

Exploring Lived Experience of the Intercultural: Ideologies of Identity, Language & Culture among EFL Speakers in South Korea

Catherine Peck

BA Swinburne University of Technology, Cambridge ESOL DELTA

MA Applied Linguistics, Macquarie University

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Abstract

While the intercultural has been broadly theorized across the social sciences, empirical studies have been scarce and are dominated by the testing and instantiation of theoretical constructs. Few have analysed individuals' sense making of intercultural encounters grounded in their personal realities. Inquiry outside formal education and beyond Anglo European contexts has also been limited. This thesis investigates ideologies of the intercultural among individuals in South Korea, for whom education, work, religion and family entail regularly crossing linguistic and cultural borders. The focus on participant' lived experience and their ideological landscapes in relation to the intercultural has enabled unique insights into interculturality and its processes.

I analyse what these individuals have to say about what it means to live interculturally, and make visible the complex ideologies of identity, language and culture reflected in those discourses. My analysis and findings highlight the situated nature of intercultural interaction, where structural dynamics of power, economic privilege and socio-historic legacy intersect with personal agency. In the participants' discourses, the interplay of structure and agency is reflected in their contextually dynamic cultural identifications. I also make visible the complex emotions they associate with foreign language use, and the ways in which they make recourse to essentialist ideologies of culture when making sense of difficult or conflictive intercultural experiences.

An implication of findings from this study is the need to better account for the contextual dynamics of intercultural experience in theorizing the intercultural, particularly in relation to the teaching of English as a foreign language. These include the dynamics of cultural identification, of foreign language use, and of the implicit and explicit power relations that characterize situated intercultural experiences. I call for the expansion of current models of intercultural competence, proposing a tentative framework that makes visible locally situated constraints and enablers of intercultural competence.

Declaration

I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree to any other university or institution other than Macquarie University.

I also certify that the thesis is an original piece of research and it has been written by me. Any help and assistance that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself have been appropriately acknowledged.

In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Catherine Peck". The ink is a light grey or blue, and the signature is written in a fluid, connected style.

Catherine Peck

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Chapter 1: Introduction

We live in an intercultural age, witness to everyday encounters between culturally diverse people on an unprecedented scale. Modern transport, communication technologies and a global economy have radically expanded the reach of both individuals and nations. And although cross-border trade and travel are not new phenomena, our interactions with people who are different to ourselves – both virtual and first-hand, at home or abroad - are exponentially greater than those of our grandparents' generation. This offers opportunities for growth and enrichment, and yet the intercultural dimensions of our lives remain problematic. Alongside waves of transnational migration and global flows of goods and information we are witnessing the emergence of deeply divisive political discourses as well as blatant and increasingly violent expressions of xenophobia. Now, more than ever, it is imperative that we learn how to live well in an intercultural world.

1.1 Culture and the Intercultural in Contemporary Life

Over the past few decades, there has been a substantial revision of how culture and the associated concept of the intercultural are understood. Culture has come to be widely viewed as a personal process (Abdallah-Pretceille, 2006; Amadasi & Holliday, 2017; Piller, 2011), or something an individual *does* as they negotiate between identifications that may be either momentary or sustained, and which are frequently multiple, contradictory, and evolving. Culture therefore entails agency, and is characterized as fluid, “both constructing and constructed by people in a piecemeal fashion to produce myriad combinations and configurations” (Holliday, Kullman, & Hyde, 2010, p. 2). Such understandings represent a substantial revision of the term away from its anthropological roots (Brody, 2003; Kumaravadivelu, 2008; Lavanchy, Gajardo, & Dervin, 2011), in which culture denoted localized features of a society (for example, patterns of communication, traditions, art and technological achievements) framed by relatively fixed ethno-national, geographic boundaries. Today, ever more accessible technologies have radically altered the capacities, reach and perspectives of individuals, societies and

nations. A shift away from relatively static, structuralist understandings of culture has been essential to make sense of the implications of these changes.

As academic perspectives have moved beyond a discrete, nationally bound construct of culture, intercultural education has begun to deemphasize the accumulation of knowledge or information about cultural ‘others’ in favour of developing learners’ skills in the processes of interaction, inquiry and reflection. Multiple aspirational models and definitions of the ‘intercultural competence’ construct have been proposed and debated (Arasaratnam-Smith, 2017; Deardorff, 2006; MacDonald & O'Regan, 2011; Zhou & Pilcher, 2018). However, Byram and Feng (2004) note that this ‘flourish’ in theoretical work has not been accompanied by empirical inquiry into the causal relationships at work in developing intercultural competences:

“There is a need for more empirical research but also for a research agenda such that we can build up a systematic knowledge of language-and-culture teaching, the acquisition of intercultural competence by learners inside and beyond the traditional classroom, the relationship between linguistics and intercultural competence, the effect of both or either of these on social identities and so on” (Byram & Feng, 2004, p. 149)

Constructs of intercultural competence have received steadily increasing attention in foreign language education (Byram & Wagner, 2018; Kiss & Weninger, 2017; Risager, 2011), a field where the identity politics that frequently surround the pressure to communicate through a foreign tongue are readily apparent. The intercultural complexity of English as a Foreign Language (hereafter EFL) education in particular has been highlighted in recent decades by work from writers such as Kumaravadivelu (2008), Canagarajah (1999), Pennycook (1994) and Phillipson (1992). Interest in developing intercultural competence within foreign language learning settings is unsurprising. The activity of learning and using a foreign language by definition entails engagement with a cultural ‘other’, whether imagined in a classroom simulation, embodied in a foreign teacher or experienced through immersion in a new country. The acquisition of a foreign language is therefore a prime locus for the development of self-awareness and intercultural learning. As intercultural interactions mediated by the use of a foreign language are now a daily reality for many around the globe, the type of interdisciplinary academic work cited above can potentially make a positive social impact, fostering

mutual understanding and alleviating conflict around issues perceived as cultural in nature.

However, while numerous projects and agendas of pluralism and tolerance (for example, the activities of the Council of Europe) have emerged in response to our increasingly intimate temporal and spatial experiences of diversity, nationalistic fervour and intolerance is elsewhere intensifying, and not infrequently finding violent or repressive expression (Y. Y. Kim, 2007). Writing in 1990, Appadurai pointed to the rise of national identification politics in the struggle to maintain popular mandates of governance, as states co-opt nationhood “either by flatly claiming perfect coequality between nation and state, or by systematically museumizing and representing all the groups within them in a variety of heritage politics that seems remarkably uniform throughout the world” (1990, p. 13). This observation, made almost three decades ago, is equally apt as a description of global geopolitics today. In everyday discourse *culture* is often used synonymously with *nation* and *ethnicity*, terms that represent bordered places and suggest discrete categories of people. The concept of nation remains the cornerstone of contemporary geopolitics, and in many parts of the world boundaries drawn along national, ethno linguistic ‘culture’ lines are being defended and renewed with increasing vigour. Indeed, to the patriotic champion of the nation state, the suggestion that “culture is a verb” (Street, 1993) and ‘doing’ culture engages individuals with multiple and shifting identifications is potentially subversive. There is a widespread resistance to sociocultural diversity, cultural hybridity and fluidity of identity (Y. Y. Kim, 2007), which contrasts sharply with the currency and acceptance of these terms across the academic literature. The dramatic conceptual makeover of culture has thus been limited to academic discourses, and had very little impact on popular usage. A significant disjuncture is apparent, as how culture has come to be understood in academic circles is radically different from how culture is invoked and used in political and social life.

1.2 Research Warrant and Rationale

Definitions of interculturality and models of intercultural competence that have emerged from scholarship in recent decades are intentionally abstracted from situated, local complexities, and are typically aspirational in nature. However, for intercultural educators and foreign language teachers the usefulness of these theoretical constructs can be constrained by the distance between theory and practice, as abstracted concepts of the intercultural may insufficiently account for the complex, situated realities in which they work. For example, teachers developing students' intercultural competences may need to navigate tension between fluid constructs of cultural identification on the one hand and potent nationalisms on the other (Parmenter, 2006), while foreign language teachers around the world are often faced with locally fraught socio-political dynamics related to language learning (Pennycook, 2000). In practice, significant levels of interpretation and contextualisation can be required to reconcile ideal constructs of the intercultural with the complexity that characterizes situated intercultural learning. Where this burden of interpretation falls upon the shoulders of busy teachers, there is a danger that the development of intercultural skills may be set aside in favour of an information based approach to teaching students about foreign cultures (Sercu, 2005b). Clearer links are therefore needed between the grounded realities of practice and theoretical constructs of the intercultural if they are to be made more practicable to educators 'at the coalface'.

In order to better connect theorizing of the intercultural to the situated nature of practice, a better understanding of how intercultural processes unfold in context is needed. There have been recurrent calls in the broader literature dealing with intercultural competence in foreign language education for more empirical research of this nature. Byram and Feng (2004), in a comprehensive review of work in the field of culture and language learning in recent decades, point to a serious dearth of empirical research into the acquisition of intercultural competence both within the classroom and beyond - despite increasing activity in the articulation of conceptual models, theorizing and teaching approaches. Sercu (2005b) echoes this, pointing out that despite the existence of a body of research into teachers' beliefs, investigation of foreign language teachers'

conceptions of the intercultural aspects of language education has been lacking. Following an interdisciplinary review of the literature on intercultural competence, Perry and Southwell (2011) call for further qualitative and quantitative studies to further understanding of the ways in which intercultural competence can be developed. Kramsch & Uryu note the need for research approaches that recognize the complex phenomena under study, and “reveal non-linear, relational and emergent subjectivities and historicities that need to be approached through more ecological and dynamic research designs” (2011, p. 222). In summary, though scholarship of the intercultural is informed by professional intuitions, a breadth of experience and clear ideological perspectives, further empirical inquiry exploring intercultural processes is called for.

There have also been numerous calls for research on the intercultural that enables a “decentring of its current Euro American Discourse” (MacDonald & O'Regan, 2011). Much of the work undertaken thus far in theorizing dimensions of intercultural experience has emerged from European and North American contexts (Asante, Miike, & Yin, 2014), where the ideal of a harmoniously diverse society has been a long established – though increasingly challenged - agenda for governments and communities. Intercultural encounters may arguably be amplified in meaning and salience in contexts where the populace has only recently begun to experience inward migration from other regions, where cultural pluralism has not been part of social policy and where governments have not allowed their citizenry the freedom of uncensored international exchange and unrestricted travel. Wang, Deardorff, and Kulich (2017) have also highlighted the potential ethnocentricity of current models of intercultural competence; the authors cite Xu (2011), who argues that the usefulness of concepts of intercultural competence in China is hindered by their western orientation, which includes a preoccupation with effectiveness. They provide a summary of several proposed models of intercultural competence that have emerged from China in recent years that aim to integrate perspectives rooted in Chinese philosophy. Also critiquing the Eurocentric nature of much scholarship of the intercultural, Dalib, Harun, and Yusof (2017) propose a relational model of intercultural competence, suggesting competence is a mutual function of the attitudes, skills and knowledge between two interlocutors.

While a number of studies investigating the intercultural have framed inquiry around particular models of intercultural competence, I believe a focus on situated, lived experience can generate new knowledge for the field. Consequently, I instead explore the ways individuals make sense of their personal intercultural experiences, bringing to the fore perspectives that are not well represented in either academic discourse or populist political rhetoric (Perry & Southwell, 2011). My primary research question is thus:

- What *ideologies* related to the development of intercultural skills or competences are realized in the discourse of the participants?

Within this, I address two specific sub-questions:

- What ideologies of *identity* and *culture* are identifiable?
- What ideologies related to the use of *English as a Foreign Language* are identifiable?

In this way, and through giving prominence to individual subjectivities, my investigation provides insights into what situated, lived experiences of ‘doing culture’ are *actually like*. I examine individuals’ accounts of their intercultural experiences, making visible the ideologies of the intercultural enacted in their discourses and the tensions between their personal agency and the structural context of their experience (Block, 2013), including their sense of national identity, as they make dynamic cultural identifications. I undertake further analyses to gain insight to how the demands of foreign language use impact my participants’ individual trajectories of intercultural development, and how they enact ideologies of culture in their discourses on intercultural experience. Through making visible ideologies of culture and intercultural experience operating at an individual level, this thesis is well placed to contribute an alternative and potentially mediating perspective to current theoretical understandings of the intercultural.

By situating my inquiry in South Korea, I explore intercultural ideologies among participants in a country formerly known as the ‘hermit kingdom’ that has taken a prominent global role in recent decades, and has emerged from a unique political, historical and socio-cultural experience far removed from that of the Anglo and European West. This setting provides a rich and nuanced opportunity to consider whether

assumptions that underlie ‘Western’ notions of the intercultural are equally relevant far from their habitats of origin, and, as noted earlier, to contribute contextually relevant and situated insights. Importantly, my own subjectivity as a researcher of Australian birth and predominantly European heritage is acknowledged here and throughout my thesis.

1.3 Intercultural Competence & English as a Foreign Language in South Korea

This study contributes insight to ideologies of the intercultural among Korean speakers of EFL at a time when the need for intercultural competence development among young Koreans cannot be overstated. South Korea’s current population numbers 48.6 million according to the US Department of State, a population densely clustered onto 98, 480 square kilometres (as a comparison, Ireland has a population of less than 5 million and occupies 84,421 square kilometres; the Australian state of Victoria is home to under 6.5 million people and occupies 237, 629 square kilometres). With few natural resources accessible to them after their division into the North and South Korea, the South Korean people are credited with overcoming a decimated infrastructure and society in the post Korean War era to achieve a remarkable rate of economic growth, largely through a determined focus on manufacturing and exports and a fiercely competitive spirit. At the time of writing, South Korea is the 11th largest economy in the world and the 6th largest goods trading partner to the United States of America (Department of State, 2018). Maintaining this prosperity, however, will demand South Korea continues to focus on global markets, necessitated by a dependency on imported energy resources and a reliance on foreign consumption of Korean made products. Conscious engagement with international and intercultural perspectives is therefore needed, because it is intercultural skills that will by necessity define the successful South Korean in the coming years.

Interculturality at home is also increasingly demanded of South Koreans as the domestic population diversifies (Palmer, 2018). The looming challenge of sustaining Korea’s aging population in the face of falling birth rates and the raised expectations of

Korean youth, whose tertiary level degrees have led them to expect white collar positions and an escape from ‘3D’ (dirty, difficult, dangerous) occupations, has prompted inward migration. Migrant labourers from countries such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, Thailand and The Philippines are increasingly visible, yet often encounter deeply entrenched xenophobia, a growing social problem frequently lamented by South Korean writers (J.-H. Kim, 2016; J. Y. Kim, Choi, & Tatar, 2017; J. Lee, Jon, & Byun, 2017; Lim, 2018; S.-s. Park, 2018; SBS, 2017; G. W. Shin, 2006). Overt expressions of nationalism are also common, ranging from exuberant support for Korean representatives in international sporting events to political activism on issues such as the sovereignty of Dokdo Island (disputed with Japan), a defensive posture toward foreigners and refugees (Koo, 2018; Volodzko, 2017), and condemnation of perceived slights to Korea’s honour (Walsh, 2010). Benign sentiments of nostalgia for lost customs are also expressed throughout South Korean society (Palmer, 2018). For many on the peninsula, awareness and preservation of a Korean cultural identity is highly desirable alongside confidence in global interaction. Thus, although South Korea today remains a homogenous society by international standards, the post-war era’s relative wealth has prompted increasing diversity, a demographic change challenging to the nation’s mono-culturally premised social systems (see Chapter 3).

Intercultural competence is frequently equated with proficiency in EFL in South Korea, with global interactions mediated by the English language virtually by default in the public imagination. Former president Lee Myung Bak’s insistence that English skills were a necessary life tool in a globalized world (Hankyoreh, 2008) is reflected in the ongoing strategic commitment to English ability as a tool for national competitiveness of successive South Korean governments (Chung & Choi, 2016). Compounding the role of English as a local signifier of international competitiveness and worldly sophistication (Cho, 2016; M. W. Lee, 2016; J. S. Y. Park, 2009) is the use of English in product marketing to emphasize modern, international or cosmopolitan associations (J. S. Lee, 2006), the public praise heaped upon Korea’s international figures such as figure skater Kim Yu-na and soccer player Park Ji-sung for their command of English (Choi, 2009) and the status afforded elite Korean returnees who have benefited from English study abroad (Lo & Chi Kim, 2012).

Economic statistics provide insight into the social class implications of English language learning in South Korea. While the growth of the after school private education market across recent decades is notoriously difficult to measure, in 2009 the private English language learning market was reported to be worth KRW 1.5 trillion and the expense of English teaching consumed 40% of the public education budget (Yoo, Kim & Kim 2011 cited in Piller & Cho, 2013). More recent 2016 figures cited by Yonhap News Agency (Yonhap, 2017) indicate a total expenditure of 18.1 trillion won on private tutoring in 2016 (equivalent to US\$224 per child per month), while official reports indicate that in 2017 this figure increased to 18.6 trillion won (Statistics Korea, 2018). A lack of definitive figures notwithstanding, the enormous investment being made by families with means in private education to develop their children's English language skills (and by extension intercultural capabilities) has accentuated socioeconomic inequities on the peninsula. Obtaining English proficiency typically requires attendance at costly after school academies with 'native speaker' teachers and privately funded study abroad, and now acts as a gatekeeper to elite employment and education (Block, 2014; Jongyoung Kim, 2013; J. S.-Y. Park, 2010; S. J. Park & Abelmann, 2004a; J. Song, 2011).

In this study I explore the social tensions associated with interculturality and EFL learning in the Korean context by analysing the interplay of situated social dynamics and personal agency in my participants' discourse. This enables me to make visible how the ideologies of these individuals variously reflect and resist dominant social discourses in South Korea vis-à-vis national identity, proficiency in EFL and intercultural competence. My analysis therefore contributes local insights in relation to intercultural learning. These are relevant to the applied domains of education and training in South Korea, where the overwhelming emphasis is placed upon attainment of measurable linguistic competence in EFL education (Cho, 2016; Piller & Cho, 2013), with broader intercultural skills underserved in the curriculum (K. Y. Lee, 2009).

1.4 Structure of Thesis

In this introductory chapter I have established the broader rationale for my study, and introduced the national context of South Korea, in which my participants and study are located. In Chapter 2, I review literature and research agendas relevant to the central themes of my inquiry; identity, language and culture. These include a number of empirical studies undertaken in the fields of foreign language learning and international education, since these are directly relevant to the participants' intercultural experiences. In Chapter 3, I discuss in greater depth the national context of South Korea in which my research is situated. The aim of this chapter is not to position my research participants as culturalised objects, reducing "the other to this single element – the 'cultural' – while minimizing or erasing characteristics of the social identities of the interlocutor" (Lavanchy et al., 2011, p. 7), but instead to acknowledge the emphasis my participants place upon 'being Korean' in their own discourses, and reflect the realist position I take in relation to structure and agency (Block, 2013; Kumaravadivelu, 2008).

In Chapter 4, I detail the research design and methodology, which reflects an interpretive view of the nature of knowledge. I explain my data collection process and analysis, both of which emphasize "the experiential, the embodied, the emotive qualities of human experience that contribute the narrative quality to a life" (Guba & Lincoln, 2008). Chapter 5 introduces and profiles the eight participants in my study, providing biographical information and outlining the contexts in which their primary or most salient intercultural contact experiences have occurred. The reader is referred back to these in later chapters where individual participants provide focal cases for analysis.

Chapters 6, 7 and 8 present my analyses of the participants' interview data in relation to the broad dimensions of identity, language and culture respectively. In Chapter 6, analysis focuses on the ideologies of cultural identity enacted in the participants' discourses, and provides insight into the dynamic nature of their national identifications. Chapter 7 explores the participants' ideologies in relation to EFL, and brings to the fore the emotional dimensions of using EFL to mediate intercultural encounters. This chapter also examines whether the participants' attribute successes and failures as EFL speakers to personal or structural factors, and the degree to which neoliberal ideologies are

reflected in their discourses. In Chapter 8, analysis focuses upon how the participants speak about culture in general, as opposed to personal cultural identity discussed in Chapter 6. Specifically, this chapter examines the enactment of essentialist and non-essentialist ideologies through ‘block’ and ‘thread’ discourses (Holliday, 2016), and shifts observable between these when participants discuss conflictive intercultural encounters.

Finally, in Chapter 9, I synthesize my analysis around three tensions that emerge between existing definitions and models of intercultural competence and the implications of my inquiry. I propose a framework that addresses these tensions and provides professionals, educators and researchers working in intercultural environments with a means to readily identify the constraints and enablers of intercultural competence in their own situated contexts of practice.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter reviews the key theoretical constructs which underlie and guide my inquiry into ideologies of the intercultural, mapping the research and scholarship that provide a disciplinary context for the study. In the first section I present perspectives from the literature on *Ideology* and *Discourse* and clarify how I use these terms throughout this thesis. I then review the concepts of *Culture*, the *Intercultural* and *Identity* with particular reference to their development in the fields of applied linguistics and foreign language teaching, as the experience of learning and using a foreign language to mediate intercultural encounters is central to my inquiry. I also establish how these three intertwined constructs are operationalized in this study. Finally, I discuss several concepts that emerged during recursive stages of data analysis and are discussed in chapters 6, 7 and 8, namely *Nationalism*, *Essentialism*, *Emotion* and *Neoliberalism*.

2.1 Ideology and Discourse

The goal of this study is to make visible the *ideologies* of the intercultural enacted in my participants' *discourses* on their personal experiences of intercultural contact and learning. Ideology is commonly understood from a structural perspective as a belief system or set of ideas that act as a foundation for political and economic policies; the 'common sense' of a community which typically maintains the existing relations of power. From this perspective, discourse is viewed as a symbolic system that both reflects and reinforces the dominant values of a community (Gee, 2015; Luke, 2012). However, post-structuralist thought has challenged the view that ideology serves a solely hegemonic function, instead recognizing the role of individual agency and reconceptualising the relationship between ideology and discourse. Operationalizing ideology and discourse therefore entails charting a position within the "perennial and enduring dilemma in the social sciences, the relationship between structure and agency" (Block, 2013, p. 127). Structure imposes deterministic categories of identity (nationality, culture, religion, gender or class) which exist in tension with individual agency, or the ability of individuals to make choices, exert autonomy, and negotiate with or transform their social relations.

Billig (1991) refers to this as the ‘paradox of language’ which is mirrored in ideology; the speaker is both autonomous in asserting themselves through the language and at the same time captured, as speech involves the repetition of socially established signs. Similarly, that which “is true of language-use is also true of thinking; the thinker can be presented as the slave of previous thoughts or the heroic formulator of thinking” (Billig, 1991, p. 9).

Canagarajah (1999) takes a post-structuralist perspective on ideology, acknowledging individual agency and the possibility that individuals may enjoy multiple subjectivities, resist dominant discourses and form new identities. He sees discourse as the linguistic realization of ideology, and views both discourse and ideology as subject to redefinition in changing social contexts. At the level of the individual, ideology can therefore be highly fluid, enabling “subjects to negotiate their status and, in the process, to reconstruct discourses according to their interests and changing orientations” (Canagarajah, 1999, p. 30). Gee (2015) uses capitalisation to differentiate between a linguistic definition of discourse and *Discourses* (my emphasis), which he describes as “ways of behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking and often reading and writing that are accepted as instantiations of particular roles” (Gee, 2015, p. 4). Ideology underlies Gee’s *Discourses*, which are structural in the sense that they represent “taken for granted and tacit ‘theories’ about what counts as a ‘normal’ person and the ‘right’ ways to think, feel and behave” (2015, p. 5). Preferring the term *theory* over ideology to represent ideologically based claims and beliefs, Gee distinguishes between tacit, non-primary theories (those not consciously considered or based on a conscious review of diverse sources of evidence) and more overt, primary theories. Overt theories are more agentive in that they represent “genuine attempts to understand the world” (Gee, 2015, p. 22). Gee argues that the effort of making tacit theory overt is a moral imperative, as beliefs based on tacit theories can “become ‘ideological’ in the worst sense if it turns out they are potentially harmful to others” (2015, p. 22).

In this thesis, I use the term ideology to represent an individual’s potentially multiple ‘ways of thinking’ about something, which are enacted and realized in their discourse. Fluidly constructed, these ways of thinking may shift from moment to moment as variable subject positions are made more or less relevant and as discourse is used to

accomplish different functions of talk (Billig, 1991). As Gee notes, “These Discourses need not, and often do not, represent consistent and compatible values. There are conflicts among them and each of us lives and breathes these conflicts as we act our various Discourses” (Gee, 2015, p. 4). I also acknowledge the significant role social structures play in relation to an individual’s ideologies (Block, 2013) and draw upon both Gee’s capital D Discourses and Canagarajah’s acknowledgement of ‘dominant discourses’, or ideologies operating at group or societal levels. Dominant discourses create contexts in which individual subjectivities are formed, and individuals may resist, assimilate or be influenced by the dominant discourses of their social context.

My analysis of the ideologies enacted in the interview discourse of my participants is therefore not an attempt to make visible the linguistic realizations of internally coherent attitudes or stable belief systems. Instead, it is akin to heat mapping a dynamic set of behaviours. Discourse analysis strategies are used to make visible when shifts in subject positions occur and provide useful insights into the nature of individuals’ ideological landscapes in relation to particular experiences or phenomena, including the structural aspects of their experience. Analysis of discourse therefore demonstrates how language “is implicated in the creative ways subjects negotiate identities, roles, and statuses in everyday life” (Canagarajah, 1999, p. 31).

2.2 Culture

In the academic literature, culture is increasingly represented as a highly individual process that involves multiple, continuously evolving identifications. However, in everyday popular and political discourses the term is still used to refer to nationally bound, discrete communities of people. This is reflected not only in the way that people speak about culture, but in how culture continues to be represented in EFL teaching materials and understood by EFL teachers (see sections below). In this study, I analyse the tensions that emerge between academic perspectives on ‘doing’ culture and everyday understandings of culture as a relatively fixed social structure that positions individual idiosyncrasies as exceptions to the norm. The problematic nature of this dissonance

between academic and popular perspectives on culture for the development of intercultural competences is explored.

2.2.1 Evolving Concepts of Culture

Culture has commonly been understood as encapsulating the frequently cited distinction between *capital C* Culture (representing tangible and observable artefacts of civilization in the form of artistic or technological achievements, innovations or products) and *small c* culture (referring to patterns of behaviour & lifestyle, morality, social and communicative norms and values). The latter anthropological view of culture – often attributed to the post WWII works of American anthropologist E.T. Hall – has implicitly connoted boundaries and social structures that are nationally, geographically or ethnically defined.

In recent decades, academic perspectives on the global nature of human interaction have increasingly distanced the term ‘culture’ from such definitions (Brody, 2003; Kramsch, 1993; Kumaravadivelu, 2008; Lavanchy et al., 2011). Process perspectives on culture recognize an individual’s multiple identifications, and tend to associate national culture identities with reductive, essentialist discourses (Holmes, 2015; Lavanchy et al., 2011). Proponents of a process view instead conceptualize culture as experiential and evolving, drawing on not simply declarative knowledge of social norms, but an agentive application of skills in areas including interaction, interpretation, relativization, reflection and critical engagement. Process perspectives are typically poststructuralist and place emphasis “on the emergent in localized, diverse and variable social activity.” (Block, 2013, p. 129). Culture as a personal process of doing recognizes multiple, multidimensional and evolving identifications that may be fleeting or sustained, and allows for natural shifts, coherences and contradictions within and between these. Piller follows the conceptual restructuring laid out in Street’s classic 1993 article ‘Culture is a Verb’ to neatly summarize a process perspective in contrast to less dynamic constructs:

“The entity understanding of culture is essentialist: it treats **culture as something people have** or to which they belong. The process view of culture is constructionist: it treats **culture as something people do** or which they perform” (Piller, 2011, p. 15).

The changing significations of ‘culture’ are charted in Bauman’s discussion on the historical peregrinations of culture, which stretches back to the enlightenment notion of Culture as an agent for change, education and refinement of the masses, and as a means to advance societies. He also highlights the homeostatic role culture historically played in marking class divisions and fortifying interclass boundaries, in line with Bourdieu’s concept of *Distinction*.

“There were elite tastes, ‘high culture’ by nature, average or ‘philistine’ tastes typical of the middle class, and ‘vulgar’ tastes, worshipped by the lower class – and it was no easier to mix them with than fire and water” (Bauman, 2011, p. 4)p.

In stark contrast, Bauman characterizes culture in postmodern times as an individual and eclectic pursuit. Contemporary culture for Bauman is a series of choices and potential seductions in consumerist life and the identity project of the individual. Culture is therefore somewhat vacuous, “a repository of goods intended for consumption” (2011, p. 14), and not “a one-off, once and for all task, but an open-ended activity” (2011, p. 17). Although the view of culture Bauman presents is de-politicized and consumer-like, it is also an agentic process of multiple and changing individual identifications within his broader concept of liquid modernity.

Some theorists have focused on the notion of hybridity as an outcome of individually agentic cultural processes or the ‘doing’ of culture. Bhabha (1994) saw discursive, negotiated interaction across subject positions such as race, gender, age and nation or culture at both individual or group level as providing in-between spaces, or “the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood – singular or communal – that initiate new signs of identity” (p. 2). For Bhabha, these interactions have implications beyond the enhancement of interpersonal accommodation or understanding, and potentially prompt the emergence of hybrid, new or alternative cultural signs and forms. In his discussion of postcolonial cultural displacement and hybridity, he perceives this dynamic process of interaction between cultures occurring within a ‘Third Space of enunciation’. This third space represents the discursive, and ultimately ambivalent, interaction at the level of

symbolic meaning between a cultural performance or statement and its positionality and context (in a specific time, space and subjectivity). This view challenges conceptions of culture as homogenous, unified or pure, instead allowing for the freedom to create novel, hybrid cultures:

“It is that Third Space, though unrepresentable in itself, which constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew” (Bhabha, 1994, p. 55).

Critiques of cultural hybridity theory point to it as not only an elitist discourse, “fairly limited to the globe-trotting citizens of the world” (Kumaravadivelu, 2008, p. 130), but as insufficiently representing the asymmetrical power relationships and structures present both in colonial and postcolonial contexts and further within multicultural societies. Kumaravadivelu acknowledges the appeal of hybridity, in capturing “the continual process of intermingling of cultures and peoples that produces new forms of cultural beliefs and practices” (2008, p. 131), and notes that the work of Bhabha, as well as British cultural critic Stuart Hall and American anthropologist James Clifford on hybridity has become influential. Nonetheless, he maintains that the concept of hybridity does not have the capacity to account for the realities of wide ranging social phenomena, including identity politics, power differentials between cultures and intensifying nationalisms around the globe.

2.2.2 Approaches to Culture in Foreign Language Teaching

Kramsch (2003) placed the relationship between language and culture at the fore, since language is used to enact and represent roles and cultural perceptions, enabling Piller’s *doing* of culture (2011). Drawing on insights from pragmatics, Kramsch emphasizes the jointly constructed and interpersonal nature of meaning, as it is negotiated within particular contexts. The negotiated nature of meaning underlies her argument that teaching normative language use to foreign language learners is insufficient, and that space should be given to the development of their sense making capabilities and capacity to navigate culture (2003).

Shifts in how culture has been conceptualized in foreign language teaching are traceable in the pedagogic methods common in the field. Prior to the 1950s, Grammar Translation dominated the field. This approach positioned language as a vehicle for the reading of works of literature, and emphasized an elite, highbrow notion of culture (consistent with Bourdieu's *Distinction*) which served the purposes of a privileged educated class. Innovations in foreign language teaching were galvanized by the rapidly changing social, political and technological context in the post WWII period. Global politics and espionage, transnational commerce, increasingly accessible international leisure travel and communications technologies all sharply increased the use of foreign languages in non-academic contexts and thus the need for greater oral proficiency. Consequently, the Audiolingual Method, the Silent Way, Total Physical Response, Community Language Learning, Suggestopedia and Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) among others were famously spawned, evolving in part from the earlier innovations of the Direct Method (Richards & Rodgers, 2001).

CLT is currently a widely espoused pedagogic approach in EFL settings worldwide, and “has a rich, if somewhat eclectic, theoretical base” (Richards & Rodgers, 2001, p. 161). CLT's evolution has drawn on Hymes's theory of communicative competence, Halliday's work in descriptions of the functions of language, and Canale and Swain's influential four dimensional model of communicative competence. Certainly, sociolinguistics and the attendant concepts of appropriacy, register and genre have underlined the CLT approach. ‘Culture’ has been somewhat subsumed in CLT within a focus on sociolinguistic competence, an emphasis on authentic communicative situations and the employment of ‘realia’ in the form of media or texts extracted from the target language environment. While the emphasis on competence in interaction and contextually situated language learning in CLT represents a major step away from the fixed representations of culture that typified Grammar Translation and other earlier methods, in practice a largely ethno-national, anthropological sensibility of culture has continued to inform & frame the work of curriculum planners, textbook writers and educators working in an era of CLT dominance (Byram & Wagner, 2018; Kramsch, 2003; Michelson, 2018). Materials reflecting this include Tomalin & Stempleski's resource book for language teachers *Cultural Awareness*, which identifies its focus as:

“British and American life and institutions, beliefs, and values, as well as everyday attitudes and feelings conveyed not only by language, but by paralinguistic features such as dress, gesture, facial expression, stance and movement” (2013, p. 5).

DeCapua & Wintergerst, in a text designed for teacher education, also orient to an anthropological construct of culture largely synonymous with national group membership:

“... members of a culture share clearly identifiable traits, patterns of behaviour, worldviews, systems of social organizations, and similar value systems... These shared matters are what identify the members of a particular culture, such as German, Canadian, Malaysian, or Vietnamese” (2004, p. 12).

The U.S. Peace Corps publication *Culture Matters*, designed for trainees and volunteers in pre-service and in-service Peace Corps training programs, provides another example of culture understood with reference to locality:

“It [the workbook] introduces and examines the key features or dimensions of culture ... These are aspects of the human experience, common to all people everywhere, but with respect to which the people of different cultures, largely because of different historical and geographical circumstances, have developed different opinions, attitudes, and, ultimately, a different set of norms and behaviours” (Storti, 2011).

K. Y. Lee (2009) investigated the cultural content of 11 South Korean high-school level EFL textbooks in use during 2005, which were based on national curriculum guidelines. Drawing upon Lange and Paige (2003), Byram (1988, 1997, cited in K. Y. Lee, 2009) and Kramsch (1993) Lee analysed the textbooks for both culture-general (generalizable and transferable across cultures) and the culture-specific (related to a particular speech community) content. Lee’s study found that the culture-general aspect of culture learning was not encouraged. Only two of 16 possible themes (following Lee, 2004, 2005, cited in K. Y. Lee, 2009) were evident in 9 of the textbooks, and then only included minimally. Culture-specific references were more frequent, and dominated by ‘Big C’ content; social customs, currency, shopping, dress, foods, transportation, festivals, etcetera, in contrast to limited ‘small c’ content; such as informality, individualism and a value upon directness.

Lee noted that all of the 11 textbooks favoured cultural content in the form of simple information that could be memorized - dos and don'ts - and presented such information in a fragmentary manner. This aspect of Lee's findings is congruent with the preferences of Korean teachers in studies by Li (1998), and Howard and Millar (2008). Both studies raised challenges Korean teachers face implementing curriculum innovations in the form of CLT approaches and the official policy of 'Teaching English through English' (TETE) in the secondary level public school EFL environment. Many of the participants reported a lack of confidence regarding sociolinguistic competence, and the need for a teacher in Korea to always have a definitive answer to be considered an authority in their subject matter - or else risk derision from students and parents.

The outcomes of several studies of foreign language teachers' beliefs and practices surrounding culture spanning from the 1990s to more recent years have also reflected the endurance of nationally defined understandings of culture, approached in the curriculum with an emphasis on knowledge rather than skills. Lessard-Clouston (1996) investigated the views of Chinese EFL teachers participating in a six week intensive training course on the role of culture in language learning. Questionnaire items such as: "Have you learnt about US/CDN [Canadian] English language culture this summer? If yes, what have you learnt?" (p. 204) indicated an underlying nationally defined culture-as-information perspective. Participants' responses to questions such as, "In China, how can a foreign teacher approach culture teaching in the FL class?" (p. 216) also reflected this, referring to culture as factual information to be transmitted, for example "give an outline of the culture", explain the main points in detail" and "give definite answers about readings" (p. 216). Another early study by Ryan (1998) presented a case study of two EFL teachers in Mexico, using a combination of interviews and classroom observations to explore their beliefs and practices in relation to culture. The two participating teachers were described as 'additive bilinguals', the first a 'native speaker' of English originally from the United States, and the second a 'non-native speaker' of Mexican origin. In Ryan's study, culture was conceptualized in terms of C1 and C2 – with C1 defined as representing 'Mexican culture' and C2 'English-speaking cultures'. However, throughout the discussion of interview data and extracts of classroom discourse C2 referred almost exclusively to North American culture.

Three transnational investigations have also found nationally defined understandings of culture to be prevalent in foreign language teaching. Studies by Byram and Risager (1999), Sercu (2001, cited in Sercu, 2005) and Sercu (2005a), were undertaken predominantly in the European context and investigated foreign language teachers' beliefs and practices, extending beyond EFL to include the teaching of other languages. Byram & Risager (1999) conducted their empirical study between 1992 and 1994, in Denmark and England, among teachers of variously English, German, French, Spanish and Italian. A questionnaire study was followed up with interviews of a reduced sample of participants. Sercu (2001, cited in Sercu et al 2005) focused her study within Belgium, collecting questionnaire data from in total 78 teachers of variously English, French and German. Finally, Sercu et al (2005) have published perhaps the largest scale investigation of the cultural dimension in foreign language teaching to date, investigating 424 secondary foreign language teachers' beliefs & self-reported practices via a web-based questionnaire undertaken across 7 countries in 2001: Belgium, Poland, Spain, Bulgaria, Greece, Sweden, and Mexico. In this study, the quantitative methodology - acknowledged by the researchers to yield less in-depth data than qualitative methodologies - was employed with the stated objective of facilitating direct comparison of teacher profiles in differing national contexts. A comparative discussion of the outcomes of these three studies, which all approached culture in foreign language teachers' professional self-concepts from a general perspective, is provided in Sercu et al (2005). This summarizes the predominant view of teachers across all three sets of data that teaching culture is important, but nonetheless secondary to the linguistic focus of foreign language teaching. The participants in all three studies indicated a willingness to include a cultural dimension to their teaching. However, this was understood and enacted in practice primarily through the promotion of knowledge regarding foreign cultures (in a nationally bordered sense) as opposed to skills or competences associated with a process view of *doing* culture.

Many of the more recently published studies have oriented to the *intercultural* rather than a traditional operationalization of culture. However, Michelson (2018) has focused on learner perspectives regarding the integration of nationally defined cultural content to the formal curriculum. This study used a text and genre-based approach with

30 learners in a university French class, in which they adopted fictitious French personas for the duration of a semester. The aim was to “foster students’ awareness of relationships between language use and social identities, social practices and underlying values, and recognize the variability of cultural values and practices” (2018, p. 14) and in doing so encourage learners to attend to audience and immediate cultural context as factors in language choice. This study represents a fusion of a process and skills based view of culture with a nationally circumscribed understanding of context. Outcomes of analysis indicated an overall preference among learners for focusing upon language skills development, with students surprised by the course content, which included learning about cultural aspects of French society such as politics or secularism. Some of the students were found to recognize that culture is variable and dynamic, while others held stereotypical views of French culture.

The enduring association of culture with particular territories evident in these studies of foreign language teaching and learning settings is increasingly at odds with the emphasis on transnationalism, globalization, cultural hybridity and the processes of ‘doing’ culture which typifies contemporary academic discourses. It also raises important questions regarding the essentialism, stereotyping and misrepresentations that may derive from the imposition of nationally delineated boundaries upon identity (see Holliday, 2010; Lavanchy et al., 2011). Notably, assumptions that a target national culture is integral to a target language have become increasingly troublesome in recent decades in the field of EFL education. This is not only due to the reconceptualization of culture, but a reflection of the widened contexts of use that the English language has come to occupy. As English has increasingly come to be accepted as an international lingua-franca, debates on issues of intelligibility, form and ownership have emerged. This has resulted in a broadening perspective on English as an International Language, a Lingua Franca, a Global Language, and World Englishes (see Jenkins, 2012; Seidlhofer, 2005). The decoupling of the English language from its historical national contexts has also prompted a fundamental rethinking of key concepts in the theorizing and research of learner motivation, in particular integrative motivation for which “notions of social identification and ethnolinguistic identity have always been implicit” and which has been thrown into question “when there is no specific target reference group of speakers” (Ushioda & Dornyei, 2009, p. 2). This

raises questions as to whether an internationally positioned group of speakers represent an external group, or alternately a community of which the learner is implicitly a member.

2.2.3 How Culture is Understood in this Thesis

I do not use ‘culture’ in either of its historical senses, as an elite aesthetic (as per Bourdieu’s *Distinction*) or as a deterministic catalogue of ways of life within particular ethno-national groupings. Instead, I understand culture as a process and view it as something an individual constructs, invokes and negotiates in interaction that reveals their moment to moment sense-making and interpretation of immediate, past or imagined experiences. This understanding of culture is heavily influenced by Gee’s perspective on language as the space in which individuals say, do and be things in the world (2011), as the ‘doing’ of culture in language is viewed as purposeful, and closely aligned to processes of identification and identity. In this sense, culture can be seen as a highly individual and agentive activity. However, although I understand and examine culture in one sense as a highly personal and continually evolving process of calling upon one’s various identifications, I do not discount the influence of a macro social context, including what is typically referred to as national culture.

2.3 The Intercultural

While the usefulness of the concept of culture has been critiqued, and culture redefined across the social sciences, substantial interdisciplinary attention has focused on the related notion of the *intercultural* (Byram & Wagner, 2018; Jackson, 2014). Much emphasis has been placed on theoretical scholarship (Byram & Feng, 2004) and the development of conceptual models of intercultural competence abstracted from the situated realities in which these competences are to be developed (Perry & Southwell, 2011). Currently, limited empirical work has been undertaken that investigates intercultural processes in situated contexts. There is a need to expand theoretical understandings of the intercultural to better account for the complex and situated nature of intercultural learning and teaching, both within and beyond foreign language education.

2.3.1 Polysemy in Theoretical Scholarship of the Intercultural

Amidst both intra and interdisciplinary theorizing, agreement on how the intercultural is defined is conspicuously lacking. In her introduction to a timeline of research on the cultural dimensions in language teaching and learning spanning from the late 1950s to 2009, Risager notes work in this area:

“...has always had a distinctive interdisciplinary character with multiple theoretical and philosophical positions. It is a wide field that is becoming still wider, and is characterized to a large extent by monographs in which authors present their own platforms, sometimes without very many references to other scholars in the field at large. It can therefore be very difficult to trace specific lines of argument.” (2011, p. 485)

Following a synthesis of research literature on intercultural competence and intercultural education more broadly, Perry and Southwell (2011) similarly conclude that “The literature about intercultural competence and similar constructs is vast and crosses many disciplines, making navigation through it demanding and complex” (p. 462). A selective review of models of intercultural communication competence presented by Spitzberg and Changnon (2009) acknowledges at the outset that a single chapter cannot provide a comprehensive review of the models available for analysis, with the authors further noting that their discussion is limited to the development of intercultural competence in Anglo cultures and discussed from a Western perspective. Given the breadth of the interdisciplinary literature in this area, my discussion here is also necessarily selective. I first highlight some of the conceptual distinctions that are reflected in variations of terminology surrounding the intercultural, and then review influential models that have emerged from the fields of applied linguistics and education.

The term ‘intercultural’ is often used indiscriminately (Lavanchy et al., 2011). Typically, it emphasizes the *processes* entailed in interaction with ‘others’ who are different to ourselves, and in this sense the term usually represents a shift away from fixed or deterministic notions of culture toward a more agentic and behavioural or competence focused construct (Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009). Perry and Southwell (2011) distinguish

between intercultural understanding, also referred to as intercultural sensitivity (encompassing the cognitive and affective domains of knowledge and awareness) and intercultural competence (extending beyond sensitivity to also include behaviour and communication). Intercultural sensitivity encompasses models including Bennett's well known Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS), which identifies six potential stages of an individual's development on a continuum from strongly ethnocentric to strongly ethnorelative (Bennett, 2013). The term 'intercultural' has also often been deployed to anchor the related concept of interculturality (Jackson, 2018; Kramsch, 2003; Lavanchy et al., 2011). Lavanchy et al. (2011) suggest a distinction between the *intercultural* and *interculturality*. They propose that the former describes encounters with otherness as a clearly bordered and distinct entity (which can be roughly equated to Piller's essentialist understanding of culture in the previous section) and the latter addresses "encounters between multifaceted individuals in relation to historicity, intersubjectivity and interactional context" (2011, p. 12), a distinctly constructionist perspective. Jackson (2018) notes that interculturality is a difficult construct to define. She views interculturality as ideological, political and unstable in that the process of two individuals from different backgrounds meeting is always impacted by power relationships and intersubjectivities. Thus, while the intercultural is prominent across the contemporary literature its definition remains contested (Byram, 2012; Byram & Wagner, 2018; Perry & Southwell, 2011; Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009).

Several attempts have been made to more precisely define the interrelated concept of intercultural competence (see descriptions of the term's variable uses in Dervin, Gajardo, & Lavanchy, 2011; Piller, 2011; Zhou & Pilcher, 2018). For Spitzberg & Changnon (2009), Intercultural competence is "the appropriate and effective management of interaction between people who, to some degree or another, represent different or divergent affective, cognitive, and behavioral orientations to the world" (p. 7). This definition is largely analogous with the working consensus definition among contemporary intercultural scholars evolved by Deardorff (2006).

Deardorff's study utilized a Delphi technique, enabling a group of geographically dispersed participants to interact anonymously and arrive at a consensus. Administrators from 24 institutions across the United States of America and 23 leading interdisciplinary

intercultural scholars also agreed to participate. The scholars, selected through a process of literature review, professional association and peer or administrator recommendation were largely from the United States, excepting Michael Byram (Durham University, UK) and Daniel J. Kealey (Canadian Foreign Service Institute, Canada) and included R.M. Paige, H. Triandis and L.R. Kohls. The study attempted to achieve sufficient consensus to define the construct of intercultural competence and identify appropriate methods for its assessment. Some degree of success was achieved in that 80% of the scholars and administrators agreed upon 22 essential elements of intercultural competence. The top rated definition was “the ability to communicate effectively and appropriately in intercultural situations based on one’s intercultural knowledge, skills and attitudes”, the second was the “Ability to shift frame of reference appropriately and adapt behaviour to cultural context; adaptability, expandability and flexibility of one’s frame of reference/filter”, and the third the “Ability to identify behaviours guided by culture and engage in new behaviours in other cultures even when behaviours are unfamiliar given a person’s own socialization” (2006, p. 249). Taken together, these three definitions align comfortably with the contemporary, process oriented and intersubjective understandings of culture across a range of disciplines discussed earlier in this chapter. Moreover, Deardorff’s study provides evidence of broad agreement by scholars in the field.

