Indiana University of Pennsylvania
Knowledge Repository @ IUP

8-9-2010

The Identity, Second Language, and the Classroom Dynamic: Participant Observation in a Beginning Korean as a Second Language Classroom

Joel S. Diamond
Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Follow this and additional works at: http://knowledge.library.iup.edu/etd

THE IDENTITY, SECOND LANGUAGE, AND THE CLASSROOM DYNAMIC:

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION IN A BEGINNING KOREAN AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

CLASSROOM

A Dissertation

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research

in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

Joel S. Diamond

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

August 2010

Indiana University of Pennsylvania
The School of Graduate Studies and Research
Department of English

We hereby approve the dissertation of

Joel S. Diamond

Candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

_____ _____
Jeannine M. Fontaine, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of English, Advisor

_____ _____
Jerry G. Gebhard, Ed.D.
Professor Emeritus, Indiana University of Pennsylvania
Professor, Pusan National University

_____ _____
Sharon K. Deckert, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of English

ACCEPTED

_____ _____
Timothy P. Mack, Ph.D.
Dean
The School of Graduate Studies and Research

iii

Title: The Identity, Second Language, and the Classroom Dynamic: Participant Observation in a Beginning Korean as a Second Language Classroom

Author: Joel S. Diamond

Dissertation Chair: Dr. Jeannine Fontaine

Dissertation Committee Members: Dr. Jerry Gebhard

                                 Dr. Sharon Deckert

ABSTRACT

The goal of this qualitative study was to explore the nexus between second language acquisition, identity, and the beginning second language classroom. Using a social constructionist framework, the study utilizes ethnographic methodology incorporating both narrative and autoethnographic elements. Specifically the author acted as a participant observer in a beginning Korean language class at an American university and enlisted seven classmates as co-participants. Through the author's observations, participation, and interviews with the additional seven student participants, the role of identity is explored in the context of participant encounters with Korean as mediated by the classroom.

The study treats identity as dynamic and socially constructed, discussing the relation between identity and second language acquisition in the classroom context, as reciprocal and evolving. The relationship is examined through the lens of various frameworks, among them various group and personal identity constructs such as self-concept, including academic self-concept, future selves, and community of practice.

A number of additional themes are identified as integral, including the roles of the language class group identity, of comparisons, of resistance and agency. A final theme, an analysis of the identity concerns related to one participant's late term withdrawal from the class,

iv

is additionally presented to shed additional light on the identity-second language-classroom nexus.

The final chapter moves beyond the analysis of the classroom data presented in earlier chapters, and presents some possibilities for their application, from a teaching perspective, in the second language classroom.

The study found a complex and nuanced set of relationships between identity, second language acquisition, and classroom. It demonstrates that language learning and teaching encompasses significantly more than a set of discrete points to be learned/acquired; those significant additional factors include individual learning styles and preferences, learner confidence, class group identity, communicative comfort level in using the second language, students' previous experiences and expectations based on those experiences, and the dynamics of participation as expressed through forms of agency, including resistance. The study's broad overall conclusion is that multiple identity-related factors are inseparable elements of the language acquisition process and therefore need to be addressed in every second language classroom.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It was largely through them that I realized how invaluable the perspectives and suggestions of knowledgeable friends are. The flaws in my dissertation are certainly due to not having received the benefits of even more of their input.

Therefore, I would like to thank Chin-fen Chang for her insightful comments during our Tuesday meetings, Alyona Litvinskaya, especially for her Microsoft Word expertise and help, and Soyeon Kim for her very helpful suggestions, particularly for my Chapter 7. I especially want to thank Dr. Pei-hsun Emma Liu for her comments, suggestions, figure-designing prowess and friendship.

I would like to dedicate this to my parents – my father who would have been proud and my

mother, who is.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Rationale

As someone who professionally situates himself in the field of TESOL and one who enjoys learning languages and learning about them, it is perhaps only natural that I should have seized on the idea of participant observation in an ethnographic study of a second language classroom as most congenial. As a former, and likely future, classroom language teacher, the junction between language learning and the classroom has always loomed large among my concerns.

Identity on the other hand was not something I consciously paid attention to during my previous teaching days. Yet I had more recently come to see identity as similar to economics in that both can so instructively be used to understand and analyze an immense diversity of subject matter. Sports, entertainment, politics, food and education are just a few areas that economics can profitably illuminate. All these areas might profitably be explored through an identity lens as well. The identity lens seems particularly apt for the second language classroom, given that the L2 learning context involves a linguistic, cultural and personal identity, formed in a first language, meeting and adjusting to the "other" linguistic and social norms of the second, and mediated through the context of the shared social setting of the classroom community.

Many, including Norton (1997), have pointed out both the dynamic nature of identity and the intensity of the connection between identity and language. My experiences as a language learner have borne this out. The identities I see as representing myself and which I present to others have been to a large extent determined by the choices of language I have chosen to study – from my choice of French over Spanish as a foreign language in junior high which was heavily influenced by my father's enthusiasm for that language, literature and civilization, to my later

decision to learn and to use Chinese (Mandarin) and Japanese, participating first in the language classroom and then in the language communities of each language.

I feel my second language(s) study and use impacted my identity through a process of identification. Wenger (1998) captures this identification-leading to-identity connection. He considers that identification creates bonds with the objects of our identification, bonds in which we become invested, and thereby "become constitutive of our identities" (p. 191). He further maintains we 'identify' through three modes of belonging: first, "through engagement" (p. 192), that is "in the doing" (p. 193); second, through imagination, as "beyond engagement, identification depends on the kind of picture of the world and of ourselves we can build" (p. 194); and third, through alignment, or simply 'going along' – through a kind of passive alignment with the new culture.

I do not see myself and can't imagine being perceived by others as having a French, Chinese or Japanese identity; but as I learned and used these languages I could and did come to identify to greater or lesser extents with the communities [or constellations of communities (Wenger, 1998)], cultures (popular and traditional), histories, and the languages themselves which the labels of Chinese, Japanese and so on represent. This was never complete of course; many times I rejected societal or cultural norms represented by those labels, or felt rejected by members of those communities, personally, culturally or linguistically. These rejections sometimes negatively impacted both my use of the language involved and my identification with that society. Nevertheless, the languages I have chosen to study have been a primary influence upon where I chose to travel and live, the people I interacted with and the nature of those interactions. These actions in turn have influenced my language study and acquisition, to a large extent determining both my identity (or identities) and the course of my life. Even my choice of

Korean for this study grows out of my past language learning choices and identity development. It is the salience of the second language-identity connection in my own life that has drawn me to undertake this study.

