail achieved in her life in Korea. Moreover, it was impossible for her to confront and argue about the problematic aspects of her life in the school, because her position as a young foreign teacher practitioner seemed to prevent her from doing so. Therefore, in her life in a Korean school, being flexible was her reaction towards the strict/unfamiliar atmosphere of the school and its teachers.

5.3.1.2 Fiona

In her school, Fiona was considered as an immature teacher who should be under rather strict supervision. One of the evidentiary facts for this was the school's demand that Fiona complete a teaching diary for each grade.

Figure 35: Fiona's teaching journal

Fiona talked about the teaching journal as below:

> F: Yeah, like… every week, the principal wants me to… to keep a diary and… things like that I taught. (Laugh) So I do it for all my classes. (Laugh)
> S: So… the principal is asking you to do this?
> F: Yeah.
>
> [03.APR.2012 – Interview 1 / Fiona]
>
> S: Hmm…
> F: Each of my… grade… I have to do... a diary.
>
> [03.APR.2012 – Interview 1 / Fiona]

Fiona had to write in the diary what she taught in relation to what subject. The fact that the school did not allow her to design her own curriculum was further evidence of the positioning of Fiona as an immature teacher. This strongly influenced the construction of Fiona's teacher self.

The school's perception of Fiona as immature was clearly expressed through the voice of the mentor teacher, Mrs Paeng, when she was giving her opinion of Fiona's teaching.

> As soon as she meets me, she was complaining about Fiona. She told me that Fiona was not good at teaching then she was asking me to 'lead' her to get better whilst I am observing her classes. … (Ellipsis)… Fiona and Mrs Paeng are standing on the opposite side of each other… The school is dissatisfied with Fiona, and vice versa.
>
> [06.APR.2012 – Field-note 1 / Fiona]

The dissatisfaction with Fiona's teaching performance was significant, but the reasons were not clearly stated. In fact, at the time the above field-note was written, in April 2012, the mentor teacher had not yet observed one of Fiona's classes, and yet she was saying that Fiona's teaching was not good. Brandt's study shows how feedback comments can be useful to trainees, but at the same time can also cause tension (Brant, 2008 cited in Copland, 2010). In Fiona's case, the mentor teacher's comments were not based on observation, as she did not stay in her seat to observe Fiona's class. Nevertheless, although the comments were not based on any clear source to assess Fiona's teaching, and the process of evaluation was opaque, they caused the construction of Fiona's 'narrated identity' (Kanno & Stuart, 2011:240) as an inefficient teacher. This was enough to put Fiona down and also had a negative influence on their relationship.

… the vice-principal asked her to speak slowly. He told (to) Fiona directly 'speak slowly, speak slowly, students cannot understand'. I asked Fiona why the vice-principal is asking her to speak slowly. Fiona told me that in the last Tuesday there was another open day session and in the session she spoke 'what time is it?!' fast as she wanted to make the students become more excited.

[21. JUN. 2012 - Field-note 3 / Fiona]

Fiona's mentor teacher and the principal placed her in the position of an immature teacher, and this affected her perception of herself. Their imposing of images on Fiona as a novice teacher and also as one individual among the Korean teacher community had a strong influence on Fiona, and after a few significant incidents, she decided to remain as an 'accepter' who just accepted what the school and the mentor teacher said.

One of these incidents was in relation to the attendance rate of the students. At the beginning of her teaching, the attendance rate of Fiona's 5th and 6th graders' class was low, and the principal was not happy with this. Fiona asked her mentor teacher for advice, and Mrs Paeng asked her to go and talk to the homeroom teacher. Fiona followed her instruction, but still not many students showed up in her classroom.

Something that occurred recently was that the principal was not satisfied with the attendance of students in my classes. In early March, I had only one student show up to my 5-6 class. I asked my mentor teacher what to do and she said that I should talk to the homeroom teacher. So after that I did talk to them but still on Fridays only one student showed up. But recently my mentor teacher made it seem as if I did not talk to them and it was my fault that the homeroom teachers were not sending their students to my class. Now I must show my mentor teacher my attendance records every day and she said that she will talk with the homeroom teachers. Now I just accept whatever my school asks me to do and do not question it.

[17.APR.2012 – Diary 3 / Fiona]

Even if Fiona accepted and followed the instructions from the mentor teacher, she was still blamed. Mrs Paeng perceived the situation as being Fiona's fault, and she asked

Fiona to bring her attendance sheet to her every day. In the third interview, Fiona

reported this incident in connection with her relationship with the mentor teacher.

S: … How's your mentor teacher?
F: Umm… the mentor teacher… she's fine. Ur… I don't really talk to her too much anymore. Just, uh… just when she asks to talk to me I talk to her… and then if she comes in to the office, I say 'hi'… um… I tried, yeah… I don't… want to talk to her too much, because … she… does not seem like… she's not like… want to see me that much either. (Laugh) because she doesn't… she's busy, I guess, so… but, um… oh, now, ur… at the beginning, ur, I was having problem… the first month I had problems, but… ur, students' attendance in my class. My… 5th and 6th graders… would not come to my class. So… I… tol-, I talked to my mentor teacher about this after the first time it happened. And she told me to like… go and see the homeroom teacher. So… I , ur… the next week, when that was happened, I went to the homeroom teacher, and they try to bring the students, but even then they… only one student came to my class, so… at the end of March, I had to turn in my… attendance… sheet for… for… for my school.
S: To mentor teacher?
F: Yeah, to my mentor teacher. And then she, she questioned me… she's like, 'Oh, why did you not tell this was happening?' And I was like, 'I told you and I… did what you, ur, told me which was going to the homeroom teacher.' And she was like, 'Oh, No, you didn't.' And I was like, 'Ok, I didn't.' And I just said, I just said that I didn't. Just… so I didn't have to get into an argument with her? So…
S: Huh? But you didn't make the mistake.
F: But… I have learned in Korean culture, you just have to like, accept. (Laugh)
S: No, it's not the Korean culture. No, no.
F: No? (Smiling) … (Ellipsis)… So it's like…
S: So the…
F: Now I have to show my attendance sheet every day.
S: Every day?
F: I have to go to her and show her.
S: You have a boss.
F: Yeah.
S: Bossy.
F: Yeah. So… now I have just learned, uh… for my school, I just have to… accept whatever they tell me… and just say yes… I didn't… regardless… (Laugh)

<div align="right">[03.MAY.2012 – Interview 3 / Fiona]</div>

The relationship was not very familiar, and then this incident seemed to escalate the situation into a crisis. Although Fiona followed the mentor teacher's suggestion, i.e. to go and talk to the homeroom teacher, Mrs Paeng believed that Fiona had not done so, and Fiona decided just to accept that belief as true, saying 'Ok, I didn't', even though it was not the fact. The reason seems to have been that Fiona did not want to further damage the relationship; she placed a high value on close relationships (Chapter 6) and also knew what would happen if she challenged what the mentor teacher said, even though it was not the truth. Although these incidents jeopardized the relationship between Fiona and her mentor teacher, Fiona decided to accept what the school and her mentor teacher said.

> S: … hmm… I was quite surprised with the statement here, 'Now I just accept-
> F: (Laugh)
> S: - whatever my school asked me to do and do not question it'.
> F: Yeah. Because… I questioned… that when I have problems with them… so now… I just… if they don't pay me, I don't say, I don't really… complain or say anything… I will just say like, 'Oh, um… I did not get my salary, yet. Do you know… if there's a problem?' And if she says 'um… just wait', I wait. I don't, I don't… try to say anything. Because, if I contact to TaLK, um… if I try to TaLK, they will contact to her, and then she… gets very angry with me, so… I don't want to cause any problems. So…
>   [03.MAY.2012 – Interview 3 / Fiona]

In Fiona's view, she needed to avoid questioning her mentor teacher. As a subject, Fiona could hold subjectivity. Her uncomfortable relationship with the school led her to construct her 'narrated identity' (Kanno & Stuart, 2011:240) as an accepter. By deciding to follow what the mentor teacher said without question, Fiona was also able to flexibly adjust the moment of encounter with Mrs Paeng, to avoid further conflict. In the next meeting, I again asked about her position as an accepter in her school.

S: Ok. And I was saddened by the statement of you which says that you are now just accept whatever your school ask you, and…

F: Uh… If I try to fight them… I realized it doesn't… it DOESN'T end well. So now I just… like my pay, I don't even bother… I will not gonna complain… to anyone. Because if I complain, she is gonna get angry, and make me to print out the email and show it to everyone… and right now, my relationship is kind of good. I don't want to destroy that…

S: Yeah… I can see the point.

F: Yeah… so, even though it's like… for a while, now. (Laugh) I just don't try anything…

<div align="right">[08.JUN.2012 - Interview 5 / Fiona]</div>

It appeared that Fiona seemed afraid to ruin her relationship with the school. Through the previous experience, she knew that any confrontation would not end in a positive way. In one case, the mentor teacher had shamed Fiona by circulating Fiona's e-mail among the Korean teachers. Fiona decided to accept and follow what the school wanted her to do, and she perceived her acceptance as her learning of Korean culture. So, in her school, Fiona's identity was imposed by the school. Identity is situated and co-constructed in the situation. As she could not negotiate in this context, Fiona seemed to choose to protect herself by positioning as an accepter; at the same time, it seemed to her that this was unavoidable.

Later, not only did she accept what the school said to her, but Fiona also decided to accept extra work.

F: So… after that I just said 'Ok, then. I will just come to you from now on.' And so… since then I go to her, and tell her, 'Oh, my 5th and 6th graders and 3rd and 4th graders did not come to class.' But she always seems… that very adg(inaudible)tated when I go and tell her that, she is like 'Huh!' And then she has to go and get them for me.

<div align="right">[03.MAY.2012 – Interview 3 / Fiona]</div>

Rather than arguing, Fiona made sure of what she was to do if the same thing happened again, and that was accepted by the mentor teacher.

To summarize, through various incidents in the practice, and their decision to accept whatever was imposed on them by their schools, Abigail and Fiona took on narrated identities as being flexible. At the same time, they were showing their enacted identities, which was just to follow whatever their schools wanted them to do, rather than performing actively.

Closely related to this aspect was the blocking of Abigail and Fiona's creativity in their schools. This will be shown below.

5.3.2 Creativity and freedom in curriculum design

In the practice, certain forms of teaching material and curriculum design were reified as the best options to follow. In the cases of Abigail and Fiona, as soon as they showed their creativity, their 'enacted identity' (Kanno & Stuart, 2011:240) as enthusiastic novice teachers who pour effort into the creation of teaching materials was not well received by the schools, especially the principals, and then their curriculum and teaching materials were criticized. Through these challenges, Abigail and Fiona found that their creativity was curtailed, and later these two young teachers showed different ways of applying creativity to their classes.

In Abigail's case, she decided to accept what her school said by no longer producing materials. However, Fiona continued to use her game strategy, as it was a legitimate means to enhance children's understanding.

5.3.2.1 Displaying poster strategy: Abigail

On 9th April, 2012, Abigail and Amy (her Korean mentor teacher) conducted a role-playing session about joining a club. Abigail produced posters for the activity.

> Monday all of our classes were in the English Town. Soyoung came and visited for my first classroom visit. … (ellipsis)… We had a club day kind of set up and I had made the posters over the weekend.
>
> [24.APR.2012 - Diary 6 / Abigail]

In the activity, students were asked to choose one club that they wanted to join. Students worked in pairs. One became the club leader who received the application form and did a short interview, and the other became the applicant and interviewee. To join a club, the applicant had to fill in the application form and then explain in English to the club leader the reasons why s/he wanted to join the club.

Figure 36: Photos of students in their role-playing activity

For the role-playing activity, Abigail produced several posters with characteristic images for each club. One of the posters was for the K-pop (Korean pop music) club; it was decorated with a photograph of Big Bang (a Korean pop group), and used a 'boxing' theme, as shown below.

Figure 37: Poster for music club that Abigail produced [left] and the original version [right]

Figure 38: Another picture of 'Bigbang in the ring' photo from Vogue magazine Korea
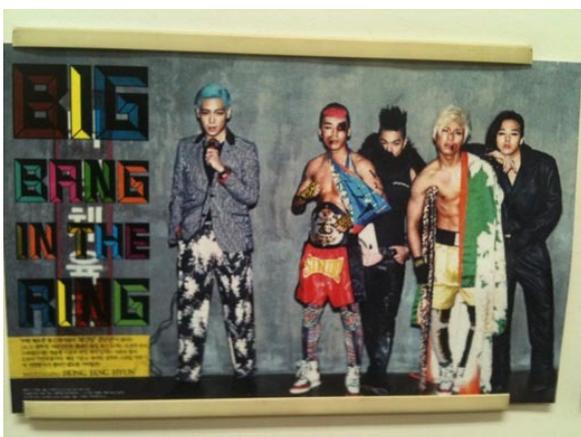
The source for the picture was Vogue magazine Korea (picture on the right), where the feature had adopted the concept 'Big Bang in the Ring'

(http://news.naver.com/main/read.nhn?mode=LSD&mid=sec&sid1=103&oid=008&aid=0002757882). 'Big Bang' refers to the name of the group, which is quite famous in Korea for the uniqueness of its music and style. In the poster that Abigail produced, the small handwriting above each person's head is their name: Taeyang, Daesung, G-Dragon, Seungri and Top.

As shown in the images above, in the poster as in the original photograph, the pop artists were presented in a particular way around a boxing theme of masculinity and fighting, and two of them were styled as boxers. The boxers were partly dressed and the wounds and bruises on their faces were prominent. One of the boxers, who wore a green gown, was supporting himself on crutches covered with leopard printed fur

http://image.search.naver.com/search.naver?sm=tab_hty.top&where=image&ie=utf8&query=%EB%B9%85%EB%B1%85+%EB%B3%B4%EA%B7%B8+%ED%99%94%EB%B3%B4.

These pictures were published in March, 2012 and the lesson was conducted on 9th April, 2012. Abigail did not specify the reasons why she chose these particular pictures to refer to the music club, but as they were newly released images at that time, and represented a famous Korean pop group, Abigail seemed to consider that using them would help the students understand the concept of the K-pop club.

Later, unfortunately, Abigail's effort and creativity in producing the posters was undervalued, and her principal judged the posters as inappropriate for use in a classroom. Amy, Abigail and I went to the principal's room and she asked about the activity. The

principal checked the curriculum and teaching materials. While Amy was showing the teaching materials, the principal maintained a pleasant manner, until she saw the poster that Abigail had produced.