Nonetheless, emerging critiques point to the potential ethnocentricity of such definitions, since they rely largely on Anglo European perspectives and were developed by predominantly Western scholars (see Asante et al., 2014; MacDonald & O'Regan, 2011; Wang et al., 2017). These critiques suggest that definitions such as those provided in Deardorff (2006) insufficiently account for the complexity of contexts in which developing intercultural competence is a concern. Calls for the development of models that incorporate alternative perspectives, focus less on effectiveness, prioritize values including harmony (Xu 2011, cited in Wang et al., 2017) and account for intercultural competence as a relational concept (Dalib et al., 2017) are increasing across the literature, and challenging the validity of how it is currently conceptualized.

Contemporary philosopher Appiah describes a process or skills orientation to intercultural experiences as ‘imaginative engagement’ across boundaries of identity, envisaged as *conversation*; “not only for literal talk but also as a metaphor for engagement

with the experience and the ideas of others” (2007, p. 85). Appiah’s perspective implicitly entails the fostering of skills of interpretation and critical engagement. These are central to Byram’s (1997) model of ‘Intercultural Competence’ (hereafter ICC) and fundamental to the *sphere of interculturality* proposed by Kramsch (1993; 2003), see below. Importantly, Appiah rejects cultural relativity, promoting instead critically engaged, discursive processes of negotiation between oppositional manifestations of cultures. This position is analogous to Kramsch, who describes “a dialogic process of coming to terms with the often conflictive encounter between two or more cultures” (2003, p. 21). In making his broader case for recycling the term ‘cosmopolitan’ away from its contemporary elitist connotations to represent the world citizen – operationalized as a person with a concern for human rights and a respect for difference – Appiah acknowledges the inevitability of cosmopolitanism as a negotiated process;

“... there will be times when these two ideals – universal concern and respect for legitimate difference- clash. There’s a sense in which cosmopolitanism is the name not of the solution but of the *challenge*” (Appiah, 2007, p. xv, my emphasis).

Appiah’s framing of cosmopolitanism as the challenge, or as a process and not an outcome recognizes the complex, situated and often conflictive nature of intercultural experience. In the following section, I explore three distinct models of the intercultural that have been widely cited and utilised in intercultural and foreign language education,

2.3.2 Influential Models of Intercultural Competence and Development

Kramsch (2003) outlined four steps toward a teaching syllabus that may encourage students to develop a third place perspective, or a “sphere of interculturality” (Kramsch, 1993, p. 205), when approaching culturally embedded texts in a foreign language classroom. The first involves the facilitation of students’ awareness of their own cultural and social reality, and how this subjectivity may impact upon their perceptions and interpretations of foreign cultural phenomena. This primacy placed upon the development of self-awareness and reflective capacities is frequently echoed by writers and materials producers in the EFL field (see, for example, Corbett, 2010; Tomalin & Stempleski, 2013), and often reduced to simpler terms as the ability to understand and

explain one's own culture before being expected to interpret a foreign culture. In Kramersch's second step, a teacher engages students in a consideration of the context of production and reception of a given text, assisting them to reach understanding from another cultural perspective, or decenter from their own perspective in order to relativize their perceptions. Thirdly, teachers assist students to reach an understanding of the implications of imposing one's own cultural schemata on a foreign culture text or phenomena, and the obscurity of perspective consequent to "the way each culture views the other in the mirror of itself" (Kramersch, 2003, p. 31). The fourth and final stage can be glossed as the teacher leading a dialogic, exploratory engagement with both native and foreign cultures. Kramersch has employed concrete examples of classroom teaching and intercultural experiences that illuminate her suggested approach in more than one publication (1993, 2003). While her work draws on the central constructs of a first (C1) and second (C2) culture that may evoke national or ethnic distinctions, her perspective is nonetheless situated within the processual, multidimensional and skills based paradigm associated with the intercultural. Kramersch's orientation to classroom teaching implicitly constructs a model of the processes and skills students develop as they engage within her proposed sphere of interculturality.

Byram (1997) views intercultural competence as an aspect of intercultural *communicative* competence, which also entails linguistic, sociolinguistic and discourse competences. His ICC model is directed to the notion of learner competence and its measurement, and is organized conceptually around five *saviors*, which are considered to be integrated in function, and can be summarized as attitudes, knowledge, skills of interpreting & relating, skills of discovery and interaction, and critical cultural awareness. Attitudes (*savoir etre*) that reflect ICC require a curious, positive and open disposition toward other cultures, and a willingness to relativize one's own culture. Forms of knowledge (*saviors*) include knowledge of one's own culture and its society, practices and products, knowledge of the same with regard to one's interlocutor, and knowledge of interaction, both individual and societal. Both the attitude and knowledge dimensions of Byram's framework parallel aspects of Kramersch's first step outlined above. Sercu et al (2005) note that the skills dimensions of interpretation and relating in Byram's framework (*savoir comprendre*) and discovery and interaction (*savoir apprendre*) are in line with

constructivist theories of learning. They explicitly foreground dynamic processes in their identification of the need to not only comprehend, internalize and synthesize new cultural knowledge, but to operationalize this in interaction under the constraints of real-time communication. Finally, critical cultural awareness (*savoir-s'engager*) entails critical evaluation of one's own culture as well as foreign cultures.

Following on from the Delphi study reported in the previous section, Deardorff (2006) proposed a process model of intercultural competence. The model also incorporates the dimensions of attitudes, knowledge and skills. Requisite attitudes including respect, openness and curiosity are foundational to the model's proposed process of developing intercultural competence. These are furthered by knowledge in the form of cultural self-awareness, as well as sociolinguistic and deep cultural knowledge, and also by skills including observation, analysis and interpretation. Deardorff's model distinguishes between internal outcomes (adaptability, flexibility, ethno-relativity, empathy) and external outcomes (effective and appropriate behaviour and communication). This is significant, as the model allows for the possibility that an individual may achieve positive external outcomes without necessarily undergoing any internal shifts in perspective.

The processes and models set forth by Kramsch (1993), Byram (1997) and Deardorff (2006) undoubtedly represent a tall order for foreign language teachers and learners around the globe. Intercultural development requires not only confidence and maturity in interpersonal interactions, but the demonstration of emotional and intellectual capacities of empathy, reflection and analysis. While Kramsch (1993) maps an approach to integrating intercultural objectives to a syllabus, this remains - alongside Byram's ICC and Deardorff's process model - abstracted from the complex nature of the international contexts in which it might be utilised. In the following section, I review a number of studies which investigate aspects of the intercultural in diverse teaching and learning settings around the globe. The outcomes of these inquiries highlight some of the challenges practitioners face in translating ideal conceptual models of the intercultural to the complexities of situated practice.

2.3.3 Investigations of the Intercultural in Learning and Teaching

Following on from the development of theoretical models, research has begun to explore the beliefs of teachers in relation to intercultural dimensions of their practice, particularly in the context of foreign language and EFL education. Increasing importance has also been placed on intercultural competence as a desirable graduate attribute in higher education settings internationally. This is reflected in a recent edited volume by Deardorff and Arasaratnam-Smith (2017), which draws together 29 case studies from around the world that illustrate a diversity of approaches to the development and assessment of intercultural competence at university level.

Some inquiries conducted in foreign language learning contexts have suggested that teachers and trainee teachers may themselves lack intercultural competences and skills in various contexts. Cheng (2012) reported on a case study of Taiwanese higher education EFL teachers which focused on their understanding of culture and intercultural competence, and how this affected their pedagogic practices. Cheng interviewed 8 teachers, and collected documents and teaching materials as supplementary material for the purposes of triangulation. The study found intercultural competence missing from both the teachers' understanding and their classroom practices. Teachers' lack of personal knowledge was cited as a major reason that unfamiliar cultural topics were avoided in the classroom. Another study by Bektas-Cetinkaya (2014) found that pre-service foreign language teachers in training in Turkey struggled to complete intercultural tasks at the outset of their program, despite their chosen career path. The study focused on a curriculum intervention designed to develop their intercultural competences. The trainee teachers exposed to the curriculum intervention, which incorporated cultural content to conversation classes and also written reflection, developed skills of discovery and interaction more so than skills of interpreting and relating. No significant differences were found in the participants' attitudes, although some individuals showed and reported major attitudinal shifts. The researchers concluded that EFL classes should incorporate learning of concepts such as values, norms, stereotyping and ethnocentrism, as awareness of the role these play in intercultural communication can potentially assist trainee teachers to

succeed using English as an international language of communication with a diversity of interlocutors.

In addition to deficiencies in teachers' intercultural competences, studies have noted unfavourable local conditions for the development of intercultural competence in various contexts. These include Cheng (2012, cited above), who identified that in addition to the teachers' lack of intercultural competence, classroom practice in Taiwanese EFL was dominated by textbooks, and the curriculum lacked an emphasis on culture. Young and Sachdev (2011) conducted a mixed-methods investigation of teacher belief among participants in three countries (USA, UK & France), and concluded that a number of challenges and issues existed for the application of ICC in foreign language learning contexts. These included "lack of learner interest, a lack of curricular support, a lack of suitable textbook material, a lack of ICC testing, and concern about engaging with controversy" (2011, p. 95). The researchers further identified lack of teacher training as a potential impediment to incorporation of ICC in classroom teaching. Their analysis suggested that despite broad agreement regarding the desirability of Byram's (1997) ICC model as a set of aims for learners, ICC was not evident in the teachers' self-reported practices. Twenty one teachers were asked to keep confidential diaries recording in-class incidents they perceived as relevant to the model for two weeks prior to participation in a focus group. A second, larger group of 105 teachers (USA 21, UK 51, France 33) were provided with a summary of Byram's model and responded to a questionnaire study. The authentic materials these teachers described using to foster ICC represented stereotypical views of the cultures represented, and underexploited their potential for stimulating reflection upon their own society and encouraging critical cultural awareness. The researchers conclude that the teachers were "despite protestations, still seeing culture as content rather than as a method" (2011, p. 93). This finding is also consistent with the outcomes of analysis in Sercu et al (2005), discussed earlier.

Two previously mentioned studies, Li (1998) and Howard & Millar (2008), focused on contextual challenges specific to Korean English teachers in implementing communicative approaches and using English as a medium of instruction. These highlighted many challenges that also inhibit development of an intercultural domain in EFL education. In these studies, the interdependent issue of insufficient language

proficiency among teachers was also explicitly raised. The initial 1995 questionnaire and interview study by Li (1998) of Korean English teachers participating in a training program in Canada was replicated by Howard & Millar a decade later to investigate whether the same obstacles remained problematic in the light of systematic changes in Korean EFL education in the intervening period. These included lower student – teacher ratios and the provision of new textbooks and teaching resources (Howard & Millar, 2008). The teachers participating in Li’s initial study had cited myriad problems, including the teachers’ concerns about their own lack of fluency and sociolinguistic awareness, students’ expectations, preferences and mixed levels of proficiency (Li, 1998). Howard & Millar found that, despite the changes in Korean EFL listed above, the group of teachers they sampled reported experiencing the same difficulties as those in the first study, and raised additional obstacles including anxiety regarding student criticism (Howard & Millar, 2008). The findings of both studies highlighted pressures that Korean EFL middle and high school teachers experience in relation to their classroom practice and suggest intercultural development is likely to be positioned as a low priority, if countenanced at all by these teachers.

Language proficiency was also a relevant factor in the performance of Korean EFL teachers in an inquiry undertaken by Ngai and Janusch (2015) which investigated the impact of an intercultural communication course delivered to 25 South Korean EFL elementary school teachers studying in the USA. Primarily focused on improving the teachers’ EFL proficiency, the course also included a strand which “integrated instructional pragmatics and intercultural communication training to enhance the teachers’ intercultural communicative competence for English-speaking contexts” (2015, p. 353). A pre and post course survey invited the teachers to self-assess their pragmatic awareness and intercultural knowledge. Speech acts and contexts of use were introduced throughout the course, and the instructional sequence followed a cycle of noticing, cross-cultural comparison, discovery, comparative analysis, application and reflection. The researchers found that most participants improved in their ability to notice and interpret speech acts in relation to context, and to apply pragmatics knowledge to intercultural communication. However, language proficiency significantly impacted the participants’ progress, with

intermediate level students progressing faster and further than those with basic levels of English.

Sociopolitical complexities and their implications for intercultural development have also been noted in a relatively recent publication by Mostafaei Alaei and Nosrati (2018), which reports on a survey based study of 167 Iranian EFL teachers. The study aimed to measure the participants' intercultural competences and intercultural sensitivity respectively, and explore the possible relationships between these. The researchers used an Intercultural Sensitivity (IS) Scale developed by Chen & Starosta (2000, cited in Mostafaei Alaei & Nosrati 2018), and an Intercultural Competence (ICC) Questionnaire developed by Zhou (2011, cited in Mostafaei Alaei & Nosrati) as well as gathering demographic information. Participants' mean scores were found to be high in ICC in relation to awareness, skills and attitudes, with their mean scores in the knowledge dimension lower. However, mean scores were high in IS. The researchers suggest that these findings may be attributed to the particularities of the participants' social context; Iran is domestically a multicultural and multiethnic society, yet the participants generally had a lack of interaction with English speakers (72% of the participants had not travelled abroad) and following the revolution of 1979 have had greatly reduced opportunities for direct interactions with people from the United States and Great Britain.

A number of studies have also focused upon student perspectives on the intercultural. Findings from these inquiries support the view that intercultural learning is complex and situated, involving dynamics that could be better accounted for by conceptual models of intercultural competence. A study by Holmes (2006) noted a number of challenges experienced by a group of 15 Chinese university students studying in New Zealand. The inquiry collected interview and focus group data to investigate whether current approaches to Intercultural *Communication* Competence [my emphasis] accounted for their experiences in a pluricultural classroom context. Here, the inclusion of 'communication' emphasizes that goal achievement and mutual understanding in communicative exchanges were central in this investigation. The study approached the intercultural as it is enacted or performed, drawing upon notions of identity, criticality and reflexivity as the enabling contextual factors for communication; "...the sociocultural context in which the communication takes place becomes critical in changing the

perceptions, values and visions of those involved” (2006, p. 21). Holmes found five themes emerged prominently in the data. The first related to challenges students encountered engaging in dialog, leading many to a preference for one-to-one communication outside of class. Lack of shared experiences and different rules of politeness contributed to the second and third themes “empathy and reciprocity” and “preserving relational harmony and politeness” respectively (2006, pp. 26 - 27). The fourth theme “face” arose in incidences where students felt their contributions were not acknowledged or respected by their teacher or peers, but was also frequently bound to the previous theme of relational harmony, where the open voicing of disagreement by their New Zealander classmates was perceived to be confronting. Finally, insider/outsider distinctions, and issues of social acceptance featured as a concern among the participants.

Holmes’s study has been critiqued by Dervin as dealing with interculturality in a manner that is “Janusian, in reference to the two-faced God” (2011a, p. 47). He argues that on one hand Holmes acknowledges individual complexity and warns against stereotyping, while on the other she presents research subjects in a reductive or ‘culturalised’ manner in analysis. Holmes emphasizes the need to avoid essentializing the Chinese student participants, but does include an overview of “Chinese Interpersonal Communication Styles”. This discussion draws upon Confucianism to discuss face, harmony, interdependence and hierarchy, and Hall’s characterization of high context culture communication patterns to foreground a social value placed upon implicit, listener centred and non-verbal communication, including silence. While Dervin’s critique of contradictions in this study and others is important, it does not propose a clear alternative for the researcher. Holmes’ study exemplifies the challenge of sufficiently attending to both the contextual and individual elements of social research, a central interest in this study.

An inquiry conducted by Houghton (2010) among a female group of high proficiency English speaking university students at a Japanese university also found that context specific social values posed challenges to the development of intercultural competences in line with dominant conceptual models. This project explored the disjuncture evident between two groups of theorists in relation to neutrality, criticality and value based agendas in intercultural education. Houghton identified that advocacy of

teaching critical cultural awareness, and a move toward citizenship education promoting democratic principles, human rights and social justice, by theorists such as Byram and Guilherme (2000, cited in Houghton, 2010) conflicted with the positions of Bennett (1993), Gudykunst (1998) and Paul & Elder (2002, cited in Houghton, 2010), who emphasize respect for differing perspectives and non-judgmental approaches. The project entailed design and implementation of three different courses of study, which were delivered by the teacher-researcher over one academic year. The first took a teaching approach reflective of the neutral stance; the teacher trains learners to engage in intellectual empathy, withhold judgment of difference and take the perspective of others. The second took a median position between the two polarized positions outlined above; the teacher trains learners to attend to their own processes and biases in evaluating others to develop critical self-awareness and control, but the teacher refrains from attempting to change learner values. The third extended upon the content of the second course with the explicit aim of fostering values aligned to democratic principles, human rights and social justice, acknowledging that this may entail changing the learners' initial values (Houghton, 2010). Qualitative data in the form of student work, audio recording lessons and examining post-class student and teacher diaries were collected.

A theme that emerged from Houghton's data was the reticence of many students to critically evaluate or judge others, as required especially of the second and third course participants; students identified this hesitancy as related to the Japanese value of harmony. While the requirement that students critically evaluate or make judgments throughout their course of study created conflicted feelings for many participants, Houghton noted that the meta-cognitive awareness of the participating students was also increased, as students' tendencies to judge others, their own biases and internal inconsistencies in their value systems became more apparent to them, leading some to a conscious reorientation of previously unexamined values (Houghton, 2010). Houghton's study led to her evolution of a model for Intercultural Dialogue (Houghton 2007, outlined in Houghton 2010), and proposal that a further dimension be appended to Byram's (1997) existing ICC model. This dimension, '*savoir se transformer*' (knowing how to become) is envisaged to direct teachers to the potential for students to consciously develop themselves through their intercultural encounters.

A number of studies conducted among students experiencing study abroad and focused on measuring and assessing levels of intercultural competence and sensitivity reflect an ongoing interest in the intercultural across the literature. A mixed methods study by Cots, Aguilar, Mas-Alcolea, and Llanes (2016) used pre and post-stay surveys to explore the impact of study abroad on the intercultural competence of students undertaking study abroad for periods of between 5 – 10 months. The study combined a focus on assessing intercultural competence across a broader group of 110 students hosted in predominantly Northern European countries with an exploration of one student's discursive construction of the impact of their study abroad experience. This student was seen to categorise her experience abroad through a framework of difference, and indicate a stance of resistance to change. The researchers found small positive gains on almost half the items on their questionnaire among the broader group, with the knowledge dimension showing the most gains (7 out of 10 items showing a significant increase) followed by behaviour (6 items out of 15) and finally attitude (5 out of 18 items). The researchers speculate that changes in behaviour and attitudes may require not only longer periods of immersion, but be conditional to the students' willingness to modify their habits while abroad. They suggest that institutions should prioritize preparing students to have an enriching intercultural experience during study abroad programs.

Sarwari and Abdul Wahab (2017) also conducted a study of students experiencing study abroad, focused on the relationship between intercultural sensitivity and intercultural communication competence. The researchers surveyed 108 international postgraduate students in Malaysia originating from 17 Asian and African countries using two scales, the Intercultural Sensitivity Scale (ISS) developed by Chen & Starosta (2000, cited in Sarwari & Abdul Wahab, 2017) and another intercultural communication competence questionnaire (ICCQ) developed by Mateev (2002, cited in Sarwari & Abdul Wahab, 2017) to assess the participants' levels of sensitivity and competence respectively. Follow up interviews were then conducted with eight of those students. The researchers concluded that while correlations existed between intercultural sensitivity and intercultural competence as measured by their instruments, these remained different concepts, with sensitivity relating to the personal perceptions and willingness to initiate

interactions of individuals, and competence relating to the combination of skills that enable individuals to be effective in interaction.

Two recent studies have focused their investigations upon the nature of intercultural experience, rather than its measurement. These work with rich data to contribute to understandings of intercultural processes. Hagar (2018) outlines case studies of two participants, both Saudi academic migrants who were purposefully sampled. Both had undertaken study in the United States for over one year, completed a graduate course in culture, a Master's degree in TESOL and were highly proficient in L2 English, in addition to being considered by other students and professors to be interculturally competent. Hagar reports that in Saudi Arabia an 'acultural' approach is taken in EFL learning, taught "irrespective of Western culture, often solely in its linguistic form and bleached of culture" (2018, p. 87). Hagar further notes that a dearth of research is available on the Saudi Arabian context, and that it is often categorized as Arab rather than viewed as a distinctive context. Data was initially collected from reflective journals kept by the participants over a six week period. Semi-structured interviews were then developed based upon the journal entries after 3 journal prompts had been completed, and again after 6, with the interviews providing the main source of data for analysis. Analysis drew upon Deardorff's process model (2006) of intercultural competence and found critical incidents (experiences which the participants identified as impacting their intercultural understanding) and differences in sociolinguistic norms to be key themes. Hagar found that a cycle of critical reflection enabled the participants to develop their intercultural competences, as they approached new situations with attitudes of curiosity and openness, tolerated uncertainty and withheld judgment. This allowed them to develop deepened awareness of their own culture as well as cultural knowledge specific to the USA. Despite drawing upon Deardorff's process model, Hagar's study is noteworthy in that it employs interview data to explore salient aspects of the development of intercultural competence from the perspective of the participants. The study also acknowledges the significance of their sociocultural background in their processes of interpreting and making sense of their experiences in the USA

Zhou and Pilcher (2018) also prioritize the (written) voices of their participants, drawing upon reflective experiential learning essays produced by four students participating in an Intercultural Competence module, a data set that provided “a kaleidoscope of unique, deeply personalized trajectories of ‘IC development’” (2018, p. 125). Their analysis found that although the students’ essays reflected changes, these were not teleological, in that they did not align to an ideal trajectory of intercultural learning or development as it is now conventionally defined in models such as those discussed earlier in this chapter. For example, their participants at times exhibited behaviours typically associated with tolerance and empathy, but these behaviours were enacted for purely instrumental or pragmatic reasons. The researchers call for a move away from the “linearity and decontextualized ‘success’ orientation underlying popular IC conceptualisations” (2018, p. 139). In grounding their analysis in the complex and messy realities of their participants’ experiences, Zhou & Pilcher’s study brings actual lived experience to the fore, a goal shared with my inquiry.

2.3.5 How the Intercultural is Understood in this Thesis

The theories, models and empirical research discussed in the preceding sections have collectively contributed to the understanding and approach to the concept of the intercultural taken in this study. I view the intercultural as a dynamic and intersubjective process of navigating and making sense of interactions with people different to ourselves. This process is intertwined with personal identity and identifications (see below), and is facilitated (or hampered) by one’s knowledge, skills and attitudes toward difference (or lack thereof). However, I note that while individual processes are often emphasized over intergroup dynamics or the role of social structure in the theorizing of the intercultural I believe that social structure and context also play vital roles in intercultural processes. In this respect I agree with Spitzberg and Changnon (2009), that:

“The extent to which individuals *manifest* aspects of, or are influenced by, their group or cultural affiliations and characteristics is what makes an interaction an *intercultural* process” (2009, p. 7).

Kumaravadivelu also suggests an intermediary position which he characterizes as ‘cultural realism’ and to which my own perspective aligns:

“Between the modernist position that undervalues the agency of the individual and the postmodern stance that overvalues it, cultural realism signifies contradictory and competing allegiances by recognizing that cultural identity is socially conventionalized and yet individually constructed” (2008, p. 165).

These perspectives acknowledge the multiple forces which contribute to an individual’s lived experience of culture, and complement the perspectives on identity underlying this study and explored in the subsequent section.

My analysis aims to make visible the personal ideologies of the intercultural that are enacted in my participants’ discourse. Therefore, although the models reviewed in this section have informed my thinking, I do not apply them to my data or use categories derived from them in the recursive and multiple analyses I undertake. Nor do I attempt to instantiate or validate any particular definition of the intercultural. Rather, my goal is to bring to the fore what intercultural being, doing and becoming means to a particular group of individuals within the particular ethno-national context of South Korea, all of whom are accomplished EFL speakers and have almost exclusively used English as a Foreign Language to mediate their substantial lived experiences of intercultural contact. This approach does not exclude the potential for Anglocentric bias to be present in my work. My own subjectivity as white, English speaking woman of Australian birth cannot be ignored, and the intersubjectivity between myself as a researcher and my participants is made relevant on multiple occasions in the research interviews. For example, participants frequently take up the role of cultural explainer, momentarily stepping out of their personal stories and into the role of a Korean person providing a foreign interlocutor with necessary context to enable their comprehension. Similarly, in the interviews participants also ask me to act as a cultural informant, explaining aspects of my own society, or to share reflections on being a foreigner in Korea. Nonetheless, the approach I have taken represents a conscious attempt to avoid viewing my data through the lens of established theories and instead privilege the voices of my participants. In this study I aim to make *actual* lived experiences of intercultural being and doing visible.

2.4 Identity

Hall has described the emphasis placed on identity across the social sciences in recent decades as a “veritable discursive explosion” (1996, p. 1). While his phrasing is dramatic, the characterisation seems apt. Vignoles, Schwartz & Luyckx (2011) provide evidence of this increased concern with identity, noting that while records of scientific literature between the 1960s and 2000s increased by an overall factor of 7.4, identity literature increased by a factor of 49.5 (2011, p. 2). Influential work in disciplines such as cultural studies, sociology and anthropology (see Bauman, 1996; Bhabha, 1994; Hall, 1996) has situated identity as multifaceted, mediated by individual agency, and in continual flux. There is a close conceptual alignment between these constructionist understandings of identity and contemporary, process views of culture. However, in downplaying the role social structures can play in influencing the identities and identifications available to particular individuals, such perspectives may under acknowledge their impact.

Block (2013) argues that the current default position toward identity in applied linguistics and language and intercultural communication research is to view it as a social process from a social constructivist perspective, in which identity encompasses the multiple subjectivities and subject positions that individuals take up or are ascribed in particular contexts. For example, Gee has referred to the use of language to say, do and *be* things, the last not a reference to a core sense of self but rather socially situated and multiple identifications “ways of behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking and, often, reading and writing that are accepted as instantiations of particular identities” (2015, p. 4). Lavancy et al ascribe agency to the ongoing process of constructing identity:

“The multiple ways individuals construct social relations and meanings cannot reduce them to mere “representatives” of a given culture. The interlocutors in the spotlight in our research are full-fledged agents who may make conscious and considered choices, and not culturalised objects supposedly controlled by their cultural identities” (2011, p. 14).

Bamberg, De Fina & Schiffrin's view of identity is that it is "constructed in discourse, as negotiated among speaking subjects in social contexts, and as emerging in the form of subjectivity and a sense of self" (2011). Dervin characterizes the compound reference of 'cultural identity' as positioning two problematic terms together. He sees the use of the term culture as problematic in its frequent association with solid essentialist paradigms. "This approach to identity... leaves little space for the individual and for what s/he does, co-constructs with the people s/he meets" (Dervin, 2013, p. 12).

Within a discursive approach to identity construction, Bamberg et al. (2011) locate three dilemmas. The first is the interaction of individual agency and world. Additionally, they identify as dilemmas the navigation between differentiation of self and other (as a means of navigating between being unique and having a sense of belonging), and of sameness and change within one's biography. Identity is therefore recognized as an ongoing and situated process of construction, and within that process identifications may be multiple, shifting, purposeful and layered. Hall noted that the discursive approach sees identification as "a process never completed – always 'in process'... it can always be 'won' or 'lost', sustained or abandoned (1996, p. 2). Acts of identification within specific and situated discourses thus provide insight into how identities are constructed in interaction by the participants.

Kramsch (1993, 2003) and Byram (1997) both argue that intercultural processes involve the development of learners' interactional and cognitive skills, self-awareness and critical thinking orientation. This perspective aligns with understandings of identity as a negotiated and multidimensional process. However, neither explicitly dismisses the structural feature of nation from either the learner's identity or the cultural identity implicitly attached to the target language. Block, calling for scholarship in the fields of Applied Linguistics and Intercultural Communication to give greater attention to the dilemma of structure versus agency, and arguing that socio-historic factors shape the individual's capacity to be agentive notes that such debates are not new, rather they raise:

“the age-old issue of whether human beings and their actions are determined by social structures that pre-exist them or they are free agents who act on their own behalf and interest and make the world around them with few if any constraints on their activity” (Block, 2013, p. 134).

I understand identity as a situated process, and the focal point of my inquiry is therefore not fixed or static representations of self by the participants, but momentary and shifting identifications, considered with reference to the intersubjective context of their production in discourse. This position is in some ways analogous to Hall’s definition of identity as constructed within and not outside discourse:

“...we need to understand them [identities] as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies” (Hall, 1996, p. 4)

As previously outlined, while I view agency as entailed in the discursive production of identification(s), I recognize the impact of social structures on the individual’s capacity to act or make identifications and acknowledge the highly situated nature of individual experience. Following Layder, who theorizes that agency and structure “mutually imply and influence each other” (Layder, 1993, p. 2), I do not view an individual’s processes of identification as disconnected from their social context, in particular the sensibilities associated with one’s ‘national culture’.

2.5 Nationalism

Nationality, and the dependent concept of national culture, are often positioned as reductive and essentialist categories of identity in contemporary literature (Holmes, 2015). Within models of intercultural competence, development typically depends upon an individual’s willingness to engage in the potentially confronting process of ‘decentering’ from their own nationally oriented world view and fostering a ‘third’ place perspective (Kramsch, 1993). In other words, the need to exercise a degree of relativity toward the values or practices of foreign nations, and to facilitate the development of a critical perspective upon one’s own as well as other national cultures (Byram & Wagner, 2018; Deardorff, 2006; Kramsch, 2003). However, this perspective

can conflict with political agendas in contexts where nationalism is a central feature of social life, and where formal education explicitly fosters a patriotic citizenry and a socially cohesive national identity. Parmenter (2006) draws upon the Japanese context as an example of this. She contends that an a priori acceptance of the potential for multiple identities beyond the nation must be established in order for the intercultural citizen to be fostered, in general as well as foreign language education. Parmenter argues that this precondition is not currently met, in Japan, which has a highly centralized education system that is explicit in promoting national culture and values. Byram (2008) identifies on one hand the potential threat to national culture identities inherent in exposure to different beliefs and values, and on the other the practical imperatives of foreign language education in which such exposure is implicit. He notes that in recent decades “the words ‘globalization’ and ‘internationalisation’ have given new meaning and significance to foreign language learning” (p. 5).

In the South Korean context, national identity has been a state sponsored project since the Korean War. The Korean identity has frequently been constructed in official political discourse as defined by a pure blood line, a position controversial in international circles but still largely normative on the peninsula (Shin 2006). Education in South Korea is also subject to a centralized curriculum, in which citizenship oriented education has included the perpetuation of an ethnicity and boundary oriented, defensive national posture (Koo, 2018). Even the supranational processes of globalization have been co-opted by nationalist ideals, with a national response to the implications of economic and cultural globalization managed by the state.

Yim (2002) details the defensive cultural policies of successive South Korean regimes and governments with regard to western culture, outlining the post 1948 concern on the peninsula with recovering a cultural identity eroded under Japanese rule, and preventing an influx of western influences “synonymous with commercialism, materialism, violence and sensuality as compared with the Korean traditional culture” (p39). The challenge of cultural globalization, met with the increased economic confidence of the early 1990s, prompted an at once defensive and competitive response;

“cultural identity policy has been established not only as a means of resisting cultural globalization, but also as a tool for globalizing national culture and the arts ... the establishment of cultural identity could be conducive to the international competitiveness of domestic cultural industries” (Yim, 2002, p. 47).

Postcolonial South Korea has, therefore, approached the international sphere with a distinctively protective, nationalist agenda. Consequently, investigation of the intercultural trajectories of individuals in South Korea entails due consideration of complex national dimensions. The challenge is to account for the role of nation in the social and individual psyche, while respecting the individual’s capacity to be agentive in how they navigate within or beyond a national identification.

2.5.1 National Identity in Intercultural Education

Nationalism has been famously defined as sentiment toward an *imagined* political community. For Anderson (2006), the nation is imagined by its members, who will never meet the majority of their fellow members yet feel somehow connected to them. It is further imagined as limited, with sovereign boundaries beyond which lie other nations, and also as a community because “regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship” (2006, p. 7). A number of studies have explored the tensions arising between deep nationalisms and the intercultural or foreign language education.

Rivers (2010) investigated nationalism among Japanese undergraduate freshman majoring in English. The survey study of 375 learners investigated the interrelationship of three distinct attitudinal characteristics of Japanese nationalism proposed by the researcher (nationalism, patriotism and internationalization) and the learners’ perceptions of English speaking nations’ vitality, attitudes toward learning English and the intercultural appeal of English speakers. This focus on Japan’s prominent national identity as a potential variable in EFL learning recognizes the potential impact of sociopolitical dynamics in EFL settings. This is also brought to the fore in a study situated in Japan by Houghton (2010), discussed earlier, which engaged student participants in

interviewing a cultural other. A stated concern among some of the students was becoming too susceptible to the influence of others in their attempts to empathize with them; “before we use empathy, we have to treasure our culture, mind, value, nationality and belief” Student B1, quoted in Houghton (2010, p. 203). Japan, like Korea, has promoted a distinct, homogenous and nationalistic perspective on the national identity in official discourses surrounding education (see Le Metais, 1997; Parmenter, 2006) that is markedly at odds with the pluralist paradigm implicit in intercultural approaches to foreign language learning.

Skyrme (2014) explored the interaction of national identification and intercultural experience (in particular the development of third place identities) among Chinese international students enrolled at a university in New Zealand. The study analyses both longitudinal and retrospective data gathered in an interpretive qualitative study. Skyrme drew upon Lave & Wenger’s work on membership and the process of constructing new identities entailed in achieving membership of a new community of practice. Identity work, encompassing national or cultural identity is seen as dynamic and processual in the study. Within this frame of reference, Skyrme examined the participants’ discourses, exploring their fluid and variable alignment to their ‘Chineseness’, alongside alternate identifications. She found that participants shifted fluidly, and in a situational manner, between positioning themselves as ‘Chinese’ and setting themselves apart as an ‘other’ distanced from their national group, allowing them to slide between third place identities that emerged over time, and an ethno-national alignment. The study shared a central aim with this dissertation; to explore the participants’ understandings of their own experience without imposing specific constructs or frameworks upon interpretation of that experience, and utilizes a similar methodology. Thus the discourses of ‘Chineseness’ reported in Skyrme (2014) reflect this by emerging within the semi-structured interviews she conducted, but not in response to a particular question or construct being explored by the researcher.

Turning toward nationalism within official discourses, researchers including Liddicoat (2011) and Parmenter (2006) have taken critical approaches to how the intercultural and intercultural citizenship are referred to within foreign language education policies. Parmenter reviewed policy and curriculum in Japan across several

subject disciplines relating to intercultural citizenship education, concluding firmly that conditions for the fostering of intercultural citizenship were not encouraged or facilitated. This was because while good citizenship values and attitudes were developed, this occurred within the context of Japanese community membership, and with love of the Japanese nation as an overriding theme. Multiple identifications are permissible in the spheres of family, school and community, “but are capped as soon as the international sphere comes into play by the phrase ‘with self-awareness as a Japanese person’” (2006, p. 157).

Liddicoat (2011) reviewed the ideological framing of the intercultural label within the disparate contexts of Colombia, Italy and Japan to promote mainstream national identities. Through the cases of these three nations, Liddicoat demonstrates how terms such as ‘intercultural’ reflect “the social, political and ideological context in which the text is created and communicated rather than being considered as an autonomous, self-apparent concept” (2011, p. 199). For example, in the context of Colombia’s *etnoeducacion* policy, indigenous minority languages are recognized within educational contexts alongside Spanish - at least in primary school – yet the policy is focused upon developing interculturality among the indigenous groups in order to accommodate the mainstream; “Interculturality as an accommodation to, or even understanding of, the culture of indigenous people is not represented as an obligation for members of the mainstream culture” (2011, p205). This ‘unidirectional’ understanding shares some common ground with Italy’s intercultural education. This initially attempted to utilize the increased presence of immigrant children in schools to provide a generalized intercultural education, as per the European Union’s emphasis on engagement with diversity. However, it has devolved toward a focus on equipping immigrant groups to function within the Italian mainstream. Within the Japanese context, Liddicoat identifies that the internationalization or *kokusaika* policy is concerned with preserving and spreading Japanese culture, and thus is located within the nationalist discourse of *Nihonjinron*. Liddicoat concludes, similarly to Parmenter, that “The focus of internationalization is, therefore, to allow Japanese self-expression in the world rather than articulating a mutually informing encounter between cultures” (2011, p. 214).

2.5.2 Nationalism in South Korean Education

At pre-school, primary and secondary levels, South Korea operates a highly centralized national curriculum. At each level, the stated educational aims of the Korean curriculum focus on enhancing students' awareness of their ties to their local community, and - as they mature - nation. For pre-school children, this is articulated as "love for family, peers and neighbours", with the dimensions of the students' worlds then expanded at primary school to "foster love for one's neighbours and country" as well as "develop attitudes for the understanding and appreciation of tradition and culture" (INCA, 2011). At secondary level (split into middle and high school) national aims become more explicit, as does a focus upon Korea's global role. Of nine explicitly stated aims at high school level, five orient to nation, and two of these make reference to Korea's place in the world, specifically: "Encourage students to work to develop Korean traditions and culture in a way appropriate for the global setting" and "help students to build and develop the national community and to develop an awareness and attitude as global citizens" (INCA 2011). These statements from the 7th national curriculum differ little from the content of a report by Le Matais in 1997, which stated that Korean education:

"has served as a means of political socialisation by causing intentional changes in knowledge, behaviour, values and outlook on the nation and the world. It aims to promote patriotism and affection for others for the continuance and development of national independence, as well as world peace and to preserve and develop national culture"(Le Matais, 1997).

Acknowledging that policy statements are frequently not supported by the means to fully actualize them, the national curriculum offers insight into social agendas. According to J. J. Song (2012) the ultimate goal of the 2007 revision of Korea's English-language curriculum is to produce *intercultural* English speakers, as opposed to using 'native speaker' competence as a measurement. In the primary school context, children will learn about other cultures and their ways while developing basic English skills. At secondary level, students should be able to understand other cultures and introduce foreigners to South Korean culture in English (J. J. Song, 2012). Democratic citizenship, creativity and self-development are also recurrent themes, yet the ideal of a well-educated

Korean citizen who (among other capacities) “Creates new values on the basis of understanding the national culture” (INCA 2011) remains prominent.

In sharp contrast to nationally directed and provided public education at primary and secondary levels, universities and colleges in South Korea operate in the context of an increasingly competitive marketplace where education is effectively treated as a commodity. With some 40 public and 400 private institutions (McNeill, 2011), Higher Education (hereafter HE) represents a substantial sector of the South Korean economy. The nation spends 2.51% of its GNP on higher education, which is almost twice the OECD mean. It is further intrinsic to the life experience of most contemporary Koreans, as 70% of the nation’s high school graduates undertake university or college studies (S. Kim & Lee, 2006). Internationalization has been a focal issue in Higher Education (hereafter HE) since the mid-1990s, when perceptions of HE as a commodity began to emerge alongside deregulation. A largely economic rationale has since driven initiatives to recruit international students (and combat a decreasing number of domestic students due to falling birth rates) as well as foreign academics, and to develop Korea’s research profile. However, criticisms of practices in the sector suggest internationalization agendas are impacted by underlying nationalisms

Byun and Kim (2011) suggest that in contrast to the quantitative measures of internationalization (for example, numbers of enrolled foreign students or foreign faculty) that have predominated in funding decisions and government evaluation since 1995, an emphasis on quality assurance is much needed, along with a need to promote cross cultural understanding rather than simply economic imperatives. T. Kim (2005) furthers this perspective in suggesting that despite internationalization initiatives and a large proportion of academics with foreign PhDs, the sociology of Korean universities remains local in practice “not many of them [Korean academics with foreign PhDs] actually gained intercultural identities, as they crossed international boundaries” (2005, p. 94). Providing anecdotal evidence gleaned from interviews with French and American professors working in South Korea, Kim suggests that exclusionary practices toward visiting or international academics - such as barring their attendance at faculty meetings and blocking access to academic management or tenure track positions - are common, and that foreign faculty are thus frequently treated as “functionaries rather than

professionals” (2005, p. 96). Calling for greater emphasis on building intercultural understanding, Kim states “The internationalization of higher education as a national project should have this norm at its centre rather than concepts of an economic market” (2005, p. 98).

Although research and analysis into the rapidly developing international dimensions of Korean education remains scarce overall, it is apparent that largely instrumental and economic rationales have thus far predominated in the higher education sector. On the other hand, at primary and secondary levels a ‘Koreacentric’ approach promoting national identification as a foundation for notions of international participation can be extrapolated from the stated aims of the 7th national curriculum, in many ways analogous to the Japanese policy of *kokusaika* (see Liddicoat, 2011 & Parmenter, 2006).

2.6 Essentialism

The term essentialism refers to any ideology that views an individual or group through the lens of a particular attribute or set of attributes, for example, gender, nationality or race. Essentialist ideologies are not only reductive, but can be considered dangerous in that they underlie forms of discrimination and prejudice such as sexism and racism. Holliday et al. (2010) summarize an extreme essentialist view of culture as associating culture with a physical place (enabling one to ‘visit’ a culture) and language, being mutually exclusive to other cultures and containing a relatively homogenous group of people whose behaviour is constrained and can be explained by their shared culture. An essentialist view perceives people as belonging to only one culture and language, and as being essentially different to people from other cultures (Cole & Meadows, 2013), though potentially having an ‘onion skin’ relationship to larger regional cultures or smaller subcultures.

A number of previously mentioned studies situated in FL and EFL learning contexts have highlighted that essentialist ideologies in relation to race, nation and culture are readily identifiable within teacher and student beliefs as well as learning materials (see K. Y. Lee, 2009; Parmenter, 2006; Sercu, 2005a; Young & Sachdev, 2011). The

impact of essentialist ideologies on learner perceptions of foreign others is highlighted by Rivers (2011), which reports a study of 120 Japanese first year students' evaluations of self and three imagined intercultural others, grounded in social psychology. The study presented 6 groups of learners with images of alternately an ethnically East Asian (two groups), Caucasian (two groups) and Arabian (two groups) female of approximately the same age, and either a positive or neutral situation around which the students were asked to imagine their interaction in English with the female. This study of imagined intercultural contact found students gave a strikingly more negative evaluation of the Arabian interlocutor than either the Caucasian or East Asian, and further evaluated themselves negatively in comparison to the Caucasian. The researcher speculates that the findings speak to the enduring perception among Japanese learners of English as a language associated with 'native speakers', and to the prototypical ideal of a native-speaking teacher that entails being white, in addition to attractive, outgoing and charismatic (Rivers, 2011). The issue of race, among other preconceptions, that surrounds students' expectations of intercultural contact in Rivers' study is similarly prominent in Korean EFL learning, and has been raised by Grant and Lee (2009) and K. Y. Lee (2009), among others.

In contrast to essentialism, a non-essentialist ideology recognizes culture as a social force, but remains cognizant of society's complexity and the difficulty of precise definitions (Cole & Meadows, 2013). Thus people can belong to, move through and be influenced by multiple cultures, cultures can change, and cultures are not constrained by national boundaries. In this study, I strive to approach analysis and discussion from this non-essentialist orientation. Holliday, adopting a critical cosmopolitan perspective in the post-structural tradition, has critiqued what he views as the emergence of *neo*-essentialist ideologies of culture. For Holliday, neo-essentialism attempts to move beyond the category of nation, recognizing subcultures, which he refers to as smaller cultures. Nonetheless, the neo-essentialist reverts to a reliance on national culture as a basic unit of organization, with behaviour that is atypical of stereotype "framed as exceptions to the essentialist rule rather than a reality in its own right" (2011, p. 37). Cultures are thus conceived of and referred to by the neo-essentialist as *blocks*, with intercultural experience emphasizing comparisons between cultures, and excluding the possibility of

an individual identifying with multiple blocks concurrently (Holliday, 2016). Block discourses of culture typically make generalizations regarding ‘what happens in (national) culture A’ compared to ‘what happens in (national) culture B’. In contrast to neo-essentialist block discourses, Holliday identifies non-essentialist cultural *thread* discourses that are enabled by small culture environments and the influence of an individual’s personal cultural resources and trajectory. For Holliday, cultural threads “have the power to extend and carry us across the boundaries that are encouraged by cultural blocks” (2016, p. 320). Thread discourses of culture may engage an individual in focusing upon universal or shared experiences in their interaction with another person, conceptualising the ways in which other individuals may be people “potentially like oneself, with threads to share, rather than as mysterious members of another culture” (Amadasi & Holliday, 2017, p. 260).

Amadasi and Holliday (2017, 2018) conducted close analysis of the interview discourse between recently arrived international postgraduate students in the UK and the researchers to demonstrate that block and thread discourses and the ideologies they reflect are not mutually exclusive within individuals. One person’s discourse may shift fluidly back and forth between block (grand narratives) and thread (personal narratives) as they negotiate various discourses on culture and their own intercultural experience. Close analysis that maps these shifts can therefore provide insight into the individual’s personal ideologies of culture as they are enacted from moment to moment in their discourse.

2.7 Emotion

Viewed through the broader lens of ideology, emotion can be seen as a potent contributor to an individual’s potentially multiple and fluid ‘ways of thinking’ about a phenomenon. Yet emotion is frequently downplayed in models and definitions of the intercultural (Holmes, 2015; Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009). I argue that how and when emotion is enacted in discourse can contribute important insights to explorations of personal ideologies of intercultural experience and learning.

The multiple fields in which emotion has been heavily researched and theorized, including psychology, neuroscience, anthropology, sociology and linguistics (see Bednarek, 2008; Oatley, 2004; Reddy, 2001 for comprehensive reviews of emotion research) have made defining emotion challenging.

“What are emotions? To most of us, the question hardly needs asking; emotions are the most immediate, the most self-evident, and the most relevant of our orientations towards life. But from the moment the question is taken seriously, troubling difficulties of definition arise.” (Reddy, 2001, p. 3).