In light of the above I decided to qualitatively explore the connections found between language learning and identity in a beginning second language classroom. Specifically this study is a participant/observer account of my own, and my Korean participant classmates' experiences as beginning Korean language students in a classroom at an American university.

Overview

Purpose of the Study

Language learning is such a complex activity that it is difficult to imagine less than an infinite number of factors affecting and being affected by the process. It is hardly likely that focusing on the relationship between any one factor and the language learning process can reveal the totality of the language-learning journey. Nevertheless both my experience and the literature suggest that identity plays a significant role in language acquisition, and that language acquisition likewise plays a significant role in re-forming an individual's identity. The purpose of my study then is to explore this reciprocal connection in the beginning language classroom setting.

The study was carried out during one semester of beginning Korean at an American University. In a most general sense I attempted to convey how the individual identities of my participants (myself included) interacted, meshed, or clashed with the Korean language as experienced in the classroom and to a certain extent, since the classroom and we the participants were not free of the influences of the outside world, of the Korean related world beyond the classroom. I attempt to describe a dynamic, interactive and reciprocal process, one in which

identity concerns both strongly influenced our study of Korean and were in turn influenced by that study.

<div align="center">Research Questions</div>

For the purpose of gaining insight into the classroom language learning and identity connection, I asked the following research questions:

1. How do learners enrolled in a beginning Korean class describe their experiences with the new language in ways that might be interpreted as related to identity?

2A. In what ways do these learners' perceived identities affect, and in what ways are they affected by, in-class events, their in-class experiences, and their class participation?

2B. In what ways do participants' statements about identity in relation to their class develop over the course of the semester? In what ways do these re-conceptions of identity over time (during the first semester second language learning process) affect the second language learning process, judging from participants' perceptions and observation of classroom dynamics?

3A. How do the student participants react in class to positive feedback from the instructor? How do they describe this positive experience, and how do their subsequent behaviors in the class seem to change after such an experience?

3B. How do the student participants react in class to negative feedback or criticism from, or a negative interaction with the teacher or other students? How do they describe such experiences, and how do their behaviors or stated strategies in class seem to change after this kind of experience?

In answering these question I explore the relationship between the participants' identities and their beginning second language learning experiences (question 1), the relationship between

participants' identities and their classroom experience (question 2), and the relationship of positive and negative interactions, in class and out, to identity and the second language acquisition process (question 3).

Significance of the Study

Significant interest in the role of identity in second language use and acquisition is recent, but since its appearance, that interest and research has burgeoned. This is hardly surprising given the importance of the connection, aptly expressed by Pomerantz (2001), who notes that learners "have needs, emotions, goals, and histories which influence how they learn and use additional languages" (p. 30). These in turn influence learners' positioning "in ways that both enable and constrain second language learning and use" (p. 30). More succinctly Hirst (2003) says, "Learning another language, or another set of discursive practices, inevitably involves issues of culture, identity and resistance" (p. 174).

The basic idea of a vital connection between language and identity has of course been noted much earlier. This thread of language-identity literature emphasizes the intrinsic root-level symbiosis of language and identity. As Djité (2006) puts it, many sources point "to the central importance of the language-identity nexus" and argue that, "language and identity are ultimately inseparable" (p.3). Canagarajah (1993), Siegal (1996), and others discuss a practical aspect of this nexus, one that might be taken largely as negative, when they provide evidence of resistance to the use and acquisition of a second language, or at least aspects of that language, due to identity factors. Ochs (1993) relates the communicative act to identity, connecting our identities to the language communities we participate in and showing how failure to adapt to and adopt a new (language) community's communicative norms can create serious communication problems.

It is scholars such as Norton though who have more recently brought the second language-identity connection to the forefront. Norton (2000) highlights the importance of the identity aspects of social status and power as these relate to second language acquisition, usage, and participation. Norton (2001) and others have also brought the second language classroom into the language-identity mix. She, Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (1999), Morita (2004) and others have appropriated the community of practice concept to productively relate second language learning/usage and the classroom to identity. Boxer and Cortés-Conde (2000) build on the classroom aspect of identity and language learning by identifying and introducing the concept of a class relational identity to the mix.

The above provides an indication of the importance of the identity-language-classroom connection toward advancing the field of applied linguistics. While my study builds on the approaches and findings of others who have previously researched in this area, the details, the context, and the participants in the study, provided me with data which, I believe, build on and add to the insights of previous related studies. Although I arrived at no unique grand theory involving the connections between identity, second language learning and the second language classroom, my study provided me with a series of smaller insights that I feel cumulatively added up to a deeper and extended understanding of that connection and its implications. I intend and hope that the presentation of my data and analyses is sufficient to evoke the same in my readers – whether interested in identity, second language acquisition, or second language teaching.

While the above considers the significance of my research from a general language acquisition perspective, something remains to be said as to the significance of my choice of Korean as a Second language in particular. Since my native language is English, studying that language in a beginning language class was not a realistic option. It was necessary therefore to

select a language I did not know for study, the results of which I could then relate to second language learning in general, including my chosen professional field of TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages). The choice of Korean had certain benefits. Among them is that the Korean – U.S. academic (and therefore ESL) connection is by certain measures the strongest in the world. According to the Institute of International Education (2006), the number of Korean students studying in the U.S. during the academic year 2005-6 ranked third behind only Indian and Chinese students; moreover, this figure represented a far greater proportion of Korea's national population than was represented in relative proportions for those other two countries. Additionally the rate of increase, 10.3% from 2004/5 to 2005/6, was far greater than for any other of the top fifteen countries for that period.

Given my intention of relating my research in the Korean class to the broader world of the second language classroom and the constraints of space, I did not attempt to single out for analysis what was unique to learning Korean as a Second Language specifically. There were, however, certainly elements of my data that could have supported such an approach. Learning Korean as a Second language does not involve the same ideological considerations as the study of the current dominant world language, English, for example. Another possible example is that the types and forms of investment of my participants, especially for non-heritage students, may very well exhibit qualitative differences from those of students in other, even East Asian, languages.