> Amy was reporting the lesson curriculum and the materials that were used today. Whilst the principal looked through the materials that Amy had brought for her, she frowned when she saw the poster that Abigail had made for the lesson.
> It was a photo of boxer concept and the principal asked Amy and Abigail whether they did not consider the photo to be too violent and could thus have a negative influence on the students.
> …(ellipsis)…
> I could see Amy's embarrassed face. Abigail, of course could not know exactly what the principal was talking about as the discussion was in Korean, but she may have guessed from the frown on the principal's face.
> The principal switched to English to say to Abigail, 'This, picture, no. Not good.'
>
> [09.APR.2012 – Field-note 1-5 / Abigail]

As shown above, the principal was not happy with the poster. She perceived it as too violent, and something that could influence the students to think that 'hitting is not a bad thing'. She seemed to link the boxing directly to violence. However, from Abigail's point of view, the picture simply showed famous Korean pop stars, who represent music. This was the only poster to which photographs were attached, and it represented her creativity and willingness to try something different. For the movie, soccer and dance club posters, Abigail had drawn her own characters and, again, the investment (Norton, 2001) was undervalued by the principal.

Later, in the interview, I asked about this level of control and whether it was a one-off incident or whether it happened regularly. Abigail confirmed that it was an infrequent occurrence.

S: Ok. I was surprised 'cause you… the principal was asking (to) you and your mentor teacher to bring the lesson plan and the things that you've done in the class.
A: Uh-huh.
S: Does that normally happen or was it the first time…
A: That was the first time. She could have just come over and seen the role-playing. That's ok. Yeah. That's the first time that she overreacted, that's why I was kinda surprised. I was like 'Oh, okay.'
S: Ok. Um… I was wondering whether you need to do this every Monday or-
A: No, I don't, thankfully… And hopefully we won't have to do role-play every… every Monday, because that means that I won't ever get to teach them the stuff from the textbook! 'Cause I only get them once a week um… but yeah, I know. That was just that … 'cause she wants us to use the… the room, so…

[09APR2012- Interview 4 / Abigail]

According to Abigail's response, the principal did not visit the activity room often, and that was 'the first time that she overreacted'. By saying so, Abigail was expressing her surprise at the principal's reaction to her material.

As the principal allowed the classroom to be used as English Town, Amy and Abigail seemed to have to justify its use in that way. Therefore, they did a great deal of preparation for the role-playing sessions that would take place there. However, the single evaluation by the principal had a huge influence on Abigail. In situated learning, the 'link between learning and identity' can be set up 'by viewing learning as an identification process' (Varghese *et al*., 2005:29). To be an 'active participant' (Varghese *et al*., 2005:29), Abigail had to have opportunities to understand people's participation in the practice, but her attempt to look closely at it was criticized by the principal. As shown in the above vignette, the creativity that Abigail applied to her teaching material was disapproved of by the principal, and this influenced her perception of herself as not yet legitimate as a member of the community. By saying 'hopefully we won't have to do role-play every… every Monday', it seemed that

Abigail was starting to establish a 'conflicted and marginalized professional [identity]' (Varghese *et al.*, 2005:29). As a result, she may have been learning not to be too creative or to use too much initiative.

5.3.2.2 Applying game strategy: Fiona

When Fiona first started work in her school, she was allowed freedom in terms of curriculum design. So, she was applying various activities, including games, in her teaching.

> … and I am able to design my own curriculum and lessons.
>
> [05.APR.2012 – Diary 2 / Fiona]

Fiona was also applying a great deal of what she had learned from the TaLK orientation, mainly with regard to classroom management. This shows how '*complementary studies*' (Clarke, 2008:56, Author's italics) from the training sessions would be linked into the newcomers' 'identities-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:157) so that they were developing themselves and at the same time influencing the practice by performing roles that they had learned. Fiona could see the usefulness of what she had learned, and its suitability for use in her classroom.

> The TaLK training programme also provided us with a list of topics we might want to cover during the semester. This helped me to develop my curriculum for the semester. Also we were taught how to design our classes. We were told to design a seating chart so that the disruptive students were unable to bother others. Also we were told to pair the advanced students with less advanced students so they could help them. …(ellipsis)… One of the most

effective methods of classroom management that I have acquired from the training was the three strikes.

…(ellipsis)… Another method was the sticker chart system.

[05.APR.2012 – Diary 2 / Fiona]

As shown above, Fiona designed her own curriculum, based on the one provided by TaLK. She mentioned that she remembered specific strategies that she had learned from the TaLK orientation and applied those strategies in her classes. This indicated that although Fiona chose the topic, the actual teaching strategies and materials she used came from the TaLK orientation. The content of the TaLK training was good enough to be implemented in her classroom, and was very helpful in her teaching in Korean schools.

S: Um… Which part of the training was useful to be used in your… real teaching context?

F: Um… Uh, I think it's, uh… different part of the… programme are useful, uh… the classroom management was useful, one of the strategies we've learned… uh, from my, ur… another TaLK scholar who gave a lecture, was basically uh… to try to control the class you have to… like… do a box? (inaudible) System, where the students get three strikes, and after three strikes the whole class gets punished, like… holding up hands (laugh)… whatever… things like that. And then… the other parts that were… useful that told us like… to use songs, to use games… with the kids, things like that. Things that kept them interacting and… basically having um… stand up and… use their whole body to learn English, basically. Things like that were the most useful for me.

[03.APR.2012 – Interview 1 / Fiona]

Fiona tried to follow and apply the materials and the strategies that she had learned from the TaLK training sessions, as they seemed useful. These useful strategies included games. To enhance students' understanding, Fiona applied various game activities (Kirk & McPhail, 2002) - from 'static' activities where the students remained in their seats, to

those where students 'stand up and …use their whole body', as Fiona mentioned in the interview quoted above.

However, Fiona's effort was not appreciated by the principal. Then, unfortunately, the principal took away Fiona's freedom in curriculum design, and instructed her to follow the TaLK textbook. Fiona said that she had been able to plan what she wanted to do in her classroom until just a few days before the date of the first interview, so I asked her whether the principal or the mentor teacher had had any chance to observe her class.

> S: … Does your principal observed your class?
> F: No, um… he was actually in the gym when I … when he saw me bringing my lunch… and he didn't like that and… so, he came in… um… during my 1st and 2nd grade class and… but he was staying about… um… a minute or two? And then… he… left and then I guess he told my mentor teacher that he didn't like… how I was teaching…
> S: But… how can he figure it out with just one or two minutes of observation?
> F: I don't know (laugh) so… he told me to use that so from now on, I just use that instead of anything I did. (Pause 7 sec.)
> [03.APR.2012 – Interview 1 / Fiona]

Fiona said that the principal actually came into her class for about a minute and then left. After this short visit, rather than an observation, her freedom in curriculum design was curtailed by both the principal and the mentor teacher.

> S: … (ellipsis)… Was there any-
> F: Um… uh, she told me to, ur, at first I was using my own curriculum and my own material, but then… I guess my principal… didn't like it. So… uh… he told my mentor teacher that I should use TaLK textbook, uh… I have it if you want to look at it. So… he told me that I should follow the TaLK textbook, and… since this week I am just following that and… instead of using my own curriculum, because…
> [03.APR.2012 – Interview 1 / Fiona]

> However, the principal did not seem to like my teaching system where I would teach the day's lesson, then test the students using a worksheet and then play a game with them. He advised me to follow the TaLK textbook. Since then, I have not been following my own curriculum and have been teaching right from the textbook.
>
> [05.APR.2012 – Diary 2 / Fiona]

The principal seemed not to like Fiona's use of games in her class. He did not value her creativity in curriculum design, and he informed her that she needed to stop developing the curriculum on her own and should follow the TaLK textbook given to her by the mentor teacher.

> Although I have had to change my curriculum upon the principal's request, I feel that it was for the better. It is much easier to lesson plan now because I use the TaLK textbook. I have ready made worksheets and games that I can play with my students.
>
> [17.APR.2012 – Diary 3 / Fiona]

Fiona perceived the principal's decision as being 'for the better', and she simply accepted it.

As mentioned earlier in this section, Fiona had been showing her creativity based on the TaLK textbook, and creating her curriculum on the basis of the curriculum suggested by TaLK. Her freedom in curriculum design and development was strongly related to her way of getting to know herself as a teacher. It facilitated her 'learning-in-practice', as she was able to try various teaching strategies and design curriculum independently, which would lead to improvements in particular areas of her teaching, as shown in the cases of John and Amy in Kanno & Stuart's (2011) study. However, this ceased. Once Fiona began to use the materials and activities already prepared as worksheets in the TaLK textbook, technically this reduced her lesson preparation time and effort.

'Learning is located in coparticipation' (Varghese *et al.*, 2005:29); hence, in the case of Fiona, it was necessary for the school members to participate in her 'learning-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:155; Kanno & Stuart, 2011:239) process by observing and giving comments on her teaching. In attempting to be a 'full participant' (Lave & Wenger, 1991:29) of the community, by moving towards the 'middle ground' (Kanno, 2003:128) of the school, Fiona showed her effort in developing curriculum and teaching strategies, but this was not legitimated by the community members, who did not want to co-participate in her learning.

Fortunately, later, Fiona again started to develop her own curriculum by adding some games that she judged could be useful to enhance the students' understanding.

> I am still following the TaLK textbook curriculum but some days I deviate and do my own games and projects that the children may be more interested in. The classes are going well.
> [25.MAY.2012 – Diary 6 / Fiona]

The later classes created to include games went well. This time, Fiona made changes to the curriculum 'for the better' (17.APR.2012 – Diary 3), and her attempt was quite successful. This was her way of confronting the decision by the principal and the mentor teacher. Fiona was still following what they had told her, but she revitalized her creativity in curriculum development. At that point Fiona was 'learning-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:155) by accepting the situation in the school, but her 'identity-in-practice' also took into account her experience that games had worked well in her classroom. Creating curriculum became her '*telos*' (Lave, 1996:156, Author's italics), 'that is, a direction of movement or change of learning' (Lave, 1996:156), as she wanted to create

suitable curricula and games to enhance the children's understanding. To do so, Fiona was confronting the decision of her principal and the mentor teacher. In this process, she was developing as a teacher.

According to Ryan (1989), 'workers, prisoners, patients, students and citizens [are] compared, differentiated and ranked according to where they [stand] in relation to the "good" and the "bad"' (Ryan, 1989 cited in Toohey, 1998:78), creating a situation in which 'the educational space functions like a learning machine' (Foucault, 1977 cited in Toohey, 1998:77). Fiona's classroom was judged as 'bad' by the mentor teacher and the principal, and her freedom to create curriculum was taken away. Nevertheless, Fiona found her own way to change the practice.

5.4 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the school lives of three TaLK scholars, focusing on the challenges and opportunities they faced in their Korean schools, and how these influenced their teacher identity development.

First, the process of 'learning-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:155) was studied with reference to the young novice teachers' personal paradigmatic frameworks. The consideration of each TaLK scholar's learning to be a teacher process also took into account their management of classes, situations and relationships.

In order to achieve her goal to be a teacher, as a practitioner Abigail wanted to learn through observation of other, more experienced, teachers' classes. During her life in Korea as an English teacher, Abigail observed the teaching strategies of five different teachers: she reflected on the reward systems they used, their methods of discipline and

their general behaviour in the classroom. This was part of her 'learning-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:155). In her learning scheme, observation was an important element of learning to be a teacher. Whilst Abigail was experiencing the new teaching context, she was comparing and contrasting her current situation with her previous experience. By doing so, Abigail was learning to be a teacher. She observed the Korean teachers' classes, applied a paradigmatic frame to the observations and, therefore, was learning. She learned to understand the practice where she was situated, and this understanding influenced her way of teaching, especially in a co-teaching setting.

With regard to Evan, this chapter has looked at his social practice in relation to his teacher identity development. He compared and contrasted his current school with his previous school, not only with regard to its system but also in terms of the whole condition of the practice. Evan was learning in both positive and negative ways whilst comparing and contrasting.

Secondly, the TaLK scholars' identity and its influence on the practice were studied with the empirical data. The TaLK scholars' decision to be flexible in the school, and their creativity and freedom in curriculum design and teaching material preparation was also discussed in relation to the concept of 'identities-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:157; Kanno & Stuart, 2011:240). To discuss the reasons for the decision to be flexible, the concepts of 'narrated identities' (Kanno & Stuart, 2011:240) and 'enacted identities' (Kanno & Stuart, 2011:240) were revisited.

Abigail did not assert or demand recognition of her teacher authority, but she revealed that authority through lesson and material preparation. She put great effort into producing materials, but, unfortunately, the principal did not value her creativity, and actually put a stop to it. The principal rarely visited Abigail's classroom, and in a

meeting to discuss one particular lesson, the only sentence that Abigail could understand was 'This, picture, no. Not good'. This comment was made to Abigail immediately after her first role-play session, where she had made some experimental attempts at producing posters. As a result of this experience, she pulled back from showing creativity in producing materials.

Abigail also faced several challenges due to the gap between her expectations of ideal teacher behaviour and the actual behaviour of the teachers in her Korean school. She was differentiated and her situation was very different from her expectation, but by looking at the differences, she was also learning what the EFL context looks like.

Fiona's creativity in designing curriculum by using games in the classroom was stopped by the principal, and Fiona responded by accepting the suggestion from the school, but at the same time applying her creativity to the textbook. Her Wednesday class was chaotic and this led Fiona to become frustrated, but by looking for a way to manage the classroom and conduct her lessons, Fiona was also learning.

To sum up, in the practice, there was complementary information, and this influenced each TaLK scholar's expansion and emendation of *paradigmatic framework*; therefore, they were 'learning-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:155). The exposure to different learning opportunities or 'learning through practice' evokes a paradigmatic frame in which contrasts are in constant play. Therefore, the novice teachers learn when they are exposed to different ways of thinking. That is 'a prolonged process in which they gradually develop their understanding of what it means to be a language teacher' (Kanno & Stuart, 2011:247).

Through the opportunities and challenges, they discovered the meaning of being a language teacher in a Korean school. That meaning and their learning-in-practice were composed of both positive and negative experiences in the practice. As in Kanno & Stuart's (2011) study, here the school practice was shaping the identities of the TaLK scholars, but at the same time, the novice teachers' identities were also shaping the school practice.