Emotion is studied in relation to how it manifests physiologically, to its universality versus its cultural specificity and to how it is described across different languages (Bednarek, 2008). Oatley (2004) identifies three historical aspects of emotion; evolutionary (focused on survival), personal (relating to an individual’s life-span) and cultural (tracking the history of ideas and social movements). As such, an individual’s ‘ways of feeling’ may be reactive and fleeting, or reflect the relatively stable states, characterized as ‘sentiments’ by Oatley (2004). They may be impacted by tacit social norms (Gee, 2015) or cultural understandings (Oatley, Dacher, & Jenkins, 2006), and may also resist these, reflecting individual subjectivities that resist dominant discourses (Canagarajah, 1999).

In the field of Applied Linguistics, Pavlenko’s (2005) theory of language embodiment has been influential. Pavlenko draws upon work in the neurosciences, and cites a breadth of studies focused upon the impact of first and second or foreign language use across the fields of psychoanalysis and psychotherapy. Her theory argues that primary language acquisition involves affective linguistic conditioning in addition to conceptual development. This means that words and phrases acquire personal meanings alongside their denotative meanings, as they represent emotionally charged experience and memory. Pavlenko suggests that foreign languages learned in formal educational settings are not typically seen as embodied, because they are learned through:

“definition, translation, and memorization – and thus through declarative or explicit memory – rather than through consolidation of

personal experiences channeled through multiple sensory modalities to implicit and emotional memory” (Pavlenko, 2005, p. 155).

In Pavlenko’s theory, a continuum is recognized between the always emotional and contextualized acquisition of the first language and an oversimplified view of foreign language learning as an emotionless process. Pavlenko acknowledges that second languages are acquired in widely differing circumstances and can involve significantly different levels of affective linguistic conditioning. Mediating factors for language emotionality include age and context of acquisition, personal history of trauma, stress or violence, language dominance, word types and language proficiency. Contextual factors include perceived language prestige and emotionality. Pavlenko notes that challenges associated with language proficiency (struggling to produce the language) may impact how speakers perform affect in discourse, potentially increasing performance anxiety and also contributing to a detachment effect, whereby the speakers may feel less emotional expressing themselves in L2 and may also contribute to them appearing “either overly or insufficiently emotional” (Pavlenko, 2005, p. 187). For Pavlenko, as late bilinguals experience different processes of socialization in their respective languages they are likely to have differing perceptions and neurophysiological reactions, as well as variable verbal and behavioral responses in the different languages. In addition to the largely internal states and processes reflected in her embodiment theory, Pavlenko additionally theorizes the impact of social cognition on emotion, recognizing that emotions are also context sensitive and social in nature, and that emotions surrounding language use are intimately tied to the identities and subject positions open to an individual at any one time or place.

“Languages are tied not only to national and ethnic identities; they may also be linked to racial, cultural, and religious identities or to social status and class, so that, for instance, some languages or dialects are associated with low class and others with prestige and opportunities for social advancement” (Pavlenko, 2005, p. 197).

A number of studies have highlighted the complexity and variety of emotions that can be triggered through learning and using a foreign language. Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000) view second language use as a site of conflict and a process of constructing the self in the act of crossing borders and ‘becoming’. They drew upon the narratives of

bilingual authors who wrote in English or French and were ‘crossing over’ from minority Slavic languages that did not command the prestige of the dominant languages. They found that these writers experienced painful losses of linguistic identity before finding their new voices in other languages. Yet in stark contrast, Coffey and Street (2008) found English speaking learners of German and French saw a second language as offering them opportunities for expansion, excitement and possibility, and an escape from the mundane: ‘The language learning project is storied both as a means to achieve this “escape” and as a by-product of the will to transcend’ (2008, p. 457). Coffey (2014) found that for English speaking learners of French and German, language learning was a playful experience, providing a sense of cosmopolitanism.

These studies illustrate not only the emotional dimensions of language learning, but its socially situated nature. As ‘native speakers’ of English, a global lingua franca, the participants in Coffey & Street (2008) and Coffey (2014) were unlikely to experience socioeconomic pressure to master a foreign tongue compared to speakers from minority language backgrounds (see Jenkins, 2012; Seidlhofer, 2005 for detailed discussion of the concept of English as a Lingua Franca). Similar contrasts are illustrated in the reflective narratives on language and culture in Nunan and Choi (2010) from applied linguists and writers in other disciplines. These range from accounts of humiliation and discrimination (Christison, 2010; Javier, 2010) to stories of lowered inhibition and the gaining of linguistic capital (Lin, 2010). Emotions related to language competence are also prominent in studies more directly concerned with intercultural experience than foreign language use. A recent study by Zheng (2017) investigated the emotional management strategies employed by a group of Chinese university students studying in the UK during their intercultural adaptation process. Zheng’s focus was not EFL, yet many of the incidents her participants recounted were related to challenges in communication. Zheng found that while her participants employed a range of strategies, not all demonstrated successful adaptation, with some sharing experiences of simply coping without taking any actions to develop following difficult intercultural encounters, or engaging in avoidance behaviours.

In South Korea, a study by Han (2003b) focused upon learner attitudes toward the intercultural environment of ‘Native Speaker’ English teacher (NETs) classes in South

Korea, bringing to the fore complex and situated emotional responses. Qualitative data was collected from adult learners of English on their perceptions of effective learning and teaching over a seven month period, with the researcher examining the attitudes of seven learners toward NESTs through background questionnaires, interviews and participant journals. Learners reported disappointment in the NESTs, sensing a lack of compassion from them regarding their difficulties learning English. They reported that the NESTs had an insufficient understanding of Korean culture, and lacked both teaching qualifications and responsibility. Han positioned the learners' negative perceptions within a discussion of Korean culture, referencing the influence of Confucianism, the importance of human relationships and the role of nonverbal communication in Korea as contributing to misunderstanding. Han also noted the implications of this for Korean students studying abroad in English-speaking countries. The study is indicative of the emotional tensions underlying EFL learning on the peninsula, with many of the participants' comments expressing ambivalence toward the pressures of 'English fever' (J. K. Park, 2009; Shim & Park, 2008) as well as discomfort with signs of Western cultural dominance. The following comments illustrate this; "NESTs are employed just because they speak English well. My pride was hurt" (Soon-Ee, cited in Han, 2003) and "They think they are the best. I feel a bit annoyed. They tend to ignore our culture ... They tend to think that even though Korean culture is regarded as great, Koreans are beneath them" (Seuck-Jong, cited in Han, 2003). The study brings to the fore the power dynamics entailed in the experience of English language learning for many Korean learners, and the defensive posture that may arise in the foreign language learning experience as a result of perceived threats to, or disregard of, Korean culture and values.

Another exploration of the emotional dynamics of intercultural classrooms in South Korea is represented in a study undertaken by Root (2009), who collected personal narratives from 27 NESTs employed in a range of educational contexts on the peninsula, and from 26 South Korean university students majoring in English, focusing upon memorable experiences with Korean students (for the teachers) or with 'Native Speaker' teachers (for the students). Root's analysis of the collected narratives revealed that both teachers and students implicitly expected Korean students to be able to function in an entirely English (and implicitly 'Western') setting. The researcher found that the teachers

did not expect to make any significant modifications to the model of appropriate classroom practice they brought with them, and moreover expected students to respond positively to their teaching methods, participate actively and behave in a manner sensitive to the norms of teacher-student interaction in the teacher's own society – apparently irrespective of the students' language levels. Students' emotions of frustration emerged through the narratives as they found themselves struggling to follow or make rapid progress within the classes, and were often surprised and disappointed at the difficulty they experienced. These results echo somewhat the feelings expressed by Korean students cited in Han (2003b), above, and speak to the power imbalance which characterizes ELT on the peninsula and elsewhere with regard to the position of 'Native Speakers'. Root (2009) and Han (2003) both suggest a lack of intercultural competence on the part of the participating foreign teachers, but also draw attention to the emotional tensions underlying EFL learning in South Korea.

2.8 Neoliberalism

In the extremely competitive education sector and job market of South Korea, EFL competence is now viewed as an essential attribute of the sophisticated global citizen. English is considered *the* global language, and proficiency allows an individual to participate in and benefit from the transnational flows of globalisation (Choi, 2009; J. S. Y. Park, 2009; Shim & Park, 2008; H. Shin, 2006). The South Korean participants in our study are keenly aware of the necessity of English proficiency to enable intercultural encounters. Yet in South Korea, access to opportunities such as private tuition or study abroad for language learning are inseparable from an individual's economic circumstances. I argue that the dominance of neoliberal ideologies surrounding EFL education in South Korea can amplify the emotional dimensions of perceived success or failure, as neoliberal thought obscures economic inequality and places responsibility upon the shoulders of the individual.

Definitions of neoliberalism vary across the literature, ranging from a set of economic policies or an economic development model to a mode of governance and an

ideology (Bockman, 2013; Ganti, 2014), and is often linked to the work of Cold War economists Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman (Harvey, 2006). Braedley and Luxton (2010) trace the construction of neoliberal thought to its origins in eighteenth and nineteenth century liberalism, which valued individual freedom from coercion or servitude. They argue that contemporary neoliberalism ties this value to free market capitalism, and competition, believing that the freedom to pursue wealth allows for the pursuit of desires, and in doing so applies the logic of the free market to social as well as economic life.

Luxton (2010) suggests that neoliberalism's success is due in part to the widespread resonance of its beliefs about individual identity, choice and personal responsibility. This is illustrated by the findings of a number of studies in the social sciences. Dunk (2002) conducted an ethnography among male pulp and paper mill workers who had been made unexpectedly redundant. Neoliberal ideology infused a counselling program, which encouraged the men to let go of doubts related to the necessity of the mill's closure and instead adapt and demonstrate self-reliance and flexibility, a perspective accepted by some of the participants. The caregivers in Luxton (2010) living in difficult circumstances expressed contradictory perspectives; despite recognizing that aspects of their lives were beyond their control due to external forces, they tended to accept personal responsibility for the challenges they faced. In both studies structural forces and systemic inequalities were glossed over by individuals. Belief in individual responsibility led to an acceptance of systemically imposed hardships as ultimately an outcome of their own life choices. Also highlighting the potency of individual choice as a value, Bockman (2013) suggests that in the USA criticisms surrounding the destruction of public housing were transformed by politicians, who instead emphasized the freedom of choice the low-income earners would be able to exercise in the (expensive) rental market.

Examples such as these demonstrate how the rhetoric of individual freedom, choice and self-determination can leave individuals whose personal circumstances are impacted by structural socioeconomic inequities unable to envisage alternatives, and to accept their own relative success or failure as a matter of personal responsibility. Luxton notes that "One of the most insidious features of neoliberalism is its denial of social

structure, and of the ways in which individuals, as members of communities and societies, are both formed by and subject to the prevailing values and practices”(Luxton, 2010). Neoliberal thought has been a feature of South Korea’s rapid modernization over the decades since the Korean war, fostering a subjecthood that demands individuals take responsibility for developing the skills they need to be successful (Abelmann, Park, & Kim, 2009).

Perspectives critical of the neoliberal ideologies that permeate public discourses on EFL learning in South Korea have become prominent in the literature in recent years (see Byean, 2015; Cho, 2016; J. S.-Y. Park, 2010; J. S. Y. Park, 2009, 2013). Empirical studies have also highlighted the widespread assimilation of a neoliberal ideology in relation to EFL achievement. Abelmann et al. (2009) undertook a study with South Korean college student participants, and found an emphasis on personal ability, style, responsibility and effort in what they describe as newly emerging subjectivities. These were viewed by the researchers as reflecting a neo-liberal trend across the peninsula that celebrates “self-authorship, personal freedom, and self-styled consumption” (p. 232) while simultaneously obscuring structural inequality. The participants in this study were committed to becoming sophisticated global citizens, and saw attainment of EFL proficiency as essential to achieving this. Park’s (2010) analysis of South Korean press stories about achievement in English language learning demonstrated a journalistic tendency to ‘naturalize’ competence, portraying individuals who had succeeded as extraordinary and ignoring factors of economic class. In doing so they effectively obscured the privilege that had facilitated the learners’ educational opportunities.

“...the stories represent the learner as a character whose achievements in language learning attest to her grand potential for endless self-development and self-improvement celebrated in the new economy - that is, as a linguistic version of the neoliberal subject” (J. S.-Y. Park, 2010, p. 23).

S. J. Park and Abelmann (2004b) report on ethnographic data gathered by Park over a two year period on mothers’ management of primary school children’s private after-school English education. This is available in South Korea in various forms including private or group tutoring, classes at English institutes or *hagwons*, worksheet study

programs and internet lessons (Park & Abelman, 2004). Park spent time with three mothers, characterized as working class, middle class and upper middle class, and explored their choices and concerns regarding their children's English education. Park and Abelman found evidence of English as a complex signifier in South Korean society via the mothers' perspectives, both locally - in terms of academic or professional success and class aspiration - and globally, as a signifier of international opportunity and cosmopolitan lifestyles, concluding that on the peninsula; "English exceeds its most obvious meanings" (S. J. Park & Abelman, 2004b, p. 666). Economic disparities surrounding EFL education are highlighted in the study. The economics of educational achievement are also discussed in the findings of (H. Kim, Cho, & Lee, 2014), which demonstrated a relationship between the amount of money being spent on 'out-of-school' learning by a student's family and their higher university entrance examination scores in English.

Such inquiry and critique has highlighted how a neoliberal ideology obscures the significance of socioeconomic privilege in relation to EFL learning opportunities in Korea. The emphasis upon personal responsibility integral to neo-liberalism situates language learning as a part of the individual's project of self-development, in which success or failure is not measured against access to opportunity. The impact of neoliberal thought upon the emotional dimensions of individuals' journeys as language learners and intercultural speakers can be made visible through close examination of the factors to which they attribute their relative successes and failures.

In this chapter, I have discussed the key theoretical constructs that underlie this study of ideologies of the intercultural and explored the scholarship that provides a conceptual framework for my inquiry. I have also discussed the outcomes of empirical studies undertaken in a broad range of contexts. These research endeavours suggest that intercultural experience is highly situated and emotionally complex in nature. In the next chapter, I turn to a discussion of the South Korean context of my own inquiry in more depth. In particular, I explore the complex and evolving socio-historic significations of the intercultural in South Korean society that act as a backdrop to my participants' experiences.

Chapter 3: Research Context

This chapter grounds some of the concepts discussed in Chapter 2 within the particular socio-political context of my inquiry, the nation of South Korea. My discussion here highlights the distance that exists between conceptual models and definitions of the intercultural and the situated complexity of developing intercultural competences in context. This is particularly evident in the case of South Korea in relation to inherent tensions between intercultural identities and the dynamics of national identity on the peninsula in the decades following the Korean War. I begin by exploring the architecture of South Korean national selfhood through the oppositional discourses of self and ‘nationalized other’ in the prominent forms of Japan and America. I then discuss the ‘domestic other’ in the rapidly increasing ethnic minority population, and ‘aspirational other’ in the disembodied ideal of the cosmopolitan, international modern citizen.

3.1 Our Nation *Uri Nara*

A seemingly epochal moment is frequently reconstructed and examined across the literature discussing contemporary South Korean society and culture – that of literally millions of red-shirted Koreans taking to the streets across the peninsula in massive and vocal displays of support for their national soccer team during the June 2002 world cup, which South Korea co-hosted with Japan:

“They were shouting, “Taehan min’guk” (Republic of Korea, or literally the Great Han People’s State), and “Oh, p’ilsung K’oria” (Oh, victory Korea), and “Uri nun hana” (We are one)” (G. W. Shin, 2006, p. 1).

Much has been unpacked and contested from the short lived but potent public spectacle of Korea’s ‘red devils’ cheering on their national team by social scientists (see, for example G. Jeon & Yoon, 2004; H.-M. Kim, 2007; H. Lee & Cho, 2009; Y. Lee, 2009; G. W. Shin, 2006). The masses of red clad citizens and their impassioned, collective shouts, chants, drumbeats and waves provided fertile ground for sociocultural analysis. The displays of the red devils have variously been characterized as an expression of ethnic nationalism with fascist undertones (G. Jeon & Yoon, 2004), a discovery by the populace

of new meanings for public space (Whang, 2005 cited in H. Lee & Cho, 2009), and an opportunity for increased feminine participation in public life (H.-M. Kim, 2007). The debates surrounding the social phenomena of the red devils raise issues inextricable from an exploration of the intercultural in the context of South Korean society, and the feverish arena of English language education on the peninsula (J. K. Park, 2009). Yet despite the evocative spectacle the red shirts presented, and the overt nationalist significations heard in their cheers, the complexity of intercultural dynamics at play on the peninsula rapidly exhaust the analogy of a single World Cup, however remarkable the event may have been. The shouts of *Oh, p'ilsung K'oria* ('oh must win Korea') ringing out across the peninsula that June resonated not simply because of the Korean team's better-than-expected performance, but as a result of their inevitable knockout; 'victory' has been an infrequent experience in the history of the South Korean nation-state.

Travel guides struggle to summarize the generalities of Korean society for the casual foreign visitor; descriptions of conservatism seem at odds with references to furiously fast-paced modern lifestyles, politeness and ceremony contrast with a disregard for strangers, and reserved manners juxtapose sharply to outgoing warmth (M. Robinson, Bartlett, & Whyte, 2007). The challenges Korea presents to a guidebook writer crystallize upon recognition that the living memory of the nation encompasses an overwhelming diversity of experiences. *Halmoni* (grandmothers) and *Halaboji* (grandfathers) have experienced Japanese colonialism, civil war, an ongoing national division, brutal military dictatorships, a prolonged dependence on U.S. military support, and a rise from poverty through rapid economic development. Their children experienced the difficult and violent transition to democracy, economic crisis and recovery, rapid modernization, and industrial and high-tech development. Korea's youth now celebrate their regional and global ascendance through popular culture, a trend known as the *Hallyu* or 'Korean Wave' of music, film and television spreading across the globe, and in recent times Korea's conservatives, liberals, radicals and modernizers are envisaging potential futures while debating modes of engagement with globalization.

3.2 A Defensively Constructed National Identity

A popular saying on the peninsula is often translated as ‘we [the Korean people & nation] *are just a shrimp among the whales*’, a metaphor that aptly captures aspects of the Korean experience throughout the twentieth century. Korea was brutally colonized by a more technologically and militarily developed Japan, a period covered in a chapter evocatively titled ‘*Eclipse*’ in Cumings’ (2005) modern history. The nation was eventually liberated by the US allied forces, only to be hurriedly divided into North and South Korea by the Russian and U.S. military. South Korea was defended against Chinese and North Korean forces by the United States during the Korean War, and remains dependent on US military support for national security even today. In the decades since the 1953 armistice the world has witnessed the South Korean ‘miracle’ of a nation not only rebuilding its economic, cultural and political independence, but emerging to rank within the top 15 world economies in recent years. Yet this not very distant backdrop of foreign incursion has been profound in shaping a defensive national consciousness that resolutely positions the Korean people, language and culture as a homogenous entity, distinct from the foreign ‘other’. This inevitably manifests itself in social tensions over foreign language learning and intercultural encounters.

3.2.1 One Blood

“All cultures have myths, and people cannot function without myth any more than they can function without metaphor. And just as we often take the metaphors of our own culture as truths, so we often take the myths of our own culture as truths” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 186).

An important focal point in the survival of a distinct Korean identity through the colonial period was the concept referred to in English as ‘one blood’, a synecdoche which denotes the Korean people’s widespread folk belief in their genetic homogeneity through pure ethnic bloodlines. G. W. Shin (2006) and Han (2007) among other Korean scholars have outlined how the agonies of Japanese colonization, officially commenced following the annexation of the peninsula in 1910, spurred nationalist construction of a distinct and opposing Korean identity that served to counteract Japanese assimilationist propaganda. During this period, the mythical figure of *Dangun*, the progeny of a god and a bear woman,

was actively re-conceptualized as the literal blood ancestor of the nation, and subsequently promoted to encourage collective resistance; “Korea had to be a nation of people sharing a language, culture, history and blood...Dangun was transformed from a political leader into a mythic procreator of the Korean people” (K.-K. Han, 2007, p. 24).

The emergence of the ‘one blood’ concept needs to be understood with reference to its potency as a resistance ideal in the face of Japan’s hegemonic colonial policies of culturally and linguistically assimilating the Korean people (Y. Lee, 2009). Among other measures, in the latter stages of Japanese rule Koreans were required to worship at Shinto shrines, the Korean language was eradicated from education and the Japanese language was imposed by decree in both public and private spheres. During this period Koreans were also forced to adopt Japanese names, a deep blow to a people with a tradition of venerating their ancestors. The notorious imprisonment by the Japanese of Korean linguists compiling a standardized Korean dictionary in this period also highlights the role of the Korean language and its much celebrated *hangul* alphabet as an enduring symbol of resistance against Japanese oppression (Shim & Park, 2008). Contemporary Korean literature has frequently charted the personal and national traumas of the colonial experience and Japan’s agenda of assimilation, examples of which include Yom Sang-seop’s classic *Three Generations* (1931), the more recent *Lost Names* by Richard E. Kim (1998) and intended for a younger reader, Park Wan-Suh’s *Who Ate Up All the Shinga?* (2009). Despite financial reparations made in 1965, and the visible progress in Japanese-Korean relations demonstrated in the large numbers of young people who travel between the two nations for cultural and educational exchange, Korea’s relationship with Japan remains fractious today.

Far from being merely a relic of colonial times, however, the South Korean people’s sense of their homogeneity and *sunhyeol* (one blood) has endured. The concept was institutionalized and appropriated by the political rhetoric of both North and South Korea during the battle for ideological legitimacy that followed the 1945 division. It was later employed to serve competing nationalist discourses within the South throughout the turbulence and repression of the 1980s - even finding its way to inclusion as a factual point in the national curriculum history textbooks. Based on a 2005 poll by the East Asia Institute, Yoonkyung Lee (2009) suggests that Korean society, led by changing

demographics and criticism from academia and media organizations, is gradually moving away from a bloodline-centred national identity in favour of a citizenship-based definition of who may be considered 'Korean'. Yet the East Asia Institute poll revealed that more than eighty percent of the respondents still considered a Korean bloodline to be an important element in defining a "Genuine Korean". Shin contends that the notion of 'one blood' has found appeal to younger generations as a representation of a unique, stronger and prouder national identity (2006).

While the insistence on the purity and non-derivative qualities of Korean blood and culture remain populist themes on the peninsula, the indignity of colonial history resonates and stirs anew when features of the national identity or language appear in any way threatened. Linguistic purism, which attempts to prevent the usage of foreign loan words or language mixing and is often associated with attitudes that are "excessively nationalistic or even chauvinistic" (N. S. Park, 1989, p. 589) is perhaps one manifestation of an ongoing concern among some Koreans with protecting a Korean 'essence' (Yoo, 2013). Further exemplification is found in flashpoint issues, such as appropriation of the iconic Korean food, Kimchi (a side dish of fermented cabbage) by the Japanese, who pronounce the dish 'Kimuchi' and produce a sweeter version containing preservatives for domestic consumption as well as export. While trade and economics are at issue given that Japan's exports of the product have overtaken Korea's own, much of the furore surrounds the perceived debasement and misrepresentation of that which is uniquely Korean (Sims, 2000).

3.2.2 Ambivalence and Aspiration: The South Korea – United States Alliance

In South Korea the United States is at once decidedly familiar - doughnuts, baseball, fashion, the social importance of acquiring an American accent for one's English - and yet irrevocably foreign. Numerous editions in Korean bookstores with titles such as 'American/Korean Contrasts' (Oak & Martin, 2000) or 'Ugly Koreans, Ugly Americans' (Min, 2004) aimed at improving cross-cultural understanding in business and

social life both reinforce the significance of America in Korean society and hint at the tensions that underlie interpersonal and political relationships.

Kim Min-jung notes the ambivalence toward the United States in the cultural imaginary; “In Korean literature, for instance, there are literally thousands of references to ‘America’, with its role shifting from a utopia, a city upon a hill, to an imperial hegemon” (2005, p. 455). Such vacillations have charted more than half a decade, spanning a period in which America has played the 1945 post WWII liberator, the 1948 arbiter of national division, and from McArthur’s 1950 landing in Incheon, a military defender of a the anti-communist south. American boots have now been stationed on Korean soil for almost seventy years. Throughout the decades of post war reconstruction, America was a provider of essential economic aid. Yet America simultaneously acted to support the dictatorships of Syngman Rhee, Park Chung-hee and Chun Doo-hwan, and by the 1990s the United States had come to be popularly viewed on the peninsula as a self-interested superpower. In recent decades, the Korean people have taken to the streets in emotionally charged demonstrations against American policies in areas including trade and military governance, and public attitudes toward America on the peninsula have been extensively surveyed (see Shin, 1996; G. W. Shin, 2006).

Oh and Arrington (2007) implicate the democratization of South Korean politics in the late 1980s in the rise of anti-American feeling, providing a contrast to the strong anti-leftist culture and authoritarian rule of previous times;

“Prior to 1980, Koreans almost uniformly considered the U.S. their key ally and expected it to continue to protect the country from communist aggression, as it had during the Korean War...The Korean media and education system inculcated in citizens an idealized view of the U.S. as an older brother sacrificing his interests for the defense and development of their country” (Oh & Arrington, 2007, p. 336).

The shift toward anti-American sentiment is consistently attributed to the horrific events that unfolded in the city of Kwangju (also transliterated as Gwangju) in 1980, following the dictator General Chun’s declaration of martial law. The massacre of pro-democracy demonstrators – young students and citizens - by the Korean military impacted profoundly upon the image of the United States as a benefactor, protector and

friend. Koreans blamed America for many reasons, and their anger has been validated by one of the foremost American writers of Korean history. Cumings clearly outlines America's operational control of the US – South Korean Combined Forces Command at the time, the complicity suggested by America's silence on the matter, and the subsequent eagerness of President Reagan to strengthen ties with General Chun after the event by not only selling him fighter planes and increasing the commitment of American troops on the peninsula, but welcoming him to the White House in February of 1981 (Cumings, 2005). While the Kwangju uprising represents perhaps the darkest stain upon the history of the South Korean – American alliance, a straight-forward equation of anti-American views to the events of 1980 or to the democratic transition and subsequent ideological freedom is overly reductive. Shin concurs that the turbulent 1980s and the difficult transition to democracy coincided with “the rise and growth of strong Anti-Americanism” (Shin, 1996, p. 787), manifest in attacks on American facilities including the embassy and chamber of commerce. Yet the complexity of the relationship is clear in the reminder that in previous decades: “It is no exaggeration to say that for many Koreans, the United States was more than a friend; it was a saviour of their nation, first from Japanese colonial rule and then from communist aggression” (Shin, 1996, p. 793).

Cumings argues that anti-American feeling traces its origins to American involvement on the peninsula well before the radicalism and turmoil of the 1980s. He notes the disrespect US troops had shown for the plight of the Korean people attempting to recover from the war amidst a fractured society and devastated physical landscape.: “Kwangju brought all this to a head, but the soil of anti-Americanism was ploughed up first and foremost by Americans themselves” (Cumings, 2005, p. 386). A vivid recollection of the personal ambivalence underlying hegemonic pro-American policies in public life in the decades preceding 1980 is also contained in extracts from the personal diary of Kim Song Chil, a Korean history professor writing during the 1950s in Seoul. Kim's diary records the inner turmoil of an educated man who was humiliated and beaten by American soldiers, and then later threatened with pro-communist charges if he interfered with the rape of a female relative by intoxicated American GIs:

“The Republic of Korea is so mired in difficulty that we should beg even foreign soldiers like them [those barbaric U.S. soldiers] to stay here for a

long, long time. We were forced to beg the U.S. to stay because of the presence of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea [North Korea]. Ah, where is our real fatherland?" (Kim, 1993, cited in S. C. Song, 2004).

Korean humiliation underlies the portrayals of American soldiers in much South Korean film and literature in the post-war decades (Joo, 2004; S. C. Song, 2004). Drawing upon a psychoanalytic framework, Joo (2004) positions America in the early decades of the alliance as the ego-ideal or socially idealized self-image for Korea, a benefactor and protector or 'father figure' providing political and economic support. Joo suggests that this imaginary and ideal image later gave way to the 'real' obscene or violent father – manifest in injustices and tragedies such as the massacre in Kwangju, the widely publicized beating and murder of a bargirl by an American GI in 1992, and the unintentional killing of two school girls in Uijeongbu by an armoured vehicle in 2002. The metaphor of a familial relationship is a recurring one in the literature concerned with the history of the US – Korea relationship; from father figure (Joo, 2004) to variously big brother (J. Kim, 2001), a blood alliance (S. C. Song, 2004) and older brother (Oh & Arrington, 2007). The relationship is further marked by pathos; "a love-hate relationship" (J. Kim, 2001, p. 193), "the combined psychology of superiority and oppression" (S. C. Song, 2004, p. 178), and "a nation characterized by a complicated mixture of identification with and dissociation from, as well as admiration for and resentment toward, the United States" (M. J. Kim, 2005, p. 440).

Against this emotionally charged backdrop, the US has undoubtedly been demythologized (Gweon, 2004), or more simply, "come down to earth" (J. Kim, 2001, p. 197) in recent years. The contemporary relationship is generally characterized by an issue dependent, rather than an ideological anti-American sentiment. The hegemonic ideology of *pangong*, *panbuk*, *chinmi*, or anti-communist, anti-North, pro-American has been gradually reconfigured, and over time citizens have gained confidence expressing anti-American views on individual issues without fear of being automatically labelled pro-communist (Jung, 2010). Antipathy between North and South Korea has been a key issue correlated to fluctuating attitudes toward America. Examining the triangular relationship between the US and the two Koreas in terms of its influence on anti-American sentiment, Jung draws upon survey data to conclude that threat perception from

the North and anti-American sentiment are interrelated: “When South Koreans do not feel threatened, these two axes become more independent and less covariant, leaving more room for anti-Americanism to emerge” (Jung, 2010, p. 948). At the time of writing, South Korean President Moon Jae-in and North Korean leader Kim Jong-un are heavily engaged in diplomacy; the leaders have pledged to replace the existing armistice agreement with a peace treaty, and President Moon has committed to visiting Pyongyang. Yet the relationship remains fragile and the longer term impact of a wildly vacillating US foreign policy toward the North remains unknown.

Hwang (2004) considers anti-American feelings to be a part of the South Korean people’s engagement in a redefinition of their own national identity:

“Behind the wave of anti-Americanism in Korea are Korean’s attempts to re-perceive and reform their identity, which had been formed in the relationship with America. By reconsidering their perception of the United States, Koreans are in effect engaging in self-reflection” (Hwang, 2004, p. 108).

A stronger and more confident national identity has also been a natural by-product of South Korea’s hard earned economic, political and cultural successes in the last half century. The Korean people are rightfully proud of the position they have taken up as a member of the G20 in complement to their democratic institutions, modern lifestyles and technological sophistication, and celebrate the fact that South Korea’s popular culture products – films, pop music, soap operas and fashion – are now exported across Asia, Europe and the United States. A desire to redefine the relationship with the US on less asymmetrical terms is additionally generational – more strongly expressed among younger Koreans who have been spared the poverty and violence their grandparents endured, and whose sense of dependence upon the US is far less ingrained. Cumings observed that the “the brashness and vigour with which young people condemned the Yankees in the 1980s was mortifying to the older generation. But it was a sign of Korea’s return to itself, to self-awareness and assertion, and ultimately to national dignity” (Cumings, 2005, p. 388). The confidence of recent generations was reflected by Shin (1996), who constructed a profile from four nationwide attitude surveys conducted on the peninsula between 1990 and 1992, and concluded that negative attitudes toward America

were more prevalent among the new middle classes and college students, and markedly less so among older generations. Gallup polls surveying Korean attitudes toward the US a decade later found this pattern to have remained consistent, and anti-American sentiment to be “stronger among young, educated, white-collar Koreans” (G. W. Shin, 2006, p. 176).

Given the flashpoint geopolitics of the North-South divide, and the significance of America as one of the nation’s largest trading partners, the relationship remains a prime concern for the South Korean leadership and as outlined here numerous analyses have sought to explain the statistically evident increases in anti-American sentiment among the South Korean people (Gweon, 2004; J. J. Jeon, 2010; Oh & Arrington, 2007). Yet despite legitimate concern regarding the stability of the relationship, in 2016 more than 63,000 South Koreans enrolled as foreign students in America, the third largest cohort of international students for that nation (Department of Commerce, 2016). Reports also indicate that in 2017 over 1.5 million Koreans travelled to the United States, a record number up 17.4% from the previous year (Trejos, 2018). These statistics suggest that for the South Korean people ‘America’ endures as a locus of social desires, and although seemingly inconsistent with evidence of negative public attitudes toward the US, these figures reflect the complexity of the Korea - America dynamic. Understandings of ‘America’ on the peninsula have not emerged from a one dimensional narrative; “In Korea, anti-Americanism exists as an undercurrent of South Korean life. But it always coexists with profound admiration and respect for the United States and a partiality for the American lifestyle” (J. Kim, 2001, p. 193).

3.2.3 The ‘Other’ Next Door – Increasing Ethnic Diversity At Home

The South Korean people are shaking off the humiliating legacy of colonial subjugation, and overcoming a national inferiority complex engendered by a post-colonial dependence upon foreign military and economic aid. Simultaneously, they are negotiating a new set of asymmetrical relationships with foreign peoples – only this time from the vantage point of economic superiority and cultural dominance. Since the late

1980s, South Korea has seen an influx of migrant workers, both skilled and unskilled. A period of rapid increase in international marriages has declined in recent years, but alongside labour migration saw Korea's foreign population grow to over 1.76 million or 3.4% of the population in 2016 (S. Park, 2017). At the same time, a rapidly expanding generation of children from international arranged marriages between rural Korean males and South East Asian women has come into being (Hyun, 2007; H.-M. Kim, 2007). This increased presence of foreign 'others', often positioned in a situation of economic, political and social disadvantage, has both challenged Korean society's homogenous self-image and conflicted with what Moon identifies as the Korean people's familiar form of nationalism; "one that is derived from a sense of victimization by and defensiveness toward threatening powers" (Moon, 2000, p. 160). No longer wearing victim's shoes, the challenge for contemporary Korea has been to ensure growing minorities are treated with respect and tolerance.

Large sectors of the Korean community have been concerned by reports of abuses of migrant workers, not only due to the human rights issues, but with regard to protecting Korea's national image and reputation. Korea's rapid economic ascendance throughout the latter decades of the last century created labour shortages in the construction and manufacturing sectors that were filled by over 350,00 migrants from other Asian nations including China, the Philippines, Thailand, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh (Y. Lee, 2009). Illegal workers have suffered as easy targets of employer abuse "The most widely reported problem is that employers withhold workers' pay and/or passports in order to keep them tied to the shop beyond their desired stay" (Moon, 2000, p. 149). As Kim observed "South Koreans as a people and a government are for the first time being accused of being racist and exploitative abusers of human rights intent on using foreign workers only for economic gain and 3D [dirty, dangerous, difficult] work" (S. S. Kim, 2000, p. 261). Incidences of exploitation continue to be widely reported in the Korean media, and viewed as scandalous.

G. S. Han (2007) has critiqued the South Korean media and governmental appropriations of the term 'multicultural' and more specifically the catchphrase "healthy multicultural society", pointing out that both institutions in practice focus upon and emphasize successful assimilation as a positive model. The recognition that multicultural

policies are in fact largely assimilation driven and nationalist in orientation is echoed by M. Lee, who cites the director of the Korean Women's Association for International Solidarity as believing that "multiculturalism efforts have mostly focused on the assimilation of migrant wives to Korean society and the ridding of their native cultural logics, languages and desires" (2008, p. 78). The burden of assimilation is thus placed predominantly upon the women, with the media focusing on migrant brides who provide 'successful' examples of assimilation to compound the pressure. Cultural differences to be overcome are conceived of in simplistic terms – attributing language and food as the main adaptations to be made (G. S. Han, 2007). The subordinate position of such women has also been discussed by Bélanger, Lee, and Wang (2010) who identify the ideologies of assimilation, patriarchy and nationalism underlying the construction of official surveys designed to gather data on migrant brides in Korea. Survey questions implicitly position the respondents as potentially vulnerable spouses and problematic mothers of a lower social class, excluding questions or potential answers that may represent a more complex, less reductive picture of the respondents (2010).

Han identifies a stratification of migrants in relation to their social class and gender, by which foreign migrants are divided socially and treated differentially on the basis of the economic status of their native countries, their profession and, in the case of international marriage migrants, the social class of their spouse (2007). Of the approximately one million foreigners living in Korea in 2008, 250,000 were reported to be migrant brides of contracted international marriages, a trend in rural areas where birth rates and population are low, and from which there has been a "mass female exodus" of Korean women (M. Lee, 2008, p. 57). Further distinctions are made on racial grounds, particularly in relation to skin colour; Grant and Lee posit that Koreans connect 'whites' with power, privilege and all forms of capital, but view 'blacks' prejudicially, with associations of crime, laziness, dirtiness and aggressiveness deriving largely from media portrayals and a lack of understanding of systemic inequality in the US (2009). In 2009, there was a much reported prosecution following an incident of racist abuse directed toward a Korean woman and her male Indian associate by a 31 year old Korean man on a Seoul bus. The New York Times ran an article citing reports by Amnesty International and the United Nations critical of the nation's record on racial discrimination issues. The

article highlighted the concern with international opinion on the peninsula, and the confronting nature of ethnic diversification for sections of the populace: “South Koreans are learning to adjust – often uncomfortably” (S.H. Choe, 2009). More recently, the issue of the nation’s obligations toward asylum seekers has made headlines on the peninsula and created significant controversy. While the presence of asylum seekers is not new (Ko, 2018), in 2018 some 500 Yemeni refugees found themselves able to enter South Korea via direct flights to Jeju island, where a visa waiver program had been implemented to foster international tourism. Their arrival sparked a domestic outcry and an upsurge of anti-Muslim sentiment. At the time of writing the South Korean government is facing increasing pressure from both anti-refugee sentiments among the population on one hand, and vocal refugee support networks, often supported by celebrity figures, on the other (H. K. Kang, 2018; Ko, 2018; Times, 2018).

The current focus upon South Korea’s ethnic diversification in social discourse inevitably raises the issue of Korea’s emphasis on pure-blood nationalism and its implications (Lim 2018). Attention has been brought to the plight of the nation’s much discriminated against *honhyol* or ‘half-blood’ population, who largely came into being as a result of the American military presence (see Lee, 2008). A survey undertaken by a South Korean NGO in 2003 found that respondents considered ‘half-blood’ Koreans to be less ‘*tong’po*’, or brothers, than overseas Koreans (the respondents seem to assume the full blood nature of the overseas Koreans). Notably, intermarried Korean women are also seen as foreign (J.-S. Park & Chang, 2005, p. 13). This complex issue of blood lineage has also been implicit in the contentious issue of overseas adoption on the peninsula. Limits have been imposed on international adoption, resulting in adoption rates reducing from 44.5 percent of all adoptions in 2000 to 27.5 percent in 2008, with a health ministry official quoted in 2011 in the Korea Times stating “we believe babies should be preferably raised in their mother country” (T. Kim, 2011). Policy makers are actively attempting to encourage domestic adoption in a climate in which adoption of not only biracial, but ‘full’ Koreans “has been incredibly taboo itself, signifying the contamination of family lineages” (M. Lee, 2008, p. 73).

Holliday et al. (2010) have described the process of othering as “imagining someone as alien and different to ‘us’ in such a way that ‘they’ are excluded from ‘our’

‘normal’, ‘superior’ and ‘civilized’ group”(2010, p. 2). Widespread essentialism in Korea in relation to African cultures, frequently portrayed as ‘primitives’, is identified by Han, who cites African migrants’ dissatisfaction with stereotypes of their cultures (2007). Korean television is awash with comedy, travel and reality style programming that typically sends young, fashionable Korean media personalities to participate in pseudo documentaries involving interacting with local people in tribal dress or bare breasted women in less developed nations. Kim Min-jung provides an example;

“A few years ago, a TV commercial for LG television sets opened with “primitive” Africans covered in animal skins making indecipherable noises and bumping their heads against a television set, something obviously never seen in their unmodernised, underdeveloped world” (M. J. Kim, 2005, p. 456)

Han provides an example of how a determined attempt to present an essentialist image of foreign ethnic communities evolved into a conflict of intentions regarding the Arirang festival. Migrant groups were asked to contribute to the program by presenting ‘traditional’ images of their cultures rather than sharing the reality of their lives in Korea with attendees. The Government and festival sponsors’ desire to control the discourse and imagery associated with multiculturalism by presenting the migrant workers in an essentialist, exotic or simplistic light resulted in some workers withdrawing their participation altogether (G. S. Han, 2007). Nonetheless, this rather unsuccessful attempt at social inclusion arguably marks a degree of progress beyond Yim, writing on the development of cultural identity and cultural policy in South Korea in 2002, who suggested that, due to the homogenous basis of Korean nationalism, “multiculturalism based on various ethnic groups need not be considered in Korean cultural policy” (2002, p. 38).

3.3 EFL Education in South Korea

3.3.1 English Fever

As Byram (2008) notes, in the face of globalization foreign language learning is increasingly important for societies, and in many countries – particularly in East Asia - foreign language learning is dominated by EFL. South Korea is no exception, yet the intensity the people and government of South Korea have directed toward improving the teaching and learning of English as a foreign language in recent years – described colloquially as *yeongeoyoelpung* or ‘English fever’ - has exceeded that of its neighbours. Reports on English language learning expenditure vary, and due to the proliferation of private education and tutoring in South Korea are difficult to verify, but were estimated at 1.9% of the GDP or US\$15 billion in 2005 (Chun & Choi, 2006, cited in J. J. Song, 2012) see also (J. S. Y. Park, 2009) and over US\$19 billion in 2009 on private education alone (JongHwa Lee, Han, & McKerrow, 2010).

Baik (1992) traces the introduction of the English language to Korea to 1882, when Korea signed a foreign treaty with the United States, and to the 1915 founding of the first American Protestant missionary school (Baik 1992). English ascended to a language of importance on the peninsula in 1945, when translators with English skills became so essential to the transitional US military governments’ effectiveness and communication with the Korean public that the authority became known as the *tongyeongjeongbu* or ‘translation government’ (Shim & Park, 2008). In subsequent decades, English remained crucial to the halls of power as South Korea’s leadership continued to depend on economic and military aid from the US, and Koreans educated in America returned to form an elite class of powerbrokers (Baik, 1992). In more recent years, widespread English language learning in Korean society has come about due to increased general prosperity. J. K. Park (2009) identifies South Korea’s hosting of international events (the Asian Games and Seoul Olympic Games) in the 1980s as prompting a boom in English education, as these brought global interaction to the attention of Korean society. This attention was sharpened further by the economic crisis of the late 1990s, which made the implications of economic globalization and the significance of an international

outlook more than clear to the nation. This period is referred to within Korea as the ‘IMF’ crisis, with reference to the International Monetary Fund bailout. The acronym is often said with black humour to represent “I Am Fired” among Koreans.

The 1995 adoption of *segyehwa* – Korea’s ‘globalization’ policy– by President Kim Young Sam’s administration officially positioned English as central to Korea’s internationalization drive (J. J. Song, 2012). As Koreans increasingly looked beyond their own borders, they were confronted with the ‘English or perish’ (JongHwa Lee et al., 2010) discourse that has dominated ever since, as “participation on the global stage was imagined as necessarily mediated by the global language of English” (Shim & Park, 2008, p. 144). The position of English has been reinforced by the announcements of successive administrations of ever earlier and more intensive compulsory English study policies in public education – including former President Lee Myung-Bak’s ‘English Immersion Education’. This controversial policy entailed the teaching of all high school classes through English (and was eventually withdrawn). Tied to the nation building, competitive ethos of *segyehwa*, Hyunjung Shin suggests English in South Korea is similar to its position in former colonies of English speaking countries, due to the dominance of the US and its “continued hegemonic role... in the political, economic and cultural domains” (2006, p. 153). Thus the positioning of EFL competence as a necessity for success in an era of globalization effectively disguises the hegemonic or neo-colonial status of EFL learning as a development and success oriented discourse. Yet English also continues to be seen as the language of the US in South Korea, and a symbol of an international relationship at once equally essential to the nation’s survival and undermining to its sense of pride. The perception of English as the American tongue not only positions it as the language of ‘the west’, but inherently as a herald of western ways of being and thinking (Gibb, 1999). Given this backdrop, EFL learning is inevitably a site of social debate in South Korea.

3.3.2 Opportunity & Inequity

Writing in 1992, Baik suggested that in South Korea “English is no longer a privileged commodity of the ‘elite’” (p. 27), yet many strongly argue to the contrary. It is indisputable that degrees of access to English language education in Korea reflect an individual’s or family’s financial resources, and this is a widely discussed social equity issue on the peninsula in both mainstream media and academic circles (see for example, J. S.-Y. Park, 2010; S. J. Park & Abelman, 2004b; J. Song, 2011). How English plays a gatekeeping role for elite education and employment is systematically demonstrated in the following extract:

“Many South Koreans may send their children to private English-language schools. Not all those parents who are able to give their children private English lessons may afford to send their children to (more expensive) private language schools that hire native speakers of English. Many of those may not be able to send their children to short-term English-language courses in the USA, Canada, Australia or New Zealand. Many of those who can afford to give their children short-term overseas English courses may not be able to provide them with much admired early overseas education ... The socio-economically challenged may do their best to give their children the best private instruction that money can buy, but the privileged always have the capacity to outdo them all” (J. J. Song, 2012, p. 18).

Shim & Park adopt a critical perspective on how English has been constructed at a local level in South Korea, arguing that the South Korean people have signified English as a language of upward social mobility, with the result that an overemphasis on EFL competence perpetuates social and economic inequality. The authors attribute this to a widely-held belief on the peninsula that English language skills are crucial to the nation gaining a secure foothold in an increasingly globalized world economy, reflecting the South Korean people’s desire for their country to be recognized as a developed and sophisticated player on the world stage (Shim & Park, 2008). Consequently, many Korean parents resort to extreme measures to establish their children as ‘global citizens’ or ‘*gukjein*’ (J. S.-Y. Park, 2010), an image which seems to be inseparable from English language ability for most South Koreans. Children are often sent abroad as young as six or seven, notoriously subjected in some cases to the frenectomy (tongue surgery)

procedure, and pushed through crippling expensive after school education with ‘native’ and Korean teachers. Such measures are frequently lamented as damaging to childhood development (Sang Hun Choe, 2004; Marks, 2004), yet there is little indication that ‘English fever’ is abating (Shim & Park, 2008).