Although these types of consideration were not present in my analyses, I feel the reader can get a sense of the investments in Korean made and imagined by my participants to compare with his own second language experience. In subsequent chapters, I do try to present, specific aspects of the Korean language we encountered which participants found problematical or

thought provoking. I additionally discuss the ramifications of such encounters in the context of identity concerns. Therefore, although my primary intention was to gain insight into second language acquisition in general, the results of this study should also provide material of interest for the KSL teacher and learner.

The Personal and the Specific

I did not pick Korean as the language I wished to study because of the factors related in the previous paragraph, however. That choice derived from my personal history, background and identity. In Chapter 4, I introduce myself in greater detail, but below, I quickly sketch some of those elements relevant to my choosing the study of Korean as a foreign language.

A somewhat by chance selection of Singapore as a destination for an undergraduate junior year abroad many years ago was largely the impetus for my subsequent abiding interest in Asia – particularly East and Southeast Asia. I have studied in the language classrooms of, and have various levels of fluency in, (although none at the highest levels of proficiency) French, Chinese and Japanese.

Before obtaining my Master's degree in (Teaching) English as a Second Language, I lived for six months in Taiwan. After obtaining my TESOL degree, I lived and taught English in Taiwan for a school year and then, although my original intention was to reside in China, I taught in Japan for approximately sixteen years. As I discussed in my introduction, I do not see my identity as Asian; to an extent I see myself as somewhat of an outsider in all cultures, including my own American culture. However, in many ways I identify with various Asian cultures. One small example involves the fact that I loved reading for pleasure from as far back as I can remember. Shortly after arriving in Tokyo I noticed that the majority of people riding the trains (subways and railroads), that most ubiquitous local form of commuter transportation, and

one that I would use on a daily basis, would devote their commute to reading. In this I felt an identification with Japanese people that I did not feel with my compatriots, and went on to devote much of my train commute time over the years to reading as well.

Much of my adult life has been tied up in some manner with Chinese and Japanese, in Taiwan and Japan. As it was the East Asian culture I was least familiar with, Korean seemed a logical choice of language to study. I did not have an overwhelming interest in things Korean prior to choosing it. My East Asian identification was far more connected to Chinese and Japanese, and to China, Taiwan and Japan. However, retrospectively, I can see in my past self a minor interest in things Korean. I had Korean-Japanese friends and students in Japan, and I felt that their Korean identity was significant to them and to me. I was further interested in the history of the Korean-Japanese community and in the continuing Japanese prejudice toward that community, and had made some desultory efforts to learn about these in more depth. While living in Japan I also visited South Korea for a week and felt challenged to consider the similarities and differences I observed between the unfamiliar Korean culture and the Chinese, Taiwanese and Japanese cultures I was more familiar with.

Much more recently, after beginning my doctoral program at IUP and shortly before deciding on studying Korean for my dissertation research, I developed another Korean related interest out of left field. A friend introduced me to the world of Korean television dramas (English subtitled) – which, while no doubt often bathetic, coincidence laden and overly plot contrived, got me hooked - as it seems to have done to many in quite a few Asian countries beyond Korea in recent years. Although my identity is hardly similar to those of most of the drama characters, I found that I could readily identify with the emotions and actions of many of those characters as they responded to the situations in which they found themselves. As

superficial as this motivation may seem, it has nevertheless been a further strong pull for my interest in and identification with Korean.

Finally, from the time of my decision to study Korean through and beyond the semester of my study, and into the present, my Korean interest and identification has heightened. Any mention of Korea or things Korean now draws my attention. In the sense that as Joseph (2004) noted, "It has recently become fashionable to eschew 'identity' in favour of the verb 'identify' and its nominalisation 'identification'…" (p. 11), I now have a Korean identification/identity.

Organization of the Study

In Chapter 2, I review the literature, beginning with a broad overview of the concepts of identity and self, and narrowing to focus on the identity-second language-classroom nexus. The ideas encompassed in my literature review provided me with, first, a general framework for evaluating my data and second, a context in which to explore much of my data, in the light of the theories and concepts presented in the chapter. I conclude the chapter with some notes about the Korean language as a reference for the reader for issues discussed in later chapters.

In Chapter 3, I discuss the details of my approach and the social constructionist lens I brought to it. The study relied heavily on ethnographic methods. In addition to participant-observation in the classroom, audiotaped interviews with participants provided my core data. As I observe in Chapter 3, there is no longer a hard and fast distinction between autoethnography and ethnography, even for an ethnographer far less an active participant than I. Since I participated fully in the classroom and as a language learner, I included autoethnographic type material in the study. Both for ethnographic and autoethnographic purposes I kept classroom notes and a journal, the latter including more of my own thoughts and extending to the world outside the classroom.

In keeping with recent ethnographic and autoethnographic practice I also attempted to bring narrative into my study. In addition to generally presenting these as short snippets throughout the study, much of the second part of my answer to research question 2B hinges on narrative relating to our final class project. I employ these narratives to uncover insights of generalizable significance, but also to provide a picture of the unique and particular of the participants and their situations.

In Chapter 4, I introduce the world of the study, specifically the setting, the class structure, and the participants. In Chapter 5, I discuss my data in relation to my research questions. For both question 1 and part of 2A, I discuss my answers explicitly in the context of portions of the literature presented in Chapter 2.

In Chapter 6, I discuss five themes that I identified as providing additional insight to the second language learning, identity and classroom conjunction. Although space prevented discussion of additional themes my data seemed to suggest, I feel the five presented share an internal focus on the language learner beyond the simple mechanically viewed process of a model based on the sequence *vocabulary and grammar input* ➡ *new language output*. In other words, they highlight some of the complex array of identity factors differentiating individual from individual in respect to the second language learning process.

In Chapter 7, I take a broader view of my data. As my field is TESOL, I attempt to more sweepingly link my KSL class data to the broader second language study world. For this purpose, but also in order to further suggest applications of conclusions drawn from my study to the second language classroom, I re-analyze or reinterpret some of my previously presented data. In presenting suggestions for applications, I turn the perspective of the preceding chapters, that of the second language learner, on its head and consider how, drawing on my twenty plus years

of teaching experience, a language teacher might incorporate a focus on language learner identity in her teaching. In doing so I do not intend to be prescriptive, but rather to stimulate reflexive rethinking in the language teacher-reader about possibilities best suited to her specific classroom contexts and the student individuals participating in those classes.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

In this chapter I discuss ideas and theories from the literature which provide a framework

for understanding and exploring my observations and participatory experiences. The chapter

proceeds from a broader perspective of identity to progressively more focused aspects,

eventually narrowing down to the nexus between identity, the classroom and second language

learning. In the following two subsections I attempt to provide an overview of general concepts

and relevant theories related to identity and underpinning my study. In subsequent sections I

hone in on and discuss three categories of identity: personal, social and relational, including for

the second, various social identity subtypes such as cultural identity and ethnic identity. I next

relate the previous sections to the profound and vital connection between identity and language. I

finally extend this to identity and second language learning, further narrowed to the second

language classroom and including the concepts of community of practice, agency, investment

and resistance.