Given the short time the TaLK scholars spent in the practice, it would be hard to argue that they were fully developed as teachers. However, it is arguable that they did achieve some degree of teacher development vis-à-vis their management of opportunities and challenges. In the practice, the TaLK scholars' teacher identity was 'discursively constructed' (Varghese *et al*., 2005:40). Their development was shaping the practice and the practice was shaping the TaLK scholars' teacher development. As agentive beings, the TaLK scholars were delivering learning from the TaLK training programme: game strategy, and their own creativity expressed through producing posters were not welcomed by the local schools, and that influenced the novice teachers either to stop showing creativity in materials development or to make a conscious decision to continue using games to enhance children's understanding. Through various experiences, different shades, shapes and layers of learning were present in the practice, so that the TaLK scholars could learn through them, and at the same time the practice was developing through the TaLK scholars' participation.

CHAPTER 6

MANAGING ON SOCIAL/CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss the young American teachers' (TaLK scholars') self-perception and reaction in terms of managing the cultural differences they experienced during their time in Korea. By telling me about their experiences in the school practice and society, they revealed how they had to constantly negotiate their pre-existing values, beliefs and position as teachers.

First of all, the TaLK scholars' personal values and beliefs were affected by their 'learning-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:155) and 'identities-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:157). Their values influenced the practice and at the same time were influenced by the practice. Section 6.2 will consider those beliefs and values, and the implementation of the beliefs and values in the school practice.

Secondly, as a community of practice that has a long history in itself, it was a practice where it was not easy to achieve legitimacy as an insider of the community due to its long history and shared knowledge among the community members. Because the TaLK scholars had been socialised in American culture, they faced significant differences whilst they were interacting with local people who had been socialised in Korean culture. These differences presented challenges, and led the TaLK scholars to seek out a sense of belonging. This will be discussed in section 6.3.

Thirdly, some of the TaLK scholars perceived that they were treated differently in their schools by being placed in a lower position than Korean teachers. The TaLK scholars felt that they were placed in a lower position not due to their lack of subject-specific knowledge, but due to their difference from the Koreans. In the process of engagement in a linguistic community, conflict between different interests and points of view is unavoidable (Cazden, 1993 cited in Toohey, 1998). In particular, the language difference was a key reason why students placed them in a lower position compared with the Korean teachers. In their schools, the TaLK scholars engaged in constant negotiation of their self-perception as teachers, and this will be discussed in section 6.4.

6.2 Implementing beliefs/values in the teaching practice: identities-in-practice

The TaLK scholars' personal values and beliefs were revealed in, and influenced, their teaching practice in the Korean elementary schools. This section will investigate how the beliefs and values of the TaLK scholars influence their practice whilst they are dealing with social/cultural difference in their lives in Korea.

6.2.1 Abigail: Life-long learner

Abigail placed great value on learning. Her value and self-perception as a life learner was revealed in every conversation (Harré & Van Langenhove, 1991). It was also evident in her diaries:

> I love learning for learning sake and would love to spend my life just taking classes that are interesting to me. Unfortunately that doesn't really pay the bills. I also love to read and am perfectly happy curled up, lost in a book. I attended every class even if I found a class boring. And enjoyed taking a wide range of classes, whatever interested me.
>
> [22. JUN. 2012 - Diary 8 / Abigail]

Abigail seemed to place huge value on learning, regardless of the subject. She was generally interested in learning about things around her; she wanted to discover things by experiencing them and, through this, to learn. From the very beginning of her life as a teacher in Korea, Abigail held a clear expectation of her future as a teacher. This expectation was the motivation behind her participation in the TaLK programme, and influenced the formation of her imagination on what would be involved in learning to be a teacher through 'lived experience' (Britzman, 1991:49) in the practice. As discussed in Chapter 5, Abigail was learning in practice as an active participant of the practice. Her imagined community was 'a community of professionals' (Norton, 2001:164), therefore she perceived the practice where she was standing as learning practice.

As discussed in Chapter 4, Abigail's school wanted her to teach both daytime and afterschool English classes. To fulfil this demand, Abigail had to conduct a great deal of teaching, collaborating with several Korean teachers. Through her co-teaching with the Korean teachers she was not only observing and therefore gaining a paradigmatic understanding of teaching, but also learning what teaching collaboration in an EFL setting looks like, and how non-Korean teachers could co-operate with Korean teachers, who speak a different language from English.

S: Okay. When you interact with the co-teacher, there will be some easy things and some difficult things to interact… can you explain both sides?
A: Oh, yeah, I will try. Um… the easiest part is I think is that it seems like… we're good at helping the other person like I would say something… and she could be writing it on the board um… putting up a visual aid like on the board while I am speaking… so helping… in that way… so that… one of us doesn't have to take our attention off what we have been saying, to do something in the background… I guess hardest part is just the language barrier, she does speak English pretty well but there would always be like these times when I'll think that both of us are getting something lost in translation… So sometimes… I get confused.

[16.MAR.2012 - Interview 2/ Abigail]

Although Abigail's interpretation of the co-teaching system was positive, as the two teachers could 'help' each other by taking certain roles in the classes, the language barrier did present a challenge. As shown in the above interview extract, Abigail pointed out that there were some situations in which the two teachers could get 'lost in translation', leading to confusion. Here, Abigail saw the meaning of her learning in co-teaching as helping and being helped by the Korean co-teacher.

In the English language classroom where co-teaching is taking place, there will be an English native speaker and a local language native speaker. Although the two are co-teaching, the language difference can make communication between them difficult. In this case, where the local language was Korean, these difficulties influenced how the English native speaker, Abigail, conducted her lessons, so that the co-teaching format was somewhat distorted into a Korean-teacher-translating format. This format change seems to have been a tacit agreement between Abigail and the Korean teachers through their taking certain roles in the classroom: Abigail as a speaker of the target language, and the Korean teacher as translator into and out of the local language. Consequently, Abigail was subject to be perceived as a 'helper' for the Korean teachers, who held the

authority of teaching. To resist being marginalised, and 'to be part of any number of constellations of practice' (Roberts, 2006:631), Abigail deliberately accepted the role as helper. Moreover, Abigail's refusal to be placed in a marginal position (Norton, 2001) meant that at least she tried to keep her position in the periphery where her role as a broker could take place. As a broker, what was expected of the TaLK scholars was to be immersed (Wenger, 1998) in the practice to 'span structural holes' (Eckert & Wenger, 2005:587) and mediate interaction with other communities of practice, that is 'brokering' (Wenger, 1998:109). To function as a broker, Abigail was positioned on the periphery. Because of her non-participation in the community of practice, she was neither an insider nor a marginalised person (Wenger, 1998). As Lave & Wenger (1991) pointed out, to act as a broker, an individual must be placed neither inside nor outside the community.

As this situation continued, Abigail got used to relying on translation by Korean co-teachers rather than trying to find ways of explaining and communicating with Korean students in the target language, English. In April, in her second month of teaching, Abigail wanted to do 'a cakewalk sort of activity' as a closing activity of alphabet study. She could have explained the game to the class by using gestures or drawings, but instead she decided to wait until the interpreter, Areum, was in the classroom:

> … I'll do that when Areum is there so it is easier to explain …
> [24.APR.2012 - Diary 6/ Abigail]

This seems to indicate that Abigail considered the presence of the Korean teacher, and her proficiency in English, as very important with regard to what kind of activity she

would do in the lesson, and how successful it would be. To some extent, Abigail seemed to perceive teachers with better English language ability as more reliable. This might have been because she could build up trust with the teachers who communicated with her in English, whereas there had been several classes that went in a different direction from Abigail's planning due to miscommunication between her and the Korean co-teacher. So, her perception of English as an important competence (Kramsch, 2011) did have an influence on her teaching.

The value Abigail placed on learning had influenced her previous experience of teaching, which was to act as a benchmark in her paradigmatic framework, as discussed earlier. As Abigail perceived her past teaching experience as valuable learning, she tried to link that experience into the current teaching context, and her current experience to her future teaching context, that is, her third learning-to-teach practice, the American school to which she would be allocated. This imagined continuum of her life as a teacher clearly showed the trajectory of Abigail's learning towards the imagined community of professionals (Norton, 2001). Her previous experience influenced her understanding of the current practice, and also of her future self, so the 'learning-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:155) and 'identities-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:157) does happen across time and space (Blommaert, 2015).

6.2.2 Evan: Native speaker & anthropologist

6.2.2.1 Nativeness

In school and in Korean society, Evan revealed the value of his staying in Korean schools both as a foreigner, and as a native English speaker.

E: … Especially when it came to (inaudible) uh… certain English things like… uh… word emphasis, which I WAS VERY GOOD AT since I'm a native speaker…

[19.APR.2012 – Interview 2 / Evan]

Evan stated himself as a native English speaker with particular skill in certain aspects of English usage, such as word emphasis. For him, his identity as a native English speaker and foreigner was more significant, and a superior category of representation than the subjectivity as an English teacher. In his data, Evans showed his subjectivity as a native English speaker, which gives him a 'symbolic competence' (Kramsch, 2011:358; Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008:646). It fulfilled his self-confidence as an English teacher, which led him to perceive himself as good enough to teach English.

As a native English speaker, Evan could claim the advantage of a native accent. When the Korean students spoke English using a flat tone, Evan would correct their pronunciation by asking them to repeat the words, but copying his intonation and pronunciation.

E: … So… like I said before, when they would say something flat and then I would try to repeat it with PROPER, EXAGGERATED EMPHASIS, they would tend to… respond to that even though… they were not exactly sure about what was going on. I knew for most of them this was a new idea. I knew that… for most of them, they were having trouble. But I also KNEW that they were engaged in the class, so gave them emp-(inaudible) opportunity to trounce.

[19.APR.2012 – Interview 2 / Evan]

The above extract reveals the importance Evan placed on his language skill, and the confidence this gave him that he could lead the Korean students to be engaged in the

session. Although he did not hold an official qualification in English or English teaching, he considered that, as a native speaker, he could teach the basic practical use of English to the students very well:

> E: I'm a native English speaker. I know a lot about English. I don't know as much about English as someone who trained with the English language as their profession. If I was an English major in college, I could tell you a lot more about the fundamentals of English and how it functions. As a native English speaker, I know basically the practical use of it... very well. So… if something strange happens, I can adjust to it fairly quickly.
>
> [06.MAY.2012 – Interview 3 / Evan]

Evan acknowledged his less qualified status in English teaching compared with those who had specific professional training, but was still able to disqualify the Korean teachers of English, as he considered that they lacked flexibility. As a native English speaker, Evan perceived himself as having the competence to use English flexibly.

> E: … Uh… I don't know how easily a, uh… Korean who has English as a second language would be able to do that. It could be more difficult, it could be just as hard, because, I just know what's going on. With a Korean teacher he or she would actually have to do some research on what it is, how to use it, how to effectively demonstrate it. For me I can just do it. So I guess I have a lot more flexibility than possibly a native Korean English teacher. But I don't know… a lot of native Korean English speakers so I can't… tell you that for sure. That's the assumption.
> S: Okay.
>
> [06.MAY.2012 – Interview 3 / Evan]

In the teaching practice, Evan interpreted his perceived difference in a positive way, as the basis for his profession. He reasoned that he had better intuitive understanding of the practical use of English than most Korean teachers. As a native speaker possessing flexibility and a good grasp of key concepts in the language, Evan insisted that he was

sufficiently qualified to teach English. By upholding his 'symbolic competence' (Kramsch, 2011:358; Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008:646), Evan was justifying the enoughness of his competence in English language teaching as a language teacher.

6.2.2.2 Anthropologist

Also, Evan perceived himself as an anthropologist. The combination of 'why' questions with his discriminative experience triggered Evan's curiosity in people. He thought that he needed to study people and, according to Evan, this led him to pursue Anthropology. Therefore, he perceived that his life in Korea would be a good chance to explore a country as an anthropologist. One of the reasons Evan came to Korea was he thought it would culminate in his being able to explore people and to understand them. Throughout Evan's participation in this study, he consistently revealed his identity as an anthropologist. So, whilst he was a novice in teaching in Korean elementary school, he was an expert in research as an anthropologist who was exploring Korean society.

Figure 39: Evan's statements on exploring Korea as an Anthropologist

These questions sparked in me a deep-rooted desire to understand everything, and eventually led me to pursue Anthropology, or the study of understanding peoples and cultures, as a formal discipline. [October, 2011 – TaLK Essay / Evan]	I smirked as I thought about the decision to go to Korea, since it seemed the culmination of a lifelong journey towards understanding. [Oct 2011 TaLK Essay / Evan]
E:… Another reason why I thought Korea sounded like… good to be here, was because… (ellipsis)… And out of the Asian peoples that I knew growing up? I knew a lot of Koreans, so I thought, 'oh, what a better way to learn about Korea!' [28.MAR.2012 – interview 1 / Evan]	E:… And I think the only reason, or maybe one of the main reasons I do that, is because I came to Korea on such a whim. It's like, I didn't have any ulterior objectives. [06.MAY.2012 – Interview 3 / Evan]

Exploring Korea as an Anthropologiest

To be an anthropologist seemed to be the escape hatch from the circumstances that he wanted to find the reason for and, therefore, understand the situations by asking 'why' questions. This led him to pursue a strong identity as an anthropologist, and it is revealed through all the data sets I obtained from him. It was Evan's whim to resolve the desire of the insatiable itch to ask everyone 'why'.

Evan could have a chance to speak in public at the farewell party. According to Evan's TaLK essay (Oct. 2011), 'Susy Choi, a former TaLK Scholar lecturing at the National TaLK Orientation, asked the class for their reasons to teach and learn in Korea, and was surprised to hear me simply say "to understand."' In his TaLK farewell speech, Evan also asserted that he came to Korean on a whim and it was an experience that he needed to undergo whilst he still had the chance to do so.

Like many of the people in this room, I came to Korea on what felt like a whim, riding a post-college gut feeling that I should experience the world while I still had the chance. I came to this country without a single phrase in Korean, hesitant about the future, and worried about if I'd made the right decision. Fortunately for me, and for those I've come in contact with, I had one weapon in my arsenal that proved more useful than any other: the insatiable itch to ask everyone 'why.'

[TaLK Farewell Speech / Evan]

His postgraduate study on Applied Anthropology had already fixed the future aim that he was heading for, before he came to Korea. In the first interview, Evan said: 'Uh, I just graduated with my BA, I'll be going to graduate school in the fall. I was accepted' (interview 1). So, Korea was the practice where he could apply many 'why' questions as an anthropologist.