3.3.3 South Korean EFL as a site for developing intercultural competence?

Within this socio-politically fraught context, it is increasingly evident to educators and curriculum designers concerned with the teaching of EFL that not only linguistic competence but heightened intercultural awareness is integral to their students’ ability to interact successfully with foreign individuals, institutions and society, both at home and abroad. ‘Teaching culture’ (in this context understood as predominantly western culture) has become a feature of pre and in-service training programs for teachers (J. Y. Kim et al., 2017; Ngai & Janusch, 2015). Cultural content, often in the form of ‘culture tips’ for travel abroad or dealing with ‘*waygook*’ (non-Korean persons) at home, has also become a visible element in textbooks included on the national curriculum (K. Y. Lee, 2009). Despite these initiatives, Korean teachers of English remain deeply suspicious of subjectively interpreted teaching materials, and consequently resistant to positioning themselves as cultural educators and trainers. Many Korean EFL teachers describe avoidance of this aspect of language education altogether, despite widespread recognition of the need to develop their students’ sociolinguistic skills or confidence dealing with foreign cultures (Howard & Millar, 2008; Li, 1998).

The reticence of Korean EFL teachers to approach language teaching within an intercultural communication framework is often discussed within the context of Korea’s devolution from a Confucian social system, and viewed as a hangover of traditional Confucian beliefs about the role of ‘teachers’ within Korean society (Li, 1998). To illustrate, a Korean proverb, translating approximately to ‘*do not step even in your teacher’s shadow*’, suggests the position public school teachers in Korea occupy; they are esteemed socially and enjoy favourable working conditions and vacation periods. The process of becoming a teacher involves first passing through a succession of exams and

hurdles notorious for their difficulty and high failure rates. Achieving the status of ‘teacher’ is thus seen as a great accomplishment. Teachers typically command far higher respect from students and the broader community than their western counterparts. To be a teacher is to be an authority in your subject area and a bearer of wisdom. While this degree of respect is frequently lamented by teachers as changing, their authority still exceeds western norms (Howard & Millar, 2008; S. Kang, 2002; J. H. Robinson, 2003). For example, Korean teachers’ power to use physical punishment was only curtailed in the past decade. Corporal punishment was legal, commonplace and often reported to be harshly administered throughout elementary, middle and high school. The prohibition of the practice on the grounds of human rights was met with strong opposition on the peninsula (Bae, 2010; Schwartzman, 2012; Strother, 2011).

For this relatively privileged social class of teachers in Korea, the ‘flip-side of the coin’ is the weight of obligation inherent in fulfilling both their students’ and society’s expectations of their expertise, including omniscience in their subject area. A teacher may not admit to a lack of knowledge without loss of ‘face’ (Howard & Millar, 2008; Li, 1998). In South Korean society a teacher’s loss of face resulting from their inability to fulfil their role as an expert may destabilize the teacher’s self-image as well as the student – teacher relationship. In a practical sense, this face-consciousness surrounding teachers’ socio-cultural role inhibits educators from approaching areas of study such as culture and intercultural communication, which are riddled with ambiguity. As these areas often require students to engage both critically and reflectively they are problematic, establishing unanswerable questions and lacking a definitive or established doctrine to guide classroom practice.

While these explanations for teachers’ avoidance of dealing with culture in EFL classrooms evoke culture typing and essentialism, they also recognize significant aspects of the socio-historic context in which South Korean teachers practice. When considering the context specific understanding of a teacher’s role in Korean society the inherently subjective and elusive nature of ‘culture’ presents a conundrum to curriculum designers and classroom teachers alike. Teachers describe consciously avoiding cultural education and intercultural awareness training due to valid concerns regarding its ‘teachability’ in their socio-cultural context.

3.4 EFL as a mediator of Intercultural Experience

Compounding socio-historic, economic and sociocultural tensions in relation to EFL learning is its prominent role as a mediator of intercultural experience. A study by Jon (2009) reflects this significance. Jon conducted research into interculturality ‘at home’ in the Korean higher education context by investigating the impact on Korean students of participation in a short term (6 week) International Summer Campus (ISC) program at Korea University in Seoul, in which the majority of the 1503 participants were ‘foreign’ and classes were delivered in English. The researcher conducted interviews and class observations, and collected program documents as well as diaries from two participants to triangulate the qualitative data. Discussion of the data suggests some students exercised reflective, reflexive thought processes during the ISC program, noticing their own biases and stereotypes toward non-Koreans and considering more deeply how to explain elements of Korean culture to the international visitors. Increased knowledge of foreign societies at the level of social norms was also evident. Jon also identified a shift in the students’ perspectives on the English language. Some students reported a new recognition of English as a tool for communication, as opposed to an object of study in which achievement of high test scores was all important. In particular, Jon reports that some students “found that fluency in English does not necessarily coincide with logical thinking and speaking in English, *nor is it the most important factor in making friends with international students* [my emphasis]” (2009, pp. 444 - 445).

A more recent study, also situated in South Korea, that connects intercultural development with language proficiency is J. Y. Kim et al. (2017). The researchers conducted a study within an English medium South Korean university to investigate the relationships between local students’ Intercultural Sensitivity (IS) and their perception of the English Medium Instruction (EMIA) policy. The 213 local student participants, all of whom were enrolled in degree programs completed a two part questionnaire. Items were based on a scale developed by Chen & Starosta to measure IS (2000, cited in Kim et al, 2017) and additional items addressed EMI. Interviews were also conducted with 15 of these students. Results indicated that students had reasonably high levels of respect for

other cultures, but low levels of confidence in approaching them. Follow up interviews indicated that students' lack of confidence in English was a major challenge in their interactions with international classmates, and that accurate use of language was viewed as very important. A significant correlation between participants' levels of IS and attitudes toward EMI was found. Negative perceptions toward international students correlated with adverse reactions to EMI, while students who scored higher in levels of sensitivity were more positive toward the policy. The findings of both Jon (2009) and Kim et al (2017) highlight the crucial role EFL plays as a mediator of intercultural experience in South Korea, and its consequent centrality to intercultural competence and development. As a result their participants' development of proficiency in EFL within formal educational settings and their perceptions of intercultural encounters are deeply intertwined.

3.5 Ideologies of English in South Korea

Two studies have focused upon ideologies of English in South Korea. The ambivalence and tensions reflected in their findings serve to mirror the complex socio-historic and contemporary associations of the language with on the one hand foreign others (particularly the US), and on the other economic and global opportunities.

J.S.Y. Park (2009) has focused upon the localized significations of English in South Korea, conducting extensive analysis of metalinguistic discourses on English across multiple sites between 1997 – 2002. He identified three primary elements underlying the construction of English in South Korean society; necessitation, externalization and self-deprecation. Data included a corpus of written debate collected between 1998 – 2001 reacting to a 1998 publication by neoliberal and novelist Bok Geoil, which advocated the adoption of English as an official language. Additionally, audio and video recordings were collected over a 2 month period in 2002 of peer groups engaged in casual conversation in study room or English club environments. Park also drew upon examples of cross linguistic humour – translation riddles, jokes and humorous experiences incorporating or making reference to English from personal contacts and internet bulletin boards from

1997 -2002. The researcher also examined the use of English for humorous effect in television entertainment programs (sitcoms and comedy sketches) between 2000-2002 (J. S. Y. Park, 2009).

The study engages with the dynamics of English beyond the educational sector to examine its positioning when referenced or represented in a range of social contexts. The researcher identifies ideologies of *necessitation* – that English is a language “one must acquire and secure in order to survive and flourish in the globalizing world”, *externalization* – English is a language “incongruent with and opposed to the identity of one’s group” and *self-deprecation* “Koreans as lacking sufficient competence to use English meaningfully, despite the abundance of English education they receive” (J. S. Y. Park, 2009, p. 26). These findings point to the complex of social emotions, beliefs and attitudes bound to the processes of EFL learning in South Korea, and highlight the significant challenges involved in integrating intercultural learning to EFL education.

A study by Lee (2006) of English mixing in South Korean television advertising gathered qualitative data from four hours of television commercials, representing 720 advertising spots broadcast on major television stations at prime time. Lee’s analysis found that commercials using English (mixed with Korean) consistently represented modernity, youth, innovation, and liberalism; noting that “being modern subsumes being international, progressive, futuristic and fun-loving” J. S. Lee (2006, p. 63), and further found that Korean only commercials were targeted at older generations, middle-aged men of middle or upper social class, and a generalized Korean nation, appealing to traditional values and identities. Importantly, English was used in conjunction with (and not in replacement of) Korean in the commercials oriented to ‘being modern’, a mixing which the researcher postulates allows younger generation, modern Koreans to resolve “the tension between global (i.e. dominant English and American culture) and local practices” (J. S. Lee, 2006, p. 87).

In this chapter, I have situated concepts of self, nation, otherness and the intercultural within the multiple frames of South Korean society and history. I have also discussed the tensions in South Korea between the normative position that on the one hand English ability is essential to meeting the perceived demands of economic globalization, living a

modern, cosmopolitan lifestyle and accessing international opportunity, and yet on the other signifies a threat to national identities, culture and traditions. Intertwined with such competing perspectives is an enduring conflation of English with the cultures and peoples of a white, middle class Western society, heavily embodied in the social imaginary by the US, and thus mired somewhat in ambivalence toward Korea's ever present 'other'. This context is a rich site for investigation of how individual speakers of English in Korea navigate the currents of social, cultural and political sentiment surrounding this 'foreign' tongue, and moreover, what contributions their experiences of learning and using English make to their development of an intercultural awareness, competence or identity. In Chapter 4 I turn to a discussion of the research methodology developed to approach this complexity in this dissertation.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

This chapter outlines the approach and research design taken in this study. I begin by establishing the ontological and epistemological paradigms and research question(s) that frame my inquiry. Following this, I discuss how participants were recruited and how research ethics were safeguarded throughout the study. I explain the process of data collection through in-depth interviews, acknowledging issues of researcher-participant intersubjectivity, and detail approaches to data analysis. I explain how selected discourse analysis strategies were used to ensure rigor and augment analysis of themes in my interview data.

4.1 Approach

The aim of this research is to explore ideologies of the intercultural among individuals living within the specific sociopolitical context of South Korea, whose intercultural encounters are almost always mediated by the use of English as a Foreign Language. One of the objectives is to better understand the situated nature of the participants' lived experiences. To achieve this, I examine how aspects of their social context (structure) interact with individual processes (agency) in their discourse. I make visible the ideologies of identity, language and culture enacted in their interview discourse in order to generate new insights into the ways in which individuals make sense of increasingly intercultural life experiences. This exploration of the ideologies of individuals related to intercultural learning reflects a constructivist ontology (Willis, 2007); I understand reality as local, specific to particular contexts and co-constructed by participants. The exploratory nature of the research question and sub questions which guide my inquiry reflect this orientation:

- What *ideologies* related to the development of intercultural skills or competences are realized in the discourse of the participants?
- What ideologies of *identity* and *culture* are identifiable?
- What ideologies related to the use of *English as a Foreign Language* are identifiable?

A subjectivist epistemology that acknowledges and seeks to explore multiple interpretations of reality is, therefore, appropriate (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Guba & Lincoln, 2008). I draw upon work in ethnomethodology in examining meanings constructed locally and from moment to moment within the participants' discourses (Heritage, 1984; Stokoe & Attenborough, 2014). I adopted an interview based method influenced by interpretive phenomenology as a means to open those discourses, focusing on the participants' understandings and reflections on their intercultural experiences. This approach aimed to elicit each individual's perceptions and sense making of their life experience, and gain an understanding of the meanings they developed and ascribed to situations, events or objects within what Van Manen (1990) refers to as their 'lifeworlds' (see also Guba & Lincoln, 2008; Willis, 2007). This engaged participants in extended dialogs with the researcher about their experiences that provided rich data for subsequent analysis.

The participants frequently made reference to aspects of their sociocultural environment when explaining their own choices, constraints and understandings in intercultural interactions. Analysis therefore seeks to make visible how both individual and social forces are implicated in their discourses, following Layder (2006), who argues that the sociological dualisms of individual and society, agency and structure and macro and micro are inextricable; "they are interlocked and interdependent features of society. In short, they mutually imply and influence each other" (2006, p. 2). Layder's work characterizes the polarities of 'micro' (self-identity, social experience) and 'macro' (structural and contextual features) phenomena as mutually bound;

"...macro phenomena make no sense unless they are related to the social activities of individuals who reproduce them over time. Conversely, micro phenomena cannot be fully understood by exclusive reference to their 'internal dynamics', so to speak, they have to be seen to be conditioned by circumstances inherited from the past. In other words, micro phenomena have to be understood in relation to the influence of the institutions that provide their wider social context" (1993, pp. 102 - 103)

Block has called for researchers in applied linguistics to engage more explicitly with how the "sociohistorical shapes the individual's ability to act as an agent" (2013, p. 144). I respond to this call directly, situating individual experience and agency within

social contexts and exploring the social structures that may constrain or enable individual actors. As a result, analysis of the experiences and intercultural learning trajectories of the participants in this study frequently references the wider socio-historical setting and national context which provides a backdrop to their experience. Substantial space has been given in Chapter 3 to establishing the socio-historic context of contemporary South Korea for the reader.

4.2 Research Design

My research design reflects the interpretive ontological and epistemological position outlined in the preceding section. In line with this, the data was collected through a series of in-depth interviews (two to three per participant) with eight individuals, taking an approach influenced by interpretive phenomenology. The relatively small scale of the participant group enabled me to gather rich data, and to engage with the situated, idiosyncratic nature of these participants' individual life trajectories. Although all of the participants were South Korean, this study did not aim to be representative of the national experience or to generate findings that would be readily generalizable to a broader population. Nonetheless, aspects of the participants' experience may resonate in different ways with those of others, particularly EFL speakers, across the globe.

Following Seidman (2006), the interviews explored life histories and lived experience while foregrounding the social setting and context. This was most frequently achieved by eliciting detailed reconstructions of daily, past or typical intercultural experiences and relationships that were salient for the participants. This meant that interviews explored events and narratives of past experience in the context of the participants' currently inhabited social and physical environment. Participants were also asked to reflect upon the personal meanings of their experiences, and the processes by which they had made sense over time of the experiences they described.

In-depth interviews were appropriate to the subjective nature of the questions that guided the research, giving prominence to; "the experiential, the embodied, the emotive qualities of human experience that contribute the narrative quality to a life" (Guba & Lincoln, 2008, p. 272). Consequently, issues of validity & reliability are less relevant than

rigor and transparency. Rigor was maintained through cross-checking of data coding and the use of multiple analytical frameworks. A senior academic in the field was invited to approach extracts from interview transcripts with codes removed to identify any great inconsistencies in interpretation for further consideration. Analysis entailed not only content based coding, but the use of several selected discourse analysis strategies to explore aspects of the research questions. Transparency is demonstrated in careful exposition of the processes of interpretation through coding and analysis in this and subsequent chapters. In addition, extended extracts from the transcripts containing the researcher's turns in the interview discourse are presented where possible to make clear the co-text of particular statements. Explanations of how particular passages are situated within the context of the interview, or series of interview events, are also provided where relevant.

4.3 Participant Selection & Recruitment

All of the participants (eight in total) were adults between the ages of 20 and 55. Participants were recruited and purposefully sampled (Patton 1989, in Seidman, 2006) via my professional and personal networks, as I was resident and employed in the education faculty of a national university in South Korea at the time of data collection. Potential participants self-nominated in response to a general call (see Appendix 1), and were then selected on the basis of two main criteria: experience of extensive intercultural contact either at home or abroad, and ability to articulate their experiences and sense making processes in English. This required considerable fluency. No participants with potential conflicts of interest (e.g. the researcher's current students, support staff or colleagues) or with a significant social relationship to the researcher were included in the study. Willing participants identified themselves to me by email or telephone, and further to this expression of interest were provided with more details of the proposed research as well as information and consent forms (see Appendix 2) for further review. Each individual participated in two – three interviews, which varied in length from 40 – approximately 100 minutes, according to their own preferences and schedule demands.

The participants' experiences with 'foreigners' at home and abroad were diverse in nature, and occurred in the course of varied educational, employment related, personal and religious activities. Profiles of the participants, which establish their distinct individual trajectories of intercultural experience, are provided in the following chapter. It should be noted that nine individuals originally participated in interviews for the study. One individual's data was excluded from the study because their level of oral English proficiency was judged insufficient to express the full complexity of their experiences and understandings. This compromised my ability to adequately interpret meaning from her interview discourse.

4.4 Ethical Safeguards

Ethical approval for this study was obtained from the Faculty of Human Sciences Human Research Ethics Sub-Committee at Macquarie University in December of 2012. The rights of participants in this study have been considered at all stages, including in regard to informed consent, deception, consequences, privacy, confidentiality and anonymity, and applications of research.

All of the participants were voluntary. While all had high levels of competence in English, as a precaution, introductory material as well as information and consent forms were translated to Korean to render the study's aims as transparent as possible. Clear statements were made to ensure that any participants who were employed at or enrolled in courses of study at the same institution where the researcher worked fully understood that participation was not a work, course or graduation requirement, and that it would not result in beneficial treatment. That non-participation would not engender any disadvantage was also stated unambiguously. Participants were informed of the right to discontinue at any time, and informed as to the possibility of any further applications of the research findings. Participants were also offered the opportunity to review transcripts of their interviews and to request minor deletions or corrections which did not impact the analysis. Of the eight participants, only one elected to review the transcripts. That

participant requested some deletions, and also corrections of errors in grammar and syntax which did not impact meaning. These were made prior to analysis of the transcripts commencing. Participants' anonymity is protected in this study by their representation using randomly assigned pseudonyms throughout this thesis and related publications (see Peck & Yates, in press-a; Peck & Yates, in press-b).

4.5 Approach to Interviewing

“Treating interviewing as social encounter in which knowledge is constructed suggests the possibility that the interview is not merely a neutral conduit or source of distortion, but is instead a site of, and occasion for, producing reportable knowledge itself” (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003, p. 68)

Atkinson & Silverman, writing about research interviews two decades ago, cautioned that a widespread movement to include the voices of participants and informants, rather than subordinate them to an authorial voice, should not equate to an uncritical view of the subject: “We take at face value the image of the self-revealing speaking subject at our peril” (Atkinson & Silverman, 1997, p. 322). This view of the interview as a socially situated practice drew upon work across the social sciences that had rejected the notion of research interviews as a neutral mode of data collection, a theme that has been widely expanded upon in the literature on interview based research since. In this study, the approach to interviewing as a means of collecting data is informed by such perspectives, which align with the constructivist ontology and interpretive epistemology.

Holstein and Gubrium reject the transmission-based views of interviewing in social research, in which interviewees are seen as passive and “repositories of facts and the related details of experience” (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003, p. 70). This critique foregrounds the agency of the interviewee and recasts the interviewer as an active contributor and meaning maker in the interview process. They acknowledge the impact of the crisis of representation in the social sciences on understandings of the interview as a tool for social research, and have instead characterized it as an active, collaborative,

meaning-making and socially situated encounter. Holstein & Gubrium coin the term ‘active interviewing’ to encapsulate this approach. Block, writing in 2000, made a distinction between understandings of data as “*representational* of real events or as *presentational* of individuals speaking” (2000, p. 758), and positioned the latter alongside an interactionist perspective that sees interview data as something co-constructed between interviewer and interviewee. More recently, Talmy (2010, 2011) has drawn on interdisciplinary perspectives to make a distinction between two ideologies apparent in interview based research. He characterizes the commonsensical conceptualizations of interviews that view them as a method for eliciting knowledge as the *interview as research instrument* perspective. For Talmy, this means taking the participant’s words at face value, and presenting the data and analysis without reference to the roles or respective positioning of the interviewer and interviewee. This is contrasted with the perspective he characterizes as the *interview as social practice* “in which the research interview is explicitly conceptualized and analysed as social action” (Talmy, 2010, p. 129), and in which the interview itself becomes a topic of inquiry.

In this study I rejected the notion of the passive interviewee and avoided the ‘technologies’ of interviewing that Holstein and Gubrium (2003) critique (for example, I did not frame all questions in a neutral manner to avoid bias in the responses). Instead, the interviews were conversational in tone and I allowed them to drift away from a conventional question and answer structure to a co-constructed dialog in which I as the researcher and interviewer was an active participant. During the interviews, the participants were invited to share their ‘life histories’ with regard to personal trajectories of intercultural contact and learning both within and beyond the context of EFL learning and use, and to reflect on the meanings they ascribed to those experiences. This technique was designed to foreground the understandings and the perspectives of the participants in defining what becoming ‘interculturally competent’ meant for them, and reflecting on the processes they had experienced as most salient in their own journeys toward intercultural competence development. In this context, my own obvious position as a foreigner in Korea, and moreover one who had lived away from her own country for over 15 years was often made relevant.

Building on a movement in the literature toward acknowledging the relational aspects of interviews, Ellis and Berger (2003) characterize such an approach as ‘interactive interviewing’. They consider that the social and personal identity of both interviewer and interviewee are significant, and also dynamic. As they respond to each other, the relationship between them can be continually repositioned, or emerging: “In this interactive context, respondents become narrators who improvise stories in response to the questions, probes, and personal stories of the interviewers” (Ellis & Berger, 2003, pp. 159 - 160). This disclosure on the part of the interviewer reduces the hierarchical gap between researcher and participant, and prompts richer dialog. In this study, my approach is aligned to what Ellis & Berger describe as ‘reflexive dyadic’ interviewing, in which the interviewer maintains the traditional role as the one asking the questions, but also self discloses personal experience or reflections on the communication within the interview with the interviewee. In the context of an interview based study, intersubjectivity is integral to analysis of which identifications were made prominent and why. For Dervin, it is crucial to the identities that emerge within interviews: “Every time the researcher asks a question or by her/his mere presence in the research contexts her/his influence on what is said and done - on identities that are created - cannot be ignored” (Dervin, 2013, p12). My relationship to the participants in the study as a cultural ‘other’ is essential to the interpretation and analysis of the interview discourse. I treat the interview data as a representation of a co-constructed social event, in which the respective ‘identities’ of myself as the interviewer in relation to the participants as interviewees is recognized as impacting the discourse. This understanding positions the participants as “not so much repositories of knowledge—treasuries of information awaiting excavation—as they are constructors of knowledge in collaboration with interviewers” (Holstein & Gubrium 2003, 68).

Conceptualizing the interview and the subject in this way meant that as the interviewer I did not attempt to be a pseudo impartial presence in the discourse. I responded to invitations from the participants to share my own experiences or perspectives, sometimes using self-disclosure as a strategy to encourage trust or openness from the interviewees. This is illustrated in the extract below, in which Eun Kyung, a 45-year-old female participant negatively contrasts the use of honorifics in the Korean

language and the hierarchical nature of Asian society with the relatively flat nature of American society and the absence of honorifics in English. My contributions in this section of the interview discourse are almost equal in length to the interviewee's, maintaining a conversational flow and enabling further contributions and expansion from Eun Kyung on the topic.

Eun Kyung: ... and I think language is really big part of a culture, so... in many Asian countries including Korea, ah their society has many different level of classes and from the age or their social status, but I think the American, the American culture doesn't have that kind of classification... so I think I like that better. So we don't have to think about our age gap or other differences...

Researcher: Yes, I have to, I have to sometimes in Korea I have to remind myself that age is important, because I forget - it's not instinctive for me to think about that. Well, in some circumstances, a very elderly person, maybe physically weaker, but...

Eun Kyung: I think we as Koreans are so aware of the ages... you know I remember... it was quite a long time ago but I visited my friend after 3 years stay in the states and my first one was 4 years old at that time and the 2nd was just turned to 1. And since I was visiting I stayed with my sister-in-law's house at that time and I took my kids to the playground in the apartment, and there was one little girl, uh looked a little bit older than my first one and the first question she asked to my kids was 'how old are you?' [laughs] I was so shocked... and then 'I am onni' [older sister] and that I was really surprised at that time...

Researcher: [laughs] yeah

Researcher: Some students have told me that when they were middle school students and they graduated and became high school students, but the older students expected them to bow to them, even they were only you know, one year older and things like that, I've heard a lot of stories like that that really... yeah, even now after 6 years it still kind of puzzles me...

Eun Kyung: I think it's getting, more and more serious, I mean I expected young generation wouldn't be like that - nobody likes that idea... but it's getting more serious. Even the elementary school students, they... the first

thing they want to find out is 'I am the old woman or the young woman' I don't know why! [laughs]

Researcher: Who knows...

Eun Kyung: But in America I... I think because of the language, and English doesn't have any different expression for older people or younger people so... English made it easier to make friends.

Positioning myself as an active participant in the dialog, I also at times tested my understandings of the participants' responses by offering them a summary or reformulation of what had just been said or suggesting a link or connection between different aspects of their responses and experiences. This enabled me to test the degree of mutual agreement on my of-the-moment interpretation and engage the participants in explicitly co-constructing an interpretation. For Holstein and Gubrium, active interviewers:

“... converse with respondents in such a way that alternate considerations are brought into play. They may suggest orientations to, and linkages between, diverse aspects of respondents' experience, adumbrating—even inviting—interpretations that make use of particular resources, connections, and outlooks” (2003, p. 75).

The extract below, also taken from an interview with Eun Kyung, illustrates a typical instance of this. This interaction occurred within a longer exchange about Eun Kyung's resistance to being absorbed into the Korean church community at the American university where she spent eight years (accompanying her husband during his postgraduate studies). Eun Kyung had previously characterized this community as 'nosy', and one that 'closed its door' to other cultures.

Researcher: And did, I mean, for you... you chose not to belong to those groups in America... do you think that, is that something about your character, or was it...?

Eun Kyung: I think it's character. Well at first I was not, I'm not Christian and I... didn't want to spend my time, well I had lots of time at that time, but still... I didn't want to spend my time to what I really don't like... you know being together speaking in Korean is really comfortable I know

but... from, I just didn't be with them because I want to be with somebody... I think that was the main reason, yeah. Instead of going there to being with them, I had, I could find other things to do to spend my time, reading, walking or listening to music [laughs] and they just talk about the things and I felt bored...

R: Hmm, mm yeah, so... for you the need, I mean if I, would it be correct for me to say that for you, you would rather, um... ... be alone or... work harder to connect with people who you have something in common with than spend time with Korean people...

Eun Kyung: Yeah, sure, sure...

R: Just, just because they're Korean...

Pause

R: Yeah... I think, the... yeah, it's an interesting point for me... I think you're... because I've observed, I suppose I've observed a lot of Korean people doing as you suggest, sticking together, and here in Korea I notice the foreign community stick together [laughs]. So I don't think it's particularly, it's not unique to Korea I think there is something about the experience of being a foreigner or being an immigrant

Eun Kyung: You know when my first one just went to the states last summer and he, she, she had the same experience because there she is in math department, there are many Asian students and some six or seven Korean students, and um... she found out the Korean students always go... to the certain place together they don't interact with other students, and she didn't like that. I think she has... the similar personality from me, from who else" [laughs]

In the extract above I offered an interpretation of the behaviour of the Korean community in America that contextualised it within the behaviour of foreign communities in general, a perspective Eun Kyung disagreed with. Eun Kyung does not directly negate this proposition, but continues with what becomes a longer conversation about her daughter's current experiences abroad from, which we can infer that she views the behaviour as especially common among the Korean community.

Aspects of my perceived role relationship to the interviewees were also particularly evident when shared identifications, for example as teachers or as women, became relevant. My positioning as a foreigner in Korea was also noticeable in the participants' efforts to offer me explanations of linguistic or cultural phenomena in Korean society that they referred to. Examples of this included references to the use of honorifics or the hierarchical nature of society as per the extract previously earlier in this section. My outsider status was also made relevant in several instances where participants shared confidences on matters they stated they could not openly discuss in Korean society, for example a desire not to have children, or confusion over how to deal with openly gay foreign colleagues.

Although I reject the 'interview as research instrument' perspective (Talmy, 2010), I nonetheless developed a loose underlying structure for the interviews to guide my interactions with the participants and ensure that all dimensions of the research questions underpinning the study were adequately explored. Seidman (2006) identifies a useful structure of a series of three interviews, consisting of an initial interview that provides a focused life history, a second interview focused on the details of relevant experiences and a third in which participants are asked to reflect upon the meanings of their experience. This pattern of three separate interviews was not followed rigidly with all participants in this study. Some participants preferred to meet twice for longer periods rather than three times, and several followed up by email or other means after the interviews had concluded to share afterthoughts. During the interviews themselves opportunities to explore particular tangents were often taken up, and detail or reflection on experience was often shared by participants in their initial interview before it was solicited. Despite the natural messiness of the data, Seidman's three stage approach provided an underlying structure that enabled some consistency across the interviews with a diverse range of participants.

My first interviews with each participant focused initially on life histories. These contextualized the participants' experiences by exploring their relationships to the research focus from the past until the time of the interview (Seidman, 2006). This explored the events experienced with an emphasis on chronology and sequences or processes rather than investigating the participants' motivations, feelings or interpretations of the events directly. Examples of questions I used include: What was

your first contact with a person or persons from another cultural background? What cultural background(s) did this person/ persons have? How much interaction did you have with this person / these persons? What language(s) were used? At the next stage I aimed to explore details of the participants' lived experience of the research focus, foregrounding the social setting and context. This may be achieved by eliciting a detailed reconstruction of their current daily or typical experiences and relationships in relation to the topic (Seidman, 2006). This element of the interviews thus explored the events and narratives experienced in the context of the participants' currently inhabited social and physical environment. Examples of questions that I used to achieve this objective include: Tell me about your relationships with X (relevant cultural others); What is a typical interaction with X? Can you tell me about a specific recent interaction (s) with X?

In the third stage I asked participants to reflect upon the personal meanings of their experiences, and the processes by which they have made sense of the experiences described and elaborated upon previously. Seidman (2006) acknowledges that in his proposed three interview structure the participants are also involved in the process of making meaning during interviews one and two, both in how they frame the narratives they recount and in the likely inclusion of interpretive or reflective comments intertwined with their stories. This third stage focuses even more intensively on the understandings participants have of events and the position of those events within the participants' emotional, intellectual or social lives. Examples of questions that I used to elicit such reflection include: How do you understand the process of learning about other cultures, or learning to be intercultural? How do you understand the role of culture in your own life/interactions? Do you see yourself continuing to work/study/socialize in intercultural environments in the future? Why or why not?

Acknowledging the demand placed upon participants to speak predominantly in English throughout the interviews (in all cases a foreign language in which participants had achieved high but varying levels of proficiency) key topics or focus questions for each interview were provided to them in advance of the interview time (two to three days prior). While the interviews were guided by a three part structure (see Appendix 4), this was used flexibly over the number of meetings that suited each individual participant. Interviews were spaced one to three weeks apart, with all interviews being completed

over a 4 month period spanning late 2013 to early 2014. A summary of the interviews by participant is provided in the table below.

X – Indicates participation in an interview

Interview	Jae Kwan	Mina	Chul Suk	Eun Kyoung	Jiyoung	Hyeran	Hee-jung	Aeran
1	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
2	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
3	X	X						X

4.6 Data Analysis

Bogdan and Biklen (2007) point out that reflection on data collected while in the field is intrinsic to qualitative studies, and thus a clear separation of data collection and data analysis and interpretation is not realistic. This perspective is shared by Seidman (2006), who - while recognizing the value of reviewing data between interviews - nonetheless recommends avoiding in-depth analysis during the data collection phase in order to prevent imposing observations gleaned from early interviewees on subsequent participants. During my process of data collection, interview field notes, impressions, artefacts passed to the researcher by participants and initial reflections were recorded and filed alongside relevant transcripts for review in a subsequent stage of focused data analysis.

I used a process of theme analysis (following Saldana, 2009) which served to create an index of major themes or categories. Those pertaining to particular research questions were then filtered in different configurations according to their relevance to specific areas of inquiry. This facilitated easier access to relevant data for subsequent coding. For example, excerpts from the interview transcripts were initially themed under the parent code 'Intercultural Contact Experiences' and further subdivided into 'Direct' (first-hand interpersonal experiences) and 'Indirect' (via text, media or anecdote).

In the second stage, I extracted themes for further coding and analysis using selected discourse analysis strategies. I conducted multiple forms of discourse analysis in

order to address different aspects of my research questions. This multi-layered approach to analysis enabled me to approach specific dimensions of the research questions from the perspective of not only *what* was expressed, or the content of the research participants' speech, but *how* they expressed meanings, following Holstein and Gubrium (2003) and Talmy (2010). I used Membership Categorisation Analysis (MCA), Deictic Analysis, analysis of Emotion Talk and analysis of Attribution. I used MCA to gain insight into both explicit and implicit self-ascription by the participants to various categories of identity (for example; being a Korean, an international person, a woman, a student), and how these shifted at different points in the discourse. Over extended stretches of discourse, MCA can be used to build a picture that provides insights into the speaker's identifications and sense of self. I complemented this with Deictic Analysis, as this made less easily observed shifts in identification visible, and afforded additional insights into this aspect of the study. To more closely examine the emotional dimensions my participants' use of English as a Foreign Language, I employed an analysis of Emotion Talk, which differentiated between the participants' explicit identifications of emotion (e.g. I felt sad) and emotional areas of their discourse where emotion was signaled implicitly (e.g. paralinguistic behaviour or tone). I also examined Attribution, specifically how participants attributed their own successes or failures as intercultural users of EFL to internal (personality or character) or external (situational) factors. This made visible my participants' degree of alignment to prevailing neoliberal ideologies surrounding the acquisition of EFL in particular. Detailed explanation and exemplification of the use these particular analytical strategies is given in later sections of this chapter.

Similarly multi-layered approaches to analysis have been used in a number of recent studies. For example, Miller (2014), in an interview based study of the language of adult immigrants, adopted a performativity perspective that allowed her to investigate the participants' theories of agency that were implicit in *how* they talked, rather than merely accepting *what* was said as sufficient to provide a researcher with knowledge. "Orienting to the interview talk in this way changes the focus from collecting representational verisimilitude to understanding interviewees' discursively constituted sense-making practices" (2014, pp. 32 - 33). In this way Miller, citing Hollway (2005) & Talmy (2011), avoided what she characterizes as the epistemological fallacy that suggests

knowledge can be extracted simplistically through question and answer with research subjects. Tranekjaer (2014) also positions cultural identity as something performed in interactions within specific contexts of practice that carry particular boundaries of normativity and deviance. Her study of counselling interviews for international students at a Danish University used MCA within a discursive ethnography that sought to identify patterns in meaning and common sense ideologies within face to face interactions.

4.6.1 Theme Coding as an Interpretative Process

Initial and recursive stages of theme coding involved significant interpretation, which meant that this initial stage of analysis moved immediately beyond merely sorting or categorizing the data. For example, theme coding identified segments of the interview transcripts in which participants' discourses related either directly or indirectly understandings of 'what culture is'. This required a decision on whether extracts such as the one below reflected this:

Mina: “some of the students ask me to incorporate some cultural aspect of the language so I try to include those cultural aspects, but those cultural aspects are only what I've experienced. Or what I've studied in the textbooks, some reference materials and in the media”

This extract is typical of much of the data in that a number of structural categories (language, culture, direct and indirect cultural contact or experience, learning) are intertwined. However, this extract was not categorized under the structural code 'understandings of culture', as it did not directly explore the participant's own interpretation of culture beyond an implicit reference to the relatedness of language and culture - a connection which did not represent a novel or unusual perspective in the context of this study. Instead, the response to a follow up question, in which the participant provided examples of how she interpreted her students' request to teach cultural aspects of the English language, was coded under 'understandings of culture' as this provided a richer and more explicit operationalization of her understanding. The full extract is provided below:

Mina: Some of the students ask me to incorporate some cultural aspect of the language so I try to include those cultural aspects, but those cultural aspects are only what I've experienced. Or what I've studied in the textbooks, some reference materials and in the media [not coded]

R: Could you, give me, just to help me understand. Could you give me an example of one of the small points or lessons that includes cultural information?[not coded]

Mina: Uhh... for example, when, when they give a presentation their, yeah, their way of eye-contacting or their way of ... uhh attitude as listeners, but that's a basic etiquette but sometimes having an eye contact is really important for I don't know American culture or Western culture because in Korea Korean students tend to or Korean people tend to not to have eye contact directly because they think it's rude, but in America if you do not have eye contact people think you may hide something or you are not frank enough so those are the things that I want my students to learn especially when they apply for global companies or when they apply for a graduate program in western countries so those are things, some basic ... maybe other teachers who do not have that experience studying abroad then they teach based upon their textbook knowledge, information, but even if it is a very small things but I can be of help to my students in all those aspects so I naturally incorporate those etiquette or other cultural stuff ... uhh... for example. Hmmm what else? Some small things like in Korean society is quite hierarchical so they have to tell their age every time so... even I felt very uncomfortable when, when the beginning the first class when I ask them to introduce themselves, most students tell their age, so then I tell them "it's not natural", you know you don't have to say your age and sometimes it is very odd for me, even for me. "Why do you have to tell that?" And then I continue to say that especially in Western culture it's not very polite to ask people's age, something like that, but maybe as a foreigner you may directly tell them... [coded]

Data initially coded under the theme 'Participants' Understandings of Culture' as well as other themes including 'Learning Interculturality' were then filtered and analyzed further using more selective strategies aimed at uncovering the participants' ideologies surrounding intercultural skills and competences.

In the following sections my second stage approach to data analysis which used selective discourse analysis strategies is described and exemplified.

4.6.2 Discourse Analysis

Various approaches to discourse analysis offer a means for unpacking normalized ideologies that may otherwise remain relatively invisible in a particular discourse readily accessible to researchers. Fairclough has shown how ‘naturalized’ ideologies or “ideological representations which come to be seen as non-ideological ‘common sense’” (1985, p. 739) are evidenced in interaction as implicit propositions created through strategies of presupposition and lexicalization. This commonsensicality is similarly evident for Verschueren (2011), when a meaning is taken for granted or unquestioned, reflecting an assumption of shared understanding or common ground. For van Dijk, lexicalization is paramount; “probably the major dimension of discourse meaning controlled by ideologies is the selection of word meaning through lexicalization” (van Dijk, 1995, p. 259). Discourse analysis strategies have the advantage of approaching data in ways that inhibit the projection of a researcher’s assumptions and possible bias. For Potter, this has “the enormous virtue of starting with what is there rather than theoretical derived assumptions about what should be there or the researcher wishes was there” (2004). In the following sections, the methods of discourse analysis used in my study are outlined and exemplified.

4.6.2.1 Membership Categorisation Analysis

Membership Categorisation Analysis (MCA) uses references to categories of membership as a means to make visible identifications made in discourse. MCA identifies explicit *membership categorisations* (for example, student, mother or Korean) and more implicit *category resonant descriptions* (for example, young, wise, or well-travelled). These may be self-ascribed or ascribed to others by a speaker.

In this study, examples of explicit membership categorisation typical in the interviews would be ‘As a *teacher*’ (categorising self) or ‘the *American soldiers*’ (ascribing a compound category to others). Implicit identifications through category

resonant descriptions were used by the participants to build identifications with particular membership categories or groups through reference to activities or descriptions that evoke, allude to or reinforce that membership. Examples of category resonant description from Mina, a participant in this study are ‘*mentor*’ and ‘*I share my experience with my students*’. These contribute to and strengthen a sense of membership to her explicit self-categorisation as a ‘*teacher*’. Analysis of category resonant description can also uncover implicit identifications that are not made explicit elsewhere. For example, several of my participants make statements about their intercultural experience such as ‘*I have been exposed to culture a lot*’, and across their discourse build a strong orientation to being ‘international and worldly’ people without directly claiming membership of such a group, perhaps due to a sense of modesty. When similar or related descriptions accumulate this way, inferences can be made about a participant’s orientation of self, even where not explicitly claimed by the speaker.

Membership Categorisation Analysis (MCA) enables a focus on “what people do and say: in the categories they deploy rather than in what analysts take to be relevant as a function of their hypothesis, research questions, politics, theory or whatever” (Stokoe & Attenborough, 2014, p. 91). As MCA accounts for not only *what* the participants say, but *how* they express it (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003), I used it as a bridge between the theme analysis described above that interprets ‘what is said’, and deictic reference, a more micro level analysis of ‘how it is said’ across an interaction, outlined in depth in the following section.

Zhu (2014) uses Membership Categorisation Device as an umbrella term inclusive of Stokoe’s (2012) subdivision into categories, devices and resonant descriptions, and describes MCA as a major analytical concept of an interculturality perspective. She defines interculturality as a perspective that “seeks to interpret how participants make (aspects of) cultural identities relevant or irrelevant to interactions through the interplay of self-orientation and ascription-by-others and the interplay of language use and cultural identities” (2014, p. 110). Zhu notes that the ascription of categories is “rich with inference” (2014, p. 111), and that the multiplicity of lexicalisations within any given category invoked (for example; girl, lady, woman) requires significant sense-making, especially as speakers may shift between choices in subsequent turns in an interaction.

MCA has been employed in a number of recent studies concerned with identity and identification. Tranekjaer (2014) employed MCA within a discursive ethnography exploring the performance of cultural identity in international student counselling interviews at a university in Denmark. Taking the position that cultural identity is “a hybrid performance of various cultural memberships that are actualized and enabled by the specific interactional context” (2014, p. 126). Tranekjaer traces understandings, expectations and interpretations of categories and members within the transcripts of the counselling interviews. Studies using MCA have also frequently drawn upon broadcast, web or print media as source material, and used categorization analysis to uncover power dynamics in the tradition of Critical Discourse Analysis. For example, Stokoe (2012) demonstrated the use of MCA to uncover speakers’ explicit use of gendered categories as well as the ‘inference-rich’ elements of discourse across a range of data taken from television programs, web forums and police interviews. Kilby and Horowitz (2013) used MCA to identify elite and lay categorisations of callers to a talk radio show about terrorism, and enable a critical perspective on the power dynamics in the interactions. Also working around the topic of terrorism, Rautajoki (2012) used a TV discussion on the terrorist attacks of 9/11 in Finland to demonstrate how journalists employ membership categorisations to manage ‘conversational drama’ on live television. These highly politicized contexts for use of MCA are typical of Housley & Fitzgerald’s positioning of MCA in demonstrating how categorization work can be used to accomplish “social and moral organization and order” (2009) in cultural politics.

MCA is an analytical approach that reflects the culture as action and process perspective that underlies the approach to research in this study. It can make identity work visible as a cultural and social action within particular sequences of discourse where an individual’s identity is at the fore:

“culture is never just ‘culture’ but is always ‘culture-in-action’, where much of that action is performed in and through the various identity categories that people invoke during local, and contextually specific forms of social interaction” (Stokoe & Attenborough, 2014, p. 89).

Stokoe (2012) and Stokoe and Attenborough (2014) note that while Conversation Analysis (CA) makes apparent structural and sequential patterns, for example turn taking

and repair, MCA seeks to make visible how participants in a discourse describe and make sense of the world through categorisation. It is the latter goal that is of primary concern here, and thus MCA is used as per Stokoe (2012), giving consideration to how a category is located and what the action orientation of the turn it appears within is, while an overall sequential and structural analysis is not. CA strategies are called upon where the intersubjectivity of participant and researcher is considered particularly apparent or salient, or structure of the discourse is significant to discussion of a particular set of turns or a sequence.

4.6.2.2 Deictic Analysis

Deictic references are indicators of whether or not the speaker identifies with a particular group at the time of speaking, and can be inclusive or self-exclusive. One example of an inclusive deictic pronoun choice from this study is the statement: ‘Korean style is much more comfortable to us’ [us = Koreans]. Inclusive references to ‘Koreans’ or ‘Korean people’ also indicate the speaker identifies themselves as a member of that group, for example: ‘so as a Korean [Korean = we/us] it’s really difficult to learn English’. These inclusive references can be distinguished from and contrasted with self-exclusive deictic references to ‘Koreans’, in which the speaker positions themselves as distinct from the same nationally defined group. For example when a participant, describing the Korean community abroad states: ‘many Korean students’ wives, they just spend time you know within their groups’ she indicates that she did not identify with this group, despite also being the wife of a Korean student living abroad. By locating how and when the participants’ inclusive or self-exclusive references to ‘being Korean’ shifted or remained consistent throughout their discourse, use of deictic analysis in this study enabled a greater degree of insight into shifts in identification that would otherwise have been less visible.

For Verschueren “In a heterogeneous social world - i.e., in *any* social world - questions about communication beyond the level of the purely individual (and sometimes even at that level) are inseparable from ideas about group identities and intergroup

relations” (Verschuere, 2011, p. 5). In this study, personal, group and national identities were frequently discussed, with intra and intergroup boundaries and tensions identifiable. While some of these could be traced using MCA as outlined in the previous section, deictic analysis was additionally used to make visible the participants’ more subtle tensions, alignments and shifts in identification. Deictic analysis examined the participants’ pronoun use and deictic references during those stretches of the interviews in which intercultural encounters were described or reflected upon. Analysis of linguistic markers of personal, group and national identities established where these were indicative of in-group identifications or alternatively ‘Othering’ - the process of constructing (usually) foreign others in a reductive manner (Holliday et al., 2010). Othering - of others or self - in a particular discourse may be made more apparent by closer examination of how pronouns such as I/we/us/they/them are used, alongside here/there deictic references.

Bamberg et al. (2011) note that pronouns and referents are recognized by both linguists and anthropologists as important in indicating not only a location in time and space, but also relationships, reciprocity and change. Two related studies have previously used deictic reference to explore participants’ self-positioning, a strategy integrated here to explore how the participants manifest various identities in their discourse. In the first of these studies (Dervin, 2011b) analysed the multi-faceted discourses of French Erasmus students studying in Finland, drawing upon a characterization of group identification by Erikson (1995, cited in Dervin, 2011b). This positioned in-group belonging as contingent either upon ‘we-hood’, emphasizing internal cohesion generated via shared tasks or experience, or alternately, ‘us-hood’, a typically more defensive group identification occurring when the ‘other’ is present. The study examined participants’ pronoun use in particular (in this instance French *nous* and *on*), exploring the oppositions within ‘we-hood’ and shifts in positioning that typify a postmodern perspective of ‘liquid’ identity. The second study (Machart, Lim, Yeow, & Chin, 2014) also draws heavily upon the participants’ framing of their own experience, in which the researchers took a discourse analysis approach to identification of othering and essentialist or monolithic perspectives on culture among their participants, a group of Taiwanese Chinese international exchange students studying in Mandarin Chinese at a university in Malaysia. This study also attends to specific linguistic features, of deictics - *here* vs. *there* and *I/we* vs. *they* which they

considered, following Dervin (2013), to be significant in the process of othering and stereotyping, and to reinforce an *us* vs. *them* dichotomy.

4.6.2.3 Emotion Talk

Thematic analysis revealed that emotion was prominent in the discourses of the participants in this study in relation to the use of EFL to facilitate intercultural encounters. I thus undertook an analysis of the participants' Emotion Talk. Drawing upon Bednarek (2008) I distinguish between *emotion talk*, in which emotion is denoted explicitly (for example, 'I was happy') and *emotional talk*, in which emotion is signalled through tone or paralinguistic communication (for example, smiling). Although Bednarek (2008) makes adaptations, her work is grounded theoretically in Martin and White's appraisal theory (2005, cited in White, 2015), itself grounded in the view of language held by Halliday and associates within systemic functional linguistic theory (White 2015). Both appraisal theory as it is outlined by Martin and White (2005) and Bednarek's (2008) adaptation to focus more directly upon emotion are concerned with how emotion is realized in discourse and to what effect. In my study, emotion is viewed as enacted dynamically within socially situated discourses, and this approach to analysis enabled me to explore the range of emotions my participants expressed regarding their use of EFL in intercultural encounters.