All italicized sections in citations from references were italicized in the originals unless

otherwise noted.

Identity Overview

Terms, Concepts and Definitions

The terms of identity and its relatives such as 'self,' 'person' and 'self-concept' represent

complex, variously defined concepts, the subjects of many theories. Those theories are being

revised, refined, rejected, disputed or newly created up to the present moment. Moreover, these

concepts behind the terms can be delved into from many potentially rich insight-revealing

perspectives, each offering its own "truths." In light of this complexity and multifaceted quality,

I often provide several definitions of critical terms, in most cases to add richness and depth to their meanings, but also to demonstrate areas of disagreement.

Self

It seems generally accepted that of the interrelated group of 'identity' words, 'self' is the broadest concept. Owens (2003) defines self as:

> *an organized and interactive system of thoughts, feelings, identities, and motives that (1) is born of self-reflexivity and language, (2) people attribute to themselves, and (3) characterize specific human beings.* In contemporary psychology, self is generally conceptualized as a set of cognitive representations reflecting a person's personality traits, organized by linkages, across representations created by personal experience or biography" (p. 206).

Owens adds, "It is sometimes extended to include things besides trait attributes, such as social role, and even identities" (p. 206),

> Owens (2003) develops this definition further, saying,

> The key [to self] is human reflexivity, or the ability to view oneself as an object capable of being not just apprehended, but also labeled, categorized, evaluated, and manipulated. Moreover, reflexivity hinges on language, any language…In short, the reflexive self allows people to view themselves from an external point of view, just as other people might view them through varying degrees of detachment (p. 207).

> Gallagher & Marcel (1999) emphasize the multiplicity of aspects encompassed within each 'self', saying that by looking at the 'self' from a third-person perspective, "we easily discover, not a unitary phenomenon, but a self with multiple but relatively integrated aspects. That is, as social psychology often suggests, the subject (i.e. the actor) plays different social roles

within different social contexts" (p. 19). In other words at various times in various circumstances we (re)present ourselves differently as we fit into the boundaries of those socially represented aspects. Thus I may behave as a New York Mets fan, a poker player, a Ph.D. student, a teacher of English as a second language and so on. Despite this multiplicity of roles there are unitary factors, in other words, "relatively stable and consistent characteristics across all of these roles. This relatively integrated agent in some way constitutes what is ordinarily called the self" (p. 19).

Further, according to Gallagher & Marcel (1999), our 'selves' can be defined by our histories and dispositions, filtered "through the effects that culture and particular constraints imposed by various other factors (such as language, class, gender and race) have on the individual's practical interests, projects and goals" (p. 28). This self is most fully realized or revealed through our actions or behavior; although Gallagher & Marcel add that those cannot give it full expression.

Identity

After looking at the above ways to describe 'self,' it is now necessary to contrast that with the related notion of 'identity.' Owens (2003) says of the two terms,

Self and identity are complementary terms with much in common. They are nevertheless distinct. Their complementarity sometimes comes at the cost of imprecision and confusion, especially in how they are similar though distinct. Self actually subsumes identity, just as self also subsumes self-concept (p. 206)

He considers though that "self is a *process and organization born of self-reflection* whereas identity is a *tool* (or in some cases perhaps a stratagem) by which individuals or groups categorize themselves and present themselves to the world" (p. 206).

As a broad definition of identity, Owens (2003) offers "*categories people use to specify who they are and to locate themselves relative to other people*. In this sense, identity implies both a distinctiveness from others (I am not like them or a "not-me") and a sameness with others (I am like them or a "me-too")" (p. 207). Djité (2006) defines identity as

> the everyday word for people's sense of who they are. It is both about sameness with others and uniqueness of the self. Whilst group identity correlates with shared ethnic, religious and/or linguistic features, individual identity gives us a uniqueness of 'self' which consists of the various identities we share in (p. 6)

Djité (2006) discusses four levels of identity, which he recognizes are partially overlapping and which interact in complex ways:

> - Personal identity or an individual's conception of self; in other words, 'who I am for myself';
>
> - Enacted identity or how an identity is expressed in language and communication; in other words 'who I am for others';
>
> - Relational identity or identities in reference to others; and
>
> - Communal identity or identities as defined by collectivities" (pp. 5-6)

He considers that, at the personal identity level, we each form our own self-construct. The enacted level is who we are for others, both how we present ourselves and how others see us. Different others will form their individual interpretations of that identity, partially determined by the personal identity we wish to present through our behavior/actions with each as we interact. Relational identity "is part of both personal and enacted identities, since every identity is constructed in reference to other identities" (p. 6). Finally, communal identity differs from an individual's social or group identity in that it is as much about the identity of the group as it is

about one's identity as a member of the group. Aspects of the first three levels (excluding the communal), which I take as most relevant to my study, will be further discussed in later sections.

Pavlenko & Lantolf (2000) refer to the 'person' which seems to, at least roughly, stand for identity and which they distinguish from the self. They seem to be saying that the person is the social construct viewed from the outside – the third person point of view, whereas the self, "a coherent dynamic system" (p. 163), encompasses the 'person' but also includes the first person perspective and the knowledge – historic, cultural and social, including discursive and semiotic, that the individual uses to define him/herself and to interact socially with others.

Finally, Bucholtz & Hall (2004) present a view of identity from a different angle, as "an outcome of cultural semiotics that is accomplished through the production of contextually relevant sociopolitical relations of similarity and difference, authenticity and inauthenticity, and legitimacy and illegitimacy" (p. 382). I take this to mean it is our behaviors, words, and appearances that are the signs representing our identities, signs which point to our similarities and differences, and reflect on our authenticity or inauthenticity, and legitimacy or illegitimacy in the imagined second language communities we, the second language learners, hope to eventually participate in.

Although my title and research questions use the term "identity" and not "self," where non-identity aspects of self appear relevant to the language learning process I am investigating, I explore these avenues as well. Pomerantz (2001) says, "I use the term 'self' when I want to emphasize the reflexive and experiential aspects of personhood, and 'identity' when I want to direct attention to the enacted and external dimensions" (p. 6). I will endeavor to maintain that distinction; however usage of both terms in citations from other authors sometimes blurs that separation.