He shared many of his findings on Korea, for example:

E: … And now I'm in Korea. And now I'm teaching little kids how to do directions. And now one of the girls is like hugging my leg trying to get my attention, and like one of the guys is beating up all of the other guys all the time. I tell him I don't like that, and he doesn't understand why it's a bad idea beating up this other guy… It's like, weird situations like that. And I just take it as a serious experience. It's like this is Korea, and so I'm learning more about Korea.

[06.MAY.2012 – Interview 3 / Evan]

E: … The elementary school in Korea does not exist for me to have fun and give them money. The elementary school in Korea exists to perform a function and I have become a part of that function by my participation in it.

[06.MAY.2012 – Interview 3 / Evan]

So, underlying Evan's understanding of his life in Korea was his learning about Korea. He also showed his understanding by learning in terms of the function of schools and the meaning of his existence in the school. This was in a linear line with the schools as a

community of practice and the TaLK scholar as a participant in the practice, as a newcomer cooperating for a shared goal: English education for children.

During his life in Korea, rather than aiming to become a teacher, Evan argued his willingness to test his philosophy in a Korean setting, as an anthropologist.

> E: … so… I guess I exist to… gain work experience? Like a teacher in (inaudible) *Hagwon*? Is that why I am here? That doesn't seem very rational. But I'm an anthropologist, too. So… I see these things.
> [19.APR.2012 – Interview 2 / Evan]

For Evan, his life in Korea was another experience of a new context, seen from his standpoint as an anthropologist. However, at the same time, it was also a pathway in his development as a teacher, and he measured success in terms of how well different strategies worked in the classroom.

> I'm still experimenting with different ideas in the hope of finding something that will function better than my current system. Hopefully better pre-class preparation will make the difference I need (coupled with more artistic and less analytical tasks).
> [01.APR.2012 – Diary 2 / Evan]

> I've started experimenting with different activities for 4th grade, chiefly ones based around Powerpoint, in the hopes that more visual aids will keep them in check easier.
> [23.APR.2012 – Diary 3 / Evan]

His strong self-perception as an anthropologist also caused him to query many aspects of Korean society linked to his daily practice, the school. He gave a great deal of thought to questions of society, nationality, and belonging.

E: … What I would love to do… just screw with like… some kid's head is next (inaudible) to me, just start speaking French, and see what they do, see what… that was… screw their perceptions of… what it means to be a 'white person' in Korea?

[19.APR.2012 –Interview 2 / Evan]

At some point, these ideas started to spill over into his classroom, and it was then that he expressed the desire to experiment with using another language, to see the students' reaction. Also, his curiosity about Koreans' definition of a 'white person' seemed to stem from his own experience in Korea as being seen and placed 'differently'.

So, on the one hand, his teaching was an experiment: as an anthropologist he wanted to learn about Korea, and the teaching allowed him to develop his knowledge of Korea and the Korean people. On the other hand, in his classroom, he was continually trying to be analytical and critical by engaging in self-evaluation. In many data sets, he explained his thoughts on teaching, the activities he had chosen, their effectiveness, and the reasons why they were, or were not, effective.

Evan was discursively positioning in his school according to the value he placed upon being an anthropologist. In fact, he perceived himself as both native speaker and anthropologist, and moved frequently between these two. This dual self-perception on himself as someone with professional knowledge in language and someone with the ability to test his own teaching philosophy, marked him out as 'different'. However, in the field, it seemed that his theories on teaching did not work properly, and he experienced the 'same' hardships as many novice teachers, especially with regard to classroom management. My field notes include the following descriptions of classroom scenes.

The pupils on the left table are making an uproar by playing and shouting. Evan writes three words on the board.

Hot
Hotter
Hottest

Among eight students, one girl is playing an ocarina,
Two students (one boy and one girl) are dancing,
Two girls are drawing on the board (writing some words as well),
One boy approaches me and hesitates to say something.

It would be much better to plan how to lead the class as a whole. Students are playing separately.

[14.MAY.2012 – Field note 1-1 / Evan]

Some students try to turn off the monitor and two others are punching Evan's hips.

[14.MAY.2012 – Field note 1-2 / Evan]

Evan seemed to believe that critical evaluation and teaching philosophies, plus native speaker status, would be enough for a teacher. These are important elements, of course, but Evan also had to find practical ways to apply his philosophy and evaluation in the practice. That was the mismatching point of his imagined 'symbolic competence' (Kramsch, 2011:358; Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008:646), that being an English native speaker was enough to teach English, and the reality as a novice teacher. There was a stark contrast between his words and what actually happened in the classroom. Contrary to his expectation that his knowledge in actual language use and experience of exploring things in practice made him different from the local teachers, and would enable him to handle classroom management well, he found that classroom management requires specific skills, and this is the same for all teachers.

The incident was not the first time that something happened which showed the difficulty Evan experienced in terms of classroom management. Evan had already began to experience difficulties in classroom management, and he switched his self-perception from that of an anthropologist with a critical view on things, to that of a foreign teacher who needed assistance from Korean teachers who could translate his words to students. He also said that he needed to observe how the Korean teachers managed the students in their own classrooms.

> E: Uh… I should ask other Korean teachers to see how they react in their classes, too.
>
> [19.APR.2012 – Interview 2 / Evan]

Although Evan stated a desire to observe other teachers' classrooms to learn, there were no follow-up comments on this. However, it seems that he came to acknowledge his position as a novice teacher who needed to learn practical knowledge. The delay in coming to this realisation may have been due to his reluctance to admit to experiencing any difficulties. By perceiving himself as an anthropologist, approaching life in the school from a different angle than the Korean teachers, Evan seemed to maintain his belief that he possessed a professionalism by virtue of his native speaker status – even though that belief was not supported by the events and atmosphere in the classroom. So, his imagined classroom where he could reveal himself as an anthropologist and native English teacher was mismatching (Bourdieu, 1977) with the reality. Consequently, what he was 'learning-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:155) was the mismatch of his imagination and the reality so that he needed to amend his current '*telos*' (Lave, 1996:156,, Author's

italics), that is exploring Korea and learning about Korea, to the practical goal of achieving as a teacher.

6.2.3 Fiona: The importance of good relationships

Fiona placed huge value on good relationships and a comfortable atmosphere. However, her data reveals that, at first, she was stating teachers in her school by using the non-familiar personal pronoun 'they'. At that stage she had not yet managed to build good relationships in the school. When her efforts began to bear fruit and her relationships had improved to the point at which she could move in and stay on the periphery, as a teacher at the school, she stated the Korean teachers as 'co-workers' rather than 'they'. The extracts below show the changes in her discourse with regard to her relationships with the Korean teachers in her school.

> Things with my co-workers have been improving. I've been following everything that I'm told without question.
> [01.MAY.2012 – Dairy 5 / Fiona]

> F: (Laugh) well… I talked to a 6th grade homeroom teacher… during the school field trip. Uh… I went to the school field trip with them to Seoul Land. I talked to him during that time a lot, and so… I think now we have a better relationship.
> [03.MAY.2012 – Interview 3 / Fiona]

> My relationship with my co-workers has also improved greatly.
> [25.MAY.2012 – Dairy 6 / Fiona]

> Things at my school are going good and my relationships with my school, students, and co-workers are good.
> [22.JUN.2012 – Dairy 7 / Fiona]

> I will also really miss the Vice-Principal and teachers. The vice principle has been really kind to me during my stay here and even said that he is my 'Korean Father'. Overall, my relationship with my school improved once all my settlement issues were resolved.

[22.JUL.2012 – Diary 8 / Fiona]

Fiona started to declare that her relationships with the Korean teachers, with the exception of her mentor teacher and the principal, were good. There were few opportunities to chat with the Korean teachers at her school, but Fiona sought out the chance to interact with them. The turning point came when she visited the Nonsan strawberry festival and brought some strawberries to school to share with her colleagues. This recalled a story of a woman in Alinsu insurance company from Wenger's (1998) book who brought and offered biscuits for co-workers and therefore enhanced the closeness among the members of the department. Like this, Fiona's sharing fruit functioned as a bridge between her and the Korean teachers and broke down the wall between them.

> Lastly, my relationship with my other teachers seemed to have improved slightly after I bought them strawberries from Nonsan. They seem to be a little more helpful and willing to talk to me.
>
> [17.APR.2012 – Diary 3 / Fiona]

Her perception of her relationship with the Korean teachers as improving also brought about a change in her perception of the school. This also clearly shows how identities of a person are influenced by the practice and, at the same time, affect the practice, so that 'identities-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:157) are formed.

In terms of language difference, Fiona also felt that the members of the school community did not accept her due to the language difference, but that close relationships could be built if the same language was shared. Because she placed such

high value on building relationships with her colleagues, Fiona decided to learn Korean. This was what showed her effort to escape from 'polarization' (Kanno, 2003:128) and then move to 'a middle ground' (Kanno, 2003:128).

> I have also been trying to study Korean and I feel that this will help me build a better relationship at school with my co-workers.
> [23.APR.2012 – Diary 4 / Fiona]

> Lastly, I have been studying Korean and I feel that it has been helping me to build a positive relationship with my co-workers.
> [01.MAY.2012 – Dairy 5 / Fiona]

Although she was still a non-participant (Wenger, 1998; Norton, 2001), it seems that through her efforts to move towards the 'middle ground' (Kanno, 2003:128) of the school community, Fiona was accepted by old timers in the practice rather quickly as Fiona could see the changes in a week. Therefore, her position seems to have shifted from marginality to peripherality. As a broker, the TaLK scholars needed to position as not totally insider or outsider (Wenger, 1998). But, in terms of a sense of belonging as one of the members of the communities of practice, Fiona was looking for legitimacy (Lave & Wenger, 1991) by showing an effort to move closer to the centre of the community membership (Wenger, 1998). Also, it was the mutual engagement of Fiona and the school practice, and through that interaction, which resulted in both influencing each other (Lave, 1996). This acceptance and the consequent relationship-building gave Fiona a feeling of stability. As recorded in her data:

> Things in Korea have been slowly improving for me. Everything started out very rough and difficult but now it seems like thing are finally falling into place.
> [23.APR.2012 – Diary 4 / Fiona]

Fiona started to feel that her relationships were improving:

> Last Friday, I went on a field trip to Seoul Land with my school. This allowed me to bond more with my co-workers and students. Some of the other teachers were able to get to me better. I feel that maybe from now on everything will be friendlier in the teachers' lounge rather than cold.
>
> [01.MAY.2012 – Diary 5 / Fiona]

The expectation in the above extract reveals that, previously, Fiona had found the atmosphere in the school lounge to be unfamiliar and cold. After the field trip, she started to feel that her relationships with the Korean teachers had become smoother, and she was more comfortable in her school.

> I am now very comfortable in my work place.
>
> [25.MAY.2012 – Diary 6 / Fiona]

The improvement in Fiona's relationships in the school seems to have given her the confidence to take an autonomous position when dealing with the curriculum issue (discussed in Chapter 5). As she grew more comfort in her school, Fiona also seemed more able to show her creativity in curriculum design inside the boundaries suggested by the principal, following the TaLK textbook. This was part of her learning and developing as a teacher, at the same time, moving towards the 'middle ground' (Kanno, 2003:128) of the community of practice by achieving legitimacy as a member.

So, her experience of being familiar with the other teachers in her school allowed her to feel that she actually belonged to the school community as a member.

Later, when asked for her opinion of the school atmosphere, Fiona gave the following reply:

> F: What kind of atmosphere of the school? Um… I think, I think like, I think like… my school is family like, because it's very small… that is good, 'cause the students feel more comfortable with their teachers, even -, but then… at the same time, they still respect the teacher… and know that… I am the teacher and they are the students… they want to -, they have to learn from me, or if it's like more cold atmosphere, then the students be more … scared to learn… so…. I think, family… atmosphere… and they are more comfortable to come to you and talk to you … if it's familiar atmosphere…
>
> [08.JUN.2012 – Interview 5 / Fiona]

As shown above, Fiona's emphasis on family-like relationships was sustained. These familiar relationships were built on a respectful and comfortable atmosphere. Hence, the concepts of 'family-like relationship', 'respectful' and 'comfortable' became connected to her knowledge of her teaching practice. As she was starting to accumulate further awareness in the practice, Fiona's beliefs and values started to be negotiated in the practice. Her belief in the value of good relationships was validated, as only when her relationships improved and she therefore began to get the sense of being an insider of the community could she finally feel comfortable. By putting effort into building familiar relationships, Fiona was able to shift herself towards the 'middle ground' (Kanno, 2003:128) of the community, rather than remaining on the margins.

Sometimes the other teachers in the school challenged this, and the novice teachers were forced to shift to a position that was far different from their beliefs and values. However, in order to be full participants in the school community, they made efforts to move towards the centre (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). Because they were

marginalized in the practice, they had to negotiate and accept what their schools told them. Through their discourse in the practice, they revealed their imagined communities of professionals: as teacher (Abigail), as native speaker and anthropologist (Evan), and as insider (Fiona). Their values and beliefs gave them 'symbolic competence' (Kramsch, 2011:358; Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008:646). With this competence, the TaLK scholars were interacting with the practice, so their 'identities-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:157) were mutually engaged and influencing each other.

6.3 Managing difference; looking for sense of belonging

According to Norton (1997:420), 'Social identity refers to the relationship between the individual and the larger social world, as mediated through institutions such as families, schools, workplaces, social services, and law courts.' The TaLK scholars' pre-established social identity was revealed and re-constructed during their time in Korea. Due to the difference between their previous lives and their experience in Korean society, the TaLK scholars encountered challenges and had to reassess their preconceptions. Indeed, 'in educational practice as in other facets of social life, identities and beliefs are co-constructed, negotiated, and transformed on an ongoing basis by means of language' (Duff & Uchida, 1997 cited in Norton, 1997:421). During their time in Korea as language teachers, they were forced to negotiate their identities and due to the social, cultural difference, in their schools and in Korean society, the TaLK scholars were differentiated from local people. They were foreigners, English speakers, novice teachers and people who would be leaving soon. As Kanno & Stuart (2011:239) mentioned, the practice itself became an 'ultimate mission' and the TaLK scholars were looking for a sense of belonging or at least things that would be accepted

as not different from the local community – as that was the way that they could be a part of the community.

This section will examine the ways in which Fiona and Abigail managed these differences during their stay in Korea.