This analysis also enabled me to ensure that the emotions directly expressed by the participants in the interviews and the emotions I interpreted from their overall communication were systematically examined. For example, one participant's unambiguous *emotion talk* included the statement: 'I felt that I'm not good at speaking English ... I hated that kind of feeling'. I examined the same participant's *emotional talk* throughout their discourse, which included frequent statements such as: 'I have no idea what I have to say when I have a conversation with them' and 'I really couldn't express what I want to say', delivered in tones of strong frustration. This enabled me to have confidence in asserting that the participant's emotion of frustration was relatively stable rather than fleeting or attached to a singular memory being recounted.

4.6.2.4 Attribution

The varied processes of analysis used in this study make visible the individual subjectivities reflected within my participants' interview discourse, and the interplay between these subjectivities and social forces. This approach transcends purely phenomenological perspectives by acknowledging the impact of social, political and historical contexts on the participants' processes of identification and sense making.

In my analysis I also seek to make visible how my participants attribute causality to various phenomena, ranging from their own levels of achievement of English proficiency to the behaviour of others in intercultural encounters. In particular, I examine whether they attribute causality to 'internal' or agentive reasons (based on personality or character) or 'external' (situational, structural) factors. I follow Finlay and Faulkner (2003) in taking a discursive approach to my analysis of attribution. This recognizes the situated and rhetorical functions that particular attributions may achieve in the intersubjective context of the interview talk. Potter notes that: "A person may construct a version of their feelings, or settings they are in, or the history of that setting, to perform some business" (2004, p. 7). For example, I demonstrate how my participants mirror neoliberal thinking in attributing their successes and failures as EFL speakers to their own behaviours and attitudes, and in the process obscure the socioeconomic inequalities that impact access to language education on the peninsula. I also make visible how participants revert to a reliance on essentialist or block conceptions of culture when explaining awkward or uncomfortable features of intercultural encounters.

In this chapter, I have discussed the approach and research design, and also detailed my processes of data collection through in-depth interviews. I have also introduced the multiple analyses I used to more closely explore particular aspects of my data. In the next chapter, I introduce and profile the eight participants in this study, providing relevant background information.

Chapter 5: Participant Profiles

This chapter provides individual profiles of the eight participants in this study, recruited as outlined in Chapter 4.3. In each profile I establish the participant's gender, approximate age, educational background and occupation at the time of the interviews. I also provide further information that is relevant to each specific participant's personal trajectory of EFL learning and intercultural experience. This varies widely between individuals, but includes information regarding family roles, religious or socio-political beliefs, socioeconomic circumstances, hobbies and future ambitions. Finally, for each participant I provide information regarding the environments in which they were interviewed.

N.B. To protect the privacy of the participants in this study, all names used in this chapter and throughout the thesis are pseudonyms.

5.1 Jae Kwan

Jae Kwan was a young man from a regional city, in his early twenties at the time of the interviews and a recent graduate from a national university where he had majored in English language education, an unusual step for a graduate of a science specialist high school. His early English language learning and intercultural experiences were typical of his generation. He had attended after school classes at a private academy or *hagwon* with foreign native speaker teachers from elementary school age and been exposed to western pop culture products (music, film & novels) in both the original language and in translation. As a middle school student he had the opportunity to visit relatives in New Zealand for two months and attend language classes with his family members at a local institute there. He had continued studying English at after school academies until commencing university.

However, Jae Kwan's most salient experiences interacting with foreigners and as a developing EFL speaker came during his two years of mandatory military service as a

Korean Augmentation to the United States Army or 'KATUSA'. This meant that for two years he had served in Korea, but was stationed at an American army base, working in an office where he was the only Korean. His military service commenced after he completed his first year at university, and he credits this experience with prompting his transition from a shy freshman lacking in confidence to an articulate student leader and public speaker. Although during the interviews we discussed his travel abroad as a school boy and interactions with international students after returning to university, his experience in the military dominated the conversation. The self-assurance he had gained during his military service had enabled him to seek out roles as a leader of student clubs and become an active contributor in EFL medium classes upon his return to university.

At the time of the interviews Jae Kwan was working part-time assisting a former professor and contemplating postgraduate study. Jae Kwan had a keen interest in international politics, following elections in both Korea and the U.S. closely. He expressed a desire to study abroad and felt this was essential to further develop his proficiency in English. While still at the formative stages, his ambitions for the future clearly extended beyond the career teaching middle or high school students on the peninsula that his undergraduate studies had qualified him for. For convenience, our interviews took place in quiet corners of the cafes and restaurants located on the fringes of the campus where Jae Kwan was working.

5.2 Mina

Mina was a female participant who was aged between 45 and 50. She was born and raised in Seoul, where she had completed both her undergraduate degree and graduate studies in English literature. After her marriage she had moved to live in a regional city of South Korea, her husband's hometown. She stated that she felt affection for her adopted city, but also that she found the local community relatively parochial compared with people in the capital.

As a child, Mina had commenced her English language studies at a time when access to foreign teachers was rare on the peninsula. However, due to success in an English language competition as a young girl she was provided with some private lessons from a foreign university professor. This experience was her first memory of interacting with a non-Korean person, and she remembers it positively, describing her teacher as kind and fatherly. She also studied with foreign teachers when she attended university as a student of English literature, and during this time her primary interest was in improving her English. She speaks positively about learning with the foreign professors, but does not recall any particular connection with or curiosity about them, seeing them simply as people like all others. The majority of Mina's intercultural contact had taken place in her adult years, when as the wife of a successful doctor, she had the opportunity to travel extensively for leisure throughout Europe and Asia. She spent over 6 years in the United States, at first accompanying her husband on a professional exchange and later pursuing a PhD. Mina's father, father in law and husband were all university professors (her husband in medicine), and a network of her relatives were also engaged in academia. She returned with her daughter (an only child) to Korea without finalizing her doctoral studies, primarily to reunite her family and support her husband, who had returned to Korea alone to pursue his career and provide them with financial support while abroad.

After returning from the US, Mina had devoted some of her personal time to volunteering with a Catholic Church based support service for migrant wives, typically women from poorer countries such as Vietnam and the Philippines who had entered into arranged marriages with Korean men from rural areas. She expressed a longing to speak English more often, and to find more opportunities to interact more frequently and meaningfully with foreigners living and working in Korea, potentially through yoga classes, research or similar activities. At the time of the interviews she was teaching in the Languages and Literature department of a national university, and her daughter was attending a prestigious university in Seoul, taking a program taught in English alongside international classmates. At Mina's suggestion, we met for interviews in cafes in the busy downtown area of the city, which was popular with international residents.

5.3 Chul Suk

Chul Suk was a young man who was 20 years old at the time of the interviews. He had lived in the regional city where the interviews took place for several years, since his family had relocated from another regional area. He was about to graduate from his undergraduate studies in English language education at a national university and was a former classmate of Jae Kwan (5.1). Like all South Koreans his age, he had studied EFL at school as part of the national curriculum. However, his opportunities to develop competence in English had come in large part from his extracurricular activities and interaction with non-Koreans.

Chul Suk was from a family of Jehovah's Witnesses, and had frequent contact with visiting international members of his religious community, with whom he used English. As part of his religious duties he had also been preaching in English as well as Korean for several years to the migrant worker community in his region, largely comprised of Vietnamese, Nepali, Bangladeshi and Pakistani nationals employed to work in factories and as manual laborers. His intercultural contact had come primarily through church group activities, though he had enjoyed some limited contact with a group of American students external to his religion during a summer school at university. A five-day trip abroad accompanying a church colleague to the Philippines was also a positive and memorable experience for him, but he felt his experience there was superficial due to its brevity. Among the wide range of people he interacted with through his religion, he had developed meaningful friendships with a Vietnamese man who spoke English very well, and an American man who shared his passion for composing music.

Although Chul Suk had earned an education degree, he was not planning to sit for the upcoming highly competitive national teacher's exam which would provide him with a position teaching in a middle or high school. This was because at the time of the interviews Chul Suk was facing a potential prison sentence due to his refusal to carry a weapon and undertake the two years of military service compulsory for all South Korean males. The criminal record that would ensue from the sentence would also preclude him

obtaining a full time teaching position at any time in the future, and so his career path remained uncertain. Chul Suk hoped to travel and study abroad if given the opportunity in the future, but due to the uncertainty of his immediate future these plans were necessarily vague. I met Chul Suk for interviews in cafes on the campus where he had studied and also in the suburb where he lived.

5.4 Eun Kyoung

Eun Kyoung was a woman aged between 40 and 45 when the interviews occurred. A Seoul native, Eun Kyoung had relocated to the regional city where we met for interviews due to her husband's position at a university there, and described herself as a housewife. Although they did not know each other, Eun Kyoung shared Mina's view that the regional areas of South Korea were somewhat disadvantaged in relation to education and cultural pursuits compared to the capital, and was not entirely happy in her new city. Although she had been a good student of English at school and university, Eun Kyoung felt this learning had been primarily text based. She notes that when she was a student it was still rare to see a foreigner on the street in Korea. As a result, she did not develop proficiency in oral communication in EFL until she moved to the US for a period of eight years, accompanying her husband as he pursued doctoral studies.

While Eun Kyoung was a comfortably middle class woman who had travelled more widely as a tourist, it was her time living in the US that dominated our conversation and she drew most heavily upon experiences and memories from her time there throughout the interviews. She had moved to the US a few months after having her first child, a girl, and gave birth to a second daughter while living abroad. Upon arriving she found she was socially isolated due to language barriers, and this motivated her to quickly take up opportunities to attend English classes, where she was able to develop lasting friendships with other international mothers from countries including Japan and Poland. Although she had maintained Korean customs at home, Eun Kyoung had not been keen to connect with the Korean community abroad. She felt the Korean American community

was insular and overly judgmental, and as she was not religious was further discouraged by the fact that social gatherings focused around church meetings.

While Eun Kyoung described having a busy job in Seoul prior to the arrival of her first child, since that time she had not worked outside the home. Her role and experiences as a mother and wife were therefore prominent in our interviews. At that time, Eun Kyoung's two daughters were both studying for degrees at a university in the US, and she continued to travel back and forth to visit her daughters. She felt it was possible that her daughters would marry non-Koreans, and said that both she and her husband felt comfortable with this idea. I met Eun Kyoung for our interviews in cafes that she suggested and liked in different areas of the city where she lived.

5.5 Jiyoung

At the time of our interviews, Jiyoung was a 30-year-old woman, and the coordinator of an international centre in the regional city where she had grown up. The centre was a privately funded organisation which aimed to establish opportunities for cooperation between Korean and foreign residents. She had worked there for over five years, since graduating with a degree in English language and literature from a regional university and completing an internship there.

She regularly used English as well as Korean in her working life to communicate with foreign volunteers, but described high levels of anxiety in relation to her English proficiency and frustration at being unable to engage on an equal footing in workplace conversations mediated by English. Nonetheless, after a period of feeling socially distant from the foreign community members in her early years with the centre, she had developed meaningful friendships with a small group of individuals, both men and women, from Canada, the United States and New Zealand, using English as the shared language of communication. After graduating Jiyoung had also had the opportunity to travel, visiting Laos several times, spending six months volunteering in Cambodia (teaching Korean language at a university in Phnom Penh) and being funded through her workplace to attend conferences in the United States and Japan. Jiyoung was deeply

committed to her work with the centre, and to pursuing a career focused on social justice and human rights.

Jiyoung's first encounter with a foreign teacher of English (and first real interaction with a foreigner) did not occur until she was at university, indicating that she did not attend expensive after school classes with 'native speakers' during her middle or high school years. Given her age, this indicated that Jiyoung was not from an economically privileged family. She also freely disclosed that her position at the centre was, despite being rewarding, very poorly paid. At the time of the interview, Jiyoung had been unsuccessful in applying for a graduate program scholarship at a university in Costa Rica, and was undecided as to when she might pursue further study options. For her convenience, I met Jiyoung at the centre where she worked, and from there walked to local cafes to conduct interviews.

5.6 Hyeran

Hyeran was a woman in her early fifties, and a part-time teacher of English language, literature and poetry in the same department of a regional national university as Mina (5.2). She held a PhD in English literature from the university where she now taught, and was an active and well known member of a number of academic and professional organizations. Hyeran's generation were university students during the time of the pro-democracy movement that overthrew South Korea's military dictatorship. She had a keen awareness of social justice issues, participating in strikes and protests against inequities in the university employment protest and expressing anger at the patriarchal attitudes that lead to preferential hiring of male professors.

Having grown up in regional South Korea during the era of post war economic reconstruction, Hyeran had studied English primarily through reading and grammar, and was not exposed to opportunities to listen to the language during her school years. Her first encounter with a native speaker did not occur until she moved to Seoul as a young woman to attend university. In the decades that followed, Hyeran had increasing opportunities to interact interculturally, working with groups of young foreign teachers

employed at university language centers, travelling internationally (including to Hawaii for a year-long sabbatical) and collaborating with foreign academic colleagues on research papers.

Hyeran described herself as socially awkward, but enjoyed deep friendships with a small number of foreign women with whom she shares scholarly and personal interests. Deeply spiritual and a poet, she had produced several self-published volumes, including some in English. She was married to a university professor working in another discipline, and a mother to two adult children. We met for interviews in cafes and restaurants on the edge of the campus where she was employed, including one coffee shop where she was a regular and which she used as a workspace in preference to her faculty office.

5.7 Hee-jung

Hee-jung was a woman in her early forties, and the only participant in my study who was born and raised overseas, in Argentina. Hee-jung did not arrive in Korea until after her high school graduation, when she took up an opportunity to travel and visit relatives. Her motivation for visiting the peninsula was largely to gain greater independence from her Korean immigrant parents, and not to engage with any personal curiosity about being Korean. However, she experienced a powerful sensation of belonging upon her arrival, and this led to a significant reorientation of her personal identity. Hee-jung has remained resident as a Korean returnee since that time, despite periods of tension and disillusionment with Korean society. She has worked to improve her Korean language skills, attending college, working, and marrying a Korean man with whom she only speaks Korean. At the time of the interviews, she was raising her two children on the peninsula.

As a child of Korean immigrant parents in Argentina, Hee-jung spoke Korean at home as a young girl, but found that Spanish took over as her dominant language during her school years. During this period Hee-jung actively identified as an Argentinian, and intentionally distanced herself from the local Korean community, who she viewed as less

civilised than the Argentinian people. Life in Korean society had therefore been in many ways an intercultural experience for her. English (in which she is highly proficient) is her third language. She used English while living in the US for a year with her husband and children due to his work, and also spoke English in Korea when interacting with members of the international community in her city.

Hee-jung worked professionally for several years in both Korean and international environments in Seoul after graduation, but following a move to a regional area for her husband's career she concentrated on her role as a mother and wife. Our interviews took place in cafes she suggested near her home.

5.8 Aeran

Aeran was a woman in her late thirties, and held dual roles as an elementary school teacher of EFL and an expert teaching methods trainer for other teachers via the Ministry of Education. She was born and raised in the regional city where our interviews took place. She had undertaken her undergraduate studies and passed the teachers' examination in Korea before accepting a position in a public school. Unhappy with the working conditions and opportunities, she began to study English at the local university language centre in the evenings, and eventually applied to undertake graduate studies in TESOL in the United States. She returned with a Master degree after 18 months abroad and resumed work in the elementary school system, where among other duties she worked closely with foreigners employed through the English Program in Korea (EPIK).

Despite giving an impression of extroversion to me as an interviewer, Aeran described herself as reserved with strangers and anxious when abroad or in new environments. During her time in the US she chose to be surrounded by a community of Koreans, and found this both restricting and reassuring. She participated regularly in professional meetings and events attended by both Korean and foreign teachers, and enjoyed a number of friendships and acquaintanceships with foreigners living and working in Korea. In her professional role, she had also facilitated a number of

educational cultural exchanges for students that had seen her travel between Korea and Taiwan on multiple occasions.

Aeran self-identified as unusual for a woman in Korean society, due largely to her choice to remain unmarried, her lack of desire to become a mother and her independence from her family (she lived alone in an apartment she saved for and owned). Our first interview took place in a café located on a university campus, with Aeran inviting me to her home for subsequent interviews.

In this chapter I have introduced the eight individuals who participated in this study, sharing their experiences and perspectives through a series of in-depth interviews. In the next chapter I turn to analysis and findings in relation to the major theme of identity and identification in their discourses on intercultural experience.

Chapter 6: Identity

Dervin and Risager (2014) see identity as a pivotal concept of our time. In this chapter, I explore the cultural identity and *identifications* that are prominent in my participants' discourses. While culture and nation are not synonymous (see Chapter 2), cultural and national identity were framed as equivalents by the participants in this study, and for this reason the two terms are often used interchangeably within this chapter.

I begin with a brief discussion of the contested categories of national and cultural identity. In this discussion, I note the intersubjective nature of the research interviews, in which my role as a foreign interlocutor may have prompted an emphasis on particular identifications at the expense of others among my participants. I then illustrate how multiple strategies of analysis (discussed in Chapter 4) were used to make visible the identifications enacted in my participants' interview discourse, and how researcher – participant intersubjectivity and interactional context were accounted for in this process. I provide detailed examples of how I applied these strategies to the interview data, making my processes of analysis highly transparent to the reader. In sections 6.3 and 6.4 I demonstrate that rather than understanding their own personal cultural identity in a static or essentialist manner, these participants instead interpret their cultural identity dynamically. While 'being Korean' is a prominent feature in all of the interviews, participants shift between identifying with and distancing themselves from this identity at different points in the discourse. Each individual negotiates what 'being Korean' means for them in highly personal ways. Although complex, their cultural identifications are internally consistent and traceable through patterns in their discourse. The analysis also shows that for these individuals, intercultural experiences and the development of intercultural perspectives are not necessarily a catalyst for the development of hybrid or international cultural identities. Rather, intercultural experiences are seen to prompt a heightened awareness of one's cultural identity, and a more conscious and critical re-interpretation of what being a Korean means in the context of their own life.

6.1 Cultural Identity and Identification

As discussed in Chapter 2, identity is understood here as a dynamic construct. The ongoing process of *identification* with what may be relatively stable, newly emerging or fleeting aspects of the self is a continual mediation between an individual's agentic behaviour and the influence of social or contextual features of their experience such as nation, social class or gender. As Hall notes, a discursive approach sees identification as “a process never completed – always ‘in process’... it can always be ‘won’ or ‘lost’, sustained or abandoned” (1996, p. 2). Acts of identification within specific and situated discourses thus provide insight into how identities are constructed in interaction.

Although the presence of national identity is acknowledged by models of intercultural competence and development, these tend to position the nationally defined self within a broader ongoing dialectic process. Ethno-national identifications are seen as one of a multiplicity of group memberships, identifications or subjectivities that an individual may hold, all of which are inherently mutable, negotiable and dynamic. However, nationally defined cultural identity categories, e.g. ‘Korean’ or ‘American’ were frequently used by the participants in this study, and ascribed to both self and others in their sense-making processes. ‘Korea’, ‘Korean’ and ‘Koreans’ were the most frequently used words at or above 5 letters by the participants. This is not altogether surprising, considering that the protection and promotion of a national sense of identity has been a state sponsored project in postcolonial South Korea (see Chapter 3). The preservation of a unique Korean identity features prominently in discourses around internationalisation and globalisation on the peninsula. Thus, while the concept of national identity has been thoroughly deconstructed in academia, characterized by Anderson as an ‘imagined community’ (2006) and widely challenged in the field of applied linguistics, this has not reduced its significance for my participants.

6.2 Overview of Processes of Analysis

Initial theme coding of the participants' interview data highlighted the prominence of particular themes in talk related to identity across the full group of eight participants, rather than individual cases. However, theme analysis was not able to make readily visible exactly *how* the participants referenced aspects of their identity. For example, in relation to national identifications, theme analysis did not offer a means to easily distinguish between talk about things that are 'typically Korean' with which the speaker personally identifies, and talk in which the speaker identifies as something other than a 'typical Korean'. The theme analysis was also unable to trace shifts and identify patterns or apparent contradictions within an individual's processes of identification across their interviews.

A subset of four participants were selected for further analysis on an individual basis across each of their multiple interviews. Profiling individual participants using the more time-consuming and close processes of MCA and deictic analysis (see Chapter 4) provided insights into personal identities that would have been lost if applied only across the segmented data coded under the themes around identity for all participants. These types of analyses are also more meaningful when applied to individual texts as this enables findings to be considered in relation to their location within those texts (turn orientations and sequences). Profiling individuals also enables the intersubjective features of the interview events to be more readily taken into account. Dervin (2013) echoes Anderson (2006) in phrasing national identifications drawn upon in the intersubjective space between a researcher and participant as 'imagined' rather than 'truths'. Acknowledgement of the intersubjective nature of my interview data reflects perspectives across the research literature discussed in detail in Chapter 4, for example Ellis & Berger (2003) who emphasize the relational aspects of interviewing, Block (2000) who views interview data as presentational, and Talmy (2010) who positions interview discourse as social action. Analysis of individual cases allowed deeper exploration of the themes identified in early passes over the data within the holistic frame of individual narratives, and illustrated the dynamic and shifting nature of cultural identification at an individual

level. The four participants chosen as focal cases for this chapter demonstrated shifts and patterns in cultural identification that are evident across the wider group.

In the following sections, I illustrate in detail how these analyses were used to explore identity and identification on samples of my interview data, and how they combined to make visible ideologies of cultural identity that were enacted in my participants' discourses.

6.2.1 Theme Analysis for Identity

Initial broad brush passes over the interview transcripts identified sections of the data where identity was either an explicit topic, or implicitly focal. These were readily identifiable, as illustrated below. In this example, Chul Suk, a young man whose membership of the Jehovah's Witness religious group had involved him heavily with an international church community (and in preaching to migrant workers from developing nations employed in factories in Korea) responds to a direct question about his sense of self.

Researcher: How do you define your ... identity?

Chul Suk: hmm... well obviously I have to say Korean. I think I'm a Korean 20... Korean young boy, young man, in his twenties

R: How old are you?

CS: I'm 22, in Korean age so I'm 20 in international age

R: You said 'I have to' say Korean

CS: You know it's actually due I think I'm affected somehow by a lot of contact... but I just... if I'm going to be a part of another society that means I have to build up the tacit knowledge of the society from this point on... which is a demanding task. Whereas you realize you have done it in your own culture... so ... I think sometimes I feel confused with... what my real identity might be... but I think I'm close to... Korean culture most...

Locating more implicit discussions of identity in the participants' discourses required a greater degree of interpretation on my part. For example, in the extract below, I made the judgement that Chul Suk's response to a question about adapting his behaviour when interacting with foreigners (and an additional follow up question from me) had moved the conversation beyond simply behaviour. I decided the conversation had moved to a focus on the different identifications he perceived to be more pronounced depending on his interlocutor.

CS: I ... I occasionally do, yeah... cause that makes me feel more in a group, makes me feel more familiar with them and I kind of I cannot belong to that group... but when I speak with foreigners, I speak with Koreans I get sometimes totally different, so it's like having two masks ...

R: Yeah... And... hmm two masks, but are you the same person?

CS: hmm... uh yeah. You can say... ... people have I think all people have masks... cause you cannot just open your mind to anyone in this society, so sometimes you have to disguise... but different masks have they can have different degrees of disguising yourself, so how much you hide yourself...

Extracts pertaining to being Korean and a national sense of identity, and extracts focused on changes in personal identity were initially coded separately. However, these two categories naturally intersected and this meant that some passages were coded as both. An example of this is provided below, where Chul Suk responds to a question about how he sees himself in comparison to his Korean peers with less intercultural experience. This response came shortly after he had commented that people in his region do not travel abroad often. In the extract, he reflects positively on his own personal growth, but in doing so he also comments on the relatively confined perspectives of the less experienced Korean peers he has previously mentioned.

CS: Uhh... it feels good, cause it means that you are you can absorb more things, you can be open to more things that can be beneficial to you and you're not just a confined person or a restricted person but you can obviously take good things from other culture and share good things from your culture as well, so I think it has brought me a lot of advantage to me...

The data gathered under the two major parent codes of ‘changing/developing identity’ and ‘Korean identity’ was then subjected to a finer grained process of coding using emergent themes. The outcomes of this theme analysis undertaken across the full group of participants are discussed in detail in section 6.3 of this chapter. In the next sections I discuss the analyses used on four focal participants’ data.

6.2.2 Membership Categorisation Analysis for Identity

I used MCA (see Chapter 4) to capture four focal participants’ explicit identifications with particular categories of membership throughout their discourses. For example, both ‘Korean’ and ‘Mother’ are categories in the statement ‘as a *Korean mother* I...’. In addition to such explicit identifications, I identify category resonant descriptions or activities that may be more implicit in the memberships they implicate (for example; a category resonant description for the category of ‘Mother’ is ‘we *talk a lot about our children*’). In this way, MCA was used to build a picture that provides insights into the four participants’ identifications and sense of self across their interviews. As insights into how participants’ categorise others are also provided by MCA, inferences about the speaker’s level of identification with those others can be made where these are comparative, positive or negative. For example, a male participant, Jae Kwan, who had completed his compulsory military service attached to the American military explicitly categorises ‘the *American soldiers*’ and initially uses category resonant descriptions that reinforce a militaristic identity for them ‘they *have to be ordered* and they *have to obey*’. However, as he reflects at length upon his experience with them he uses category resonant descriptions to construct a concurrent counter identity for them as less hierarchical than their Korean counterparts ‘they just are *like a friend*’ ‘they *speak very comfortably to their higher ranked soldiers*’ ‘they *freely yeah, talk about that*’. Across multiple turns Jae Kwan builds a consistently positive categorisation of his American counterparts as ‘not hierarchical’ that provides a contrast with his critique of the steeply hierarchical Korean military culture.

In this way, MCA brings to the fore both explicit self-orientations, and more implicit manifestations of identity as speakers reflect on their intercultural experiences.

It provides a systematic approach to the question of how participants conceptualize their personal and national identities, and enables insight into how the participants construct the identities of others, often in opposition or contrast to self. MCA enables a closer exploration of how participants express those identities, highlighting what can be seen in the data itself, without imposing categories on their discourses derived from the research questions or particular theories and frameworks (Stokoe, 2012). The coding key and extract below provide a fuller example of how I used MCA to identify aspects of identification, both self-oriented and ascribed to others, in my participants' discourse.

Coding Key	
MC	Membership Categorisation – Self
MC_O	Membership Categorisation – Other
CRD	Category Resonant Description – Self
CRD_O	Category Resonant Description – Other

Example of MCA Coded Interview Data

Mina: “What I mean the *role of teacher* (MC), as *the one ... who has more experience* (CRD), so that’s my ... *not the kind of superior person* (CRD), but because *I’m older* (CRD)... *I have different experiences* (CRD) than my students, so *as a person with more experience* (CRD)... or *more diverse teacher* (CRD/MC). And from *different perspective* (CRD), because one thing I feel about [city name/people of that city] (MC_O) *they don’t have much experience about outside of their community* (CRD_O), they tend to be *a little bit parochial* (CRD_O)?”

In this extract, Mina, who is a teacher of English literature and culture at a national university located in a regional city, explicitly self-orient to the membership category of ‘teacher’. However, when elaborating on her understanding of her role relationship with

her students and her fellow teachers, she uses category resonant descriptions to build an additional self-identification as a person experienced in the world, and whose experiences through extended sojourn abroad to pursue PhD studies have given her the benefit of a relatively worldly perspective. This leads into a description of people from the region in general (categorised explicitly as such). Category resonant descriptions position them in comparison as lacking in sophistication or ‘parochial’.

Importantly, as per Stokoe’s guiding principles for MCA (Stokoe, 2012; Stokoe & Attenborough, 2014) categorical instances are not considered solely within isolated extracts as presented above, but located within an interaction, text or a set of turns. Categorisations are analysed for their action orientation, and across multiple instances examined for patterns of orientation or resistance.

6.2.3 Deictic Analysis for Identity

In this chapter, I also use deictic analysis to reveal the dynamic nature of identification among my four focal participants. Deictic analysis makes visible how shifts occur in a speaker’s relationship to a particular membership category across their discourse. References that are inclusive (*we, us*) indicate an identification with a group or individual other that is absent from self-exclusive references (*they, them*). In particular, I used deictic analysis to examine shifts and slides in this form of identification in the participants’ discourse that could be linked to particular topics of conversation, experiences or themes. For example, in the extract below Jae Kwan moves from a rare use of a self-inclusive *we* to reference the group of military servicemen and women he belonged to and the social events they shared. He shifts back to a self-exclusive *they* more typical of his overall discourse as he explains that the Korean custom of sharing food from a communal dish was considered strange by some of the American soldiers.

Jae Kwan: “Yeah when *we* had some kind of party like pot-luck party or any kind of event like thanksgiving day, on thanksgiving day or independence day that kind of day, *they* always had a some party, have a dinner with everyone... but it's just like a buffet, yeah, they have their own dish and yeah... and... ... yeah and that is because, why many, why some

American soldiers thought strangely about that food culture when I get *them*, when I invite *them* to my home and, or, even when *they* see some *Korean people* around *them* cause there were, actually there were a lot of *Koreans* in the base also so *they* can see, *they* could observe many *Korean people* share...

Deictic analysis provides a window on the dynamic nature of identification among the participants, and how various identifications are impacted by the topic and context of discourse and interaction. While shifts in deictic positioning may occur as occasional or isolated instances, consistent patterns that emerge across individuals' interviews provide insight to the factors that influence or cause them to emphasize particular identifications in certain contexts.

6.2.4 Intersubjectivity & Interactional Context

Neither MCA nor deictic analysis captures the full complexity or intersubjective nature of the interactional context. However, where identities and identifications are concerned the perceived role relationship of the interviewer in relation to the participants must be taken into account. These factors may promote feelings of distance (from the interviewer as a western foreigner, a female, a younger or older person), or alternatively identifications (with the interviewer as women, as teachers, as academic researchers, as individuals with international perspectives/experience). It is important to approach these aspects of the interview context holistically. For example, when Mina says "at that time we didn't have much opportunities or chances to see foreigners in Korea" she is not only sharing her personal life, but providing a socio-historic explanation to a foreign interlocutor for whom this was not a shared experience, that is, she takes on the role of explainer or cultural informant which demonstrates consciousness of the interviewer's identity as foreign 'other'.

The extract below was used earlier in this chapter to exemplify MCA coding and is reproduced here within the longer sequence in which it occurred. The extract is from my first interview with Mina, when she had been building a life history in relation to intercultural contact and learning as well as the use of English as a foreign language. The

preceding turns between myself (also at the time of the interview a fellow university teacher of language teaching methodology, language and culture who had lived abroad for an extended period) and Mina had diverted from a conventional interviewer – interviewee interaction to a mutual sharing of how we both employed strategies using our personal identities or experiences within the classroom to foster cultural awareness among our students. I had explicitly tested my understanding of Mina’s explanation of this in prior turns.

Researcher: “So do you mean, I think I understand but I want to double check that I understand well, you're using the American culture to help the students to reflect on Korean society and their perspective as Koreans?”

Mina: “Yes, yes, because those two totally different cultures and societies but sometimes by talking about the different things *they* can... uh mirror themselves in a backward way, so that's one way to learn about *our own* culture”

This clarification request, made via a rephrasing of the participant’s explanation, was closely followed by an exchange in which the researcher made an evaluative and affirming statement about the participant’s classroom approach, which in turn served to prompt the extract used in the earlier example of MCA analysis.

R: “I think that's really important and ... I agree they need a Korean perspective or mentor, a role model, somebody who has, understands their perspective as a Korean but can have, can teach them from both perspectives, I think that's very important”

M: “What I mean the *role of teacher* (MC), as *the one ... who has more experience* (CRD), so that’s my ... *not the kind of superior person* (CRD), but because *I’m older* (CRD)... *I have different experiences* (CRD) than my students, so *as a person with more experience* (CRD)... or *more diverse teacher* (CRD/MC). And from *different perspective* (CRD), because one thing I feel about [city name/people of that city] (MC_O) *they don’t have much experience about outside of their community* (CRD_O), they tend to be *a little bit parochial* (CRD_O)?”

R: Mmm parochial.

M: *Parochial* (CRD_O)... So in [Regional city] we have *a specific color, some local color* (CRD_O) here so ... *very unique in Korean society, or Korean history*

(CRD_O). So *I've been away from [Regional city] a long time, I stayed in Seoul for quite a while and in America* (CRD) so... I ... have ... sometimes *I have a very outsider perspective* (CRD) about [Regional City] - from Seoul or from America - so *that perspective helped me look* (CRD) at [Regional City] or our community from the *little bit different perspective* (CRD) but *with love and affection* (CRD), so, yeah.

R: So would you, would you see yourself as a role model or a mentor?

M: For my *students* (MC_O) *not role model*, but *maybe mentor... maybe mentor* (CRD), yeah.

Considering the extract within this longer and highly relevant sequence enables a more nuanced reading. The clarification move apparent in Mina's use of a cleft structure 'What I mean' can be viewed as resisting my use of the term 'role model', which I had ascribed to Mina in relation to her students. Mina then takes care to acknowledge her relative experience (positioning herself as a potential mentor) and reinforces this through the category resonant descriptions she provides. Mina concurrently resists any term she associates with superiority (not accepting the title of role model). Stepping back further to look across the participant's entire and successive interviews for this study, this distinction can be interpreted as significant, as it is echoed in explicit statements made throughout the interviews expressing gratitude for the opportunities she has enjoyed, and the stressing the importance of humility in her life. In this way, MCA is applied with cross-reference to a holistic understanding of the identity built by Mina across the interviews, and the social context in which they occurred.

This intersubjective and holistic perspective on the discourse is also important to interpreting the outcomes of deictic analysis. Mina's experience of both undergraduate and graduate level study at one of the top three universities in Seoul, and extensive sojourn as a PhD student in the United States are discussed at length in the interviews. These experiences of postgraduate studies and living abroad were common to both Mina and I, and in conversations prior to and between the interviews she has asked questions about my life and I had freely offered information about my own biography. In the regional area of South Korea where the interviews took place, Mina's experiences are

distinct markers of privilege and success that set the speaker apart from an average middle class life experience. Her reason for returning to this relatively unsophisticated regional city (where she had been raised), was due to her husband's successful career as a medical doctor and professor there, and was clearly a familial obligation. Her use of deixis in this extract is revealing. Her initial references to the people of the city are self-exclusive, and given her interlocutor is also an outsider who is well travelled she is able to express her opinion relatively freely:

M: "...*they* don't have much experience about outside of their community, *they* tend to be a little bit parochial?"

As she continues in this extended turn this shifts to a self-inclusive reference to *our* community, a reference made within a comment that her broader life experiences have enabled her to take a positive view of the city and region's less sophisticated character.

M: "that perspective helped me look at [Regional City] or *our* community from the little bit different perspective but with love and affection"

The preceding turns in this part of the interview and a holistic view of Mina's discourse across her interviews allow us to see Mina's occasional use of *our* and similarly inclusive references in context. She makes a clear distinction between her own perspectives and life experiences and those of the people in the region she lives in. However, she avoids explicitly positioning herself as superior to them, and is mindful of playing a constructive role within the life of a community she accepts is also hers.

In the following section, I discuss the outcomes of theme analysis across all of the interview data, before turning to closer individual analyses of each of the four focal participants for this chapter in turn.

6.3 Findings: Theme Analysis

Under the first parent category of ‘changing/developing identity’ prominent themes across all of the participants’ interview data were ‘becoming more confident’ and ‘broadened horizons’.

“I got much more confidence confronting with foreigners” (Jae Kwan)

“it opened the new world, totally new world, different world. And it made me have... wide sight” (Eun Kyoung)

All of the participants noted increases to varying degrees in their confidence to deal with foreigners abroad or at home (often linked to greater linguistic competence), and the new perspectives or understandings that had emerged for them as an outcome of their intercultural experience. A less dominant but common theme also related to identity was ‘subconscious changes in behaviour’, for example, participants’ greater use of physical gesture or ‘Western’ manners surrounding introductions and small talk that the participants’ friends and families had commented upon.

“compared with average Koreans I tend to use my facial muscles a lot or gesture a lot” (Mina)

“I heard some people talk about you know, my changes in the way that I act and the way I speak ... the things and the things I watch the things I listen to... the things I the activities I spend time on” (Chul Suk)

Within the category of change and development a theme of ‘discovering transnational group identities’ was also evident when participants found commonalities enabling them to form in-groups with people from other cultures (for example, being a mother of young children or being a member of the same religious group).

“the women from other countries I made friends with and they... we had, the common place because we are almost the same, the same age group with young children” (Eun Kyoung)

The second parent category of Korean identity encompassed the largest amount of data coded under any one theme. Within that, themes that emerged in successive passes over the data were 'Being different to other Koreans' and the more or less inverse theme of 'Being a typical Korean' which was frequently a general rather than personal reference. The theme 'Korean identity reinforced or stronger' was typically a reference to self and own experience.

"through meeting other people I can think about my own culture and my own language it's good experience... I yeah have more interest in our own culture"
(Jiyoung)

"if I'm going to be a part of another society that means I have to build up the tacit knowledge of the society from this point on... which is a demanding task. Whereas you realize you have done it in your own culture..." (Chul Suk)

Themes that were very prominent related to the relatively free social atmosphere participants perceived in other cultures and societies. These were 'experiencing liberation from Korean social norms' and the inverse partner of 'experiencing restrictions in Korean society'.

"In Korea that is not the case... if you are sad, if you are ordered, then even if you have very big dissatisfaction or inconvenient feeling, but we can't we couldn't talk about that, just we have to do it..." (Jae Kwan)

"well cause I'm a Korean, I know what Koreans think about people's opinions of them... umm it is uh... it is a feeling of unity in a positive sense... but it's a constant want... or constant feeling of duty for them to conform with other people, cause umm... being extraordinary or being, standing out, being you know outstanding or kind of outsider doesn't mean a good thing in this society" (Chul Suk)

The final theme in this group pertained to feeling a greater sense of identification with foreigners from other Asian countries than foreigners from more distant regions, or 'Being Asian'.

"because we are from Asian countries, we, it was easy for me to understand" (Eun Kyoung)

References like these were common and typically entailed descriptions of shared understandings based on another culture sharing common ground with Korean norms.

6.4 Findings: Focal Case Analyses

In this section, I discuss each of the four focal participants in turn. In each case I explore what MCA and deictic analysis revealed about how they conceptualize their sense of cultural identity and what impact their intercultural experiences appear to have made on this. Two of the four focal participants were male, and two female.

6.4.1 Jae Kwan

Jae Kwan was a male participant in his early twenties, and is profiled in chapter 5.1. A recent graduate, much of Jae Kwan's discourse focused on his two years of military service, during which time he was attached to the American forces stationed in South Korea.

“The military made me a totally different person”

National groupings are noticeably prominent in Jae Kwan's use of MCA to categorize others. Alongside occasional references to race or color, nationality is used consistently to define and categorize the various individuals he mentions while sharing his intercultural experiences.

“when I first met *the foreigner*” “they were all *Canadians*”

“all around there many *Koreans*. I went to church and there are many *Koreans*, more *Koreans*”

“*American soldiers*” “*Korean officers*” “the *westerners*”

“*soldiers* who are not a *typical American*, the *Mexican Americans* who usually spoke in Spanish and many *African American* or just *black people*”

or *Asian soldier who use English like Koreans*”

Across his discourse this compounds to create a sense of distance between Jae Kwan and his colleagues from other cultures, and a sense of clear distinction between Korean and ‘other’. During the interviews Jae Kwan shared that he had tried hard to pass himself off in the company of the American soldiers, emulating their social customs (for example paying individually in restaurants) and attempting to understand their culture. However, over time Jae Kwan became frustrated, as he continued to feel a sense of distance from the Americans he worked with, and failed in his efforts to fit in.

“actually I *really want to learn* and yeah *eager to learn* but still... yeah it was... actually I *couldn't behave exactly like them*”

“I felt *some uncomfortable feeling* and... yeah... *not totally ... be close with them*”

Jae Kwan’s use of deixis in his discourse reinforces a sense of separateness from the American soldiers. He consistently uses *they, their, them* throughout the interviews which compounds the process of ‘othering’ noticeable in his use of nationally defined membership categories. Across the interviews he uses almost no self-inclusive references to groupings with the American soldiers or other *foreigners*, and explicitly refers to the difficulty he experienced creating a deeper bond with his American colleagues.

“but still I felt that *we uh I and the American soldier couldn't be the more close friend like the Koreans*”

Importantly, this clear sense of distance is not accompanied by a negative view of the American soldiers he worked with, or ‘Western’ culture in general. On the contrary, Jae Kwan freely offers that his exposure to the culture of the American military and his informal social encounters with American soldiers have provided him with a broader and more critical view of his own society. He admires the less hierarchical nature of American military culture, and the friendly and informal social relationships that exist across ranks despite the presence of military discipline (exemplified above in section 6.2.2 of this

chapter). Jae Kwan also discusses at length his preference for high ranking persons, military or otherwise, to lead by example and demonstrate a good work ethic for their subordinates. He perceives this to be a feature of Western leadership that contrasts markedly with Korean norms, and uses category resonant description as exemplified in the extract below to build a pronounced contrast between the two approaches to bearing a position of responsibility.

“the one thing that I think is *very ideal* about the *American soldier*, the *American military* was something similar to that because *when they are promoted*, maybe private to corporal and corporal to sergeant *they ... have more and more responsibility* and *they have to do more work* and *they have to be the role model for the lower ranking soldiers*

A deictic shift is also perceptible in this area of discourse. Jae Kwan discussed how following his own promotion in the military he tried to emulate the American style of leading by example and continuing to work hard alongside his lower ranking officers. When referring to the norms he perceived in Korean society in relation to this he makes distinctly self-exclusive references to Korean people.

“many *Korean people* who are promoted and who get a higher status *they* don't want to work hard, maybe sometimes *they* just order and yeah, that kind of thing”

Jae Kwan also shares a critical perspective of the Korean political arena, comparing it unfavourably to the American system and norms.

“*Korea politicians* don't usually like to discuss... and I think that is because really *someone* don't have knowledge [laughs] and really *someone* or... don't have some skills to discuss, but compared to *Korean politicians* the images that I have about *the American* is *they really like to discuss* and *really like to speak about something*, so that they can, *they can affect people* and *they can fascinate the people*”

He acknowledges that his intercultural experience during military service has been a catalyst for his critical evaluation of these aspects of his own culture, and his alternative identification with American norms.

“...that kind of difference made me think of the *Korean* one that, is it *really good*? Or is it *bad*?”

“...if I if I didn't see what the *American soldiers* do, did, then maybe of course I have some uncomfortable feelings still, but maybe I don't notice that fact like now”

Jae Kwan also took on the role of cultural representative with his American military colleagues, inviting them to his home, guiding them on weekend trips in Korea and explaining Korean customs to those who were interested in learning. He expressed a desire to share aspects of his culture with the American soldiers and took pleasure in seeing them enjoy Korean food or experiences.

MCA and deictic analysis of Jae Kwan's identifications across his discourse indicate that he makes a clear distinction between 'being Korean' and the 'other', with the 'other' typically defined along national boundary lines. This is perhaps accentuated in Jae Kwan's discourse due to the prominent nationalism of the military service in both South Korea and the US, and his two year immersion in a military context. Nonetheless, Jae Kwan is not uncritical of Korean society, and makes clear identifications with aspects of other cultures he perceives as superior. In this way, the cultural identity he expresses in his interviews reconciles the adoption of foreign ways of being and doing in areas where he judges that they represent an improvement on the Korean norm with a strong sense of 'being Korean'.

6.4.2 Mina

Mina was a female participant over the age of 45, profiled in chapter 5.2. An academic, wife and mother, much of her discourse focused on the more than six years she had spent residing in the US. Application of MCA to Mina's data made evident that being a Korean, or a Korean member of another category, with nationality positioned as an premodifying adjective was a frequent and explicit self-orientation (“*as a Korean*” “*for a Korean woman*” “*a Korean teacher*” “*as a Korean woman and wife*”). Yet category resonant descriptions and category bound activities (underlined) within those discourses

built a consistent picture of tension with or conscious distance from the norms associated with that membership, and in doing so concurrently established an identity category of *being different* or *not being typical*, as evident in the extracts below:

“I’ve been away a long time”

“even for a Korean woman I do not like those... I think it’s my tendency or my character I do not like those authoritative attitude”

“it was not a very common way of living as a Korean woman and wife”

The membership category of ‘*Korean*’ for Mina is thus one that she acknowledges but concurrently resists and distances herself from. Mina’s discourse reveals a negative categorisation of the Korean community abroad, and an active resistance to being viewed as ‘typical’.

“...usually Korean students tended to hang out with other Korean students but that’s the thing that I did not like”

“...especially my situation was unique... I didn’t want to be the target of gossip, or some... you know I didn’t want... because in Korean society it is very conservative”

Mina presents herself, in contrast, as outgoing and willing to meet and connect with people from all backgrounds during her time abroad and at home in Korea. One anecdote that she shares relates to a connection she made at her university in the United States with an African American teacher who was a recently divorced single mother. Mina acknowledges that she may have held racial prejudices she was not aware of at the outset of the relationship, but that she greatly admired this woman’s way of teaching and had her eyes opened through conversation with her about her life. In Korea, she volunteers among the community of migrant wives from Vietnam and the Philippines who have come into arranged marriages with rural Korean males and sought help acculturating and navigating their new lives through church and community groups. MCA on these and other sections of Mina’s discourse as per the examples below establish a firm distinction

between her own willingness to embrace diversity and the conservatism of Korean society in general.

“I think it's my character or personality... *I ... love getting to know people, I love to hanging out people a lot so ... even though it was my first day in our, my daughter's school and even though my first PTA I didn't feel any uneasiness... maybe, maybe I wasn't that keen to what people think, but I feel comfortable talking to new people*”

“Umm... yes, I think it is closely related with my personality... um... yes *I love people, so I'm happy, very happy to be with people, so, and I'm very open to new things, new culture, new people, so it wasn't a daunting experience at all*”

Mina's discourse yielded less from deictic analysis than the other three participants. She typically speaks in very careful and respectful terms about both herself and others as individuals, and avoids blanket references to national or other groupings. This may in part be due to her role as a teacher of culture, in which she works to deconstruct the preconceptions or prejudices of undergraduate students with limited or no experience abroad. It also reflects her engagement with the human condition through literature studies, and her clearly stated belief that human commonalities exceed differences.