Joseph (2004) noted that, "It has recently become fashionable to eschew 'identity' in favour of the verb 'identify' and it nominalisation 'identification', on the grounds that these refer to a process rather than a 'fixed condition'" (p. 11). Although I agree with the emphasis on process, I do not eschew the term "identity." However I do use the terms "identify" and "identification" frequently, to indicate both the dynamic nature of the process, and because these terms, more readily than "identity," admit the notion of degree or relative strength.

Assumptions and Theories

Various authors have discussed identity in ways I both share and make integral to my study. Norton in particular has done much to connect identity to second language acquisition. She (1997) contends that "identity relates to desire – the desire for recognition, the desire for affiliation, and the desire for security and safety" (p. 410). She further states that identity:

1. is "complex, contradictory, and multifaceted."

2. is "dynamic across time and place"

3. "constructs and is constructed by language."

4. "must be understood with respect to larger social processes, marked by relations of power that can be either coercive or collaborative" (p. 419) [numbered list is my format]

Three additional attributes of identity as expressed by Norton (2000) are these: first that "identity is nonunitary and contradictory" (p. 125); second, that identity can be seen as a struggle for redefinition (p. 127); and third, similar to (2) in the preceding paragraph, that identity changes over time (pp. 128-129). The nonunitary and contradictory aspect was evidenced in some of my participants as creating both spurs toward and impedances discouraging Korean acquisition. As for (2), identity change over time in the context of the second language and the learning process, was present to some extent for all participants and quite significant for several.

Further, although my study was only for a semester of a beginning second language class, redefinition of identity by my participants, most often as a re-visualized future self, occurred and sometimes reoccurred during the study.

McElwee & Dunning (2005) discuss the current view of an "expanded self-system, dynamic and rich, containing information not just about one's current characteristics, but one's past and possible future selves, as well" (p. 114). They define 'possible selves' as cognitive conceptions or images of the self in alternate, particularly future, states" (p. 114). I found this a particularly rich vein to mine, as an envisioning of a new future self, entailing a knowledge of Korean, was an essential core of the impetus to learn that language for many of my participants. And this too was dynamic; the future-self conceptions of several of my participants affected and were affected by their language learning processes over the course of the semester.

There are a number of additional theories connected to the concept of identity that proved productive when applied to my study. Stryker's role-identity theory, cited by Owens (2003), "sees the self as consisting of a hierarchical ordering of identities with each identity differentiated according to its *salience* and one's *commitment* to his or her role relations. Thus one is committed not to an identity but to relationships with respect to which the identity is pertinent" (p. 203).

Building on Stryker's theory, Snow & McAdam (2000) think "that identities can also vary in terms of their pervasiveness – that is, in terms of their situational reach or relevance. Some identities can be relevant in many contexts and situations, whereas other identities may be irrelevant to all but one or two situations" (p. 45). It seemed the case in my study that certain aspects of my participants' identities seemed to come to the fore as they participated in the class and attempted to learn Korean. In many places in subsequent chapters I attempt to analyze the

impact of some of these most pervasively relevant identity strands to our class and the participants' language learning process.

Kawakami and Dion (1995) discuss three theories of which the second, (2) Social identity (SIT), I relate to my study. They state that, "Common to all three theories is the belief that people learn about themselves by comparison with relevant others, and that these comparisons help define their relationships to the social world" (p. 552).

With reference to the second theory above (social identity), Kawakami & Dion (1995) say that,

> SIT proposes that social comparisons lead to positive, neutral or negative self-evaluations…Group memberships are not merely labels individuals use to distinguish themselves from others but often provide a locus of identification for the self. By inclusion into some categories and exclusion from others, together with the values and emotional significance of that membership, we define our social values and emotional significance of that membership, we define our social identity (p. 553).

This SIT theory seemed to go hand in hand in my study with the concept of future selves, that is the categories we, the participants, slotted ourselves into and the values that accompanied them were integral to the future selves we envisioned or hoped for.

Callero (2004), in his revision of role-identity theory measurement techniques, feels that we do not define our roles merely by comparing the groups we belong to with corresponding counter-identity outgroups (e.g., doctor to nurse or Asian to European). Instead, our reference group tends to consist of people in general; in other words, we define what it is that make the group(s) we belong to distinct from the general population (p. 490). Callero's "people in general reference," and by extension, situations in general, seemed to play an important part in the

thinking of my participants as they compared themselves, our class, and what we were being asked to learn to "normal" or ideal language learning class situations, both positively and negatively.

Section Summation

To sum up, I have presented various ways of looking at identity/self which were basic or useful to my study and analysis of identity and the second language acquisition process in our beginning KSL (Korean as a Second Language) classroom. These included looking at several definitions of self and identity. At a most basic level, these self and identity avenues involve our ability to label, categorize, evaluate, and manipulate ourselves and others, and also to treat our identities as both first-person and third-person constructs.

Bucholtz & Hall's (2004) perspective, especially the concepts of authenticity and legitimacy, was relevant to my participants' identification with Korean people, language and culture. Additionally the idea of the dynamic nature of the self, (Norton, 1997, 2000), is central to my focus. No less important is the notion that the vehicle of dialogue, or language, provides the engine for this dynamism. I found that several contentions by Norton, specifically, (1) "that identity relates to desire – the desire for recognition, the desire for affiliation, and the desire for security and safety" (1997, p. 410), (2) that identity "must be understood with respect to larger social processes, marked by relations of power that can be either coercive or collaborative" (1997, p. 419), and (3) that identity can be seen as a struggle for redefinition (Norton, 2000, p. 127), were all at least somewhat relevant to my study; it is particularly the third though which seemed to have the greatest resonance.

I considered the importance of roles, specifically the roles we cast ourselves in the world outside the class which were salient as well in our Korean classroom identities, and related these

to our classroom participation. Finally I took the idea of future selves (McElwee & Dunning, 2005) as a key concept, and a significant component of *investment* (discussed later in this chapter) as well.

The above section discussed identity (and self) from a broad perspective. A more narrowed focus also stimulated paths of inquiry. In this regard, drawing on Djité (2006) and Owens (2003), I chose the subcategorical paths of personal identity, social identity and relational identity to pursue in the context of my own study. I expand on these in the following subsections of this chapter.