6.3.1 Eating differently: Fiona

As noted by Blackledge & Pavlenko (2001:244), 'in a culturally unfamiliar environment, individuals may experience identity vulnerability or insecurity because of a perceived threat or fear'. This was observed in Fiona's experience, most significantly due to her vegetarian diet.

Fiona was a vegetarian for religious reasons and did not drink alcohol for personal reasons. Therefore, in her Korean school, she experienced discrimination as she could not join in communal activities that included eating and drinking, such as *hweshik*. In Korea, vegetarianism is unusual; Fiona's choices were regarded as odd, and contrary to the Korean emphasis on communal value rather than individual value.

In her first diary, Fiona shows her concern about discrimination by the mentor teacher and the principal when she informs them that she is a vegetarian and does not drink alcohol.

> … I went to one *hweshik* and it seemed interesting. However, since I am a vegetarian and do not drink alcohol I feel that the principal and vice-principal may not like that and could be discriminating against me.
>
> [28.MAR.2012 – Diary 1 / Fiona]

In Korean culture, *hweshik* represents unity of the community, demonstrated through eating and drinking together. In that context, refusing to drink alcohol is perceived as not joining in the communal ceremony for unity. It does not matter if the person abstains from alcohol or meat for religious or personal reasons. What is important is that the person should choose to be involved by drinking the alcohol that is offered to her by her senior(s) and eating the food that is provided. As Fiona refused to drink, and later decided to bring her own food rather than join in the school meal, the fact that her vegetarianism was due to religious reasons did not excuse her from the interpretation of 'unusualness'. By interpreting in that way, the local school also refused to mutually engage on changes that may happen due to newcomers' allocation to the school. They wanted to remain as they were, and the one who needed to change was Fiona as she was the person who was unusual in the local school.

After the first *hweshik* Fiona was not invited again, and the exclusion made her feel lonely, despite an otherwise healthy social life.

> S: Um... Ok. Ur… how's your social life?
> F: Yeah - I am… Social life is good. On the weekends I usually go to a different city and explore with my friend. And… school life is also ok, just uh… little bit difficult sometimes, because…uh, I guess, Ur… my school doesn't necessarily… understand everything… like I am a vegetarian and they don't… understand that to (inaudible) very completely, but… it's ok. I have tried to be friendly with my… uh, other teachers and everyone, so… hopefully… things will get better.
>
> [01.APR.2012 – Interview 1 / Fiona]

Fiona expected her relationships to improve because she thought that the Korean teachers in her school would be understanding towards her, but unfortunately this turned out not to be the case. At the beginning of her stay in the school, Fiona tried to have lunch with the other Korean teachers and students in the cafeteria. However, the food was mainly meat and there was very little that Fiona could eat. This shows how the values of Korean society are more communal rather than individual. School menus are designed by a nutritionist and then confirmed by the school authorities; they do not include a choice of different dishes, and as Fiona stated, they are usually based on meat or fish. There is a tacit assumption that everybody will eat what the school offers, as it is good for their health. However, this was not the case for Fiona.

> S: Hmm… What do you normally eat for lunch?
> F: Um… that was… actually… that is the problem I have with my school, um… since I am a vegetarian, and…
> … (ellipsis)… (Laugh) yeah. So… uh… basically, uh… at first, I did eat at school, but then… I realized that it's mostly all meats, so…
>   [03.APR.2012 – Interview 1 / Fiona]

> F: Um, in Korea, I think it's all meat (laugh)
>   [03.MAY.2012 – Interview 3 / Fiona]

Although the food was not suitable for Fiona, she still wanted to stay in the cafeteria and eat with the rest of the school. Eating together had been recommended by the TaLK orientation as helping to build better relationships with the Korean teachers and students.

> F: Um… what did I thought was, um, during the TaLK orientation, they tell you "eat with the… eat with the students (inaudible) teachers" will help to build the…
> S: The relationship?
> F: The relationship…
>   [03.APR.2012 – Interview 1 / Fiona]

To address this problem, Fiona decided to bring her own lunch to school and to eat it in the cafeteria with the other students and teachers.

> F: So… I was bringing sandwiches, rice and eggs and just eat in the cafeteria with the students, but I guess they don't… like that, so…
> [03.APR.2012 – Interview 1 / Fiona]

> Also, I bring my lunch with me rather than eating the school lunch since I am a vegetarian.
> [05.APR.2012 – Diary 2 / Fiona]

By continuing to eat in the cafeteria, Fiona was seeking a sense of belonging as a member of the community. However, her decision to eat her own food there caused a huge conflict between her and her school. The reaction from the principal and the mentor teacher was very negative.

> S: How was [his] reaction?
> F: Hmm… not really happy. Um… today, actually my mentor teacher told me, if I do bring my own lunch, uh… then I should eat in the nurses' room… not at the cafeteria. (Laugh)
> [03.APR.2012 – Interview 1 / Fiona]

By being asked to have her lunch in the nursing room alone, and not in the cafeteria, Fiona was refused a place in the peripheral area of the community, and pushed out to the margins. Yet even while being marginalised in this way, she was still required to pay for the school lunch that she could not eat. Fiona considered this to be unfair.

> I bring my own lunch to school but the principal wants me to pay for the school lunch. However, I do not want to pay for the lunch since I cannot even eat the main entrees. They do not seem very open minded towards other cultures and seem to want everyone to assimilate to Korean culture.
> [28.MAR.2012 – Diary 1 / Fiona]

> F: …(ellipsis)… there's a lunch fee… with the school… it's 60,000 won a month.
> S: For a month?
> F: Yeah.
> S: Ah… ok.
> F: …(ellipsis)… I didn't want to pay the… lunch fee… for like… food that I could barely eat. So… basically I started bringing my lunch. Um… I don't think the principal liked (laugh) it very much. Because he didn't want me to bring my own lunch he wanted me to eat the school lunch, but I told him that I am vegetarian, so… I can't really eat the school lunch, but… I don't know.
>
> <div align="right">[03.APR.2012 – Interview 1 / Fiona]</div>

Because her vegetarianism was part of her religious beliefs, Fiona expected this to be understood by the Korean teachers. However, while neither they nor the students seemed concerned, in the case of the mentor teacher and the principal, their lack of knowledge on diversity led them to place a very negative interpretation on it. Anything that did not conform to their norm was labelled as 'different' and unacceptable to the community; therefore, Fiona had to be separated from them. Because Fiona's diet was different from that of local Koreans, she was marginalised in the community of practice, and this influenced her exclusion in that community (Toohey, 1998).

Fiona felt that the school's decision to ask her to eat alone was unfair, and it caused a huge clash between her and the school. However, there was nothing that she could do, as the decision reflected the norm in that community of practice. In that case, the stark difference could not be negotiated and that was further beyond the negotiable boundary between Fiona and the local school.

> F: Like… differences that we, uh… I already told you about how… they don't want to me to eat… in the cafeteria.
> S: (Blunt laughter)

F: If I bring my own lunch, so…
S: There was the… principal as well…?
F: Um… principal… I think that principal told my mentor teacher to tell me… if I bring my own lunch, not to eat in… (the cafeteria)… that's unfair, you know…
S: Yeah.
F: So… and… I think… like… just stuff… like… all the things I told you before so… all the… clashes… so…

[06.APR.2012 – Interview 2 / Fiona]

As explained above, due to Fiona's diet, she was totally differentiated in the school. She could not eat the school meals, and when she tried to join in the 'eating' scene of the school by bringing her own food into the cafeteria, this was stopped by the principal and the mentor teacher so that she was marginalised. She was different from others, so was not allowed to join in the community activity of lunchtime. Finally, Fiona decided not to eat lunch at all.

S: How about your lunch time?
F: Uh, I don't eat.
S: You don't eat?
F: Yeah.
S: Even though you are in the school?
F: Yeah.
… (ellipsis)…
F:… But… but, it's good, because… like, I don't have to pack my lunch now… I don't have to… (laugh) do that, like… in the night, you worried about… cooking and stuff… so… I am happy. (Pause for 4 sec.) So, yeah...

[08.JUN.2012 – Interview 5 / Fiona]

Being vegetarian was a part of the social identity that had been shared within Fiona's family. Also, it was a fundamental rule of her religion, so was not in the boundary area where Fiona could accept or negotiate with other options. However, the school refused any possibility of respecting her religion and her decision. Instead, it forced Fiona into a choice between eating the same food with the teachers in the cafeteria, or maintaining

her difference, and eating alone. This was Fiona's 'learning-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:155) about how Koreans would react to cultural difference so that her identity as a vegetarian was devalued in the practice. When Fiona chose not to accept either of these, but instead to go without lunch altogether, they simply excluded her from their community, pushing her into the margins. There was no possibility of negotiation.

6.3.2 Ethnicity and nationality: Abigail

In her Korean school, lack of understanding on diversity meant that Abigail was seen as different from other Americans. Abigail remarked upon her students' failure to grasp the idea of diversity in their understanding of the world:

> I don't think they can quite understand how diverse America is and don't understand that there isn't one norm that you can say is American. It just isn't so, I can only speak of my experience and of friends that I know. But they are very interested in using correct phrases and expressions.
>
> [24.APR.2012 - Diary 6 / Abigail]

Due to the students' stereotypical view of Americans, as shown in Cho's (2012) study on Korean ethnic English teachers, Abigail was also perceived as '*almost the same but not quite*' (Bhabha, 1994 cited in Cho, 2012:227, Author's italics) same with the native English speakers. On one occasion Abigail even had to explain her own background and why this made her American. The Korean students imagined Americans as being white, blonde and blue-eyed. This construction of America clashed with Abigail's own multi-cultural, multi-ethnic view. Her insight into America as a multicultural country is clearly shown in the extract below.

S: When I looked into your 3rd diary, one was that the children asked "What is your country's favourite food?"
A: Yeah they asked me that. Like… "Good question!"
S: You answered that with "Apple pie". Apple pie is quite famous, isn't it?
A: Yeah it started in the U.S…. It's hard because, we have a lot of good food but it's like American food are from different cultures, so it's not like here, where there's like kimchi. It's obviously… Korean. There's no obvious, like, American food, 'cause it's compiled of a whole bunch of different food from people that came from their own countries. Like pretzels? (Laugh.)

[08.MAY.2012 – Interview 5 / Abigail]

Abigail was arguing the difference between the American context and the Korean. In her case, the increasingly diverse context of America was at odds with the way her students constructed that country.

A: Yeah, it was funny when, they met my mum, some of 6th graders… cause we had a class, and they met my mum, and they couldn't understand, like… she… she is Chinese and she looks Chinese, so they thought "Oh, She's from China?" and I said "No, she was born in America, she's American! My grandparents were born in China!" And they were kind of like, "But she looks Chinese!" and I was like, "Yes, she's American!" And a lot of them just didn't realize, they just don't know because they're not used to seeing people who don't look American but are American and not necessarily born in a different country. But… yeah… a lot of students… some of the TaLK scholars, Asian looking, get that all the time cause people just assume that they're Korean and they're like "I'm Chinese, I can't speak Korean! Don't expect me to!" Or some of them are like "You're not American, you're not like blonde!" I was like "I was born in America! Not all of us are blonde and blue-eyed, we have all sorts of different colours!"

[24.APR. 2012 - Interview 6 / Abigail]

The stereotype of how an American looks was so firmly fixed in the imaginations of the elementary school students that Abigail had to stress that America has 'all sorts of different colours'. As identities are enacted and narrated in the practice (Kanno & Stuart, 2011), Abigail's perception on nationality and ethnicity was delivered to the Korean students in the classroom, and through Abigail, the Korean students may be able to

notice there is a difference from what they imagined as 'American'. Yet despite her efforts to persuade the students to see her and her mother as Americans by explaining their sense of belonging with Americans, the students seemed unable to grasp this idea. They considered that as Abigail and her mother looked Chinese, they could not be American.

Both Abigail's parents grew up in families that had come to the United States as immigrants and made a conscious decision to become American citizens and to assimilate. As part of this process, everyone learned and spoke English. Therefore, Abigail grew up in a household where the English language was promoted, and represented the family's membership as Americans. Consequently, English is very important to Abigail, because it represents who she is and what her family has achieved in gaining membership of American society, even while they might have lost some aspects of their other heritage. It is part of her effort to seek sense of belonging with America.

In her Korean school, Abigail's national identity was questioned by the students, who had no understanding of diversity. This threatened Abigail's perception of herself as American, and led her to speak about how several of her friends had experienced similar differentiation by local Koreans.

A: That's what I had a lot of fr -, like even me, like they kind of don't know what to do with me. But I have a friend that's Indian and they're like… "Oh, you're from India" and she is like "No, I am American" but they are like "But…you're like… uh… like… uh… yeah…" (Laugh.) Not all of us are blonde and have blue eyes in America (Laugh). We come in all colours. So, it is hard for them… to understand that I think.

[25.JUN.2012 - Interview 7 / Abigail]

A: I have a lot of friends here they just assume that if you look Asian like I have friends that are Chinese and they assume you are Korean and they start talking to you and you're like "I am Chinese! I am not Korean! I don't know your language, like… just because I look Asian doesn't mean I am Korean!" Like… (laugh). So it was like… "Ahh…." Well, I don't usually have that problem because I don't think people know what to do with me… they can't figure out what I am (laugh), so... I don't get it a lot.

[25.JUN.2012 – Interview 7 / Abigail]

Abigail was uncomfortable about the stereotype Koreans hold of Americans as blond-haired and blue-eyed. She was herself a good representation of American-ness, because America contains 'superdiversity' (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Blomaert & Rampton, 2012). Yet in her Korean school, her Asian appearance meant that she had to fight against the perception of her as a non-American.

6.3.3 Naming differently: Abigail

During the first observation visit, I helped Abigail by writing down each student's Korean name on their name tags. Whilst I was doing that, I noticed that Abigail gave English names to the Korean students in her class. She had already expressed her intention to do this:

I want to give them English names because the Korean names are very hard.

[13.MAR.2012 - Diary 3 / Abigail]

At the end of the class, we gave them English names. I had to go so she is going to make them name tags. It is much easier for me when they have English names because I can call on them and also direct attention to them if they are misbehaving. It will probably take some time for them to learn and respond to their names.

[20.MAR.2012 - Diary 4 / Abigail]

Because Abigail found Korean names difficult to pronounce, she gave the students American names. Two of the names, Peach and Gwan si-ba, aroused my interest, and I asked Abigail about them during an interview.