“we find culture differences amongst people in the same communities, the same language culture ... what I feel is that sometimes I feel more differences among people ... ah ... in *our* same language community”

“...basically people are the same, *we* all pursue the same things”

Nonetheless, Mina consistently distances herself from the conservatism and insularity she explicitly associates with ‘being Korean’, and offers a measured critique of those aspects of Korean society.

6.4.3 Chul Suk

Chul Suk was a 20 year old male and a member of the Jehovah's Witness religion, and is profiled in chapter 5.3. Within his religious community he had frequent contact with international members of the congregation and migrant workers from South Asian nations, to whom he regularly preached. He engages deeply with the question of cultural identity (exemplified above in section 6.2.1 of this chapter), and feels that despite his exposure to other cultural groups and the accommodations he makes to facilitate harmony in his intercultural relationships, he still identifies most as a Korean. Through Chul Suk's contact with international church members he has come to enjoy some aspects of Western social norms, in particular the less restrictive nature of relationships. He has been able to form friendships across age groups and engage in open conversation and debate with older friends, something he describes as unimaginable in Korean society. While he strongly critiques the more conservative elements of Korean society that disallow this in his own culture, he takes a balanced view. Chul Suk recognizes that there are elements of Western culture that he does not admire, commenting on the more individualistic nature of the Westerners he has encountered and building a critique through category resonant description, as per the extract below.

“The kinds of things that I mentioned just before, but *realizing other people and their needs* or any kind of things and to be more, to *be more sacrificing in a group activity* or you know, that... those things I couldn't understand sometimes cause it seemed to me that *they* could, I thought that *they* may be OK with it but obviously *they're* not”

Chul Suk shares personal anecdotes of times he has been hurt by what he perceives to be the insensitive behaviours of international friends, which he attributes to cultural differences. For example a story about a Western friend who left while he was playing him some compositions he had written on the piano.

“that *made me a little uncomfortable* and you know *kind of feeling stupid* at myself ... but it was OK and I thought, well if *they* were *Korean*, then *they wouldn't do such a thing*”

He is critical also of the tendency he perceives in Korean society to view Western culture as superior. In these areas of the discourse, exemplified in the passage below he distances himself from other Koreans using self-exclusive references.

“I think that every person on the earth has stereotypes... and obviously *Koreans* have got those too... [about] Western countries... *they have kind of blinded opinions... they incessantly, incessantly view them as better people, better societies.. they always think something from western society is better* and that still exists... it's kind of weakened over time but it still exists”

Although he encounters a large and diverse number of international acquaintances through his preaching activities, the intercultural friendships he refers to naturally emerge around common ground and capacity for deeper communication in a shared language. His use of category resonant description for the largely Western individuals with whom he has formed more meaningful or lasting relationships reflect that his identifications with them are also clearly enabled by an alignment of social class and education.

“*spoke a very good English, he spoke very good English*”

“*very intelligent guy actually*”

“*he came from rich family*”

“*he wanted to know more about Korean... business and company management*”

“*he was a very good person*”

“*he also composed*”

“*he attended to university and he was majoring in music*”

Deictic analysis revealed that when recounting his various experiences with these friends a shift away from the use of *they* and exclusive pronouns toward the use of self-inclusive references was common.

“...you know *I spent a lot of time with them* and *we* talked about various topics... sometimes *we* had *academic discussions* you know... *about some abstract ideas and how people view other people*... it was *very interesting to me*”

This shift was also evident when Chul Suk referred to his religious community or made references to shared humanity and human needs when talking about the migrant workers he preached to.

“...there are some feelings in common that *we* have as humans”

In contrast, his general references to the migrant workers in other parts of his discourse were self-exclusive. He explicitly refers to the distance he feels in his interactions with this international group due to their perception of his identity as a Korean and also due to the language barrier.

“when I meet them for the first time *they* think I'm a Korean and I'm relatively high, you know I'm a relative high position economically, which is sometimes not true at all (laughs) but I don't think *they* totally identify with me because the situations are totally different”

“some of *them* speak good English or Korean umm but a lot of *them* don't”

While recognizing the advantages and opportunities his intercultural contact has provided him (see section 6.2.1) Chul Suk acknowledges that this contact with other cultures has prompted confusion or conflict with his cultural identity. Perhaps surprisingly, given that a prison term for refusing mandatory military service was looming in his future at the time of interview, he did not view his faith as difficult to reconcile with his sense of identity as a Korean national. Instead, he builds through category resonant description and deixis an opposition between his own culture and others, and a sense of confusion or internal conflict around his own identity.

“...um my identity it has to do with *my faith and my beliefs* as well, so I *don't think it necessarily has any conflict with Korean identity* but more of a *other cultural identities* there could be *possible conflicts* between them cause if you just stay with *Koreans* and just talk to them and spend time with them there's no really big issue and *you just um live in your own world*, but *when you step outside and meet a lot of foreigners and people from different backgrounds* then you start to realize that not *what you had before* *it's not everything* so you start to realize and you start to meet new cultures

and they have their own systems as well so sometimes I think there could be conflict between Korean and those things”

“...cause I have to approach people from you know, a whole lot of different countries so it is a relatively big thing in my life cause sometimes I ... I feel confusion, whether I should stick to my Korean identity... or sometimes I have to change a lot of myself to... to be more familiar with them...”

As a young man finding his feet in the world post-graduation, and facing a high degree of uncertainty around his immediate future, it is not surprising that Chul Suk is questioning aspects of his identity. What is significant is that despite his future career and immediate freedom being in jeopardy, his confusion largely surrounds the degree to which he should accommodate alternative identifications with international groups, and the conflict these identifications may engender with his Korean sense of self.

6.4.4 Eun Kyoung

Eun Kyoung is profiled in chapter 5.4. She is a housewife and mother of two girls, one of whom was born in the US where she spent eight years accompanying her husband, a university professor, while he undertook his doctoral studies. Eun Kyoung builds an explicit surface level identification as a Korean across her discourse. For example, Eun Kyoung discusses how she maintained a fairly standard Korean home life in the United States, eating Korean food and speaking the Korean language with her husband and daughters as well as observing celebrations from the Korean calendar like Chuseok, in addition to the American holidays. An anecdote she shares about driving for hours to visit a Korean grocery store in another town to buy Korean food items prompts laughter and a shared moment of understanding with the interviewer who has parallel experiences in her life as a foreigner in South Korea. However, closer analysis of the category resonant descriptions that Eun Kyoung used demonstrated little reference to a specifically Korean sense of self, and instead reflected a consistent self-identification with worldliness and being cosmopolitan or global, typified in the extracts below:

“I think my experience living there gave me a I mean bigger, the real

eyes to see American people”

“after I experienced life in the states and as I get older...”

“after I spent many years in the states”

“I don't really think about 'where is he from' or 'what's his nationality”

“But I lived a long time in different countries, so it was no big deal for me”

“it opened the new world, totally new world, different world. And it made me have... wide sight”

In this way, Eun Kyoung implicitly categorizes herself as different from the ‘average Korean’. Her love of reading, interest in learning language and comfort establishing friendships with people of other backgrounds are also frequently mentioned throughout the interviews. At times, the atypical aspects of her life or identity are drawn upon via some explicit comparisons:

“when I speak in English... with foreigners... I feel, uh, like I'm a little bit better person, because you know, not everybody in Korea can do that”

“my two girls are in the states, I probably have more chance to visit them compared to other people who have all their families in Korea”

When explaining that she preferred to build friendships with women of other nationalities during her time abroad, Eun Kyoung both reinforces this categorisation of herself as a global person and contributes to an equally consistent categorisation she makes of the typical Korean abroad through category resonant description as less open, and immersed in the Korean communities which she found somewhat stifling:

“I had more close relationship with foreign people than Korean women there I think”

“I didn't felt comfortable to speak freely... yeah [laughs] and, and I felt more comfortable when I speak with my Polish neighbour or my American

English teacher or other people from Japan or other countries”

“the Korean, the student society is very small there so I was not comfortable we are all different and ... most of them were Christians, but I was not, I still am not”

“but there are just around ten students, ten or fifteen Korean students and everybody knows everybody and I (laughs) I didn't like that”

“they tried to know everything and sometimes they talk behind your back”

“the Korean society was so small”

Deictic analysis of Eun Kyoung's discourse enabled a closer view on subtle tensions within, alignments to or shifting degrees of her cultural identifications. Deixis provided an additional window to examine Eun Kyoung's categorization of herself as a global person, and Koreans abroad in general as markedly less so. In extracts like the below, Eun Kyoung not only uses category resonant description to build a picture of the Korean community as insular, but distances herself from a group which her own profile matches through self-exclusive deictic references:

“You know I saw many Korean immigrants, many Korean students' wives, they just spend time you know within their groups, they watch, they just watch Korean movie, Korean drama... and they even subscribe Korean newspaper they never read American newspaper, local newspaper, and they always talked about Korean... every step is Korean, so I think it's some kind of, some sad... they should spend many years in America and then they have some kind of obligation to know about the place where they live to make friends to know about the people there... but I think that's the big difference between me and other Korean students' wives, so I was kind of lonely there...”

Across Eun Kyoung's discourse, and in different interviews, a pattern emerges in which she uses deixis to make a distinction between herself and her family and the other Korean migrants or students living abroad. She discusses how her own daughters demonstrate fluidity in their social relationships at university, enjoying international friendship circles in the US, while their Korean classmates only socialize with one another.

She shares that her daughter is dating a Chinese American, and that this is not a challenge for her or her husband, and in a separate section of the discourse says of other Korean parents:

“The *Korean immigrants*, *their* common problem was that, you know, how could *they* get, how could *they* marry *their* children with, to Korean to Koreans [laughs]”

Importantly, her sense of apartness from this group of ‘typical’ Koreans does not preclude Eun Kyoung from identifying strongly as a Korean in other aspects of her life, and acknowledging the importance of this for her and her family. She took care to maintain her daughter’s Korean language abilities at home after they began attending school and speaking in English in the US, and describes maintaining a family life in the US characterised by habits and customs that were distinctly Korean. When discussing these aspects of her life experience, her references to the Korean nationality are clearly self-inclusive:

“Yeah, it was natural thing, because *my whole family could be a Korean... we* don't know about, even though *we* are there, *we* didn't know many detailed things about American culture. *We* just followed some holidays so *we... actually... observed* Korean holidays - Chuseok, you know, and... New Year's Day, the *Korean* New Year's Day ... I was born in Korea and grow up here, grew up here, so you know I didn't know any other way to live...”

“Yeah, and it was more comfortable, I think that's the big reason, Korean style is much more comfortable to *us* so *we* tried to, *we* actually tried hard to find anything with Korean touch”

Eun Kyoung explicitly rejects and distances herself from those groups within Korean society she considers to be insular or less global than her family. While enjoying and valuing the traditions of language, food and other customs that are familiar to her, she explicitly downplays the importance of cultural identity in defining a person.

“...after I experienced life in the states and as I get older ... the nationality like identity... is not that important in your life actually... it's your personality or who you are what you are is more important...”

6.5 Discussion and Conclusion

In this chapter, the view that cultural identity is a solid or essentialist construct is challenged, as the analyses demonstrate it is dynamic and participants' relationships with 'being Korean' are fluid and variable throughout their discourse. This suggests an alternative view of cultural/national identification. Firstly, that the cultural self is fluid. For these participants this is evident as they fluctuate between identifying with and distancing themselves from people, norms and behaviours they associate with their cultural in-group. Secondly, that this fluidity is visible in the continual interpretation of cultural self in moment to moment interaction in and through discourse. The participants here navigate their sense of belonging or differentiation to others (either present or referred to) with the use of linguistic markers and categories that can be identified and tracked in patterns across multiple interviews. Thirdly, that their intercultural experiences and contact do not seem to have eroded their sense of cultural identity. Rather, they seem to have led to them noticing, critically reassessing and reconciling their new, expanded and critical perspectives gained through intercultural contact with their national self. Their discourses demonstrate a conscious engagement with 'being Korean', and defining this in a personal, individually nuanced manner.

Jae Kwan's discourse provided insight into how his identity as a Korean has matured and changed through his exposure to other cultures, predominantly in the context of the American military. His intercultural experience provided him with a perspective on aspects of his own culture such as leadership styles that he had previously not considered. The experience acted as a catalyst for a critical engagement with norms in his society, and a conscious decision to adopt some aspects of what he perceives as Western style behaviour. As a young man in a rapidly changing and globalising society, Jae Kwan identifies strongly as a Korean, and is consciously defining what sort of Korean he wants to be.

The cultural identity projected through Mina's discourse is highly nuanced. While she explicitly categorises herself as a *Korean* wife, mother or teacher these identities are mediated by other identifications. Her social class, level of education and life experiences set her apart from 'average Koreans' and afford her a broad and international perspective. Throughout her interviews Mina constructs an identity that is sophisticated, middle class and intellectual, but also ethical and keen to contribute to Korean society through providing assistance to the community of migrant wives she supports through her church. It is clear that Mina's experiences have mediated and opened new dimensions within her identification as a Korean, and have also prompted her to distance herself from and critique those aspects of her society that she does not identify with. Her role as a teacher of language and culture engages her in direct reflection on the nature of culture and intercultural communication. As she articulates her approach to practice as a teacher she makes clear that her own experience abroad has been crucial to her wider perspective.

Chul Suk's intercultural experience has provided him with opportunities to experience friendships and relationships that transcend the normal boundaries imposed by Korean society in relation to age and social hierarchies. His critique of these aspects of his own culture is balanced by an equally critical evaluation of Western social norms as he has experienced them, and his identifications in both cultures are with people who share his interest in intellectual discussion, music or education. His desire for deeper conversations and meaningful relationships with foreigners is thwarted somewhat by a lack of shared tacit understandings and some language barriers. Being a Korean in an intercultural setting is an ongoing challenge for him as he navigates between the freedoms he experiences in those contexts and the uncertainty he experiences in accommodating or making sense of foreign behaviours or attitudes that he does not admire.

Eun Kyoung, like Mina, recognises the value of her intercultural experience in providing her with a broader perspective, and enabling her to make conscious decisions about the Korean social norms that she chooses to reject or maintain within her own life. Eun Kyoung has strongly identified with a community of women and mothers of other nationalities, with whom she shared the common experience of raising children abroad

during her years in the United States. These friendships transcended cultural background to form alternative communities of identification. While Eun Kyoung values the comfort and familiarity of Korean society, she rejects the conservatism and convention that she associates with ‘typical Koreans’. Eun Kyoung does not see nation and culture as prominent or defining aspects of her relationships or identity, but recognizes that this is so for many in her society.

National identity is typically associated with a solid, structural understanding of identity, and that this sits in tension with the liquid or process notions of interculturality more popularly espoused by contemporary scholars. Bauman has drawn an analogy between the journeys of the pilgrim and the tourist on one hand and on the other the shift from an emphasis on modern, solid and linear constructs of identity to the ‘postmodern life strategy’ of shifting and often fleeting identifications. The world friendly to the pilgrim was “orderly, determined, predictable, ensured” (1996, p. 23), whereas for the tourist repeated escapades make it increasingly less clear which place visited is home; “‘Home’ lingers at the horizon of the tourist life as an uncanny mix of shelter and prison” (1996, p. 31).

For the four participants featured in this chapter, this characterization is only partially true. Critical evaluations of Korean culture and social norms were evident in the discourses of all four participants, and ‘shelter and prison’ therefore seems an apt analogy for the comparative perspectives they had developed on their home culture. Critiques of ‘home’ were explicitly linked by all of the participants to their intercultural experiences or ‘escapades’. Opportunities for intercultural exposure and in two cases long sojourns abroad had certainly impacted their sense of identity; contradictions and shifts in identification were commonplace. However, for these participants it is not where ‘home’ is located that appears to be in question, but how they define themselves within that space.

The postmodern, post-structural concept of identity that underlies the perspectives of many contemporary theorists rejects cultural or national identity as a reductive and essentialist construct. Yet writers who champion a shift away from essentialist discourses around race, ethnicity and culture that have been prevalent in the fields of foreign

language teaching and intercultural communication (see Canagarajah, 1999; Holliday, 2006; Kubota & Lin, 2009; Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992) nevertheless acknowledge the continued relevance of national and cultural identification. One example of this is Dervin (2013). Although he critiques research which draws upon the ideas of nation and culture, and dichotomies such as the West and non-West, Dervin (2013) nonetheless recognizes the significance of national identity, which is still present in individuals' discourses and identifications, despite being in competition with alternate identities. Critiques of the construct of cultural and national identity across the literature, therefore, fall into the category Hall characterized as 'deconstructive' (1996). Deconstructive critique notes that an essentialist understanding is inadequate, but has not replaced it with an effective alternative. This leads us to the paradox of knowing that those essentialist constructs are no longer "good to think with", but because they have not been superseded or replaced by truer ones, we are forced to continue thinking with them "albeit now in their detotalized or deconstructed forms, and no longer operating within the paradigm in which they were originally generated" (Hall, 1996, p. 1).

A close examination of the discourse of four participants in this study suggests that their identifications do not reflect the liquidity of Bauman's individual life projects, unmoored from a distinct community, set or norms or social context. Nor are their options for identification zero sum equations between 'being Korean' and 'being intercultural'. Rather, their intercultural identity work takes place within a strong sense of culture and nation, which is seen to be heightened and made more explicit or conscious by their intercultural encounters. Throughout their journeys, the participants engage in renegotiating and redefining what that cultural identity means for them personally.

A conception of self-identity as influenced - though not determined - by, social structures and contexts is characterized by Block (2007) as 'poststructuralism-inflected' and typifying contemporary approaches to identity studies. This interconnectedness between self-identity and social experience with structural concepts such as nation is also echoed by contemporary theorists of intercultural identity including Lavanchy, Gajardo & Dervin (2011) and Holliday (2010). In this chapter, my analyses have illustrated the interplay between the structural element of national identity and the individual's exercise

of agency in defining how this will be interpreted in their own biography. One implication of this is that current liquid constructs of interculturality may need to pay greater attention to the impact of contextual features such as nation in environments such as South Korea, where national identity is prominent and heavily reinforced through state sanctioned measures in education and social life. Intercultural exposure and experience has been shown to prompt shifting and situational identifications for the four participants, and this suggests that future scholarship of interculturality could pay more attention to the renegotiation of personal cultural identity that emerges in the process of an individual becoming intercultural. The analyses also establish that national identity is itself a dynamic process in which individuals are agentive and negotiate traditional concepts of what it means to be Korean with their moment to moment sense of self.

Gee argues that language is a means of enacting identity and action in the world and therefore discourse analysis is useful for exploring the identities that a speaker ascribes to oneself or others through the particular language choices they make (Gee, 2011). In this chapter, two discourse analyses, MCA and Deictic analysis, have enabled a clearer sight on how cultural identification was invoked by the participants in this study than theme analysis alone could reveal, and to chart how aspects of this identity were variously embraced or resisted. This chapter has demonstrated the effectiveness of this combination of analyses in revealing the shifting and often internally contradictory nature of national identification in the participants' discourses on interculturality.

In the next chapter, I move to an exploration of how the use of English as a Foreign language (EFL) is positioned in the participants' discourses.

Chapter 7: English as a Foreign Language

In this chapter, I explore how English as a Foreign Language (EFL) is positioned in my participants' discourses about intercultural experience. I make visible the personal ideologies and emotions enacted in their discourse on learning and using EFL, which in almost all cases mediated their intercultural experiences and opportunities for intercultural learning. This chapter therefore addresses two dimensions of the intercultural that are relatively underemphasized in the contemporary intercultural competence literature; emotion and foreign language use (Peck & Yates, in press-b; Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009).

I begin with a discussion of the neoliberal context of EFL learning and use in South Korea, arguing that neoliberalism has significant emotional implications for EFL learners and users on the peninsula. Following this, I overview the multiple analyses used in this chapter to make visible the full complexity of emotions related to EFL learning and use in my participants' discourse. I then present my findings, which highlight a duality of experience. Participants' English skills provided on the one hand a sense of freedom from the hierarchical norms of their own sociolinguistic community and the opportunity to explore new identifications (Bauman, 1996, 2000). On the other, they concurrently experienced limitations in their relationships and encounters due to struggles with the language itself. Analysis of the values participants expressed in relation to EFL brought to the fore their desire for not only competence, but a 'native-speaker-like' mastery of Standard American English. The analysis also makes visible the ways in which individuals with different socioeconomic positions variously navigated, resisted and integrated the neoliberal positioning of English in South Korean society. In presenting my findings I use illustrative extracts from the interview data to make these processes of analysis transparent.

7.1 Neoliberalism and EFL in South Korea

For those who wish to access global opportunities through studying, working and dealing interculturally, there are few alternatives to attaining competence in a foreign language if the mother tongue is not a *lingua franca*. Yet foreign language competence is not a focal concern of many contemporary theories or frameworks of intercultural competence (Byram, 1997, 2008; Deardorff, 2006; Jackson, 2014). The intercultural turn across the social sciences has expanded the study of communication in intercultural settings beyond lexicogrammatical competence (Sercu, 2005b), a trend that has deemphasized the role of language itself and brought significant dimensions of intercultural experience such as identity to the fore. Within the interdisciplinary literature on interculturality, the learning of a foreign language is typically subsumed within a broader category of ‘skills’. Equal or greater attention is paid to the complexities of interpreting behaviour, the capacity to reflect upon and evaluate interactions, to behave appropriately in intercultural situations and the knowledge and attitude dimensions of developing intercultural competence (Byram & Guilherme, 2010; Jackson, 2014). As a result, the socially situated and emotionally charged nature of foreign language learning and use, and the essential role of language in mediating intercultural experience are downplayed.

In South Korea, it is well-established that English is considered *the* global *lingua franca* that enables an individual to meaningfully engage with and benefit from the transnational flows of globalisation (see Choi, 2009; M. J. Kim, 2005; J. S. Lee, 2006; J. K. Park, 2009; Shim & Park, 2008; H. Shin, 2006). However, while EFL competence is viewed as an essential attribute of the contemporary citizen on the peninsula and an enabler of success in a highly competitive education sector and workforce, access to language learning opportunities such as private tuition or study abroad remains dependent on the individual’s economic circumstances. Under the education policies of former president Lee Myung-Bak (who held office from 2008 – 2012), developing students’ competences in the English language became a national priority. This direction was supported by the *Jaebols*, or powerful Korean corporations, that sought a Korean workforce capable of functioning effectively in an increasingly global business

environment, and accordingly increased the emphasis on EFL competence in their employment criteria (J. S. Y. Park, 2013). Lee dismantled the policy of *pyeongjunwha* or equalization, which prevented the ranking of schools or tracking students by academic achievement, and opened the door to intensified competition in both the public and private sectors. Such changes enabled the middle and upper classes to invest heavily in their children's education. Often this involved *jogi yuhak* or education abroad experiences during elementary school, with the intention of developing English skills as early as possible (J. S. Y. Park, 2013). The underlying economics of the resulting educational attainment were highlighted in the findings of a study by H. Kim et al. (2014) which demonstrated a relationship between the amount of money being spent on 'out-of-school' learning by a student's family and their higher university entrance examination scores in English (see also Chapters 1 and 3).

The discourses of the South Korean participants in this study reflect a typically keen awareness of the significance of English language ability in determining life opportunities. Several participants emphasize that their own English proficiency is an ongoing point of insecurity in navigating their intercultural encounters. The importance they place on English is reflected in the frequency with which it is mentioned. Word frequency analyses conducted using NVivo software enabled me to identify word frequencies in the interview transcripts. Despite the fact that intercultural experiences, rather than language learning or use, were the focus of the interview questions, 'English' was the 4th most frequent word at or above five letters in the data ('Culture' was ranked 11th). During the interviews, the life histories of intercultural contact and learning recounted by the participants tracked closely alongside their journeys as language learners and users, with language typically a central feature of their discussion about intercultural encounters.

Although some of the participants in my study acknowledged and indicated resistance to aspects of South Korea's 'English fever', the task of attaining proficiency was nonetheless shouldered by them as an individual project and responsibility. The analysis presented in this chapter demonstrates how the majority of the participants consistently attributed both their abilities and perceived deficiencies as EFL speakers to personal aptitude (or lack thereof), self-discipline or specific learning behaviours they

had consciously adopted (or failed to adopt). This reflected an assimilation of neoliberal thought (see Chapter 2), which emphasizes personal responsibility for success or failure, and in doing so eclipses the structural inequities and social class privilege that mediate access to learning opportunities. While it is well established that the process of foreign language learning can trigger a complex variety of emotions (see Pavlenko 2005, Coffey & Street 2008, Nunan & Choi 2010, Coffey 2014), by privileging individual agency and obscuring the role of social structures in accessing learning opportunities, neoliberalism compounds the emotional dimensions of success or failure for language learners. This is because the individual is personally implicated as responsible for their high or low achievement regardless of the socioeconomic factors that have determined their access to learning. Byean (2015), a former middle school teacher of English in South Korea, has written a scathing critique of neoliberal ideologies on the peninsula, arguing that in serving to produce and reproduce inequity in social relations neoliberal thought makes individuals “complicit in their own subjugation” (Byean, 2015, p. 876).

7.2 Overview of Processes of Analysis

I approached the question of how the participants positioned the use of EFL using several consecutive stages of analysis. I began by undertaking theme and values analysis, and followed this with by an analysis of emotion talk (see 4.6.2.3). Each of these analyses were conducted across interview data from the full group of eight participants.

Four focal participants were selected as case examples for closer analysis of the factors to which these four individuals attribute their success or failure as EFL speakers. Using an analysis of attributions in their discourses I made visible the degree to which they had assimilated or resisted neoliberal ideologies. Working intensively with data from a smaller group of participants in this second stage allowed me to situate this stage of analysis within the context of individual life trajectories. The participants’ processes of attribution (4.6.2.4) are more meaningful when related to individual profile factors, for example socioeconomic position and generation.

In the following sections I first discuss the analyses conducted across the discourses of the full group of eight participants, before turning to the individual case examples in later pages.

7.3 Findings: Theme and Values Analysis

I began by working with extracts that had been categorized under a broad parent code of ‘language’ in a first pass over the data from interviews with all of my participants. I analyzed these for emergent themes. The following were identified: Language Ability (Enabler), Lack of Language Ability (Restricting), Language Skill not Helping, Learning Language, Different Englishes, Language Values, Good at Language and Using Korean. Substantially more data was coded under Lack of Language Ability (Restricting) than in any other category, suggesting that for these participants interacting in a foreign language entailed a significant sense of limitation. Conversely, the directly opposing code of Language Ability (Enabler) was the second largest category. Feelings and emotions such as nervousness, fear, frustration, pride, confidence and a sense of liberation were especially prominent in the extracts categorized under this dichotomous code pair.

Those extracts subjected to theme analysis were also examined and coded specifically for values (including attitudes and beliefs) expressed in relation to foreign language learning and use, following Saldana (2009). Values analysis extended the understandings gleaned from the theme analysis and highlighted how participants valued varieties of English, as well as language more generally. Values analysis also provided a broad picture of the commonalities between the eight participants in relation to their stated and implicit attitudes toward varieties of the English language, including Korean English. The emergent categories from this process are underlined in this section for easy identification.

Unsurprisingly, this process clearly highlighted the importance of English Competence as a common overarching value. This was explicitly stated as well as presupposed in many of the comments made by the participants.

“Yeah, definitely. Because now I'm studying English and I will study English for I think... maybe for almost entire my life” (Jae Kwan)

“I want to study abroad, and that is because ... ah I want to be more accurate and fluent in speaking or using any skills of English” (Jae Kwan)

A value evident in comments that reflected both pride and shame was English Competence Equals Social Status:

“when I speak in English... with foreigners... I feel, uh, like I'm a little bit better person, because you know, not everybody in Korea can do that” (Mina)

“there's some kind of attitude to err... look down on us because our English is not so good” (Hyeran)

It was evident that not simply English competence, but pronunciation approximating standard American English and ‘native-speaker-like’ fluency was prized. Variations of the language and also Korean English were considered less desirable or potentially embarrassing. Participants clearly felt (with varying levels of resentment) that Proper English is Standard American English.

“especially in the military there are many... soldiers who are not a typical American, the Mexican Americans who usually spoke in Spanish and many African American or just black people or Asian soldier who use English like Koreans (laughs)” (Jae Kwan)

Paradoxically, those same participants often indicated values that show resistance to the excessive valorisation of native speaker-like English, native speakers and western qualifications. Categorized as Native Speaker-like English, Native Speakers & Study Abroad are Overvalued, this was most evident in discussion of inequities in the job market for academics and EFL teachers, but also in relation to the behaviour of foreign ‘native speakers’ of English in Korea.

“whenever I apply for [positions within] the university my handicap is you know I'm studying [earned a PhD] in Korea” (Hyeran)

“Koreans I think umm, yeah, we want native speakers. I think sometimes it's very discriminating too, even though you are perfectly Korean American so you would speak better English than your Korean... but we still look for this white American, Canadian, you know the images they get from the movies” (Aeran)

“I felt sometimes ohhh arrogant... arrogant native English teachers... that kind of exclamation comes out of mind and heart... I cannot remember the exact incident... but occasionally I felt that kind of emotions” (Hyeran)

A value evident in the discourse of some, but not all of the participants was that Language Learning Demonstrates Respect for Another Culture.

[about Khmer language skills] “I can speak very basic surviving language, go straight and turn right, something like that but oh... I got to know that I didn't try even learn how to write. Because it is hard [laughs]” (Jiyoung)

“yeah it's quite shame for me. And many people said if foreigner they come to Korea they should speak Korean yeah many people said that and I think about this thing also and what I did...[in Cambodia]” (Jiyoung)

Values analysis made visible how deep the association between EFL competence and use is with overseas (particularly American) education and native speaker like proficiency in the participants' discourse. In the next section I turn to exploration of the emotional implications of these values for my participants.

7.5 Emotion Analysis

While theme and values analysis reliably captured direct expressions of emotion by the participants, they were less effective where emotions were implicit in a participant's tone, use of metaphor or expression of humour. They also did not provide a means to distinguish between explicit statements made by the participants ascribing particular emotions to their experience and my own interpretive ascription of emotions where I considered them implicit. To address this I drew upon Bednarek 2008, and

undertook a further analysis distinguishing between explicit *emotion talk*, ‘I was embarrassed’, and *emotional talk*, signalled through tone or paralinguistic communication, for example, laughter (see chapter 4.6.2.3). In the first extract below, an example of Jae Kwan’s explicit *emotion talk* is underlined.

“I was a university student, I majored in English education for one and a half years and I read quite many books and I thought that I was a little educated... But when I speak in, when I spoke in I really I felt that I'm not good at speaking English than the elementary school student of the western culture and I hated that kind of feeling” (Jae Kwan)

Jae Kwan’s stated emotion in this extract (which could be summarised as ‘hates feeling incompetent in English’) is fairly unambiguous. However, I argue that a clearer view of his frustration is offered when the surrounding discourse, in this case the *emotional talk* in his preamble that describes his efforts to learn the language, is also taken into account. Although *emotional talk* can often be found clustered around the participants’ explicit references to emotions or feelings, it also occurs independent of such cues. An example of this, also taken from one of Jae Kwan’s interviews is provided below. In this extract he explains how he developed from being unable to make conversation with his American colleagues to being able to converse in a friendly manner, and eventually socialising beyond work hours.

“...sometimes I have nothing to say when they [American military officers] ask me some question and I have no idea what I have to say when I have a conversation with them... But soon I just... talked some daily yeah daily things with them like a friend... uh... however... and, yeah and I said that I had some, I had a will to learn their culture and military culture and so I hang around with them several times. I went some bar or some place to drink with them” (Jae Kwan)

While Jae Kwan’s chronological recount of ‘what happened’ in this example lacks direct *emotion talk*, I interpret this extract as being emotionally resonant for him because he charts a journey from embarrassment and frustration through to developing confidence in his interactions. The concept of *emotional talk* provides a systematic means of accounting for this interpretative aspect of analysis.

Emotion analysis provided an overall perspective on how all eight participants experienced EFL use as both restricting and enabling in their lives, and their accounts of the emotions associated with using English to mediate very different life trajectories and intercultural encounters shared some strong commonalities. Most participants directly expressed having experienced feelings of shyness or fear in using English to speak with foreign ‘others’. This was typically mentioned with reference to the early stages on their journeys as foreign language users:

“I was at first afraid of talking with the foreigner” (Jae Kwan)

“there was a very fear about miscommunication or what if they did not understand me ... what if I could not understand them... that kind of fear existed” (Hyeran)

“I was scared of speaking English, especially there was some language issue” (Jiyoung)

Feelings of insecurity regarding English language ability were commonly expressed in relation to specific situations and contexts in which they perceived their language competence to be inhibiting their ability to fulfil particular roles or meet social expectations. For example, Jae Kwan attributed his silence in classes during his freshman year to poor oral proficiency, despite being an English Education major and having preferred English to his other subjects through middle and high school:

“my English ability was maybe speaking especially speaking ability was... not that good at that time...”

Jiyoung, who worked at an international centre and used functional English with foreigners on a daily basis, stated that her senior role in the workplace caused insecurity for her when dealing with native speakers of English, who she felt might negatively evaluate her on the basis of her English competence:

“because they know the right, right – how to speak and how to write well, so I feel like sometimes I’d be judged by them, and I’m the coordinator I should be not perfect, but better, do better, so there is some pressure still”

Pressure to avoid mistakes and perform competently in English was also associated with stress in preparing for English language encounters with native speakers, and this impacted the participants emotionally when they perceived they had failed in their performance.

“I always have many thinking before I try to speak with them, I organize some sentence and I check the grammar with my mind but still I was afraid that I'm... I would be pointed out my wrong grammar so... I was really... thought many things before I speak just very simple sentence or conversation” (Jae Kwan)

“when I speak to foreigners, make some mistake, and even it's small grammar error or anything it was quite depressing for me...” (Jiyoung)

Frustration was also commonly expressed by the participants, at times due to the sense that despite a deep investment in English language learning their language skills remained poor, and also in relation to the feeling of being limited, marginalised or excluded in English language discussions or interactions.

“when you don't understand or when you don't know something that they are talking about then you feel kind of left out”(Chul Suk)

“I want to give my opinion very fluently and clearly but because of language barrier ... even if I had some thoughts in my mind if I cannot speak very well... yeah it was very frustrating” (Jiyoung)

Participants frequently constructed metaphors or used similes to express emotions associated with their sense of restriction, limitation or barriers:

“I thought that I'm a really different person, I'm like a kindergarten student kindergarten children... because I really couldn't express what I want to say” (Jae Kwan)

“at first it was somewhat like talking through a glass, cause what you say and what you understand... they don't totally pass ... or get through ... or

come across” (Chul Suk)

While difficulties mediating intercultural learning and interacting with foreigners in English dominated, participants also expressed positive emotions related to their EFL use. Situations in which language difficulties were overcome and they were able to assert themselves despite anxiety or struggle with the language were reported as points of pride or achievement.

“if you have a strong attitude like 'I can't stand this, I'm gonna say something, maybe I'm not going to make myself very clear but I'll still say something”
(Aeran)

“between the editorial team sometimes there is some conflict and [organisation name] should mediate, mediate those conflicts and the people and that time I should speak up, so... it was hard but I said I have something to talk to you”
(Jiyoung)

English language skills were frequently referenced by the participants as providing the confidence to behave assertively, and to navigate intercultural encounters at home or abroad.

“I think my English helped a little like you know in the situation because I was confident to say whatever I wanted to say” (Aeran)

“I don't have any big problem in communicating in English so ... it gave me lots of confidence whenever I see foreigners on the street” (Eun Young)

Language skills also enabled the participants to build intimacy and friendship in situations where relationships would have otherwise been limited or impossible, opening them to the possibility of wider social networks. The ability to converse and communicate effectively was commonly referenced as essential to develop deep or genuine friendships.

“I kind of felt close to him cause he spoke good English I could speak, I could pass conversation with him in English” (Chul Suk)

“I think we should learn English because otherwise we couldn't communicate with each other ... so we are, most of us were the mothers

with young babies so we had very strong similar, I mean background to understand each other, but the language is the key to understand”(Eun Young)

“About the importance of language I think that's one of the most important things, when people from different cultures come into contact with each other for the first time. You just cannot just smile all the time or using sign language” (Mina)

Intercultural relationships and friendships that were established through English were described as easier to navigate, as there was less emphasis on age, gender roles and social hierarchy outside of Korean society. Several participants indicated that they were able to express themselves more directly or freely in English, and felt less inhibited than when interacting in Korean with other Koreans.

“when I speak in English I ... may speak more in, in a, in, more frankly. Because in Korean we have to be careful... umm... for example when I talk ... with a man. Elderly men, we have to, we need to have some reservation or reserved attitude, that, what I mean is if I open up or express my opinions in a very frank way they will be shocked” (Mina)

“people open their mind much easily to foreigners when they speak English and when they speak reasonably good English umm cause you don't have to think about what other people think of you as much as you do in Korean contexts” (Chul Suk)

“I don't usually express my feeling ... when I speak in Korean, but when I use English then I think I.... maybe I tend to express more... like the ... people who use English as a native speaker language” (Jae Kwan)

For many of the participants, the recognition that their English language ability had given them new opportunities and opened doors to the world was explicitly stated.

“I could visit Virginia and I met many people like uh... twenty new people every day for one month, it's like a group study exchange program and I go there as young professional and I go there to know other culture and visit several places related to my working place” (Jiyoung)

Emotion analysis thus made clear that English represented something of a double-

edged sword for the participants. Most experienced high levels of insecurity, stress and frustration in the process of language learning, and in using the language to mediate their intercultural encounters and relationships. Despite this, their English language ability also acted as the key to experiences and opportunities they valued, and which had enabled them to develop friendships and new perspectives, as well as to explore aspects of themselves not accessible within their mother tongue and native community. These emotional dimensions of English language use echo findings from markedly different contexts and research endeavours in the literature on foreign language use. As noted in Chapter 2, research among foreign language users in other contexts has reflected both narratives of struggle and frustration (Pavlenko & Lantolf 2000; Christison, 2010; Javier 2010), and also of the potential for a foreign language to add new or additional dimensions to one's experience or identity (Lin, 2010; Coffey, 2014). Nonetheless, the range and intensity of emotion around language use expressed by the participants serves as a clear reminder that for many individuals, intercultural experience occurs entirely through a foreign language, and this can compound the challenges inherent in interacting with foreign 'others'.

7.6 Attribution, Neoliberalism and EFL: Findings from Focal Case Analyses

The closer analysis of how four focal participants navigated the neoliberal positioning of English in Korean society (see Byean, 2015; Cho, 2016; J. S. Y. Park, 2009) drew upon an approach taken by Edwards (1999) which considered how emotions are used or invoked in interpersonal communication, and to what effect. For example, attributing causality by “constructing the sense of events, and orienting to normative and moral orders, to responsibility and blame, intentionality and social evaluation” (1999, p. 279). Examining whether the emotions in my participants' discourses on language use were articulated as a reaction to their circumstances (event driven, external), or attributed to their own agentive behaviours or dispositions (internal) provided deeper insight into their assimilation into or resistance to a neoliberal perspective on their relationship with the language.

The four participants were purposefully selected on the basis of the very different relationships to EFL learning and use in their lives that they had indicated in their interviews. Two of the participants showed active resistance to the intense pressures and social inequities surrounding English proficiency, and these contrasted with personal narratives from the other two, which reflected no awareness or acknowledgement of the interconnectedness between language and social class privileges. As previously noted, all of the participants in this study had achieved a very high level of English proficiency sufficient to engage in extended dialog with me about complex and wide-ranging personal experiences of intercultural contact, indicating a level of access to education and opportunity that could be characterised as middle class at a minimum. However, within the group of four profiled in the following sections substantial differences remained. These are explored in the sections below.

7.6.1 Mina

Mina was a female participant over the age of 45 (see Chapter 5.2). She had undertaken postgraduate studies in English literature and spent over six years living in the US. At the time of our interview she was teaching in the English language and literature department of a regional university, but stated a desire for more frequent opportunities to speak English with foreigners in Korea.

Examination of Mina's discourse revealed that she systematically positioned herself throughout the interviews as a good language learner and a successful EFL speaker. She emphasised her own behaviour and disposition with frequent use of the pronoun 'I'. Mina typically made little to no reference to the social context of her experiences or other relevant factors such as her access to financial resources. This tendency was established at the outset during our first interview together, when I established a life history of her intercultural contact and associated English language learning and use, and continued throughout our conversations. The extended extract from Mina's discourse below illustrates this, with implicit attribution statements *italicized* and categorisations of these bracketed in bold type:

Mina: “Mhmm... *I started learning English from my middle school days*, so... usually ... many, many Koreans in my generation they started learning English from their middle school days so *I liked my first English teacher at the time...*[**behaviour**] like many students did, so, and *I came to be really interested in learning foreign language* [**disposition**], my first foreign language, English and my, my father - at that time we didn't have much opportunities or much chances to see foreigners in Korea... and so *I had to learn English only with textbook* [**behaviour**] because at the time we focused only on reading writing and taking exams... so my father was a college professor, *he advised me to consult English dictionary a lot* [**opportunity**] so *I learnt how to pronounce each word or each alphabet by following the guidelines explained in the dictionary* [**behaviour**], those ... pronunciation, each pronunciation so that helped me a lot and *I came to be a quite good student in the field of, in that subject...* [**behaviour**] so in sophomore year, second year *I was chosen as a representative for our school to go for the speech contest...* so because I was chosen, *uh to represent my school, so my school contacted a professor at Chosun university, he was my first foreigner* [**opportunity as direct outcome of behaviour**] at that time so it's a long story so *that's how I speak with (inaudible)* [**behaviour**]. *I didn't feel intimidated or awkward at all, I was happy to get his help* [**disposition**]so yeah it was my first experience”

In this passage, Mina establishes a narrative of overcoming the challenges of a formal English language education’s limited focus on reading and writing (typical for her generation) through her own efforts. Her father’s advice is acknowledged, but the activity of learning and becoming a competent speaker (with mastery of highly valued native speaker like pronunciation) is attributed to her own actions. The resulting opportunity to study with a foreign university lecturer is also positioned as a direct outcome of Mina’s achievements. Throughout the interviews, successful development of language proficiency and integration to Western society were consistently presented by Mina as outcomes of her positive attitude and learning behaviours.

“my interest was only to improve my English”

“I was studying American literature so I wanted to visit the [North American Region] area”

“I loved staying there”

“when I went there I had a Fulbright scholarship for my research”
“I took the GRE test and TOEFL and I, I entered a program in [US City 2]
a PhD program”

Mina’s self-assurance notably extended to her role as a teacher of English language and culture. She expresses none of the insecurity commonly experienced by ‘non-native-speaker’ teachers on the peninsula (Li, 1998; Han, 2003; Howard & Millar, 2008), instead expressing confidence that her perspective as an internationally experienced Korean contributes equal value to her students’ learning as her American counterpart in the department.

“[name of Western colleague] teaches American culture, the same subject in [pronoun] own way you know different perspective but I think it is important for [Regional University] students to have a Korean teacher to talk about American culture, so ... as a Korean what I felt in America and what I feel ... uh in Korea after I came back to Korea. And I have things to talk about I have to share with my Korean students and my perspective is through the lens of other cultures but basically we are the same as human beings, but we have to learn about, how to respect each other, how to be tolerant to the other and also how to be open to the minor culture to be taking care of each other something like that considerate of each other so that way I think the teacher is very important, so basically using American culture I want to achieve both goals”

While acknowledging that she found interactions in France, Japan and other countries where she did not have proficiency in the language less easy to navigate, Mina attributed her ease in intercultural encounters to her open-minded and adaptable disposition:

“I think it is closely related with my personality... um... yes I love people, so I'm happy, very happy to be with people, so, and I'm very open to new things, new culture, new people, so it wasn't a daunting experience at all to be surrounded by new things, new environment, so usually when I was introduced to new things... just I ... had a very positive attitude, yeah very positive attitude and I was open and I think people notice that and they felt

comfortable too”

In foregrounding her own behaviours and personality or character traits, Mina positions her relatively privileged class status as incidental. Yet Mina’s opportunities are inextricable from her social circumstances; an outcome of being raised in a family of academics that valued education, and having the economic means to pursue studies at home and abroad. She expresses gratitude to her husband for supporting her decision to pursue academic life in a patriarchal society, where the extended sojourns abroad of a married woman pursuing her own ambitions were frowned upon, but his ability to do so due to socioeconomic factors is ignored. Mina’s omission of references to the socioeconomic conditions enabling her confidence as an EFL speaker can to some extent be interpreted as in good taste; she avoids boasting about the opportunities she has enjoyed due to relative wealth, and makes an effort to contribute to her community through volunteering. Nonetheless, her discourse reflects the neoliberal subjectivity that Byean warns indexes “a persona with a sense of self-regulation [who] works to celebrate neoliberal social order, obscuring mounting social and spatial inequalities” (2015, p. 869). While in Mina’s case reflects this neoliberal subjectivity from a position of success, my second case example highlights the emotional implications of struggle and perceived failure.

7.6.2 Jiyoung

Jiyoung is a 30 year old woman (see Chapter 5.6) who works as the coordinator of an international centre in a regional city, in which role she frequently interacts with foreigners in English and occasionally in Korean.

While she is young enough to have been exposed to the private education craze that gripped Korean society in recent decades (Park, 2013), the first foreigner Jiyoung recalls interacting with is an American teacher she studied with at university. She did not attend the relatively expensive ‘native-speaker’ staffed after-school English academies or *hagwons* that many of her generation studied at during their middle and high school years. Throughout the interviews, Jiyoung makes frequent references to what she believes is her

own insufficient EFL proficiency, often in relation to the expectations of competence she associates with her position at the international centre:

“I don't have like a deep level of English speaking or understanding skill so uhh... nowadays I'm worried because I work here more than 6 about 5 years but my English speaking level is so-so and so I don't know how can I work, but maybe I should read some article and other things...[behaviour]”

Her insecurity as an EFL user is a constant theme. In Jiyoung's responses to exploratory questions about intercultural interactions, she pivots to language struggles, as in the exchange below:

Researcher: “do you remember how you felt as you got accustomed to being with foreigners as you got used to it... were there... easy or difficult things or memorable things about getting used to foreigners?”