Personal Identity

Definitions

According to Owens (2003), "What differentiates personal identities from social and collective identities is that personal identities are both attached to individuals (e.g., their traits, unique identifiers, personality characteristics) and are internalized by them (p. 214). Another distinction is "that the internalization of an identity is a definitional requirement of personal identity but not of social or collective identity" (p. 214). Our appearance, our introverted, extroverted, hot-tempered or placid natures are all elements of personal identities.

Bailey (1983) introduces the personal identity factor of "competitiveness" as possibly significant in the second language acquisition process, implying that more competitive individuals tend to be better language learners (p.73). Saryusz-Szarska (2000) likewise chronicles her own competitive nature in her second language participant observation experience, often noting that her desire to be at the top of the class caused a renewal of her occasionally flagging study efforts.

That these identities are 'personal' does not mean that they are fixed and immutable. Interpretations and definitions of an individual's personal identities are determined and undergo change through social contact and context. Four premises underlie personal identity theory as developed by social psychologists:

First people are actors and reactors. Second, human action and interactions are shaped substantially by the definitions the actors derive from the situation and these definitions are based on shared meanings that arise as people interact with one another. Third, the meanings people attribute to themselves, and thus their self-concepts, are crucial to the process that produces their actions and interactions. Fourth, like other meanings, self-conceptions are molded in the course of interaction with others and are largely the outcomes of others' responses to the person" (Owens, 2003, p. 215).

Self-Concept

Niedenthal, & Beike (1997) consider self-concepts to be "the mental representations of those personal qualities used by individuals for the purpose of defining themselves and regulating their behavior" (p. 106). They explain that these are the attributes or labels which are important in defining ourselves, such as stubborn, Hispanic, or a jazz lover.

To drive home the lack of definitional consensus on the concepts of identity, self-concept and so on, Coleman (1988) places self-concept outside of identity as a component of self or the individual when she says, "Identity represents the definitional component and self-concept reflects the evaluative component of the individual" (p. 320). Ommundsen, Haugen, & Lund (2005) would consider Coleman's definition of self-concept to rather define self-esteem, and likely her representation of identity to more closely fit self-concept (see the *Self-esteem* section below for Ommundsen, Haugen, & Lund's definition).

Owens (2003) expands on self-concept, saying it "not only incorporates the individual's location in the social structure but is also affected by it" (p. 209). Like so much of identity, self-concept, for Owens, derives and is formed in the context of social interactions, an individual's "past and ongoing affiliations and experiences within and across social contexts and institutional affiliation, and his or her location within culture and social structure. In short, the self – and thus the self-concept is a social product" (p. 209).

While I accept the socially constructed view as presented above, Coleman (1988) does identify an important caveat, that is, "some people rely on outside assessments to define their identity. Still others are more self-accepting and look more internally than externally for self-validation" (p. 321). She reasserts, though, that, "Communicative exchange, through language in particular, serves as an important mediator in the construction of identity and self-concept" (p. 321). Much of my data is based on self-concept, at least as mediated through the words of my participants in our interviews. As our class was a mainstream part of the academic world of our university, academic self-concept was also an important part of my relevant data mix.

Academic self-concept. Hamachek (1995) says of academic self-concept, "Numerous reviews of self-concept research conducted over the past 25 years have concluded that there is a moderately strong concurrent relationship between students' academic achievement and their self-concept of ability" (p. 419). He adds, "A growing body of research literature indicates that not only is academic self-concept clearly differentiable from general self concept but that academic self-concept is even more highly correlated with academic achievement than is general self-concept" (p. 419). He claims the research, "not only supports the idea that self-concept of ability and achievement are related but that this relationship is strengthened when self-concept measures are linked to specific academic content areas" (p. 419).

About self-concept in general (e.g., not limited to academic self-concept), Manning (2007) posits that, "Regarding self-concept and academic achievement, self-concept is frequently correlated with academic performance, but it appears to be a consequence rather than a cause of high achievement" (p. 37-38). However, in concord with my overall assumption that the nature of second language acquisition and identity has a reciprocally evolving nature, Hamachek (1995) states that others have also taken the position that a "positive self-image is a necessary prerequisite for doing well in school. There is ammunition for both sides, suggesting that self-concept and achievement are dynamically interactive and reciprocal, not one-way streets" (p. 420). Adding further support, Marsh, Byrne, & Yeung (1999), in discussing their research, assert, "A reciprocal effects model is more theoretically defensible and more consistent with previous research than either skill development (only achievement affects self-concept) or self-development (only self-concept affects achievement) models" (p. 162).

The process of academic self-concept formation was also important to my study. Martinot & Monteil (2000) discuss the self-to-prototype matching (or prototype matching) which the say means "(a) the comparison of one's own attributes with those of a typical person-in-situation and (b) the selection of the situation with the greatest self-to-prototype overlap" (p. 120). In their study the authors found that, "The prototype-matching strategy was used by the high achieving students and not used by the low-achieving students (p. 124). They inferred from this that the low-achieving group "did not possess the sufficient, clear, and chronically accessible self-concepts necessary for a self-to-prototype matching strategy" (p. 124). One of my Chapter 6 themes makes use of this theory to probe the importance of comparisons among my participants.

Among those aspects of self-concept useful to my analysis was *competence* discussed by Morita (2004) in her article on non-native speaker participation in an American university

classroom environment. She says the classroom identities of her participants were often based on this sense of competence, with a feeling of inadequate competence being common. Her participant students developed this type of identity first "based on the difficulties they were experiencing in the classroom, such as not fully understanding reading material, lectures, or class discussion, and not being able to contribute to discussions as much as others" and second "based on their sense of how others might perceive them" (p. 583). Evidence of the mutability of this trait was "that these identities could change" (p. 583) from classroom to classroom or over time. I discuss the idea of competence further in my Chapter 5 results: I found, like Morita, that shifting senses of competence over the course of the semester did occur for my participants, with the patterns of trajectory for the sense of competence during the semester varying from individual to individual.

Self-esteem. For my purposes I consider self-esteem to be a part of self-concept, although some authors do not consider this to be the case. Ommundsen, Haugen, & Lund (2005) say, for example,

> The self-concept is broadly defined as an organized schema that contains episodic and semantic memories about the self, and that controls the processing of self-relevant information. Whereas the term 'self-concept' usually refers to the knowledge aspects of the self-schema, that is, the beliefs than an individual holds about his or her attributes, the evaluative component of the self-schema is usually conceptualized as self-esteem; a self-reflexive attitude that is the product of viewing the self as an object of evaluation (p. 463)

For them, in other words, self-concept does not involve self-evaluation; if self-evaluation is involved it falls into the category of self-esteem.