> S: These names are from you?
> A: I have a friend at home… It's technically… like... I think she's Cambodian? She's from the U.S. so I used it anyway (laugh) She's American, right? She is American! (laugh)
> S: Which is very good, because we tend to think that with names -
> A: Oh, that only certain names are American names? Like Lauren or like Katie.
> S: Exactly, but now the boundary surrounding Americans seems much wider.
> A: Definitely, I know. Some of the kids have like Irish names and like Italian names, 'cause they're all relatives of mine. (Laugh) 'Cause my parents are American so those are American names! … (ellipsis) …
> S: So because I thought it was a unique name, I thought maybe this name came from you. 'Cause for me this is the first time that I saw the name -
> A: Yes, she's the only person I've met who has that name.
>   [24.APR.2012 - Interview 6 / Abigail]

According to Abigail, Gwan si-ba was the name of her friend, who was originally from Cambodia. Abigail learned the name as an American name, and her understanding of America as containing diversity supported this learning. Based on her own experience of having a friend with that name, Abigail constructed and expanded the boundary of English names. However, the names of Abigail's Korean students were so 'different' from what she perceived as English names that she found them hard to cope with. By giving her students English names, Abigail was seeking a sense of belonging.

Abigail's behaviour with regard to names was interesting, because it was in stark contrast to her arguments elsewhere on diversity. While on the one hand she was arguing for the diversity of America and its people, at the same time she was giving the

students names that she perceived as English, thus revealing her understanding of names as belonging to a certain nationality.

6.4 Managing difference: negotiation of positioning in the classroom

As shown by Creese (2002) and Martin-Jones & Saxena (1996), students in a classroom perceive their teachers as having different positions in terms of the power dynamic within the school. In the classroom, 'their position was not simply 'imposed' from above on the rest of the school community but also emerged from the teachers and the students themselves to differing degrees' (Creese, 2003:228-229). Some of the TaLK scholars in this study felt that the Korean students had less respect for them than for the Korean teachers. Over time, these teachers were negotiating their position in the classroom through their interaction with the students, towards a more authoritative and respectful atmosphere.

6.4.1 Evan

When Evan first began working in his Korean school, he perceived that the students did not respect him. He wanted to be acknowledged as an agentive being as a teacher, but in his perspective, this did not seem to be admitted by the students in his classroom. To hold agency as a teacher, he later looked for ways to establish a close rapport with his students (Lasky, 2005), and to build relationships based on 'trust and respect' (Lasky, 2005:907). The improved interaction with his students had a number of consequences: it

helped to ease Evan's feelings of loneliness, and impacted his teaching and teacher development.

Evan showed his willingness to be recognised as Evan, rather than as a foreigner. He reported the shift in his position from 'the foreigner teacher' to 'Evan' as follows:

> E: … Now that I'm Evan I can do so much more with them than I could do when I was a foreigner. So, maybe my ultimate purpose is to… make people understand that I'm not a foreigner, I'm Evan. And maybe they'll feel that way about other foreigners in the future who are deserving of that particular type of recognition, as opposed to crazy foreigners who want to you know, exploit them. Or puke into trash cans. I don't know… (pause)
> [06.MAY.2012 – Interview 3 / Evan]

> E: Because, uh… remember how I said that… in front of my students I've changed from being a foreigner to just Evan?
> [06.MAY.2012 – Interview 3 / Evan]

'Evan' reinforced his subjectivity and sense of himself as different from other foreign teachers. He reported an incident in which his students were seeking an appropriate term to use to address him.

> E: … uh… one boy from the second class was saying… uh…. he didn't know how to address me, so he was toying (around) the idea (of calling me either "Evan teacher" or "Teacher"), [interruption from the clerk] So, I told him (to call me) "Evan" or "Evan teacher" is fine. And then (he told me), "Evan teacher, we know your name. The last teacher did not tell us her name."
> S: Hmm.
> E: Is he lying? I don't know. What reason would he have to lie? And I don't think… there's much… reason. So I went "Really?" Ok. I guess she just got her job and that was it.
> [19.JUN.2012 – Interview 4 / Evan]

Here, Evan was commenting on the other TaLK teachers' attitude in understanding their position as 'just' a teaching job, and positioning himself as different from them. They did not put an effort into building a relationship with the students, whilst he was trying to do so by letting the students know his name. Through this story, Evan was categorising the previous teacher as someone who did her job and no more, and arguing that teachers need to let students know their name. By differentiating himself from the previous teacher, Evan was affirming his positionality as a teacher with more sincerity towards the students.

At the same time, Evan was seeking authority as a teacher in the classroom. Although he did not specify what he meant by this, it was clear that Evan's perception of authority was somewhat different from the friendly relationship he had established at that time. This was another mismatch point.

> I know that kind pain… I can't tell them this, because… obviously they would not understand me. If… I could tell them, then maybe…they will be easier to control… because then… uh… so much of kids'… uh… So much of kids' desire for attention is recognition. So… if a child want my attention or the child is angry, you go "I know you're angry. You still need to do it." Because then what the kid is going to say… "But I'm angry." "I know you're angry. I see you're angry. (Inaudible) even describe how you know you're angry. You still need to do this." Then that's the (inaudible) authority as an adult… (inaudible) of other stuff… that … I don't want to (inaudible) (laugh).
>
> [19.APR.2012 – Interview 2 / Evan]

Evan had an expectation that as an adult and a teacher he would hold authority in the classroom, with the ability to manage and guide the children by forcing them to follow instructions. He was using the word 'easier to control' in the above extract. By saying

so, he revealed his perception on students as subjects that he needed to control. To some extent, he seemed to perceive the successful control of students as conducting a successful class.

However, there were classes where his control did not work, e.g. with the younger students. It was a contradictory reality of Evan's 'learning to teach' (Britzman, 1991:9).

> E: I'm having a lot of trouble with my first and second grade class. Because they uh, have no idea what I'm asking them. And I sense that's happened for a couple of weeks, you lose authority in the classroom when that happens? So now, like… literally the last time I've had first and second grade, they don't even wanna listen to me.
>
> [06.MAY.2012 – Interview 3 / Evan]

To some extent, Evan seemed to have 'a complex social identity and multiple desires' (Norton Peirce, 1995 cited in Kanno, 2003:4). He wanted to be sincere in teaching not like other foreign English teachers and he wanted to be adequate in controlling the students. However, his image of a teacher who controls the students failed in this class. This was where Evan negotiated the meaning of teaching so that he was learning and developing.

Because the students were not listening to him, Evan decided to talk to the mentor teacher. When the Korean mentor teacher appeared in the classroom, the students were well behaved.

> E: It just so happens that my mentor teacher was coming down, maybe to check up on me? Because I said, "I'm having trouble with these classes. First and second grades are just difficult for me because they don't understand."
> S: Ah.
> E: And so I told her, "I was going to take them upstairs to talk to you. If you want to keep them inside and keep them around for a little bit that's fine too."

So as soon as my mentor teacher walks in, the class is silent, but not as silent as in respectful, but silent as in… "Oh, shit got real."

[06.MAY.2012 – Interview 3 / Evan]

The silence of the 1st and 2nd graders might have been due to the presence of the Korean teacher and the implicit threat of discipline. Certainly, Evan noticed that the students were anxious in the presence of the mentor teacher. Eventually, this led Evan to perceive that he was less respected by the students.

E: Which is why probably respect her a little more. Usually when I do that with them, they get more anxious quickly… But, because… my mentor teacher was there they would be less anxious.

[19.JUN.2012 – Interview 4 / Evan]

E: … And then I noticed that I have 10 or 15 minutes left. I went "Ok" let's go through English. Then say (inaudible) slowly together, I had… each student do one… other 5 sentences. And that worked okay. And then if there was (trouble), I head them all (inaudible) the same time. Like…"얘들아 ~[pupils~]" and then they will pay attention to me. Now that was because of the mentor teacher's presence. Usually it takes 2 to 3 times to get their attention.

[19.JUN.2012 – Interview 4 / Evan]

E: Well, they're a lot more respectful.
S: Respectful? Hmm…

[19.JUN.2012 – Interview 4 / Evan]

Evan interpreted the students' nervousness in the mentor teacher's presence as respect. He felt that his students placed him in a lower position than the Korean teachers, and showed him less respect.

Moreover, in terms of right to manage the classroom, Evan considered that classroom management should be done by the teacher, and that authority should lie with an adult. As he was both the teacher, and the only adult in the classroom, he considered that he

should take responsibility for the classroom. However, in fact, 2nd grade students were

managing the 1st graders and this caused Evan to feel that his authority was undermined.

> E: … I noticed… On Wednesday, the last time when I had them, they were much noisier than before, because… I'm being much more lax than their other teachers. Because the class is so big, my focus was direct to one student at that time, that there were 15 students doing whatever they want to do. So…
> The 2nd grade students tried to control the 1st grader kids… actually two 2nd grade girls… who show sass. They went "정리해! [tidy up] 얘들아[guys]!"… and of course the 1st graders listen to the 2nd graders, because the 2nd grade students are b-(inaudible) the 1st grade students. And of course… I was just dictating the turns of how to use the library. And… I don't want them to do that necessarily. Because I was the one who controls 'cause I am the teacher, but… I don't have enough… ef-(inaudible)-ra… not arms, not eyes control everything. So…I ha-(inaudible) that slide. Which is why… Hopefully, next week, when I have a combined lesson (inaudible) 1st and 2nd grade can do, hopefully that won't happen.
> [19.APR.2012 – Interview 2 / Evan]

> E: But at a certain level I don't want to rely too much on one student for classroom management, but it works.
> [06.MAY.2012 – Interview 3 / Evan]

Despite being uncomfortable with the students taking responsibility, he admitted that it

worked. This may have led him to feel powerless in his classroom management.

Moreover, once again, he was differentiating himself from other teachers in the local

school, by insisting on his role as an English teacher.

> E: Yeah, because I'm not a teacher, I'm… the English teacher. It's a little bit different…
> S: But, it's your -
> E: - But, well - I mean, if you want me to pay more like… they would probably pay… they probably be more like… (Inaudible) the mentor teacher is… but I don't DEMAND… demand pure allegiance from them. It seems too hard to convey it. And also because… like… It seems like a pretty stupid idea anyway.

This was also his intention to identify himself as a 'broker' (Wenger, 1998:109; Lave, 1991:76) in the practice in between the local cultural relationship in between the local teachers and the students, which is vertical, and himself as an English teacher and therefore not belonging to the local cultural relationship, which is horizontal. By clearly stating himself as different from teachers as he is an English teacher, he was referring to his intention to break the social relationship by applying his differentness into the practice. At the same time, it was his effort to justify his having less authority compared to the Korean teachers, by showing the limitation of his role as an English teacher who transferred linguistic knowledge to the students, so that he was different from other Korean teachers.

As shown above, Evan's perception of himself as an English teacher involved the idea that he was different from other teachers. He also argued his difference from the mentor teacher by saying that he did not make demands of his students. This idea of being differentiated as a language teacher was reinforced later by a particular event. He told me how a first grade student had used a magic marker to draw on his (Evan's) skin.

> E: (Ellipsis)… There was a kid in 1st grade that marked on me. I have freckles and he wanted me to have more. This also shows that their Korean teachers are treated differently from their foreign teachers. (Pause)
>
> [16.JUL.2012 – Interview 6 / Evan]

Evan interpreted this as Korean students underestimating him because of his poor skills in Korean, and therefore placing him in a lower position compared to the Korean

teachers. This seemed a rather hasty generalisation, but reflected Evan's interpreting the situation from his perspective.

When describing his position in the school, Evan placed himself within the existing hierarchical structure. According to his perception that the Korean students treated him differently from the mentor teacher, he concluded that they respected their Korean teachers more than the foreign teachers.

> E: Um… I am pretty sure that the students see me… as not really a teacher?
> S: Do you think so?
> E: They don't see me as… their Korean teachers do. They treat me differently from their Korean teachers. Is it a good or bad thing?... uh… If there's a hierarchy of respect, if at the top there's Jesus, and at the bottom like… there's toilet paper, the teachers are above me on that respect hierarchy… Is that a good or bad thing? Not really, um… I am closer to them than their teachers are. Like your best friend, then your outside friend, then your classmate, then Evan, and then their teacher. So… I noticed that they always use the … there are a lot of students now you… (inaudible) The older students always use the informal version of verb tenses with me… I know that much. And the younger students use the formal tenses with me now. Which is very interesting word change… 1st and 2nd graders, "주. 세. 요.", a lot… 5th graders? "아니요~~~~~", (inaudible) mocking. That's the one girl from the 5th graders. But… I, I, i… it facilitates a lot of discussions easier, because they're more willing to… screw up around a friend than they are around a teacher? But… uh… I've done used to it (inaudible) before, I used to… more of uh… were concerned with the fact that maybe "they didn't respect me and that could be a problem with the classroom discipline!" Then I realized that classroom discipline could be a problem anyway… so… classroom discipline comes more from uh… uh…contextual structure than it comes from uh…. enforcement, at least in my world.
>
> [19.JUN.2012 – Interview 4 / Evan]

Whilst he admitted that he was closer to the students than their Korean teachers were, he was still unhappy with his less authoritative positioning, since he believed this would

influence his classroom discipline. However, he also noted that classroom discipline could be a problem anyway, due to its practical structure.

6.4.2 Fiona

At first, Fiona said that she had come to Korea to help the students. So, for her, the students were the subjects to whom she was offering support in language learning. When she interacted with the Korean students, there was an obvious language barrier which meant that she experienced difficulties in communicating with them.

> F: … if I tell them "Don't do this", they… usually don't understand too much…
>
> [03.APR.2012 – Interview 1 / Fiona]

The above statement seemed to indicate difficulty in communication, due to the lack of shared linguistic resources with her Korean students. However, later, Fiona started to feel that the students did not respect her as a teacher.

> F: Yes, maybe… they DON'T have as much respect for me. Um… because uh… I am a new teacher so maybe… they don't know… exactly, like… um… they don't have… like… they haven't had… like… they don't know me (inaudible), and that's why… and they only see me… only… 4 hours a week, so… whereas their teacher… they see them every day… you know, and they have like… get… have them for many hours, so…
>
> [03.APR.2012 – Interview 1 / Fiona]

> Also, one day the 1st grade homeroom teacher came into my class to help and the students seemed better behaved. They also seemed more interested to learn. Maybe they respect her more and understand her more so they listen to her.
>
> [05.APR.2012 – Diary 2 / Fiona]

Also my 4th grade boys are very naughty. They do not seem to respect me.