Jiyoung: “Previously... still same but... phone call was very hard for me but it is get used to... and, and also greeting others and introduce [organisation]”

In Jiyoung's discourse, the burden of improving her English is positioned as her own responsibility, and any lack of competence a fault she must attend to. This does not prevent her from recognizing and critiquing the inequitable power dynamics of interactions mediated by English. She frequently mentions the frustration of interactions where less or no consideration of her language struggle is evident. Jiyoung feels that not only herself, but Korean people around her at international events are often silenced or their input disregarded due to their lack of confidence with EFL:

“not only we meet the English speaking people but also we meet other Asian people or other people but sometimes... I feel ... at that time, at that time I felt they are ignoring the Korean or ... because of the level of English”

She critiques the emphasis placed on learning and mastering EFL in Korean society, and by association the status accorded indiscriminately to westerners. In the

exchange below Jiyoung's discussion of the language slides into comment on the 'native speakers' associated with it. This exchange typifies the virtual inseparability of EFL from the Western – often North American - people associated with it in the discourses of many of the participants in this study:

Jiyoung: "Like English, French, there are many other languages, but many people think English is one of top most important languages and even they think English is much more important than Korean... and I think... I think ... even English speaking people - there are many, so different, some are scholars but some are like, how can I say, some are... not very good"

Researcher: "[Do you mean] Not very educated or not very polite...?"

Jiyoung: "Yeah, yeah there are some very impolite people at [name of organisation], but because of the language issue it was quite hard, and hard to communicate and hard to approach, and sometimes... because of the language issue I thought like they are ignoring me..."

Researcher: "So you have less power because of the language issue?"

Jiyoung: "Uhuh..."

In her work with the international centre, Jiyoung is focused on exchange and collaboration, yet she frequently witnesses inequities arising from the emphasis placed on EFL in Korean society. She gave clear and repeated definitions of the centre's mission during the interviews; to facilitate collaboration and exchange between community members and *not* to simply act as a service centre for foreigners.

"I always mention that not we are giving or serving organization but we are community organization ..."

"previously many people thought you should provide or give, but my term is a little bit different, we should share, we should communicate"

However, Jiyoung consistently expresses gratitude for the opportunities to travel and develop her English skills she has encountered through her work at the international centre. In extract below, she is typically appreciative of a foreign female academic who gave her the opportunity to attend an English speaking conference in Japan while still an

intern with the international centre:

“she was very good to me” ... “at that time I cannot speak English well and I don't know how... I can go there”...“ she covered every expense like airfare and all the living expense and I stayed there about 5 days in Osaka and ... it's a good, very good experience”

Jiyoung constructs a consistent discourse of resistance to the dominance of English in Korean society. This is fuelled by the sense of injustice she feels at Korean speakers of EFL being ‘ignored’, and the dissonance between this and her socially aware, egalitarian belief system. Despite this, she is not impervious to the social pressure she personally experiences to master EFL, and her sense of inadequacy using the language is evident and openly acknowledged throughout the interviews. Jiyoung refers to the low pay she earns working in the non-profit sector, but at no stage in her interviews does she reference the economic pressures associated with learning English or any sense of disadvantage, orienting instead to wondering aloud how she can take action to improve herself. Despite her critical stance on EFL in Korean society, Jiyoung’s discourse in relation to her personal achievement reflects an acceptance of the neoliberal ideology that Park suggests obscures class privilege, one in which “competence and social standing are achieved through one’s determination and self-discipline” (2013). While Mina credits herself with her own successes, Jiyoung ‘credits’ (or blames) herself for her perceived failures. In my next case example, a neoliberal perspective is again highlighted. However, Jae Kwan’s personal struggles with language learning are not linked to a sense of injustice regarding the prominence of EFL in Korean society. Rather Jae Kwan’s discourse demonstrates a more consistent assimilation of the neoliberal ideology.

7.6.3 Jae Kwan

Jae Kwan was a male participant in his early twenties (see chapter 5.1). He was a recent graduate majoring in English language education and had spent two years undertaking military service attached to the US forces stationed in South Korea.

Jae Kwan's account of EFL learning focuses primarily on his development of confidence and a positive attitude toward interacting with foreigners. He described being a shy and introverted student who avoided speaking in English class during his school and early university years, but after military service had found the confidence to take a leadership role in a public speaking society and to interact regularly and comfortably with foreigners. Jae Kwan acknowledges his good fortune in obtaining the much sought after position as a KATUSA (decided by a lottery system) in the military. Nonetheless, his interview responses focused upon his determination and will to learn, and the behaviors he engaged in to maximize that opportunity. This extended to his desire to learn not only the language, but the customs and culture of his foreign military colleagues.

“First time it is very difficult and I have no confidence so sometimes I have nothing to say when they ask me some question and I have no idea what I have to say when I have a conversation with them... But soon I just... talked some daily yeah daily things with them like a friend... uh... however... and, yeah and I said that I had some, I had a will to learn their culture and military culture”

“I learned many things and I and I had to, maybe, I tried to behave and I tried to understand why they are doing that and why it is so different ... between Korean and American”

Like Jiyoung, Jae Kwan talks about the frustration of being unable to fully express himself and feeling reduced to a childlike position as a result of insufficient EFL proficiency. He describes strategies he used to compensate for language deficiencies and shyness in situations such as these, for example using circumlocution to communicate a point when he lacked vocabulary and pretending to be more confident than he actually was. He states explicitly that learning English is a lifelong project essential to his future success & ambitions, although he has yet to identify a specific career path or area of postgraduate study.

“Because now I'm studying English and I will study English for I think... maybe for almost entire my life”

“...maybe I want to study abroad, and that is because ... ah I want to be more accurate and fluent in speaking or using any skills of English”

Jae Kwan’s story of struggling with the language and overcoming his own shyness suggests a wholesale acceptance that he is primarily responsible for his success or failure. For Jae Kwan, the goal of improving his EFL proficiency will depend first and foremost on his own effort and choices. His confidence interacting with foreigners is positioned as an outcome of the positive attitude he took toward developing his language and intercultural skills during military service. His advice to classmates in the extract below reflects this:

“sometimes I explain my situation when at first I entered the university I rarely spoke and I have really no confidence and I was really afraid of speaking English but maybe they, my juniors can't imagine that situation of me, because now they see that I speak not fluently, but quite confidently and maybe I participate in the class activity quite actively ... so I usually recommend them to just try to have more interaction and if you, even though if you don't have really the confidence still just pretend to have it, pretend that I'm very confident and I'm very expert of speaking English. Yeah I think, I usually reinforce that the confidence is very important, more than the English ability itself”

During the interviews, Jae Kwan discussed elements of American culture he admired and wished to emulate in his own life which reinforce the neoliberal ethos of personal responsibility and earning one’s place in the world. He approved of the expectation that leaders should work hard and serve as role models to their subordinates, something he witnessed first-hand during his time attached to the American military and perceived to be the inverse of Korean military norms. Having followed the previous American presidential election closely, he also felt that the capacity to articulate and debate one’s position effectively was important for political leadership, although not a feature of South Korea’s current political life. Jae Kwan believed firmly in the need for individuals to earn their position in life and demonstrate merit rather than inheriting status or privilege. His plans to pursue greater levels of EFL proficiency through further study and his emphasis on attitudes and behaviours that foster success were in keeping with this overall perspective. His determination to succeed reflects what Abelman et al. (2009)

characterize as “new models of personhood”, which “proclaim personal responsibility and authorship for one’s economic and general wellbeing” (p. 232). Nonetheless, it is clear that Jae Kwan’s experience has been deeply impacted by socioeconomic factors that are somewhat obscured in his discourse. His access to costly after-school education and opportunity to study abroad preceded his entry to a national rather than private university, and enabled him to apply for the KATUSA role. His contemplation of postgraduate study abroad and commitment to developing his EFL proficiency and global experience is also enabled by the economic confidence of a university graduate likely to receive financial support from his family as he pursues his future career.

In my fourth case example, I analyse the attributions of the only participant in my study whose discourse did not reflect a neoliberal position. Rather, she emphasized the social contexts of her language learning and intercultural experiences and opportunities over time.

7.6.4 Hyeran

Hyeran was a woman aged 50 – 55 (see Chapter 5.6). A part-time teacher of English language, English literature and poetry, her first encounter with a ‘native speaker’ of English did not occur until her university years.

Despite a love of the English language and a deep devotion to her role as a teacher, Hyeran’s discourse revealed anxieties and tensions arising from the associations between class and EFL in South Korea, and the related advantages in the job market for native speaker teachers and those with postgraduate qualifications from western universities. During the interviews, Hyeran recounted a negative experience with one of the first foreign teachers she met, an American woman with whom Hyeran and several classmates took privately arranged group lessons in Seoul and who was dismissive of their abilities to become teachers of English due to their limited conversational abilities.

“...each one of us had pride about our intelligence or about ourselves, but we were very surprised and upset. She asked us 'what are you going to do in the future' and all of us answered 'English teacher'

and she suddenly laughed 'how can you teach English with your such basic English skills' ”

Hyeran felt more comfortable when studying with a Korean American professor during her postgraduate program whose familiarity with the context and culture enabled him to demonstrate greater understanding and respect for his students' future roles as EFL teachers.

Hyeran expressed complex emotions toward the influx of foreign teachers and the changes that have occurred in the teaching of her major over time. She notes that during her years as a student there had been few foreign professors working in Korea and that it was assumed graduates such as herself would be the teachers of English at the university level, but that the prospects for students in her discipline are now less promising due to the tendency to employ native speakers. She recalls very fondly a period of four years she enjoyed teaching at the university language centre surrounded by young, diverse, native-speaker instructors. Yet she is critical of the tendency of foreign teachers to flout social norms such as dress code while teaching in Korea, and feels moments of resentment toward them:

“...different thinking ... I don't know what the occasion was but I felt sometimes ohhh arrogant... arrogant native English teachers... that kind of exclamation comes out of mind and heart... I cannot remember the exact incident... but occasionally I felt that kind of emotions”

She participated in a demonstration in support of Korean teachers of English at another university after they were dismissed to make way for native speakers, a decision that was reversed following strong protests.

“Koreans learning English or English literature should be given opportunity to teach as well... you know? We are discriminated in both places... when we go to America they discriminate against color of people and even in our own land we are discriminated because we are Koreans so it's very unreasonable situation”

Hyeran has lived through decades of dramatic social change, and became an adult and a teacher at a time when national education policies focused on provision of equal opportunity to all students and actively discouraged competition. Although she had the opportunity to pursue an academic path after high school, she did not come from a privileged social class; she was born in the countryside into a family working in agriculture that later moved to the town to take industrial jobs. It is perhaps due to her generational perspective that Hyeran's discourse on EFL is so distinct from the other participants in orienting to the social context and economic conditions of the sector. Her interviews do not focus upon her own attainment of English proficiency or any struggles or successes along the way, nor does she express any particular sentiments of confidence or insecurity regarding her EFL competence. I inferred from her discourse across several interviews and email conversations that Hyeran did not think it necessary for Korean teachers of EFL to attain native-like proficiency, and that she felt their skills, talents and contribution should be measured and valued in other ways. She acknowledges the privilege associated with western society and culture in South Korea, but says that her studies have brought her to a different perspective over time:

“As Koreans we think higher of western culture like England, America... when I studied English literature I found out basically human beings are the same... when I read DH Lawrence his struggle with mum and romantic poets who are exiled from England because the political view are different or sexual, sexually too free behaviour like Lord Byron... and when I read the Charles Dicken novel about David Copperfield, Great Expectations I see they are struggling too, they are suffering, and there are unfulfilled desires so my... high view on western culture 'they will live a happy life' totally broken and I did not envy at all after studying many years of English literature...”

English language and literature for Hyeran is simply her chosen discipline and passion, and she expresses great pleasure in teaching as well as researching, writing and socialising in English. Although hardworking and accomplished, she is the only participant in this study whose discourse does not reflect the neoliberal ideologies of self-

sufficiency and attainment through sheer determination and self-discipline, instead consistently pointing to the social structures that have variously enabled or blocked her path.

7.7 Discussion

The above analyses illustrate that the development and use of a foreign language is emotionally complex (see Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000; Pavlenko, 2005; Coffey & Street, 2008; Nunan & Choi, 2010). As Pavlenko notes:

Creative, intellectual, and humorous adults in their native language, L2 users often resent their new fumbling and mumbling personae and the inability to position themselves as competent adults (2005, p. 216).

Thus, in mediating intercultural experience, foreign language use can both restrict and empower its speakers, and is frequently a site of tension. Greater recognition could therefore be given to the emotional dimensions and power dynamics of pressure to learn and use a foreign tongue in order to access not only global but domestic opportunities and status. This suggests that language competence deserves a special prominence in intercultural competence frameworks. Byram (2012) notes that many conceptualisations and models of intercultural competence do not take account of linguistic competences, focusing on areas of development, adaptation and causation as well as psychological traits. Many theoretical constructs of intercultural competence downplay the significance of not only language, but also the emotional dimensions of language use in intercultural dealing. These tend to position language use within a broader set of communication and interaction skills, obscuring its emotional implications:

“It seems likely that conceptualizations of intercultural communication competence have depicted interactants as too conceptual, too rational, too conscious, and too intentional. With the exception of anxiety, even the motivation component tends to be overly cognitive in nature, and even anxiety is often viewed as a product of rational information processing. In this regard, emotion appraisal theories and affect theories may make important complements to existing models of intercultural competence” (Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009, p. 35)

This finding has relevance not only to the relatively small group of South Korean speakers of EFL who participated in this study, but to speakers of languages around the world that are not considered global languages or *lingua francas*.

Moreover, it is also clear that a neoliberal ideology can compound the emotional dimensions of EFL learning and use, since social and economic class privilege mediate access to learning opportunities. In this chapter, I examined the degree to which each focal participant had positioned their language proficiency as an individual achievement in keeping with the neoliberal philosophy, or alternatively as an outcome of socioeconomically determined opportunities. These case studies highlight the emotional implications of the neoliberal positioning of English in Korean society. While two focal participants take a critical view of the emphasis on EFL in Korean society, the onerous task of acquiring proficiency in the language remains typically positioned as an individual responsibility. The negative emotions, anxiety, stress and insecurity associated with their EFL learning are therefore shouldered as individual burdens, and not viewed as related in any way to structural disadvantage and the social context. Achievement is similarly positioned as an individual success, with the naturalization of competence (J. S.-Y. Park, 2010; J. S. Y. Park, 2013) obscuring the role of economic advantage.

...the working of class-based privileges that underlie the realities of neoliberal projects is obscured ... what they aim for in their desire for English becomes the ideal personhood celebrated in the global world in which competence and social standing are achieved through one's determination and self-discipline, rather than through inhuman and unfair competition (J. S. Y. Park, 2013, p. 300)

Only one participant in this study, Hyeran, demonstrated a consistent resistance to neoliberal thought, and subsequently to its emotional implications with regard to failure and success. This analysis indicates that greater recognition needs to be given to not only the emotional dimensions, but the socially situated dynamics of foreign language learning and use.

In tracing the relationship between intercultural education and intercultural communication, Byram and Guilherme (2010) note that while the field of applied linguistics has increasingly focused on intercultural communication, the notion of

intercultural competence is the object of much interdisciplinary and contested theorisation, an observation echoed by Guo (2010) and Cots and Llorca (2010), writing in the same volume. The rise of holistic frameworks of intercultural competence has brought attention to its complexity, and the need to develop more than simply lexicogrammatical or discourse competence to achieve success in intercultural dealing. I agree with the focus on dimensions such as attitude and identity, as well as the skills of interpreting, relativising and evaluating reflected in current models of intercultural competence. However, in this chapter, I have returned the focus to the role of language competence, and in particular English as a Foreign Language competence in enabling, restricting and mediating intercultural encounters. I argue that alternate or extended models are needed to more adequately theorize the intercultural in the context of foreign language use. Such models may be usefully differentiated from frameworks of intercultural competence that seek to account for the dimensions of intercultural experience for monolingual speakers of lingua francas such as English, who are more able to navigate intercultural encounters, travel, live and work interculturally within their mother tongue.

In the next chapter, I turn to an analysis of participants' ideologies of culture when their discourse is focused upon foreign others, or culture in the abstract. I also explore their personal meanings of intercultural competence, and the factors to which they attribute success (or failure) in intercultural encounters.

Chapter 8: Ideologies of Culture & the Intercultural

In this chapter, I explore how the participants talk about culture. I analyse how they talk about culture in relation to specific individuals, and how they talk about it in a general or abstract sense. I also explore their personal meanings of intercultural competence, making visible how the participants attribute success in their intercultural encounters. This extends an aspect of my analysis in Chapter 7, in which I examined how participants attributed their perceived failures and success as speakers of EFL.

I begin with a discussion of essentialist and non-essentialist ideologies, drawing upon the concept of *block* and *thread* discourses of culture (Holliday, 2016), and overview my approaches to analysis. Findings from this analysis make visible that experiences within intercultural third places can be ambivalent, marginalising and conflictive. I explore how essentialist ideologies of culture are commonly enacted in the block discourses of two very different participants, whose discourses also feature non-essentialist threads. The analysis highlights a pattern for these participants of making recourse to essentialist views of culture in discourses on difficult or confronting encounters with difference. I also demonstrate that these participants attribute success in intercultural settings in the main to language skills and personal factors (i.e. behaviour and disposition). The role privilege and opportunity play in enabling their development of intercultural competences is downplayed. This echoes findings in Chapter 7, where the majority of the participants' ideologies of EFL achievement were demonstrated to reflect a neoliberal ethos, emphasizing personal responsibility and obscuring the role of socioeconomic factors in accessing opportunities.

8.1 Block and Thread Discourses of Culture

Reductive ideologies that view groups or individuals through the lens of particular categories, for example race and gender, are critiqued as essentialist in contemporary scholarship (Lavanchy et al., 2011). Nonetheless, essentialist views of culture endure in both popular and academic discourse, typically reliant upon a concept of national cultures containing homogenous groups of people in a particular place, speaking a particular language (Holliday, Hyde & Kullman 2010, Cole & Meadows 2013). Holliday (2011) suggests that ‘neo-essentialism’ is reflected in discourses recognizing subcultures that are not nationally defined, but that nonetheless continue to frame behaviour that is atypical of national stereotype as the exception to the rule. In contrast, non-essentialist perspectives recognise culture’s social role, but accept that people can identify with and be influenced by multiple cultures at different times, unconstrained by national borders.

Holliday (2016) describes the realisation in discourse of ideologies of cultural essentialism as *block* discourses. These typically take a comparative stance and emphasize differences between cultures. In contrast, *thread* discourses reflect non-essentialist perspectives. These are fostered within small culture environments where individuals are able to draw upon their individually complex personal resources to make identifications with others that transcend cultural blocks:

“Talking instead about threads of cultural experience focuses our attention on diverse aspects of our past that mingle with the experiences that we find and the threads of the people that we meet” (2016 p. 320).

Amadasi & Holliday (2017a, 2017b) demonstrate that blocks and threads are not mutually exclusive within the same discourse, and that: “In reality individuals can switch from one mode to the other within the same short statement” (Holliday p. 321). Analysis that maps moment to moment shifts between blocks and threads across stretches of discourse can therefore make visible patterns within individuals’ ideological landscapes of culture.

8.2 Overview of Approaches to Analysis

I use Holliday's concept of block and thread discourse as a guiding framework for analysis of how participants speak about culture in the context of cultural others and in the abstract. I identify blocks and threads using MCA and deictic analysis (see Chapter 4). These two approaches to discourse analysis are useful tools for systematically identifying and illustrating *how* participants enact block discourses that reflect essentialist ideologies of culture (Holliday 2016), and also signalling where thread discourses emerge.

How MCA and deictic analysis are used is exemplified in the short extract below. Here Chul Suk (see Chapter 5.3) speaks about the aspects of Western and South Asian societies he admires or feels he can learn from. MCA categories (in italics) make visible how Chul Suk uses category resonant description to build a categorisation of Westerners as 'open' and a categorisation of South Asian societies as 'poor but content'. Deictic analysis (in bold), makes visible an essentialist view, as Chul Suk consistently refers to people from these societies collectively:

"I think there are *a lot of good things* that I *can learn from* **western society**. Especially when it comes to *developing friendships ... uhh... between different age, different ages, people with different ages...* and I think in some areas **they** *are more open to differences and different ideas...* and I think that's *a good thing*, but when I saw some **people from India** or any **other countries around India...** *they* *are very satisfied, they are very content with what they have already* and **they** *are very humble when it comes to* **their** *economic status and their circumstances ... so basically I think you can learn a lot from all of them"*

While this example demonstrates the use of these analyses to highlight the presence of stereotypes within block discourses, deictic analysis is used below on further extracts from the same participant's discourse to highlight a shift toward a thread discourse (Holliday 2016). In this next example, Chul Suk is self-conscious of making an unfair generalisation, clarifying his initial deictic reference to they/them by distinguishing between 'people in general' and individuals he knows well. In his discussion of how migrant workers in Korea who come from less economically developed nations perceive him, MCA categories highlight the stereotypes that he resists being reduced to on the basis of his Korean identity.

“A lot of **them** *just think...* ... **they** *don't*, when I say some things ... well I'm just talking about **people in general**... there are **some people** I'm *very acquainted with* and *very familiar with* and **they** *are different* ... but *when I meet them for the first time they think I'm a Korean* and I'm *relatively high*, you know *I'm a relative high position economically*, which is *sometimes not true* at all (laughs) ... but I *don't think they totally identify with me* because ummm *the situations are totally different*, a lot of you know most of the times, so... *that bothers me sometimes*... because **they** *don't see me they just see me as a Korean* and you know...”

Above, Chul Suk acknowledges diversity among members of this group (‘there are some people...they are different’), positioning some people as ‘exceptions to the rule’, i.e. he uses what Holliday has characterized as a neo-essentialist discourse (2011). His discomfort with being perceived as part of a membership category of ‘wealthy Koreans’ (‘a relatively high position economically’, ‘they don’t see me’ ‘they just see me as a Korean’) indicates a desire to also be seen as an individual, in a non-essentialized manner. Below, in a third extract he describes a significant friendship with a non-Korean member of his religious community, the Jehovah’s Witnesses with whom he shares an interest in music and composing. Here, a thread discourse emerges. MCA analysis highlights that the relationship entails freedoms that Chul Suk considers impossible in Korean society (‘it’s not sort of a relationship or friendship you can imagine possible’). Deictic analysis, specifically Chul Suk’s use of the inclusive pronoun ‘we’ makes his identification with his friend readily visible.

“... the friend from the UK, **he's** like, **he's** in his 40s so it's *not sort of a relationship or friendship you can imagine possible in Korea*, cause if I spoke that way to a **Korean** adult, a man in his 40s it'd be totally inappropriate, impolite... but I can, umm talk about some of my ideas and you know some worries, **we** can just as friends **we** can talk about those and talk with those... so I felt... a lot of freedom, you know. Even more freedom than when I talk to **Koreans**”

Following analysis of the block and thread discourses on culture evident in the participants’ discourse, I analyse their attributions related to being intercultural. I make visible the factors these participants believe to be significant in facilitating their successes or achievements in intercultural settings. I examine whether they attribute success and

failure in intercultural interactions to internal factors (claiming personal responsibility on the basis of dispositions or behaviours), or conversely to external factors (acknowledging the role of socioeconomic and other opportunities). In the extract below, Jae Kwan (Chapter 5.1) credits aspects of his intercultural development to his own efforts, but also acknowledged the significance of opportunity in his posting with American soldiers stationed in South Korea during his mandatory two year military service period.

...before I was very introverted person... and even though I knew something, some culture, but I never tried act or behave accord, in accord with that knowledge that I already know, and ... also maybe the opportunity problem. I don't have any opportunity to do that. However ... yeah, I, I learned many things and I and I had to, maybe, I tried to behave and I tried to understand why they are doing that and why it is so different ...

Jae Kwan's discourse across the three interviews he participated in almost exclusively attributed his intercultural learning and development of language proficiency (see Chapter 6) to the importance of self-management and personal action, a perspective consistent with a neoliberal ideology of learning. However, in this extract it is clear that he also acknowledges other factors, directly attributing his previous reticence to activate cultural knowledge to the 'opportunity problem'.

8.3 Focal Participants

I selected two participants' discourses for close analysis to allow an in-depth exploration of the complex and often contradictory ideologies that are identifiable across each individual's discourses on their intercultural experience. This enabled me to exercise greater transparency and rigor in my analysis, making visible patterns and shifts in each participant's enactment of block and thread discourses across their multiple interviews. This approach also allows me to discuss the analysis in close relation to the participant's personal life trajectory.

Two female participants were selected because they provided distinct yet illustrative case examples. Both women were well travelled and very fluent in English.

Both appeared confident in their intercultural interactions. Their discourses are also in many ways the most dissimilar of all the participants in my study, and so illustrate the complexity and variability of experience and sense-making across the wider participant group. Despite these differences, analysis reveals a pattern in both participants' discourses that was also common to variable extents across the full group of eight. Therefore, while by no means representative or generalizable, the findings discussed in these case examples may be considered illustrative of this aspect of the wider participant group. In the following sections, I explore each case in turn, before drawing upon both cases in my concluding discussion.

8.3.1 Hee-jung

Hee-jung [chapter 5.7] is in her early forties, and was born to Korean immigrant parents in Argentina. Although she did not set foot in Korea until after her high school graduation, she has remained resident on the peninsula since that time. Her personal narrative of intercultural contact and learning is dominated by a search for belonging and cultural identification, in which an essentialist *block* ideology of culture prevails.

Hee-jung's awareness of national, ethno linguistic boundaries was a salient feature of her adolescence, when she consciously disassociated from her family's Korean cultural identity. Critical of behaviour she observed in the Korean immigrant community, as a young woman Hee-jung chose to actively identify as an Argentinian. Her account of this early period firmly establishes the two groups in nationally circumscribed, discrete and somewhat oppositional categories. Her use in the extracts below of self-exclusive pronouns (bold) self-exclusive references to the Korean nationality, and category resonant descriptions (italics) exemplifies how she constructs a block discourse across her interviews.

“I start thinking *I'm not* **Korean**, I don't want to be **Korean**, I want to be *an Argentinian*”

“Why are **they** [Koreans] *thinking only about* **themselves**, and *not thinking about the neighbourhood?*”

“**they** [Koreans] are *not a civil culture*, **they** are like, like Indians for **us**”

“without knowing what **the Koreans** were talking about I only was watching the exterior, so for me **they** were *fighting*”

Despite Hee-jung’s desire for distance from her parents’ community in her youth, she felt a sense of connectedness with other young Koreans around her, due to their shared experience of not fully belonging to either society. Hee-jung describes the ‘in-between’ identity she shared with her peers from a deficit perspective; in her view belonging to more than one culture did not enrich these young people, but instead prevented them from fully belonging anywhere. In the extracts below, Hee-jung’s repeated use of an inclusive pronoun indicates her clear identification with her peers, while her category resonant descriptions build a clear sense of discomfort in their common predicament of not belonging ‘100%’ to either of the two national culture blocks, which are implicitly perceived as mutually exclusive.

“wanting to be *something that we never can be* ... but at the same time it’s not... 100% this what **we** want to be...**we** want to be *something*... ah **we** want to fit in some place in some culture... but there is, **we** are strange in this, in Argentina and **we** are strange in Korean situation too... so that’s **we** are like in the limbo (laughs)”

Hee-jung’s discourse here does not reflect a welcome or celebrated sense of cultural hybridity through the intermingling of peoples and cultures (Kumaravadivelu 2008, see also Chapter 2). Instead, Hee-jung’s focus is upon what she and her peers were *not*, but nonetheless desired to be, which evokes a sense of illegitimacy, and marginalisation. Hee-jung’s negative experience of being ‘in-between’ two cultures is bound to an essentialist ideology of culture, which denies her and her Korean-Argentinian peers a sense of full or authentic membership in either, reflected in category resonant descriptions below.

“[in Argentina]...**we** don’t... *physically we are different but our thinking is the same*... but *not completely the same*... and here [in Korea] **we** are *physically, uh, the same but we think differently*”

At college age Hee-jung began to develop interest in her Korean heritage through the study of pottery, which led her to develop an appreciation of Korean ceramics and to make more positive associations with Korean culture. As she recalls this period, her category resonant descriptions build a sudden sense of affinity with her Korean heritage, reinforced by deictic references claiming her roots.

“Korean pottery is *very developed*, and start reading books, and appeared **Korea** and the jars and ...*everything was so beautiful, and so detailed, and I like details and tiny things*. So, *it was part of me*, so... the thing **I** was *trying to deny, it was part of me*, I realized that, so **I** start *having curious* about *all of my...* roots, where **I** am from, what is **Korea...**”

Despite this newfound interest, Hee-jung states that her initial journey to Korea as a young woman was not motivated by her newly awakened curiosity or a desire to find cultural belonging there. Instead, she seized the opportunity to travel because it offered a chance for greater independence from her parents. Unexpectedly then, she experienced a powerful epiphany when she reached Korea. Category resonant description and deictic analysis reveal her emphasis on the profound sense of home she felt upon her arrival at the airport near Seoul.

“I remember I arrived to the [Korean] **airport** and it was so strange... because at that moment I felt that *my soul ... it was living here* [in Korea], *only my body was living in Argentina*, and *that moment they gather*. It was, yeah... oh **here** *is the place I have to live*, I felt that!”

In the early months after her arrival, she studied to improve her Korean language skills with other internationally born and educated ethnically Korean students, finding a sense of belonging among this diverse group. Hee-jung’s fond recollection of this time differs substantially from her self-consciousness regarding her cultural identity as an adolescent. Among these peers a small culture was formed based on their common experience as returnees that transcended differences of background; this is reinforced in the inclusive deictic references Hee-jung uses below to construct a thread discourse.

“...from Australian from Jordan, from America, from China, everybody **Korean** students living in another, that was, for all of **us** was *a very good experience* cause at that moment **we** feel like *we are a community we are*

all together understanding each situation ...that experience gave me like an awakening about how big and how amazing the world is”

She then started an undergraduate degree program in Seoul, but immediately felt apart from her Korean classmates. Hee-jung uses category resonant description to construct a block discourse emphasizing the homogeneity of this new peer group, comparing it unfavourably with the diversity she had enjoyed among her fellow international students while studying Korean. She notes the emphasis on conformity and competition that she observed among her undergraduate classmates and her own sense of distance from them. Her self-exclusive deictic references such as those used in the extract below contrast sharply with her earlier expressions of inclusion in the international group.

“Once I got to college here... there was *very strange feeling* that **I'm not part of *them***... like in the first year, the beginning you have an orientation so, **people** were singing and dancing *all together the same movement, behaviour* and that was *strange for me* because I felt like **they** are like *robots programmed with the same movement*”

As Hee-jung's discourse moves her story forward, category resonant descriptions continue to position Korean society as repressive and conformist. She felt equally distant from colleagues at her first job in a large Korean company, where she describes being stifled by a strict social hierarchy.

“It was like *what the superior said is like God's words* and the... average um employees *don't have any opportunity to express themselves, only obey*”

In that position she was expected to attend male-dominated evening drinking parties at which she found the treatment of women insulting, and was chided by a co-worker for her negative reaction to this.

“... the older person there told me 'if **you** want to adapt to **our** country **you** have to *accept these things*' (laughs, shocked)...”

“I could see how *competitive* the **Korean** society is, and how *crude* it could be sometimes”

Hee-jung attributes negative aspects of this workplace's culture to the norms of Korean society which she dislikes. She states that her principles would not allow her to accept the norms of that working environment. Hee-jung sought other work, securing a

position at the embassy of a Latin American nation, and remaining employed there for nearly five years, before leaving for family reasons. In this less culturally homogenous environment she felt happier and more respected. There she experienced only minor misunderstandings between employees like herself who had lived part of their lives abroad and those who had been raised in Korea. These related to the varying levels of Spanish language proficiency among staff and also to different preferences in how workload was shared, which she views as a cultural preference. Describing this, Hee-jung's deictic references continue to align her to others with international experience, while category resonant descriptions of Korean colleagues maintain a block discourse which casts them as homogenous, unified in their preference for conformity and collective action.

“...the way of working is different **we** are more like individual working and **they** are *group working, want to do something all together* and **we** *want to do by ourselves*. That is *uncomfortable*”

Despite the challenges she encountered living in Korean society, Hee-jung remained committed to building a life on the peninsula. While working at the embassy, Hee-jung married her husband, an academic with whom she shares two teenage children, and who she describes as ‘completely Korean’. The couple speak only in Korean together, and Hee-jung is candid regarding the challenges of her marriage, which she attributes to differences in culture, but also gender and the influence of her urban upbringing versus his childhood in the countryside. However, differences in communicative style, particularly levels of directness, she attributes to Korean culture rather than her husband's character.

“...**his** mind is *totally different* (laughs) *so different* and then at that moment I couldn't realize that **Korean** *style of speaking is not direct*. **They** speak like uh, *indirectly* and I couldn't realize that so when I say something **he** *always interpreted that I wanted to say something else ...* and there was *constant misunderstanding*. And **he** says something *I accept as he said* but **he** *wants to say something give me some message that I never get* (laughs). So something came from that situation, *even though the language was the same the style or the mindsetting was different*, and that brought **us** *a lot of problems, yeah many times I wanted to get divorced* (laughs)”

After her husband's career took the couple away from Seoul and her work at the embassy, and while living in regional towns and cities, Hee-jung focused on raising her two young children. During this period, the pressure she felt to conform to Korean social norms increased. She tried to 'be a real Korean' and adapt herself further, learning traditional Korean crafts and cooking, which she believed were a path toward the cultural belonging she sought. When talking about this period, she emphasizes the conscious decision she made to try to integrate herself within her block view of Korean society.

“...once I was there without job in [small regional city] I *decided to be a **Korean***, I *have to be I am a **Korean***, I *have to be a real **Korean** 100% totally*. So I *tried to ... think as a **Korean***, *tried to learn **Korean** culture* or those kind of things”

Following this, the family experienced living in America for 12 months due to her husband's work. In the US she made an effort to interact outside of the Korean immigrant community, and felt strongly that the people around her were happier and freer than Koreans. During Hee-jung's reflections on her time in America, a thread oriented discourse opens, as she describes multiple experiences including English classes, cooking and craft classes as well as volunteering and a social program through her husband's university in America that provided opportunities for her to engage with others she found common ground with. In contrast to block discourses, Amadasi and Holliday note that thread discourses have “the power to extend and carry us across the boundaries that are encouraged by cultural blocks” (2017 p259). However, while Hee-jung builds thread discourses from her category resonant descriptions of America as free and open, she concurrently categorises Korean society as repressive in an on-going block discourse around Korean culture.

“This is *like paradise* I thought, yeah, because ... you can *be yourself* and *not be criticized* about nothing. You can *be what you want*”

“I felt that Korea is *a culture that make you as a robot*. Or... yeah, *makes you behave in a way that is not natural*”

“For me, in my inside was *totally like being in prison* and *being freed*. Because I was like '*I have to be in that place, I have to be this way*' it was like *a stuck, narrow-minded way of thinking...* but *I can be free! I can be*

a freer person, have more activity with all kinds of persons, and that is what I like.

During her time in America, Hee-jung traces a second epiphany about her own identity to a conversation she had with a hairdresser of Chinese heritage, who responded simply to Hee-jung's inquiry about her cultural background that she was 'international'. This conversation enabled Hee-jung to imagine a third place (Kramsch, 1993) in which her multiple cultural identifications would not result in a deficit of full belonging to any particular group, but instead form an identity of their own.

“Ohh! That shocked me because *I can be international! I don't have to be Korean I don't have to be Argentinian I can be an international person!* And from that moment I start *trying to be more international* (laughs)”

“I started thinking that **Koreans**, even though **I am Korean I ...** don't have to *live in that way*. There are *many options* in our life, and **America**, *living in America helped me in that process of discovering this other* [laughs] *part*”

Despite the joy she expressed at this realisation, Hee-jung later acknowledges that fundamentally she still feels 'Korean'. Being 'international' remains an aspirational identity for her as a Korean with international experiences and perspectives. As Hee-jung reflects on the impact her diversity of cultural identifications has had on her sense of self, she returns to an essentialist discourse, using a rare self-inclusive deictic reference when referencing 'Korean' and drawing upon a populist Korean ethno national concept of pure bloodlines or *sunhyeol* [see Chapter 3].

“even though **Argentina** *is good for me*, **America** *too is good for me*, I think that *in the inside of me* I still think that **I am Korean** (laughs) even though *I want to be international*”

“I think that it is *in our blood*, **Koreans** used to say that **we** *are a unique race, with a unique origin*, so perhaps it's that, I don't know... but it's something that, *an energy that brings us to our country* and... even though **we** *are not comfortable we need to be part of our country and our people*”

The strategies of MCA and deictic analysis highlight how Hee-jung constructs a predominantly essentialist discourse of culture across her interviews; cultures are monolithic and mutually exclusive, members of particular cultures share common traits

that explain individual behaviours, and people fundamentally belong to one national culture group (Holliday, Hyde & Kullman 2010). Hee-jung entertains the possibility of being an ‘international person’, yet this identity arguably represents another block. For Hee-jung, being a global, cosmopolitan person is also circumscribed by particular standards:

“being international is like following the standards that are followed by the developed countries”

In defining and referring to ‘cultural identity’ in nationally bound, essentialist terms, Hee-jung’s discourse presents the full cultural ‘membership’ that she desires as inherently inaccessible to someone like herself. Her determination to provide her children with a singular and strong sense of Korean identity is perhaps a reaction to the difficulty of her personal experience of feeling caught in-between two opposing block cultures.

“one of the things I want my kids to have an education here or spend their childhood here is to make them *feel like they are really Koreans*, don't have my *conflict about identity*, I think that if you have *one strong identity* you can *go anywhere* and *no have problems*, you you can *match*. But I think that *I spent, wasted a lot of time* trying to *solve my identity problem* and that is a *waste of time*”

Hee-jung’s discourses on culture encompass complex and seemingly contradictory views, yet patterns can be identified. When Hee-jung speaks about her youth and early adulthood, a period in which she struggled with her own identity and frequently felt different to those around her, essentialist ideologies of those cultures from which she felt excluded dominate. However, she constructs a non-essentialist thread discourse in relation to her early months in Korea, which she spent with diverse international peers with whom she was able to identify. Within this group her transcultural experience was not unusual, and their differences presented opportunities for learning about the world. Her subsequent negative experiences of being an outsider among local Korean classmates and colleagues are again represented in block discourses. A similar pattern of invoking cultural blocks to make sense of negative experience is observable in her discourse on her marriage, where she attributes certain conflicts with her husband to their differences in cultural conditioning. Hee-jung frames positive experiences in non-

essentialist terms, but constructs block discourses to explain difficult or problematic encounters.

Nonetheless, during those sections of Hee-jung's interviews where discussion of intercultural learning and what it means to her to be intercultural is explicitly the topic, Hee-jung emphasizes the need to locate commonalities that transcend cultural blocks. In the extract below she makes a light-hearted reference to her need to study more in order to feel more comfortable with westerners, with an emphasis on finding opportunities to construct thread discourses (Holliday 2016):

“I can be *very comfortable* with **Latin American** friends or at first, from the begining or **Koreans** but with **American** I feel because of the *less things in common I have with **them*** and the *less things I know about **them*** so I think that *that is the problem, I have to study more about [laughs] **the western***... I think that *that is the gap, things in common...* if you have *less the gap will be bigger* and if you have *less things in common, yeah, bigger* and if you have *more things in common the world will be thinner*”

For Hee-jung, being intercultural extends beyond the task of expanding her knowledge of others and finding common ground. She references aspects of disposition and attitude as enabling comfort and mutual understanding in her own intercultural encounters.

“the sense of *being comfortable* to be, ahh... to be sure that where you go, or where you live, and the people you meet, you are going to *be able to understand them* and be... mmmm *can be friend with anybody...* yeah and *don't be afraid of, of have a gap with people...* I, *I enjoy being with people from every part of the world* so I think it's *some kind of comfortability and enjoyment*”

Hee-jung also places importance upon the discipline of acquiring foreign language skills, and utilising those skills to learn and experience beyond the boundaries of a singular cultural or linguistic point of view.

“what I *want about language* is *not a method to earn money or a profession*, what I *enjoy about language* is umm... for example if I'm interested in cooking *I can buy a cooking book in English or Spanish or Korean and make the food from those parts of the world and enjoy three cultures or more*. And or if I'm interested in psychology *I can read the*

book in English and understand perhaps 70% of what they said without a translation, read a book in English... Spanish or Korean... or meet a friend from Latin America, Korean or America or Europe... that, opens, very a lot of ... doors to me. And I think that it's made my life richer, yeah. I think that language is that, for me it's that enjoyment of... and enrichment of my life"

Her belief that language is an important vehicle for intercultural understanding is reinforced in how Hee-jung is raising her children. In the extract below she describes her desire to impart to them that foreign language skills can enable different ways of seeing and perceiving.

"I tried to, when we are watching a movie in English, no subtitles in Korean. When we are watching an exposition or something in that country in English only in English, try to educate that ... it is not a matter of translation it's a matter of feeling and try to understand from their point of view... in that way I'm trying to make them international"

Reflecting directly on intercultural learning and development from the perspective of a more confident and experienced woman in her forties, Hee-jung's discourse shifts away from cultural blocks, emphasizing instead the need to identify across cultural boundaries and better facilitate understanding from multiple perspectives. The exception to this is Hee-jung's typically block discourse in relation to Korean culture, which she continues to characterize as overly hierarchical, competitive and conservative. One way of viewing this is linking the shift to Hee-jung's personal biography and maturation. As a child of migrants, her early experiences of negotiating culture were of necessity rather than choice, and in recalling these experiences her discourse is substantially more visceral and less reasoned in tone. Now, as an adult and a mother who enjoys opportunities to travel and engage internationally by choice, Hee-jung is able to approach intercultural encounters from a less precarious position, and draw upon a significantly greater breadth of experience in her reflections. Her essentialist discourse around Korean culture can be linked to ongoing tensions in her negotiation of personal identity within that society, echoing the earlier pattern of making recourse to essentialist ideologies when making sense of negative experiences.

8.3.2 Aeran

In contrast to Hee-jung's experience, Aeran (chapter 5.8) was born and raised in Korea, where she now lives and works as an elementary school teacher and trainer in EFL methodology. Over three separate interviews she relates her personal narrative of intercultural contact and learning via detailed descriptions of relationships with individuals she has encountered and specific experiences she has had both in Korea and abroad. Her tendency to recount highly particularized, detailed anecdotes is conducive to the emergence of *thread* discourses, which are far more prevalent in her interviews than in Hee-jung's. Despite this contrast, the pattern of reverting to block cultural references to explain negative experiences or confronting behaviour that was visible in Hee-jung's discourse is also identifiable in Aeran's.

Aeran's first significant intercultural experience came via a friendship circle formed with an older female English teacher and her husband, who she met while taking evening classes during the early years of her teaching career. Her description of their friendship (which due to their difference in age would have contravened the norms of Korean society if they had both been Korean) emphasizes a strong connection between individuals and represents a clear thread discourse. This is consistently reflected in both category resonant descriptions (*italics*) of the relationships and deictic pronoun use (**bold**) in Aeran's extended turns during the interviews recalling this time. These patterns are illustrated in the extracts below:

*"I think she was in her late fifties or something... maybe not.... so you wouldn't be feeling the same way I think if you were becoming friends with Korean... .. I umm ... yeah I don't have anyone, like any Korean ... woman person umm you know with a friendship like you know I could describe this much, and she and I could really talk about everything you know she listened and I listened and **we** talked and **we** laughed... and **we** just had this weekend activity together and... it was fun"*

*"**We**, um on the weekend **we** travelled a lot... later her husband bought a car, the small Korean car and **we** travelled... and **we** umm you know ate things, ate food, yeah little picnics and ... she was very much into painting and she sometimes painted me... so I modelled for her (laughs) and um... that and... **we** talked about love and life and guys and girls"*

Later, this friendship circle extended to include Hee-jung's new neighbour, a Canadian woman of similar age that she initiated contact with.

*“I approached and I introduced myself and **we** looked like the same age and she said she was working at [regional city] university and *she really liked that I approached her first* and then I just left a memo like, on her door, and 'if you need a drinking friend or something just call me' and I just left my phone number and *she really liked that* so **we** started hanging out together and then I introduced - her name was [deleted], she was from Canada - so I introduced her to [names deleted] and the **four of us** started hanging out **together**.”*

Aeran notes that at the time she did not realize how special this friendship circle was, but in hindsight has a greater appreciation for her first group of foreign friends due to their sensitivity in not criticising her home culture. This was a contrast to later experiences with some English Program in Korea (EPIK) teachers and other members of the foreign community, whose negative attitudes towards Korea inhibited friendships from developing. Deictic analysis makes visible a striking contrast between Aeran's thread discourses reflecting on her identifications with these friends versus her sense of distance from other foreigners who were less positive in relation to Korea.

*“**They**'ve actually never said anything negative about Korea, like Korean culture and **they** didn't do that... and I've met some more foreign, not **my** friends, but some **foreigners** you know talking negative things about Korea and um... that made me like feel distant from **them**, so I've never made friends with any like **foreigners** who were very negative about **my** own culture so... so at the moment I didn't know that that made **us** very close **together** but now I have realized that maybe that was **them** who made that possible for **us** to be friends”*

Aeran then pursued a graduate qualification in TESOL in the United States of America. She describes being initially motivated by a need to extricate herself from an unpleasant working environment rather than a desire to spend time abroad. She views her experience in the US as both cushioned and limited by her decision to study in an area

with an established Korean community. The extracts below highlight through category resonant description how Aeran viewed the Korean expatriate community and American people as distinct, mutually exclusive groups.

“Choose the place where there are a lot of **Koreans** you would *get a lot of help*, so *your life would be easier* and *you are not going to be lonely* but ... you are going, *your life is going to be constantly monitored* and you are *not going to have the **American** friends*”

“right after I got out from the airport *there is a pick-up service by **Korean** community* and the guy who gave me a ride he said that you shouldn't go to the dorm, because it's terrible it's expensive and it's not very good so *we will help you to find a place*”

“**they** showed the map and there is a boundary that they draw on the map so *'you live only here, don't go out of there,* it's going to be *dangerous for **Koreans***' (laughs) so ...”

“if you choose to go somewhere that *doesn't have many **Koreans*** then you would *learn English* or you would *make more **American** friends*”

The sense of being monitored by the Korean community extended into the classroom; in the extract below Aeran describes being chastised by an older Korean woman taking the same course of study for asking a question during class after struggling with a homework reading, and therefore, in this woman's view, representing the other Korean students poorly.

“During the break ... she came to me and *'you shouldn't have asked that question you're a **Korean** you make, you know you make **Koreans** look really bad'* but I didn't know and you know something like that. So one time I remember I cried about reading the article like three times”

Across successive anecdotes related to this time, Aeran builds a consistent image of the Korean community abroad as a tightly unified group which demanded conformity to the norms of society at home rather than those of the US. While she at times suffered restrictions as a result of this, she finds humour in the experience and readily includes herself in the fairly stereotypical and essentialized category of ‘Korean’ that she constructs, enacting a block discourse in reference to herself as a member of the culture.