In any case, it is clear that there can be no self-esteem without self-concept. I discuss it here since some make the case that this evaluative characteristic plays a role in academic performance. According to Ommundsen, Haugen, & Lund (2005), "High academic self-esteem motivates students to pursue their goals, even in the face of obstacles and setbacks" (p. 463); also "persons with high academic self-esteem perform better after initial failure than persons with low academic self-esteem, and are more likely to persevere in the face of obstacles" (p. 463). They also suggest that conversely, "Students with low academic self-esteem, on the other hand, tend to take precautions in order to protect their self-esteem" (p. 464). Therefore one might expect "low self-esteem students to engage in self-handicapping strategies in order to provide a non-threatening excuse should failure occur. Self-handicapping activities or strategies may therefore reflect a self-serving bias among low self-concept students" (p. 464).

There appears to be a down side to holding high academic self-esteem values, if these high evaluations are inaccurate. Onwuegbuzie, Bailey, & Daley (2001), in a study of college students learning foreign languages, investigated the correlation between student language learning expectations, based on students' evaluation of their own abilities, and their subsequent foreign language learning performances. They found first that "the majority of students (61%) have expectation biases, with more than three times as many students exhibiting self-enhancing bias than self-derogation bias. Simply put, most students appear to have inaccurate perceptions of their foreign language abilities, with nearly half of them over-estimating their future levels of performance" (pp. 6-7). A second finding was that "self-enhancers had significantly lower levels of overall academic achievement…than did self-derogators…and accurate self-appraisers" (p. 6).

Lin-Aigler, Moore, & Zabrucky, (2004) found that individuals whose competitiveness took the form of "desire to outperform others were more likely to have higher self-perceived

cognitive ability. Specifically, they were more likely to think that they understand texts, feel more ready to take tests, and have higher confidence in their test performance" (p. 458). They further found that "when students are more concerned with how others perceive and evaluate them, they are more willing to exert effort on tasks, perhaps to ensure good performance as an effort of maintaining and controlling the images they present to others" (pp. 458-459).

In my study I generally use the term "academic self-concept," using it to encompass the evaluative self-esteem aspect as well. While the above academic self-esteem conceptions seem relevant in the abstract, I did not find them completely applicable to my study. My participants seemed to be continually assessing and reassessing their own abilities in relation to the material being learned, their class performance and through the relevant comparisons they were making over the course of the semester. In other words they seemed to be adjusting their overall academic self-concepts to the reality of their specific, Korean 101, class performance. However, my study did seem to first provide some evidence of the reciprocity between strong academic self-concept and doing well in class. And second, it even more strongly suggested agreement with the self-esteem finding presented above that, where general academic self-concept was positive and engrained as a personal identity trait, it acted as an incentive to succeed and a disincentive to fail in our Korean class.

Section Summation

To sum up, my reading of the literature suggested a number of personal identity areas that I explored to greater or lesser degrees. These included competitiveness, self-concept in general and academic self-concept, including self-esteem. Perceptions of competence and the models or prototypes we, the participants, used for comparisons also greatly informed my study.

Social Identity

Social Constructionism

I preface this social identity section with a brief discussion of social constructionism, as social constructionist assumptions underpin my participant/observer focus on language and identity in general, and social identity in particular. Pomerantz (2001) says, "Social constructionism, as a set of theoretical assumptions about language, the individual, and society, underlies many of the principles guiding work conducted from a sociocultural or second language socialization perspective" (p. 28). Keys to the utility of this theory lies in its providing "a mediated account of language and…a focus on the construction and interpretation of knowledge in interaction" (p. 28). Kinch (1963) claims, "*The individual's conception of himself emerges from social interaction and, in turn, guides or influences the behavior of that individual*" (p. 481). Central to this perspective, as it connects to language and second language learning, is that, "In social constructionist accounts of SLL, meaning is thought to reside not in linguistic forms themselves, but in situated uses of those forms" (Pomerantz, 2001, p. 29). This ties in with the metaphor of *participation* which Pavlenko & Lantolf (2000), say "has emerged in the education literature not as a replacement for, but as a complement to, the traditional learning as acquisition metaphor" (p. 155).

Additionally, Pomerantz (2001) asserts, "Social constructionism emphasizes the pivotal roles of ideology, identity, and investment in shaping SLL outcomes" (p. 30). Morita (2004) puts the process of academic socialization in social constructionist terms: "Using primarily qualitative research, researchers have shown that academic socialization is not simply a matter of acquiring pre-given knowledge and sets of skills, but involves a complex process of negotiating identities, cultures, or power relations" (p. 574); In the context of my study, I contend that replacing

'academic socialization' with 'the second language learning process' in the above sentence results in an equally valid proposition.

Djité (2006), although particularly referring to today's polycultural world, makes the connection between social constructionism, identity, and language when he says that our roles as speakers and listeners are bound up in the desire to cooperate through language. "Our true identity is therefore not established but is being conquered and constructed through language, together with the other. As a result of cohabitation, it is in a process of permanent re-actualization" (p. 12).

Finally, Jacoby and Ochs (1995) echo a theme often expressed when they tie the social construction of identity to the micro-level of conversational interaction. In their introduction to a series of articles on the subject, they say that it is through "linguistic, paralinguistic, and nonlinguistic means that interactants play out, reaffirm, challenge, maintain, and modify their various (and complexly multiple) social identities as turn-by-turn talk unfolds" (p. 176). They identify as another theme, "that such allegedly 'stable' things as gender identity, rules of a game, classifications of interactional events, and family politics are highly contingent and constantly shifting, as interlocutors co-construct interactional moments" (p. 177). While I do not focus on this microlevel to the extent of formal discourse analysis, I do observe, note and make reference to these types of moments, which occurred in class and are sometimes further discussed in connection with my interviews. These short-term single-exchange or single incident events were sometimes significant over the longer term and brought into my discussions of the research questions and themes in Chapters 5 and 6.

Definitions

Rather than using the term 'enacted' as Djité (2006, p. 6) does, to frame the identity subcategory, I prefer to borrow the second, "social," term from Owens' (2003) tripartite identity-component classification of personal, social, and collective identities (p. 214); this 'social' classification seems to provide a better fit for my avenues of exploration.