[05.APR.2012 – Diary 2 / Fiona]

When the first graders' homeroom teacher came into the classroom, the students behaved well and 'also seemed more interested to learn'. Fiona interpreted this as meaning that they had more respect for that teacher. She reasoned that her students' less respectful attitude towards her was due to her position as a 'newcomer' whilst the other teachers were already 'old-timers' of the school.

Fiona also perceived herself as an immature teacher who found it difficult to manage the classroom. This was not a forced perception, and seemed to be the result of Fiona's perception of herself in the teaching practice. Fiona explained that as a new, non-Korean speaking member of the school, she found it hard to manage the students.

S: Um… what's the difference? You are a teacher (as well) and when the Korean teacher came in… they were behaved well. Hmm…
F: Maybe they were… more afraid of her? Or they… just like her? (Laugh) I don't know. Or she speaks Korean so… maybe that's why… because I don't speak Korean so…

[03.APR.2012 – Interview 1 / Fiona]

Then a small incident had a direct influence on Fiona, allowing her to take the position of 'weak sister' by relying on Korean teachers for help with discipline to manage the classroom.

F:… um… one… one time… on a Monday that… the homeroom teacher actually came in toward the end of the class and for the… um… well, while I was teaching and when she came in the students were so much well behaved and… were participating so much better then I, I was like… 'Uh, I wish they

stay all the time.' And they could actually control the kids and … they could learn.

<div align="right">[03.APR.2012 – Interview 1 / Fiona]</div>

This was the first time that Fiona was able to see how the presence of a Korean speaking teacher in her English classroom could influence the students. It was also far different from what she learned from the TaLK orientation; that was a practical knowledge (Britzman, 1991) that she was 'learning-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:155). In this sense, this was complementary information in that she could learn about the influence of language difference on the relationship with the students in her classroom. Subsequently, Fiona sought help from other Korean teachers, including the mentor teacher, to manage the classroom, as the students reacted immediately when a Korean teacher was involved.

I have been having major problems with two of my 2nd graders. Every day in class they get into a fight and I have to call my mentor teacher.

<div align="right">[01.MAY.2012 - Diary 5 / Fiona]</div>

Without realizing it, Fiona began to rely on this course of action to deal with the situation more easily and efficiently. However, by doing so, she was placing herself in a less authoritative and more immature position in the school compared to the Korean teachers. Having placed herself in this position, she started to rely even more on the Korean teachers' help, and this became her classroom management strategy.

Fiona also started to describe her students as subjects that she needed to threaten or punish to extract good behaviour.

My classes have been better than before. I still have some problems but when I threaten them with Mrs Paeng my students behave. They all seem to be afraid of her so they do not want me to call her.

[25.MAY.2012 – Diary 6 / Fiona]

The [situation in] the classroom is stable. Some days are good while other days are bad. I used to punish my students by making them write sentences in English but that didn't seem to work too well. I realised the best way is to threaten them with Mrs Paeng. But overall, they usually behave but sometimes they can still be naughty. I feel that I was not the best disciplinarian and that is why my students saw me more as a friend than a teacher.

[22.JUL.2012 – Diary 8 / Fiona]

Fiona's classroom management was not effective: students knew that her warnings functioned like 'yellow cards'; when the 'red card', the visit of Mrs Paeng, was applied, this indicated that Fiona saw the situation as no longer being manageable. This led Fiona to feel that her students perceived her as a friend rather than a teacher. When she needed to address unacceptable behaviour among the students she decided to call the mentor teacher rather than use other disciplinary methods to manage the classroom. As a result, Mrs Paeng became a symbol of discipline in her classroom, and this may have led the students to perceive the mentor teacher as a trouble-shooter called upon to solve Fiona's problems with classroom management.

F: (ellipsis)… Well, even my, like I said I was having a problem with my 4th grade boys… but even they've been behaving lately… but I think that's because I threaten them with Mrs Paeng, now. I had to be like "Mrs Paeng? Mrs Paeng?" (Laugh) so they are scared of her, so…
S: Ah… So, Mrs Paeng is kind of a symbol…of -
F: Yeah. (Laugh) of discipline. (Laugh) They are scared of her as soon as I say "Mrs Paeng?" they stop. (Laugh) every-, they are like, "No! Teacher!" (Laugh)
S: Um…
F: So yeah. I don't, I don't think I have the worst students… they are, they're bad, they can be bad on some days, but… I don't... I'm never really

angry with them, too long. I get angry for one day and next day I am happy, as usual. (Laugh) so…
S: (Laugh) that's good.
F: (Laugh) so… that's, and I think they know about me that I am not very strict (inaudible)…

[08.JUN.2012 – Interview 5 / Fiona]

As shown in the extract above, both Fiona and the students agreed to place Mrs Paeng as a teacher who was in charge of discipline, so for them, Mrs Paeng was a person who scolded. Fiona and her students agreed on this whilst Mrs Paeng was not present, so it was a shared image between them. This sharing (Wenger *et al*., 2002a) created some familiarity between Fiona and the students, then it made the relationship between Fiona and the students closer.

However, as Fiona mentioned, the students knew that she was not very strict, and learned that although she would threaten to call Mrs Paeng to scold them, very often that threat was not implemented. As a result, the threat lost its original function and became ineffective. Indeed, the students began to use it to make fun of Fiona, whilst Fiona perceived this as them having fun with her. To the students, Fiona was a person who uttered *the warning* 'Mrs Paeng', which would *not be real*.

F: (Ellipsis)… now like… now that my students are like "Do you know how to say Mrs Paeng?", "Mrs Paeng?" Like… my 5th and 6th graders also say… keep me… say like, "teacher, Mrs Paeng?" like they want to make me tell it out. (Inaudible) They are so funny.

[08.JUN.2012 – Interview 5 / Fiona]

As reported by Fiona, the students would say 'Mrs Paeng?' and expect Fiona to repeat the word as a joke. They had learned that when Fiona threatened to call Mrs Paeng, she

did not really intend to do so. Some 5th and 6th graders started to make fun by saying 'teacher, Mrs. Paeng?' and this would serve as an invitation to other students in the class to join in. Here, the students were perceiving Fiona as someone who needed help from a Korean teacher to maintain discipline, and perhaps also as someone who could herself be scolded by Mrs Paeng. This might indicate not only the students' recognition that Fiona would not really call Mrs Paeng, but also their perception of her as having a lower status than the mentor teacher.

Fiona did not make any attempt to stop the students making fun of her. Instead, she tried to treat their behaviour as a joke, saying 'they are so funny'. According to Harré & Van Langenhove (1991), 'offering an excuse by way of explanation is not just a way of resisting an accusation of guilt, but is also an act of self-positioning through which one adopts the position of one who is helpless' (Harré & Van Langenhove, 1991:402). By treating the students' behaviour as a joke, Fiona expressed her perception of herself as less powerful, and was not forced into that position by her students. In doing so, she was standing as a teacher who may be able to use threats to make the students behave better changed into a teacher who could take a joke. Although Fiona felt that her students seemed to perceive her as a friend rather than a teacher, she resisted their perception of her by considering them as 'funny'. She presented the situation as one in which she understood the students' intention and was therefore able to handle it. In this way she attempted to keep her authority as a teacher.

6.5 Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter, the TaLK scholars' managing of social and cultural differences in their local schools has been discussed with reference to the empirical data. Due to differences, in the practice, things were challenged and negotiated, and therefore new meanings were created.

First, in terms of the implementation of values and beliefs into the practice, the TaLK scholars had a clear goal to achieve. Abigail, as a life-long learner, wanted to learn to be a teacher. Evan, as an anthropologist, wanted to test his philosophy on teaching by undertaking experiments with the students. At the same time, as a native English speaker, he wanted to show off his confidence in English, as the language itself was perceived by Evan as representing his 'symbolic competence' (Kramsch, 2011:358; Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008:646), which was enough to teach English. Fiona worked towards her goal of building close relationships by making an effort to learn the Korean language and by sharing fruit with the other teachers. Through the medium of fruit sharing, Fiona brought about a situation in which the Korean teachers seemed more open to building a relationship with her. This effort to be accepted and belong to her school community certainly influenced her acquiring legitimatised membership (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Norton, 2001) as a teacher within the school.

Here, the TaLK scholars were making efforts as agents, by choosing what actions to take from among the many possibilities available (Davis & Harré, 1990). All of them wanted to stand firmly as members of the community by negotiating the mismatch points of what the practice expected of them to their own beliefs and values. That also

showed the process of the mutual engagement (Wenger, 1998) of TaLK scholars and their local schools by influencing each others' change.

Secondly, in the practice, the novice teachers were perceived as 'different'. This was due to the difference between their socialisation in America and the Korean teachers' socialisation in Korea, so that many of the things they took for granted in the American context were problematic in Korea. In response to this, the teachers tried to seek out a sense of belonging, either to cope with the situation, or to escape from it. However, these efforts were not accommodated by the local schools, and instead the TaLK scholars were differentiated and excluded from community activity.

In Fiona's case, her vegetarian diet meant that she was marginalised from the community and asked to eat alone in a nursing room. Her beliefs to do with eating and drinking alcohol conflicted with the Korean communal norm, and after the first *hweshik*, Fiona was not invited again. This was due to the Korean teachers' lack of knowledge of diversity.

In Abigail's case, her physical appearance meant that she had to argue about her nationality. Students could not understand why Abigail and her mother said they were Americans, when they looked Chinese or Korean. Again, this conflict was due to a lack of understanding of diversity. However, in her classroom, Abigail gave her students English names, as she found their Korean names difficult to pronounce. Here, Abigail was seeking sense of belonging, rather than trying to master pronunciation of the Korean names that she perceived as very different from 'American' names. Indeed, it is arguable what element of belonging can be contained in a 'name' or 'appearance.' One would need to consider who gets given a particular name, in what ways that name is

used, and whether the name indexes other power structures; also, further investigation is needed as to whether the ownership of a name can be regarded as indicating belonging to a nation or a language.

Thirdly, some of the TaLK scholars perceived that the students placed them in a lower position compared to the Korean teachers. One reason for this was that the language difference led to difficulties in classroom management. At some point, each of the TaLK teachers started to rely on the presence of Korean teachers to ensure discipline, and this became fossilized as their way of managing the Korean students.

In Evan's case, he differentiated himself from other TaLK teachers, considering that they were simply doing a job. He also reported how he had built close relationships with the Korean students so that they perceived him as Evan, or 'Evan teacher', rather than as a native English speaker. However, in time, his classroom management authority was taken over by 2nd grade students, and Evan was unhappy about that. He even faced a situation in which a 1st grader made fun of his use of Korean, and that threatened his position as teacher. Eventually, he had to seek help from Korean teachers to manage the classroom.

Fiona faced a situation in which, from the very beginning, she was self-perceived as an immature teacher. She too had to rely on the presence of Korean teachers for classroom management, and her strategy of threatening to call Mrs Paeng soon became ineffective. Moreover, the students started to make fun of Fiona by asking 'Teacher, Mrs Paeng?' Students were inviting Fiona to share their fear of Mrs Paeng, and by perceiving this as a funny joke, Fiona accepted that invitation. For both Fiona and the students, Mrs Paeng was a symbol of discipline.

The novice teachers were continuously negotiating meanings in the practice through interaction with others. Because their beliefs and values were recognised as different and were questioned, they had to find ways to negotiate that difference. In the process, their 'identities-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:157) were enacted and narrated (Kanno & Stuart, 2011) and therefore they were influencing the practice whilst they were learning to teach as teachers. With regard to teacher authority, the TaLK scholars' willingness to keep their authority as teachers was amended to be similar to what is seen in the practice as a norm, that is, seeking 'match' point with the norm of the practice - as they were 'learning-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:155) through interaction with old-timers of the school. The TaLK scholars' acquiring practical knowledge in the practice offered autonomy in terms of choosing to seek a sense of belonging (Abigail), totally differentiating himself from the practice (Evan), or just accept as it is (Fiona), what they had seen as different from their own social, cultural knowledge. This was learning-in-practice of the novice teachers on cultural differences.

The local schools need to harness these learning opportunities more strategically so that all participants can learn better. Also, they need to put a programme of '*complementary studies*' (Clarke, 2008:56, Author's italics) into place more formally to assist with this learning for both novice and mentor teachers.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

This thesis has set out to understand how young novice teachers become part of communities of practice and build their identities as teachers.

In this chapter, I begin by revisiting the specific research questions, and summarize the findings. Then, I highlight the contribution of this thesis to research methodology and to the two communities of practices discussed in this study: the TaLK programme and the local schools. Finally, I note the weaknesses of this thesis and make recommendations for future practice.

7.2 The Research Questions Revisited

7.2.1 How do young novice American teachers work within schools and what does this tell us about the usefulness of the TaLK programme?

This research question was addressed in Chapter 4. As communities of practice, the schools need to work at opening up their membership. They should improve communication channels so that established members and newcomers can work better together. Although the local schools were the places where the TaLK scholars were learning, the implementation of the TaLK programme in the schools was different from what the novice teachers had expected. For example, as shown in Chapter 4, TaLK

policy on areas such as teaching hours and conditions was implemented differently according to the demands of the local schools. Schedules, events and changes to them were imposed on the TaLK scholars by the local schools.

In a classroom where co-teaching/team teaching is conducted, communication plays an essential role, and this is especially so where the co-teaching is conducted by a Korean speaker and an English speaker. By establishing proper communication channels, knowledge could be shared (Wenger, 1998) for teaching. However, due to somewhat distorted communication channels, the TaLK scholars in this study could not engage well in the community of practice, and therefore rather than moving towards the centre of the community (Wenger, 1998), that is, the 'middle ground' (Kanno, 2003:128), they were marginalized.

The mentor teachers in this study did not carry out their role as coordinators in the way that was expected by the TaLK programme. Rather than bringing together the members of the community and organizing events to vitalize that community, I found that the mentor teachers failed to recognize their role as coordinators and communicators with the TaLK scholars in their schools. They also failed to communicate with the TaLK team as representatives of their schools.

As agents and brokers, the TaLK scholars constantly introduced new relationships, new ideas and new practices to the local schools. In doing so, they were creating connections between the two different communities of practices - the TaLK programme and the local

schools, and so facilitating coordination between them. Responsibility for implementing this coordination lay with the Korean mentor teachers.