In the extract below, and frequently throughout the interviews, Aeran seems conscious of interacting with a foreign interviewer, and takes on the role of cultural explainer. Here, deictic analysis highlights her self-inclusive block references to the Koreans, as she candidly discusses racial bias among students of English in relation to ‘native-speaker’ teachers.

“I think this is another **Korean** thing. When I studied in Buffalo, **we** Koreans, **we** you know, joked about it. **Koreans** are the only people who don't want to be learned from **Koreans**, especially English, when it comes to English. In Chinese community, you will make money if you teach English so Chinese ... umm so Chinese people they would go, they wouldn't mind learning from Chinese English speaking teachers who would teach them English, but umm... **Koreans** I think umm, yeah, **we** want native speakers. I think sometimes it's very discriminating too, even though you are perfectly Korean American so you would speak better English than your Korean... but **we** still look for this white American, Canadian, you know the images they get from the movies”

When discussing non-Korean classmates she studied with in the USA, Aeran notes the tension that underlies her relationships with Japanese people. She references the widespread historical animosity toward Japan on the Korean peninsula stemming from the experience of Japanese colonisation prior to WWII. Here she vacillates between category resonant descriptions and deixis that reflect both block and thread discourses.

“There are several **Japanese** classmates and *I really didn't understand them* and you know, **Koreans** *hate Japanese in general*, but uh once you meet **them** in person and if the **Japanese person** that *you would like*, you would *really like them*”

Recalling one Japanese classmate who she was fond of, her category resonant description is consistently positive, part of a thread discourse that reflects her awareness of this person as an individual.

“*she's really cute. She's uh, I think she was like the sunshine, she was always very giggling and she was always smiling*”

However, when explaining interactions with other Japanese classmates whom she felt less positive toward she uses a block discourse, making sense of the behaviour she disapproves of by ascribing it to Japanese culture. This extends to viewing a Japanese classmate's purportedly fabricated allegation of sexual assault against her Korean ex-boyfriend as a Japanese behaviour. In the extracts below she recalls an incident in which a Japanese classmate revealed to her that another Japanese student had cheated on an assessment. She explains that in the Korean community issues such as this, which could be considered shameful, would be dealt with only within the community. She disapproves of her Japanese classmate's choice to share this information outside the Japanese community, and assesses the behaviour as a reflection of a more individualistic Japanese mind-set.

“And I was quite shocked, like we were not even close, we are not even friends and she's telling me all this and I... didn't quite understand that”

*“I think **they** are very individual too. Like in **Koreans**, the case that the girl who wanted my advice about her friend's cheating, it would never happen. If it would happen it would happen in **Korean community**, so if you are a **Korean** and I am a **Korean**, if uh your boyfriend is cheating, your boyfriend is **Korean** then I would talk to you about this, so what should we do, so that's going to be **our** thing. But **Japanese community** it's all very individual so I do my thing and you do your thing and that's what I figured”*

After returning to Korea and taking up another teaching position, Aeran led an international cultural exchange project for her school which involved multiple trips accompanying class groups to Taiwan, as well as hosting visiting Taiwanese groups in Korea over several consecutive years. During this time she developed a significant friendship with her counterpart at the exchange school in Taiwan, inviting her to stay in her apartment rather than a hotel when she visited Korea, taking her on a local temple stay and experiencing Taiwanese nightlife with her during trips abroad. She was also supported by her friend during one of the school trips to Taiwan when an earthquake occurred, an experience she found terrifying. They continued to chat on online messaging services after the exchange project concluded. When recalling the many positive shared

experiences she had with her friend, Aeran consistently constructs thread discourses, visible in her use of deixis and category resonant description.

“we got very close because we had to exchange emails and we had to schedule everything together”

“So that was the first year and we had fun and we kept the good friendship”

“It was really funny and she's very lovely, she's really cute and she was loved by every teacher at my school so we had a fun time here and then we left and we cried”

“So we had a drinking game and they made me drink a lot and there was a very hot Taiwanese dish and I had to try that for punishment. And it was very much fun”

Nonetheless, when recounting situations she found uncomfortable in the friendship, Aeran made recourse to differences in culture as an explanation. In the extract below after explaining her sense of shock at discovering her Taiwanese friend's married male colleague was pursuing her romantically she casts both his behaviour and her friend's disclosure of this beyond her community as cultural differences.

“in Korea... I think, so that's a difference that I found. I um, it's if it's going to happen it's going to be very secret like you are not going to do write on the whiteboard on the website that you are suspecting, you could be suspecting there is someone else. Also, [friend] told me this and she and I were close ... but I wouldn't say something that would hurt the reputation of Koreans like, to a foreigner so it was very interesting”

In the years after the project concluded, Aeran's friend came out to her as a gay woman during an online chat. Aeran initially found this news confronting, and was afterwards unsure how to navigate the friendship. In the extract below, she casts this as an intercultural rather than an interpersonal experience. She makes sense of both this news and her friend's earlier casual mentions of extramarital affairs by constructing a block discourse in which both situations are viewed as possible due to the relatively liberal aspects of Taiwanese culture and society in comparison to South Korea.

“I think that's *the most distant umm the intercultural experience* for me. I think I've *never seen any lesbian Korean girl in my life* and... I've never seen the the.. *little fling in school* that could happen in school like you know [friend] and [friend's colleague] had and... [friend] said a lot of things like you know *it's very common in Taiwanese schools that principals have a relationship with another married principal...* so she, she *just casually said that* [friend's colleague] *has feelings for her* and you know talking about *just being a mistress* or something... I thought the *Taiwan is really very liberal in that way*, so that's very new”

While Aeran's discourse frequently reflects a pattern of making recourse to block discourses of culture to explain uncomfortable interactions, she also at times displays a reflective orientation, acknowledging multiple possible interpretations of particular encounters. For example, in the extract below she discusses her internal conflict after an encounter in the street in the US with an African American man, which prompted her to question both her own behaviour and his.

“...so I was walking toward the supermarket and the big black guy came up and I got a little scared and I'm not a very smiley ... face I, I'm I look serious all the time and he just approached and I got a little scared and I was just avoiding him like this [mimes shying away] and he pushed me like this [mimes] and he said put on a smile a little bit for me and I... was trying to... I *replayed this in my mind many times later that night, like was that my fault or was that his fault* and I think *some of Afro-American guys they got offended by Asian girls* like because *they think that Asian girls ... discriminate the black guys* so maybe he was thinking I was doing that but I was doing my own thing I always look a little frowny and get scared of stranger so *even if he was a big white guy it would be the same thing* and... so maybe I should smile more... or maybe he was just being rude...”

Aeran readily acknowledges experiencing a high level of anxiety in unfamiliar environments. This may in part explain the good humour she displays regarding the limitations imposed by the Korean community on her lifestyle during her sojourn in the US, as these restrictions were also accompanied by extensive support. However, the anxiety she describes contrasts sharply with her apparent confidence at home, where she

is also considered highly accomplished professionally. In her discourse on becoming interculturally competent, Aeran is sharply self-critical, focusing on her disposition as an obstacle and the personal development she feels she needs to be more confident in the outside world.

“I think *it's my personality, I don't go out and adventure...* “

“I think it would take me more time to *change my attitude* or... I think if I spend like 5 more years or 10 more years [abroad] I would *become a more independent person*, like I would travel, *maybe I would be able to travel alone*”

“I'm used to my Korean life again and... *I'm scared* (laughs) *so travelling alone, I can not imagine, so I don't do much*”

“*I have my own comfort zone, so in my comfort zone I'm very confident and I, I see myself clearly and I can make myself clear to others too. But out of my comfort zone I think I am not, I'm a different person*”

Although her negative self-evaluation contrasts with Hee-jung's sense of ease and comfort in intercultural encounters or new environments, Aeran's discourse nonetheless echoes Hee-jung's emphasis on the importance of attitude and disposition in developing intercultural competences. Success in intercultural settings is attributed in this way to internal factors. Relating intercultural experience to her personal biography, Aeran states she does not feel her encounters have prompted a significant shift in her sense of identity or personality, but sees that they have contributed to an increase in her confidence overall. In the extract below, she acknowledges in passing that not all Korean people experience the things she has. However, I interpreted this as an incidental aside rather than an example of external attribution (to opportunity or privilege), as viewed within the broader context of Aeran's discourse it is an isolated reference.

“*for confidence I think um maybe it helped me a lot like you know to interact with people from different cultures and different languages ... I do feel more confident I think than when I was younger and than other Koreans who didn't have the same experiences I did... .. so I do appreciate the experiences I had like all the contact with the foreign friends.*”

In Aeran's discourse on intercultural learning and competences, she emphasizes the importance of withholding judgement, acknowledging that cultural distance varies, and that this can make interactions with westerners more challenging than with other Asians. She refers to an oft-cited distinction between collectivist, group oriented societies and the individualistic west, seeing this as a potential cause of misunderstanding.

“I think the first thing is not to be judgemental. I think sometimes we judge first, like if you see the difference then we judge. Like, um Koreans are very group oriented and I think that Westerners are the opposite you guys are more individual”

Aeran finds mutual understanding easier to achieve in her interactions with other Asians. In the extract below, she addresses a question about perceived differences between her Taiwanese exchange partners and local Korean colleagues. Her deictic references are inclusive of both groups, and category resonant description highlights her minimization of difference in these relationships.

“*we didn't feel much different*. I think probably **we** were speaking English but... I think *inside*... if you are interacting with someone from **Asian** culture *you don't really feel much difference*. But, if I spent more, much more time like for a year or two like you know... then I think it maybe I would have been able to find a difference. But it *was not so strong*”

Like Hee-jung, Aeran invokes ethnicity casually. However, she does not draw upon the concept of *sunhyeol* or ‘one blood’ distinguishing the Korean people as a unique race. She instead refers to Asian people more broadly. In the extract below she draws upon this to explain her greater sense of affinity with a British EPIK teacher who had Chinese heritage than with previous EPIK colleagues of European descent.

“...she was *Chinese-British* and I think that *she kind of understand the um, the um psyche*. I think that *maybe her Chinese blood made it possible to understand the culture*”

Like Hee-jung, Aeran views foreign language ability as central to success in intercultural settings. However, while Hee-jung emphasizes the potential of language to enrich her life and expand her horizons, Aeran's discourse orients to the greater

confidence and assertiveness that linguistic competence enables in intercultural encounters. The extended extract below provides one example of this, in which Aeran explains how her EFL ability enabled her to respond to another foreign EPIK co-worker's difficult behaviour in the workplace.

Aeran: "I think I ... contribute like quite a lot for him to change his attitude towards Korea because before I think he was very ignorant and many Korean teachers *they are too much worried about their English* so um, *even though they were very upset with his comment or his attitude they keep silent and they don't tell anything*"

Researcher: "So language kind of empowered you to act as a senior to him?"

A: "Right. I do feel so" ... "I think *my English helped* a little like you know in the situation *because I was confident to say whatever I wanted to say...* and I ... *was older* and I've um *experienced a lot* so I had things to say *I had right things to say*"

8. 4 Discussion and Conclusion

In this chapter two focal case studies highlight that essentialist ideologies of culture commonly feature in the discourses of two individuals who both have significant intercultural experience and high levels of linguistic proficiency. Close analysis of block and thread discourses constructed by these two participants reveal that they both make identifications with cultural others across national and linguistic boundaries. They express these identifications in thread discourses, yet shift to block discourses of culture where conflictive and uncomfortable encounters are discussed. Hee-jung, who struggles to feel a full sense of membership in the Korean culture she lives within and typically refers to herself as separate from, relies more heavily upon block discourses. Her block discourse unfolds alongside a narrative of discomfort at not being embraced by nor fully embracing the society she nonetheless feels is ultimately hers:

“even though we are not comfortable we need to be part of our country and our people”

In contrast, Aeran approaches her encounters with cultural others from a position of greater security in her sense of identity as a Korean person. She typically constructs extended thread discourses focused on relationships with particular individuals from other cultures whom she has identified with socially and professionally. Yet she also makes recourse to a block discourse that invokes national culture when incidents occur that disrupt her sense of solidarity within those relationships. My analysis of Hee-jung and Aeran’s block and thread discourses reveals that in spite of their different but extensive intercultural contact experiences, opportunities for international travel and high levels of linguistic competence, essentialist thought is present within both their ideologies of culture. Moreover, essentialist ideologies appear in a similar pattern across both participants’ discourses, integral to their sense making processes in instances of conflict or discomfort. This cultural essentialism readily co-exists alongside the expression of non-essentialist ideologies in thread discourses, with the contradictions between these perspectives unmarked by the two women. These two case examples illustrate tendencies visible in the discourses of the wider group of participants.

In this chapter I also explore the participants’ ideologies of intercultural learning. My analysis demonstrates that these participants attribute their intercultural development and growth largely to personal behaviours and attitudes, and rarely acknowledge the role socioeconomic privilege plays in facilitating their opportunities to travel, make contact across national boundaries and develop their intercultural competences. This finding aligns closely to findings discussed in Chapter 6, which suggested that participants typically took individual responsibility for both achievements and failures as EFL learners, obscuring the significance of socioeconomic factors in determining their access to various forms of English language education. My participants attribute success in intercultural encounters almost exclusively to internal attitudes, dispositions and behaviours, alongside EFL competence. This ignores the fact that while intercultural interaction across national and linguistic boundaries is certainly not new, the capacity to travel, study and work globally remains a privilege both within and beyond South Korea.

While limited to only two participants for reasons of space, my analysis nonetheless indicates that intercultural education could usefully incorporate a greater focus on dealing with the potentially conflictive and uncomfortable aspects of the ‘third place’. My participants typically resort to the stereotypical and monolithic views of culture associated with essentialist and neo-essentialist ideologies in instances where intercultural dealings are difficult or confronting. These situations provide rich opportunities for the development of intercultural competences. However, the impetus for these participants to reflect more critically on their experience is reduced when they are able to make easy recourse to ‘culture’ as something of an explanatory panacea for uncomfortable behaviours or encounters. Developing learners’ self-awareness of such tendencies may therefore be fruitful. Moreover, scholarship of the intercultural could usefully expand current models of intercultural competence to better account for the role of social structure and context in intercultural experience. The precariousness of Hee-jung’s experiences of migration and integration entails vastly different emotional and cognitive dimensions to Aeran’s elective pursuit of international education and career achievement. The trajectories of these two focal participants illustrate the highly situated nature of intercultural experience.

In the next and final chapter, I review and synthesize the findings discussed in Chapters 6, 7 and 8, which have explored dimensions of identity, language and culture that emerged prominently in the participants’ discourses on intercultural experience. I discuss the implications of these findings for practitioners and especially EFL teachers, proposing a tentative framework for identifying the constraints and enablers of conceptual models of intercultural competence within situated local contexts.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

“Borders have become porous as people pass easily – and increasingly, uneasily – through them. Languages, religions, cultural practices and beliefs are relocated, reconstructed, negotiated, contested and endorsed among local people, migrants, traders, border guards and police, officials, translators and interpreters. Whether at borders, in the workplace or in the community, these new social, political and economic conditions of the twenty-first century require critical understandings of culture, identity and language that question power positions and individuals’ rights of speech and representation” (Holmes, 2015, p. 240)

Substantial attention has been paid to elucidating models and definitions of intercultural competence and the associated notion of intercultural sensitivity (Byram & Wagner, 2018; Deardorff, 2006; Jackson, 2018; Perry & Southwell, 2011; Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009). However, in this thesis I have not sought to test or instantiate these constructs empirically. Nor have I utilised a particular definition of the intercultural as a lens for viewing my data or directing my analysis. Rather, this thesis makes a contribution to knowledge in the field by making visible what situated intercultural experience is *actually* like for particular individuals whose life trajectories entail crossing cultural and linguistic borders. This is achieved through an examination of the complex ideologies of the intercultural enacted in the participants’ discourses on their intercultural experience. The three dimensions of identity, language and culture around which this thesis is organized emerged prominently during those discourses, and subsequently ground the analysis and discussion presented in Chapters six, seven and eight.

My aim has been firstly to highlight how the individuals participating in this inquiry made sense of their experiences of doing, being and becoming intercultural, and latterly to consider how (if at all) this relates to influential models such as Byram’s (1997) ICC or Deardorff’s (2006) consensus definition of intercultural competence. This investigation of the intercultural grounded within personal realities has highlighted the situated nature of intercultural experience and its intersection with structural (dis)advantage, including socioeconomic and class status, gender, national identity and race. In each of the previous three chapters I have called for the expansion of current

definitions and models to better account for aspects of the social context which shape how individuals experience the intercultural. Specifically, I suggest that influential models could take account of the dynamic nature of national identification, the emotionally charged nature of foreign language use in intercultural encounters, the potentially conflictive nature of intercultural experiences and the socioeconomic inequities that influence access to both foreign language learning and intercultural experience.

In this concluding chapter, I revisit my research questions, addressing each in turn before synthesizing discussion around three tensions apparent between the implications of my inquiry and much of the existing intercultural scholarship. I then make a further contribution to knowledge and practice by outlining a framework that addresses these tensions and situates abstracted definitions and models of intercultural competence with reference to particular social and linguistic contexts. In closing, I discuss the limitations of this study, and summarize how this thesis contributes to our knowledge of the processes and dimensions of the intercultural.

9.1 Ideologies of the Intercultural

9.1.1 Identity

One of the exploratory questions guiding my study asked what ideologies of *identity* were identifiable in the discourses of my participants. In Chapter 6 I presented how I explored those ideologies through a layered process of analysis, first through a theme analysis on sections of discourse pertaining to identity, followed by the use of membership categorisation analysis (MCA) and deictic analysis on the discourses of four focal participants. These successive analyses enabled me to not only highlight prominent themes in talk related to identity across all of the participants, but also to make visible shifts and patterns of identification within the discourses of four individuals, thus giving deeper insight into how they dynamically navigate and negotiate their cultural identifications with respect to ‘being Korean’.

The findings of this chapter challenge a common association made across the intercultural literature between the construct of national or cultural identity and reductive discourses of essentialism (Anderson, 2006; Holmes, 2015; Lavanchy et al., 2011). The analyses demonstrate that, for these individuals, personal *cultural* identity (which the participants use synonymously with *national* identity) involves a dynamic and agentive process of identification. The participants actively critique and negotiate what ‘being Korean’ means within their own life trajectories, and within this define their own ways of being Korean at home and in the world. This analysis highlights the internally multifaceted and contingent nature of national identification. These findings suggest that rather than functioning as a static identity marker, national identity is in fact dynamic. The prominence of nation in these participants’ discourses also indicates that liquid constructs of interculturality do not adequately account for the endurance of potent national identifications in many societies, as these constructs lack situated understandings of the role of nation. The importance of national identity has been noted in the findings of a number of other relevant studies (Houghton, 2010; Rivers, 2010; Skyrme, 2014). This suggests that the agentive construction of national identification could be better acknowledged in theorizing the intercultural.

9.1.2 Language

Given the role of EFL in mediating nearly all of the intercultural encounters discussed by the participants in this study, a significant question guiding this inquiry addressed the ideologies related to the use of *English as a Foreign Language* identifiable in the discourse of the participants. In Chapter 7 I made those ideologies visible through a theme and values analysis, followed by analysis of the participants’ implicit and explicit emotion talk related to language. These highlighted that EFL was an emotional double-edged sword, which both restricted and empowered the participants as speakers. While they encountered new opportunities and identifications through their use of EFL, they at the same time experienced frustration, stress and anxiety where struggles with the language undermined their self-esteem or led to social and professional disadvantage. This finding highlights the central and emotionally fraught place that language skill

occupies in the intercultural experiences of individuals for whom intercultural encounters take place almost exclusively in a foreign tongue. A number of other studies situated within the South Korean context have also highlighted the tensions, ambivalence and emotions associated with EFL learning (Han, 2003a; J. Y. Kim et al., 2017; S. J. Park & Abelman, 2004b; Root, 2009). However, in many definitions of intercultural competence language is often subsumed within a broader category of communication skills, hereby obscuring the emotional implications of foreign language use. I argue that current models of intercultural competence should better account for the challenges and tensions surrounding foreign language use as a mediator of intercultural encounters. Definitions of intercultural competence that are adequate to describe monolingual speakers of lingua francas need to be expanded, and to better acknowledge the emotional complexity of foreign language use.

9.1.3 Culture

To address the question of what ideologies of *culture* were identifiable in the discourse of my participants, in Chapter 8 I used MCA and deictic analysis to systematically identify and trace block and thread discourses (following Holliday 2016) throughout my participants' interviews. My analysis revealed essentialist ideologies of culture articulated in block discourses that occurred alongside non-essentialist thread discourses (Amadasi & Holliday, 2017). My participants slide between blocks and threads in discernible and internally coherent patterns. Thread discourses are visible where identifications are made with cultural 'others' through shared membership of small culture environments (Holliday, 2016) that emerge around common interests or circumstances, whereas block discourses emerge in stretches of discourse pertaining to difficult or conflictive elements of intercultural encounters. That is, these participants make recourse to essentialist constructs of culture to explain and make sense of behaviour or customs with which they cannot identify. This finding is useful to consider in the light of outcomes from a number of studies in foreign language education contexts, which have found that irrespective of beliefs about culture and the intercultural, teachers typically approach cultural content in the curriculum from a culture-as-knowledge rather than a

reflective, skills based or culture-as-process perspective (Howard & Millar, 2008; Li, 1998; Sercu, 2005a; Young & Sachdev, 2011). I argue that a greater focus on dealing with conflict and discomfort could be incorporated into models of intercultural competence and intercultural education.

9.1.4 Developing Skills and Competences

An overarching question posed at the outset of this inquiry asked what ideologies related to the *development of intercultural skills or competences* were identifiable in the participants' discourse. While analysis of ideologies relating to identity, language and culture discussed in the preceding sections in part addressed this question, I additionally made visible what factors they attributed their relative successes and failures to in relation to using EFL to navigate intercultural encounters. In Chapter 7 I analysed the extent to which these were internal factors (personal attitudes, dispositions and behaviours) or external factors (socioeconomics, gender, chance). With one exception, these participants consistently attributed achievement of both EFL competence and by extension intercultural competences to internal factors; typically attitude, aptitude, self-discipline and behaviour. They made scant or no mention of structural privileges or disadvantages, despite the significant association between opportunities for EFL learning and global travel with personal socioeconomic status in South Korea (Abelmann et al., 2009; J. S. Y. Park, 2013; S. J. Park & Abelmann, 2004b). This emphasis on personal responsibility and self-management reflects an assimilation of neoliberal thought among these participants which obscures socioeconomic inequities. This potentially amplifies the anxieties, stresses and insecurities that were reflected in their emotion talk regarding EFL use, as they attribute full responsibility for perceived failures to themselves. I again argue that current understandings of intercultural competence could be expanded to better account for situated and structurally unequal access to learning opportunities.

9.2 Synthesis

At the outset of this chapter, I echoed Byram and Feng (2004) in noting the preoccupation of scholarship in the field with developing aspirational definitions of intercultural competence and locating the dimensions of that competence within various models. In this regard, Spitzberg & Changnon have raised the concern that “many conceptual wheels are being reinvented at the expense of legitimate progress” (2009, p. 45). Nonetheless, these efforts reflect an admirable commitment to pluralist ideals, democratic values and social justice. Byram notes that: “Like other ‘-isms’, interculturalism is an ideology or belief system” (2012, p. 86), and encourages dialogue between groups of people in which difference is dealt with constructively. However, by approaching the concept of the intercultural from the inverse direction I have brought some of the challenges entailed in living interculturally to the fore. These are visible in the messy, complex and situated ideologies of the participants in this inquiry, who engage across traditional boundaries of culture and language in various aspects of their lives. Through this process, I highlight three apparent tensions between how the intercultural is defined and modelled in scholarship and how it is made sense of by these individuals.

The first of these tensions can be summarized as the *rational* versus the *emotional* in understanding intercultural processes. Influential constructs of intercultural competence frequently downplay emotional and relational aspects of intercultural experience, orienting instead to cognition, effectiveness and goal achievement (Holmes, 2015; Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009). This is exemplified by the relative absence of emotional or relationally contingent aspects in Deardorff’s frequently cited consensus definitions (2006), of which the three most widely agreed upon items are reproduced below:

1. Ability to communicate effectively and appropriately in intercultural situations based on one’s intercultural knowledge, skills and attitudes
2. Ability to shift frame of reference appropriately and adapt behaviour to cultural context; adaptability, expandability and flexibility of one’s frame of reference/filter

3. Ability to identify behaviours guided by culture and engage in new behaviours in other cultures even when behaviours are unfamiliar given a person's own socialization

(Deardorff, 2006, p. 249)

The widespread emphasis on rationality, cognition and goal achievement in intercultural scholarship belies the emotionally fraught experience of my participants, whose discourses highlighted the emotional implications of the intercultural encounters they navigated. These participants articulated both positive and negative emotions in relation to EFL use, which causes them anxiety, stress and insecurity while at the same time providing them with a sense of liberation and achievement. These emotions are amplified by the neoliberal ideologies they espouse, which position their successes or failures as EFL speakers and global citizens as a personal responsibility and obscures the roles of privilege and inequity. The importance of emotion is further seen in the way that these participants make sense of their experiences with cultural others. When confronted with awkward, uncomfortable behaviours or difficult experiences they immediately invoke culture as an explanation. That is, negative experiences prompt a retreat from non-essentialist thread discourses and the enactment of essentialist ideologies through block discourses.

The emotions expressed by my participants are also frequently relational, meaning they are shaped by sympathetic interlocutors, as well as socio-historic associations and perceptions of relative cultural distance from a foreign other. For example, Hyeran felt positive emotions toward an ethnic Korean professor raised as an adoptee in America, who showed respect for the ambitions of her undergraduate class of aspiring English language teachers. However, she expressed strongly negative emotions toward an unqualified native-speaker with whom she and her friends took a private class during the same period, who ridiculed those same ambitions on the basis of their low English proficiency. Similarly, Aeran developed lasting and cherished friendships with a group of foreign teachers who took an interest in learning about Korea, but remained intentionally distant from others who took a negative or disparaging attitude toward her society. While in the US, Aeran framed her negative interactions with Japanese classmates against the longstanding animosity between Korean and Japan in the post-colonial era. Eun Kyoung

readily bonded with young mothers like herself during her time in the US, but felt especially at ease with those from other Asian nations, noting that they were able to more easily understand each other's intentions despite language barriers.

The second tension can be summarized as a *transcendental* versus a *situated* perspective on intercultural competence. Models that elaborate the components of competence theoretically, dislocated from the situations in which they may be applied are considered transcendental of social contexts. Byram's influential ICC framework (1997) is one example of this, designed to elaborate general principles, which Byram indicated the reader should discuss, amend or qualify in respect to their own concrete situation: "The intention is to write at a level of abstraction which can be related to FLT [foreign language teaching] or SLT [second language teaching] in a wide range of situations" (1997, p. 4). Byram's model of Intercultural Competence (ICC) is situated within a larger model of communicative competence comprising linguistic, sociolinguistic and discourse competences, and was not designed to account for the myriad and particular contexts in which intercultural encounters take place. This is evident in the generalised presentation of the five *savoirs* which comprise ICC in the model. These include knowledge (culture specific and culture general), skills of interpreting and relating, skills of discovery and interaction, attitudes that are positive toward learning ICC, and a disposition of critical engagement with both foreign cultures and one's own culture. However, my analyses demonstrate that actual intercultural experience is highly situated and often politically and emotionally charged. In my study this is particularly apparent in relation to nationalism, foreign language use and the socioeconomics of intercultural opportunities.

The third tension relates to the role of intercultural experience in *transforming* versus *reinforcing* the status quo in relation to socioeconomic opportunity. In both popular and academic discourses, intercultural experience is frequently positioned as an opportunity for growth and development, associated with globalisation, cultural hybridity and the emergence of new identifications and cultural significations (Bhabha, 1994; Kumaravadivelu, 2008). While it does not deny the transformative potential of intercultural encounters, my exploration of the ideologies of a group of individuals in South Korea suggests that intercultural settings may concurrently reinforce existing

socioeconomic disparities. This is firstly due to the economics of language and culture learning in South Korea's competitive private education sector, which serve to magnify rather than erode class boundaries. These are revealed in the discourses of neoliberalism which serve to counter any challenge to the status quo by promoting the belief that success, failure and opportunity are the outcomes of self-management, to be internally attributed. In this way, the neoliberal context serves to recreate and reproduce inequality, obscuring the role of socioeconomic equality.

9.3 A Situated Framework for Identifying the Constraints and Enablers of Intercultural Competence in Context

Writing in 1997, Byram contrasted the experiences of the 'tourist' and 'sojourner', noting that in the West the role of tourist is typically a more familiar experience, but that the experience of the sojourner is more commonly had by larger groups of people with lower social status, such as migrant labourers. He noted that while the tourist hopes to be enriched, yet not fundamentally changed by their intercultural experience, the sojourner's experience is significantly different. The sojourner is someone who "produces effects on a society which challenge its unquestioned and unconscious beliefs, behaviours and meanings, and whose own beliefs, behaviours and meanings are in turn challenged and expected to change" (1997 p. 1) This situated study investigates the ideologies of a group of individuals whose experiences do not easily reflect either a tourist or a sojourner profile, and who navigate intercultural experiences at home and abroad for a wide range of purposes. While internally diverse, they share the common factors of Korean citizenship and cultural heritage, being speakers of Korean as a first language (excepting Hee-jung who could loosely be described as a Spanish-Korean bilingual) and having achieved high levels of competence in EFL. Although economic stratifications are visible within the group, they are also all tertiary educated members of a broadly defined middle class.

The analyses and findings I have presented in previous chapters highlight that there are significant distances between these participants' complex discourses on their lived experiences of interculturality and established definitions and models across the literature

(for example, Deardorff, 2006 or Byram, 1997 discussed above). For Spitzberg & Changnon: “Models are necessarily simplified versions of the reality they seek to represent and therefore need to provide parsimonious guidance to theoretical and investigative pursuits” (2009, p. 45) In this section I propose a situated framework that can sit adjacent to, rather than replace these constructs. The framework is intended as a lens through which the enablers and constraints of intercultural competence development in a particular context, community or individual life trajectory can be readily identified. Recognising that neither individual identifications nor social processes are static, the three elements I propose within this framework are each conceptualised as an area of dynamics. These are the *Dynamics of Identification*, *Dynamics of Language* and *Dynamics of Interaction*. In the table below these are followed by an indicative but certainly not exhaustive list of key questions that serve as a basic heuristic to assist the intercultural practitioner in bridging the conceptual gaps between the clean lines of theory and the inherent messiness of situated realities.

A Situated Framework for Identifying the Constraints and Enablers of Intercultural Competence in Context		
Dynamics of Identification	Dynamics of Language	Dynamics of Interaction
<p>How prominent are the individual's or group's structurally imposed categories of identity (e.g. nation, gender, ethnicity)?</p> <p>How permeable or flexible are the boundaries of those identities?</p> <p>What alternative, and/or individually agentive identifications are likely</p>	<p>What language is spoken in individual's or group's intercultural encounters?</p> <p><i>If a foreign language:</i> What are the local ideologies and significations of that language?</p> <p>What level of competence is realistically obtainable?</p>	<p>Is the intercultural interaction of the individual or group elective or necessitated by circumstance (e.g. tourism/study abroad or forced migration/employment)?</p> <p>What are the economic, political and social relations of power underlying the interaction?</p>

within the intercultural context (e.g. as students, mothers, teachers)?	Is access to FL education equitable? How sympathetic to FL users are the likely interlocutors?	What are the sociohistoric relations between the interlocutors' communities? How sympathetic to or defensive toward foreign others are the likely interlocutors?
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My framework offers educators, researchers, administrators and mediators a way of thinking about intercultural competence in context, by configuring a perspective which brings to the fore locally relevant barriers, challenges and dynamics. I propose that using the framework will help practitioners to chart a path between the actual and the ideal when assessing how to approach intercultural objectives. Establishing this will be useful for practitioners who aim to design locally appropriate learning experiences, training, systems or processes that facilitate intercultural competence development. In this way, the framework addresses the question of ‘where to start’, establishing not only constraints but also the enablers that act as points of opportunity for learning. A situated understanding is also essential to the researcher who aims to make sense, as I do, of lived experiences of the intercultural. This framework also complements the prior work of Holmes (2015) and Byram, Gribkova, and Starkey (2002) who have laid out approaches to teaching that represent non-essentialist or social constructionist perspectives.

It is important to note that taking a situated approach to viewing intercultural competence does not equate to downplaying agency or viewing individuals as ‘culturalised objects’ at the mercy of social structure. Rather, it follows Lavancy et al in acknowledging the “presence and the force of unequal social relations: we do not assert that they are completely free in making these choices, but rather that margins for manoeuvre exist” (2011, p. 14). Block (2013) poses a number of questions for researchers to consider in relation to their participants that are reflected in this inquiry. These include the degree to which participants’ actions are reproductive or transformative of existing sociocultural orders, the historically embedded nature of participants’ individual

trajectories, and “what is happening in the fields of social activity in which they act, which impacts on, and indeed might change, their dispositions” (p. 144). By focusing on individual’s ideologies of the intercultural this inquiry has brought to the fore areas of intercultural experience in which the interplay between social structures and personal agency are visible. I argue throughout this thesis that theorizing of the intercultural needs to better account for the situated nature of intercultural experience. In doing so, theory will by necessity grapple more explicitly with the dilemma of structure and agency which Block (2013), drawing upon Bourdieu, has advocated for in studies in Applied Linguistics that deal with identity and intercultural.

In this thesis, I have given significant space to discussion of the impact of a neoliberal agenda in EFL education in South Korea, which mirrors increasingly neoliberal education systems around the globe. I demonstrate the very real emotional implications of neoliberalism for these participants in shouldering the burden of their own perceived failures/shortcomings. While models of intercultural competence are not implicitly or otherwise instruments of a neoliberal agenda, a continued emphasis on definitions and models that are unmoored from contextual economic factors serves to facilitate, rather than challenge the ideological dominance of neoliberalism. This framework is also intended to lay bare the inconsistencies and contradictions of neoliberalism in relation to intercultural competence, including the patently false assumption that individuals compete on a level playing field for access to education and global opportunities. By grounding discussions of competence within contextual realities, a situated framework resists the obscuring of structural inequity that characterises neoliberal thought. It instead focuses attention on the constraints and enablers of developing intercultural competence for (a) particular individual(s) in a particular context. This systematically addresses a need noted by Byram: “always to define models of ICC according to the requirements of the situations in which learners find themselves” (1997, p. 7).

9.4 Limitations of this Study

It is important to note a number of limitations of this study. Perhaps most significantly, all of the participants in this study were interviewed in English, and are drawn from a specific strata of Korean society who have had access to not only education, but additional opportunities to travel internationally, study with foreign teachers and develop sufficient competence in the language to express complex personal meanings over multiple interviews. Therefore, while there is no suggestion that these participants are representative of a particular social group, it should still be acknowledged that the voices of individuals who have been left behind by ‘English fever’ and the competitive forces of globalisation on the peninsula are excluded here. Moreover, despite the participants’ high levels of EFL proficiency it should be acknowledged that the use of English as the sole language in which this study was conducted may at times have impacted participants’ breadth of expression. In addition, while the small number of participants in this study facilitated close and multiple analyses of their discourse, it also limits my discussion to their particularized experiences and ideologies.

9.5 Contributions to Knowledge

This study makes a number of distinct contributions to knowledge in the field of intercultural scholarship. Firstly, my research addresses several gaps in the current research literature. I answer repeated calls for investigating the intercultural beyond the Anglo European contexts that have thus far dominated the production of definitions and models (Asante et al., 2014; MacDonald & O'Regan, 2011; Wang et al., 2017). This study addresses this by bringing to the fore the situated ideologies of individuals who identify as Korean, and live on the South Korean peninsula. Further, this inquiry addresses a general lack of empirical inquiry in relation to intercultural competence development both within and beyond classroom contexts (Byram & Feng, 2004; Sercu, 2005a). In undertaking a substantive exploration of the lived experience of individuals and their development of intercultural awareness beyond the particularities of formal educational environments, this study is distinct from much of the significant work in this area that

focuses on teacher or student participants (see for example the studies by Byram & Risager, 1999; Cheng, 2012; Holmes, 2006; Houghton, 2010; Jon, 2009). Consideration of individually situated experiences or narratives unfiltered by particular conceptual frameworks has also been lacking. Research undertakings such as Young and Sachdev (2011) or Sercu (2005a) are primarily concerned with the application of established frameworks for intercultural competence to particular contexts and participants. Finally, this study responds to calls for qualitative studies that engage with the complex phenomena entailed in intercultural competence development (Kramsch & Uryu, 2011; Perry & Southwell, 2011). Thus, it addresses gaps in the empirical research published in the field by both exploring participants' experiences beyond 'the West' and outside of a formal educational context, and by privileging the subjective ideological landscapes of participants over established conceptual frameworks.

In this concluding chapter I have also revisited the outcomes of the analyses I present in Chapters 6, 6 and 8, which provide a number of new insights in relation to situated intercultural processes. Summarized in section 9.1 above, these included a window on the dynamic nature of national identification among my participants and the emotional implications of foreign language use as a mediator of their intercultural experiences. Further insights are provided by my analyses making visible my participants' reliance on block discourses of culture as a response to conflictive or uncomfortable aspects of intercultural encounters, and their attributions of both success and failure in intercultural encounters mediated by EFL to personal rather than structural factors, reflecting a neoliberal ideology. I have synthesized the outcomes of these analyses into three apparent tensions between the findings of my study and theorizing of the intercultural that will be relevant to future inquiry in the field. Finally, I have drawn upon the insights gained from my analysis to propose a framework for identifying constraints and enablers of intercultural competence development in relation to the dynamics of identification, language and interaction in a particular context. In doing so, my goal is to provide fellow educators, researchers and practitioners with a useful heuristic to develop a situated perspective on the relationship between abstract constructs of intercultural competence and their own contexts of practice.

This inquiry was situated among South Korean learners and speakers of EFL, some of whom are also teachers of the language. As such, this study has a number of implications of particular relevance to teachers of EFL working not only within South Korea, but in diverse contexts around the globe, where EFL teachers work within the often complex socio-political dynamics of foreign language learning (Canagarajah, 1999; Pennycook, 2000; Phillipson, 1992) and at the interface of language and culture. Firstly, the findings of this inquiry suggest that national identifications, while not viewed favourably in much of the contemporary literature on culture and identity, are central to the identity work that intercultural experiences and foreign language learning may entail. Moreover, national identifications are complex and dynamic. This suggests that EFL teachers, rather than downplaying nation in the classroom, may find rich opportunities to engage with the concept of nation in non-essentialist ways, and to promote the skills of reflection, analysis and criticality that are central to constructs of intercultural competence in the process. Secondly, in this study the use of a foreign language to mediate intercultural encounters was found to be emotionally fraught. Conflictive or uncomfortable encounters with cultural ‘others’ were also found to prompt EFL users to retreat from non-essentialist discourses on culture, instead enacting essentialist ideologies of culture in their discourses explaining these experiences. This suggests that a greater acknowledgement of conflict, difficulty and discomfort could valuably be integrated to EFL curricula in order to better equip learners to respond to and make sense of such encounters in constructive ways.

9.6 In Closing

At the time of writing, news reports from around the globe do little to assuage fears that intolerance and xenophobia are on the rise. Between populist politics, intensifying socioeconomic tensions and ongoing waves of forced migration a perfect storm surrounds the proponents of pluralism and diversity. It is painfully apparent that en masse we are far from understanding how to live well in an intercultural world.

In keeping with Holmes (2015) who I cite at the outset of this chapter, I argue that border crossings, both virtual and embodied, although mundane in their frequency are far from neutral. Imbalances of power permeate our intercultural encounters, and these are frequently reflected in the variable access to linguistic resources and perceived (il)legitimacies of national and cultural identifications that factor in the experiences of the participants in this study. Interdisciplinary scholarship of the intercultural has refined our understandings of what the intercultural could and should look like, and focused our aspirations on this ideal. This thesis is intended to contribute to our knowledge of what being and becoming intercultural can look like amidst the situated messiness and contradictions of everyday life. In mapping this terrain, and identifying the dynamics of identification, language and interaction that need to be considered and accounted for in contexts of practice, this thesis contributes a step upon the path toward achieving those aspirations.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Call for Participants



Department of Linguistics
Faculty of Human Sciences
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY NSW 2109

Call for Participants

Korean Speakers of English as a Foreign Language

Participants are being sought for a study of *intercultural learning* among Korean speakers of English as a foreign language. The purpose of the study is to investigate individual experiences of intercultural learning through intercultural contact and/or language learning and use.

Participation in this project will involve agreeing to being interviewed by the researcher on 2 – 3 occasions at a location convenient to the interviewee. Interviews would preferably take place between December 2012 – March 2013, and last for approximately 1 hour each (2-3 hours in total). During the interviews, the researcher will ask questions about the participants' experiences of intercultural contact with foreigners (within Korea or abroad) and their reflections on these experiences.

This research project is being undertaken by Catherine Peck, a doctoral candidate in the Department of Linguistics at Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia, and an Invited Professor in the Department of English Education at Chonnam National University, Gwangju, South Korea.

If you would like to receive more information or to participate in this project please feel free to email Catherine Peck at: catherine.peck@students.mq.edu.au or cbmpeck@gmail.com .

Appendix 2: Information and Consent Form



Department of Linguistics
Faculty of Human Sciences
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY NSW 2109
Phone: +61 (0)2 9850 8740
Fax: +61 (0)2 9850 9199

Email: lingadmin@mq.edu.au

David Hall, Associate Professor

Catherine Peck, PhD Candidate

Information and Consent Form

Name of Project: _____

You are invited to participate in a study of intercultural learning among Korean speakers of English as a foreign language. The purpose of the study is to investigate individual experiences of intercultural learning through intercultural contact and/or language learning and use.

The study is being conducted by Catherine Peck, a PhD candidate in Macquarie University's Department of Linguistics and Invited Professor at Chonnam National University's Department of English Education (contact by telephone + 010 8441 1975, contact by email catherine.peck@students.mq.edu.au), to meet the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy under the supervision of Professor David Hall, Associate Dean, Higher Degree Research, Faculty of Human Sciences (telephone +61 2 9850 9647, email David.Hall@mq.edu.au) of the Department of Linguistics

If you decide to participate, you will be asked to participate in 2 – 3 interviews of approximately 60 minutes over a 3-4 week period. The interviews will be audio recorded. There will be no risk or discomfort involved in your participation, and no money or other form of reward will be provided.

To protect your privacy, your real name will not be used in any reports based on the interview data. Any information or personal details gathered in the course of the study are confidential. No individual will be identified in any publication of the results. Only Catherine Peck and Macquarie University Department of Linguistics supervisors Associate Professor David Hall and Associate Professor Lynda Yates will have access to the interview recordings and

transcripts. A summary of the results of the data can be made available to you on request, and the transcripts of the interviews provided to you for your reference, and you will have the opportunity to review the transcripts and delete any information that you do not wish to be used in this study. You may request information regarding the data or copies of the transcripts at any time after the interviews from Catherine Peck.

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary: you are not obliged to participate and if you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason and without consequence.

I, (your name) _____ have read and understand the information above and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw from further participation in the research at any time without consequence. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

Participant's Name: _____

(Block letters)

Participant's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Investigator's Name: Catherine Peck

(Block letters)

Investigator's Signature: _____ Date: _____

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics (telephone +61 (02) 9850 7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

Within South Korea, if you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact Dr Chul Joo Uhm, Department Chair, English Education, Chonnam National University, telephone (062) 530 2444.

(INVESTIGATOR'S [OR PARTICIPANT'S] COPY)

Appendix 3: Final Ethics Approval Letter

11 Dec 2013

Dear A/Prof Yates,

Title of project: 'Narratives of Intercultural Learning in the Korean EFL Context' (Ref: 5201200925)

FINAL REPORT APPROVED

Your final report has been received and approved, effective 12th December 2013.

The Faculty of Human Sciences Human Research Ethics Sub-Committee is grateful for your cooperation and would like to wish you success in future research endeavours.

Yours sincerely,

Dr Peter Roger
Chair
Faculty of Human Sciences
Human Research Ethics Sub-Committee

Faculty of Human Sciences - Ethics
Research Office
Level 3, Research HUB, Building C5C
Macquarie University
NSW 2109

Ph: +61 2 9850 4197
Fax: +61 2 9850 4465

Email: fhs.ethics@mq.edu.au

<http://www.research.mq.edu.au/>

Appendix 4: Indicative Interview Questions

Interview Stage One - Biography

What was your first contact with a person or persons from another cultural background?

What cultural background(s) did this person/ persons have?

How much interaction did you have with this person / these persons?

What language(s) were used?

Interview Stage Two – Currently Inhabited Environment

Tell me about your relationships with X (relevant cultural others)

What is a typical interaction with X?

Can you tell me about a specific recent interaction (s) with X?

Interview Stage Three - Reflection

How do you understand the process of learning about other cultures, or learning to be intercultural?

How do you understand the role of culture in your own life/interactions?

Do you see yourself continuing to work/study/socialize in intercultural environments in the future?

Why or why not?

Appendix 5: Transcription Conventions & Illustrative Extract

Conventions

, natural pause

... 3 second pause

... ... longer pause

? interrogative intonation

() paralinguistic behaviours, including laughter & sighs

Illustrative Extract

Yeah, big cities like New York, I've been to New York many times, New York or Chicago, it's like international city... not just Americans, but the small town... especially Indiana is very conservative place ... yeah so...

And so in a place like New York, how do you feel...? do you feel...?

I felt like I was in Seoul (laughs) yeah... I just love the smell of the car (laughs) the noise... yeah, yeah... it's very exciting city so I love New York... but when my husband was a student, the summer vacation was the long ummm.. has the most days for us to visit there, so I've been to New York it was always summer time it was very hot and humid, but my family went to the states for six months in 2007 and at that time we visited New York in Christmas time...(laughs) I like it better, yeah...

Appendix 6: MCA coding key

Membership Categorisation Analysis Coding Conventions

Coding Key	
MC	Membership Categorisation – Self
MC_O	Membership Categorisation – Other
CRD	Category Resonant Description – Self
CRD_O	Category Resonant Description – Other

Example of MCA Coded Interview Data

Mina: “What I mean the *role of teacher* (MC), as *the one ... who has more experience* (CRD), so that’s my ... *not the kind of superior person* (CRD), but because *I’m older* (CRD)... *I have different experiences* (CRD) than my students, so *as a person with more experience* (CRD)... or *more diverse teacher* (CRD/MC). And from *different perspective* (CRD), because one thing I feel about [city name/people of that city] (MC_O) *they don’t have much experience about outside of their community* (CRD_O), they tend to be *a little bit parochial* (CRD_O)?”