Although the TaLK scholars' daily routines showed their marginalization from the community, and that they could not expect any help from their mentor teacher or co-teachers, they were still able to learn, and therefore develop, as teachers.

To enhance the usefulness of the TaLK programme and the local schools, both communities of practice needed to broaden their conception of who was and could be an 'insider', so that the young novice teachers could get involved and be legitimized as members.

7.2.2 What opportunities and challenges are there for young novice American teachers to develop as teachers in their Korean elementary schools?

As shown in Chapter 5 with empirical data from the three TaLK scholars, in the practice they encountered both opportunities and unforeseen challenges. Through these experiences, the TaLK scholars were 'learning-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:155), and in the process adding to and modifying the 'paradigmatic frames' that had been constructed based on their previous experience.

In their practice, Abigail and Evan compared and contrasted what they had experienced before with what was done in the present teaching practice. Meanwhile, Abigail and Fiona had aspirations for the future, and through their lives in the schools, they showed

how they managed the opportunities and challenges to develop as teachers. Therefore, in the local schools, the TaLK scholars' paradigmatic frames changed through their teaching experience and inter-relationship with others.

The TaLK scholars were developing through a number of complementary experiences. For example, the TaLK orientation provided information about the new country and about teaching styles. This complemented and was complemented by the actual practical experience in the local schools. Thus, in the field, through comparing and contrasting, the TaLK scholars gained knowledge of the practices. They were 'learning-in-practice' (Lave, 1996:155).

The novice teachers' identity influenced the practice, and the practice influenced them. To negotiate with the schools' demands and norms, the TaLK scholars had to be flexible in their response to what the schools said to them. In this way, they were able to make the school practice less of a struggle. The TaLK scholars perceived themselves as accepters, and this reduced the challenges they might have encountered in the schools. However, the novice teachers' creativity was still a contested subject in the local schools.

With regard to the challenges they faced in their schools, Abigail and Fiona appeared to be in a somewhat similar situation, but they managed the challenges in different ways. Whilst they were doing so, their narrated and enacted identities showed how their identity performance influenced the practice and was also influenced by the practice.

The TaLK programme orientation had offered information providing a broad picture of the culture and norms of Korea. As the TaLK scholars were new to the local schools, those schools should have offered additional information that would have enhanced their knowledge of the culture and norms specific to the schools. This could have made the school atmosphere and the interaction between the newcomers and established members more familiar, as shown in the TaLK scholars' diary entries, and in the interviews and field-notes. In a more encouraging atmosphere, the novice teachers could have learnt more.

7.2.3 How do young novice American teachers respond to cultural and social differences during their time in Korea?

This research question is addressed by Chapter 6 in particular. In the schools, due to differences in socialization in the different social and cultural backgrounds, the TaLK scholars and the local school teachers encountered situations where those differences become so significant that they caused tension. As a result, difference became a reason to push the TaLK scholars to the marginal areas of the school community.

Through the allocation of the TaLK scholars to the local schools, each school had become the practice of learning for both the newcomers and the established members. However, due to the exclusive attitude of local people towards differences in culture and language, and due also to the lack of interaction, the schools could not function properly as practices where both newcomers and established members were learning for development. '[O]ften instances of reflective positioning are contested by others and many individuals find themselves in a perpetual tension between self-chosen identities

and others' attempts to position them differently' (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001:249). Each TaLK scholar was showing his/her own values and beliefs on enhancing relationships, teaching and curriculum design. By doing so, they were contributing to the local schools; however, the people in the local schools did not seem to be open towards the TaLK scholars' efforts.

In the practice, there were not only mismatches between policy and its implementation, but also mismatches between local people's perception of the TaLK scholars and the TaLK scholars' expectations of acceptance by the local teachers. However, despite the many mismatches, and even though the TaLK scholars were marginalized by the community and their subjectivey was threatened, they were still developing as teachers where they were situated. 'The experience of the foreign always implies a reconsideration of the familiar' (Kramsch, 2009:5). In line with this observation by Kramsch, the TaLK scholars were looking for similarities in differences, and for differences in similarities. In the practice, by accepting differences, or looking for sense of belonging, the TaLK scholars showed their way of trying to move to the 'middle ground' (Kanno, 2003:128) so that they escaped marginalization.

Across the three research questions, my findings can be summarized as follows:

First, in the practice, the implementation of policy influenced the TaLK scholars' learning to develop as teachers. To cope with the situations in which they were placed, they sought legitimacy as members of the community, the local schools, and they tried to build close relationships with established members of their schools. To cultivate their communities of practice, therefore, the local schools needed to open up towards the

newcomers so that the TaLK scholars could move towards the 'middle ground' (Kanno, 2003:128).

Secondly, the TaLK scholars faced opportunities and challenges in their local schools, and through these they underwent a process of situated learning. The data illustrated that, although all the opportunities and challenges in the local Korean schools were complementary information, the TaLK scholars' development as teachers was continually interrupted by the challenges. To cultivate their communities of practice, the local teachers needed to encourage and be supportive of the young novice English teachers working in their schools.

Thirdly, the TaLK scholars were able to gain some knowledge of Korea and the local Korean schools through opportunities and challenges in the process of build up '*complementary studies*' (Clarke, 2008:56, Author's italics) in the practice. Through both the TaLK orientation and the actual teaching experience, the linguistic and cultural difference was still significant, and required that the local teachers demonstrate openness.

7.3 Contribution of this Thesis

This is the first linguistic ethnographic study on the TaLK programme and, to my knowledge, the first PhD thesis on TaLK scholars. There have been some MA theses on the TaLK programme and the TaLK programme evaluation report, but there has been no doctoral level study focused on people participating in the programme. Therefore, this thesis represents a significant contribution in terms of listening closely to the

participants' voices and undertaking the 'thick description' that linguistic ethnography provides. It is my intention that findings from this study will be fed back to the TaLK programme and the local schools where the programme is implemented. Below, I set out how these findings contribute to methodology and to the two research settings of this study: the TaLK programme and the local schools.

7.3.1 Consideration of the contribution to methodology

By adopting diary studies as one of the methods of data collection, I was able to show how diary data gives a rich account of the research participants' lives in practice. The use of diary entries in this linguistic ethnographic study has shown how participants' first-hand writing about their lives can make the data more transparent and the analysis more rigorous. This was a valuable tool to show snapshots of the TaLK scholars' lives, as diary entries were written by the research participants themselves, and they had time to edit and amend the drafts before submitting them. Diary studies represent a rich data source for the presentation of self in identity performance.

The diary study triangulated smoothly with the two other data sets, namely interview transcripts and field-notes from classroom observations. Through the triangulation of these three data sets, it was possible to produce the 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) of the research participants and the context. These data collection methods were complementary, and therefore produced a rich account of the TaLK scholars in this study.

7.3.2 Consideration of what the TaLK programme and participating schools might learn

This thesis can also contribute to the TaLK programme and the participating local schools, by suggesting possible ways to cultivate their different communities of practice through a better understanding of the programme and the TaLK scholars. It also offers suggestions on how the TaLK programme should be being implemented, by showing the empirical data sets and analyses through the lens of communities of practice theory (Wenger, 1998), situated learning (Lave, 1991) theory, and teacher development studies.

Having presented the data, I now return to Wenger *et al*., (2002a) 'seven principles for cultivating communities of practice'. I do so here because I believe the principles serve to summarize my data as a learning resource for the future. Three of these principles are most relevant to this study.

7.3.2.1 Design for evolution

The first principle to be considered is that communities need a 'design for evolution'. As a community is developing, personal networks are created (Wenger *et al*., 2002a). Newcomers will bring with them a variety of different interests, and these may lead the community in a certain direction, which might differ from its original aim (Wenger *et al*., 2002a). In this case, the new direction must be accepted by the members of the community, and this implies the raising of new demands (Wenger *et al*., 2002a:49). At this point, it is important to bear in mind that, in terms of the purpose of design, a structure is intended to assist the growth of the community, and not to enforce a certain

framework; a community that is alive will redesign the fundamentals for itself, through reflecting on its existence in the community (Wenger *et al*., 2002a:49). The TaLK programme and the allocation of the TaLK scholars to local elementary schools are intended to facilitate the growth of the English language teaching programme in Korea; while from the perspective of the schools, they offer the opportunity for pupils to learn English from English speaking teachers, which should increase parents' satisfaction with the school and with the education their children are receiving. My findings show that for evolution to happen, the school as a community of practice needs to pay attention to learning practices and communication.

7.3.2.2 Invite different levels of participation

The second principle is that the community must 'invite different levels of participation' (Wenger *et al*., 2002a:55). According to Wenger *et al*. (2002a:57): 'The key to good community participation and a healthy degree of movement between levels is to design community activities that allow participants at all levels to feel like full members.' A good community will build bridges for those people who remain on the periphery, rather than force them to be more active. These bridges could be small community events or a shared website, which will allow those on the periphery to stay connected to the community (Wenger *et al*., 2002a).

The TaLK scholars in this study showed efforts to move toward the middle ground of the community. However, due to the challenges they experienced, they were somewhat marginalized from the community and this caused them to struggle emotionally, as they

could see that their level of belonging in the community of practice was weak, and that therefore they were rarely recognized as insiders.

Wenger *et al*. (2002a) point out the need for *openness*, whereby the community of practice accepts members who have different levels of participation. My findings show that to possess openness and the ability to invite different levels of participation of the people in the community of practice, first, both the TaLK programme and the local schools need to offer realistic complementary information to the TaLK scholars, and secondly, the local schools need to accept the TaLK scholars as they are, that is as novice English teachers who are supposed to be teaching in co-teaching/team teaching classrooms. With regard to this latter point, the schools need to recognize that the TaLK scholars need a Korean mentor teacher or co-scholar to co-teach with, and must supply the setting and materials described by the TaLK programme, rather than focus on their own need for native English speakers.

7.3.2.3 Combine familiarity and excitement

The third to seventh principles are to 'combine familiarity and excitement' (Wenger *et al*., 2002a:61), 'create a rhythm for the community' (Wenger *et al*., 2002a:62), 'open a dialogue between inside and outside perspectives' (Wenger *et al*., 2002a:54), 'focus on value' (Wenger *et al*., 2002a:59) and 'develop both public and private community spaces' (Wenger *et al*., 2002a:58). These reflect the importance of encompassing views from both inside and outside the community in the dialogue about what the community could achieve (Wenger *et al*., 2002a), and the role of the accumulation of 'small, everyday interactions' (Wenger *et al*., 2002a:60) in solving problems.

The local schools need to be 'safe spaces' in which the TaLK scholars can learn and broaden their focus on teaching in 'a range of different sites [of] varied but nevertheless shared clear commonalities' (Creese & Martin, 2003:161). In that way the novice teachers will be able to 'acquire a sense of shared experience, which invariably [will become] an important part of their autobiographies later in life' (Blommaert, 2015:1). The daily routine in a given specific time and space will allow interaction, and learning can take place in that moment in that place (Wenger *et al.*, 2002a). My findings show that for the cultivation of the community of practice, the local schools and TaLK team should consider the above seven principals whilst they are working with TaLK scholars, but also with other newcomers in their communities.

7.4 Limitations of this Thesis

One of the limitations I noticed was that my status as a researcher made me an outsider in the two research settings: the TaLK programme and the local schools. Moreover, as someone new to research and research fieldwork, I was a 'novice' researcher.

As a total outsider to the field, it was hard to gain access, and although I was successful in the end, I had to make a great effort to be accepted by the local Korean mentor teachers. Familiarizing myself with the TaLK scholars was another aspect to which I paid huge attention at the beginning of my fieldwork. I imagine that if I had held any pre-existing relationship with the research settings or the people in them, I would have been better able to pay attention to the scene, as I might have focused less on managing relationships with the participants and the mentor teachers. Over time in the field, as positive relationships were developed with the participants and mentor teachers, I was

able to pay less attention to that aspect. Through the experience in the field I have learned how to give sufficient attention to all the significant points that I need to focus on; also, because I have created relationships with mentor teachers who are still in the same elementary schools, if I design further research on newly allocated TaLK scholars in the same schools and with the same mentor teachers, then I will be able to gain access to the schools more easily, and therefore the need to focus attention on relationship building will less.

Another limitation was my skill in data collection. Whilst I was collecting data in the field, I was a novice researcher and this was my first experience of undertaking a real practice for a long period of linguistic ethnographic work. Although I had experience of pilot studies, the real practice was significantly different. At the beginning of the classroom observation, due to my being a novice, my field-notes were filled with judgmental comments on the lesson, teaching material and teaching strategies, which was not the purpose of writing field-notes, nor was it my job. I had to learn not to act as an inspector. This did improve, but only after I had had a chance to read and reread the field-notes. I learnt in the practice.

Hence, I was undertaking a journey of learning to be a researcher. I was learning-in-practice, and my identity influenced the practice and the practice influenced me. Through the linguistic ethnographic work, I was able to immerse myself in-depth into the practice and, therefore, was able to learn a lot about data collection.

7.5 Recommendations

This study has revealed how the TaLK programme puts pressure on existing communities of practice. All communities of practice change as soon as new people are introduced, which results in learning taking place. This learning can be more or less painful, depending on the situation.

Here I would like to highlight in particular the following three recommendations.

First, the local schools should create their own orientation programme for the newly allocated TaLK scholars, to enable them to learn about the practice. In addition, they should put in place training sessions for mentor teachers, so that those teachers will be better able to act as a firm bridge to link the TaLK scholars to the community of practice.

Secondly, the mentor teachers should have access to training on how to support the young teachers. This training could be conducted by the TaLK programme in collaboration with the local schools. This would allow the mentor teachers to understand their role as coordinators and to identify the mismatches between the TaLK programme policy and its implementation by the local school.

Thirdly, TaLK needs to take steps to discover the novice teachers' real experience in the local schools. Although the TaLK scholars are asked to submit essays on their lives in their Korean schools, this is while they are still officially employees, and they cannot be expected to give a full or accurate picture. Therefore, the TaLK team should conduct

interviews with existing TaLK scholars. By doing so, they would learn about the mismatches between their policy and the schools' implementation of that policy. They could then investigate the reasons for the differences in implementation, and the schools' needs in terms of accepting TaLK scholars. This would open up the need for further research on the practice and the TaLK scholars' lives in the school to enhance the TaLK programme.

In order to cultivate the community of practice and thus ensure that it functions well, it is necessary to implement the roles of coordinators and brokers between different communities, and to find ways to possess openness to and acceptance of newness and difference.

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