According to Owens, "In the sociological sense, one's social identity is derived from the groups, statuses, and categories to which individuals are *socially recognized* as belonging" (p. 224). Further, psychologists who use social identity theory consider this identity to be "a cognitive tool individuals use to partition, categorize, and order their social environment and their own place in it" (p. 224). Additionally, "social identity can be seen as encompassing two interrelated dimensions: the group-level (including social structural characteristics of a social identity) and the individual-level desires, motives, and actions derived from a social identity" (p. 226). Joseph (2004) contends that the "reciprocal tension between individual and group identities gives the overall concept of identity much of its power" (p. 5).

As with so many of the concepts and terms related to self and identity, those related to social identity are slippery, especially in regard to their interrelationships. The extents to which various categories overlap, subsume, or are subsumed by or within others are not at all clear-cut. For convenience I discuss social identity subcategories which have relevance to my study, such as group identity, ethnic identity and cultural identity, and for the sake of completeness, other subcategories I considered but which, for one reason or another, did not find their way into my study.

The borders between many of these categories are often so indistinct that many of the

aspects discussed in each subcategory could easily fit into another. Norton (1997), for example, sees different authors as using a number of these terms as equivalent frames for roughly the same thing. As Norton puts it, "various authors frame identity differently; as "'social identity', 'sociocultural identity', 'voice', 'cultural identity' and 'ethnic identity'"" (p. 420).

Social Identity Subcategories

Group

Tajfel (1982) was at the forefront of defining social identity as it relates to group identification. He postulated that the essence of a group consists of from any one to all three of the following components:

1. Cognitive: a "sense of the knowledge that belongs to a group" (p. 229)

2. Evaluative: an understanding that membership may have a positive or negative significance.

3. Emotional: positive or negative emotions toward the group and other groups standing in relation to it.

Hansen & Liu (1997) criticize Tajfel's position that individuals can elect to change their group memberships if the group does not satisfy their social identity needs. They contend that this change of group, and likely social, identity in general, may prove impossible, "leaving individuals with limited options: changing their interpretation of the characteristics of their in-group so as to view them in a more positive light or engaging in social action to change the situation" (p. 568).

McNamara (1997), taking Tajfel's ideas as a basis, explains the development of social identity as "four main processes involving social identity in an intergroup context: (a) social categorization, (b) the formation of an awareness of social identity, (c) social comparison, and

(d) a search for psychological distinctiveness" (p. 562).

In this vein, Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, (1977) define social identity as "People's knowledge of their membership in various social…categories or groups of people, and the value attached to that membership by them in positive or negative terms" (p. 319). They stress the importance of social identity acquiring meaning through comparison to other groups and suggest, "that individuals have a desire to belong to groups which give them satisfaction and pride through membership" (p. 319). Further, individuals will define their social identity as members of groups that they perceive or construct to be "superior on valued dimensions to members of a relevant outgroup in terms of material possessions, social power, abilities, personal attributes and so forth" (p. 319). They argue that this "positive distinctiveness from the outgroup will allow ingroup members to share a satisfactory or adequate social identity" (p. 319).

Hansen & Liu (1997) discuss the group/ethnic identity-language connection, explaining that, "Giles and Johnson (1981, 1987) developed their ethnolinguistic identity theory, focusing on language as a salient marker of group membership and social identity" (p. 568). They further cite Heller in saying language may become a symbol of and stand for a group identity, particularly when it represents the group in contrast to another, linguistically contrasted group (p. 569).

As noted by Hansen & Liu (1997), Tajfel does not discuss "multiple group memberships" (p. 571). Individuals, for example, may identify with several groups that are defined by different languages, and therefore may wish to vary their identifications according to context. McNamara (1997) seems to be in accord with the multiple group membership shifting to fit context. He refers to "a *repertoire* of social identities or *multiple group membership* [sic], which will include familial, professional, class, gender, sexuality, age, and other identities" (p. 564). Which identity

(or identities) is significant at a given point in time depends on the context.

I bring in Devos' (2006) references to cultural and ethnic identity here, since consideration of these as types of group identity extends further the possibilities of such multiple identities. Devos introduces the concept of bicultural identity and asserts that, "In today's society, many individuals are likely to identify with a variety of cultures" (p. 382) and "immigrants or members of ethnic or cultural minorities are not necessarily conflicted between adapting to the host society and preserving their cultural heritage" (p. 382). He explains that, "the concept of bicultural identity integration was recently introduced to account for the fact that some individuals perceive their cultural identities as compatible, whereas other individuals view them as oppositional" (p. 399). In support of the bicultural identity concept, his study found that Mexican American and Asian American college students strongly identified with both American and heritage cultures, but that neither identification took precedence over the other.

Hansen and Liu (1997) raise a second concern regarding earlier research by Tajfel, Giles and Johnson: "Their theories of identity were formed on the basis of research on a few individuals who have been taken to represent the behavior of individuals in their respective groups" (571). Hansen & Liu argue that "social identity is individual, and developing a hypotheses of social identity that categorizes an individual's behavior into groups, and the groups into determined categories, denies the individual and dynamic nature of social identity" (571-572). Although I do not see this critique as invalidating Tajfel's concept of group identity, and further consider group identification to be a valid and strong impetus in producing actions and reactions, I agree with Hansen & Liu's conclusion that "the complexity of social identity should be explored on a dynamic continuum that allows factors such as language, ethnicity, appearance, and personality to interplay in a complex fashion without beginnings and ends" (p.

574).

This also seems to relate to Bourdieu's (1991) admonition that criteria for group (e.g. regional or ethnic) identity are hardly objective scientific reality, but rather subjective "mental representations" (p. 220). In this he is seconded by Joseph (2004) who identified two historical approaches to language and identity. The first, he asserts is essentialist, "in which categories such as nationality, class, race, gender, etc. are taken as givens" (p. 83); the second he labels constructivist, and explains is "more interested in identity as a 'process' in which individuals construct categorical belonging, both for themselves and for others with whom they come in contact" (p. 84).

My participants slotted themselves into multiple groups. More importantly the degrees of salience they chose to allot to various group identities, such as ethnicity, influenced investment in and identification with Korean. In my description, I sided with Joseph's (2004) constructivist approach, in not taking my participants to be members of objectively determined group categories, but rather presenting their subjective, fluid, perceptions of themselves as group members and the degrees of importance they attached to those cohabitating memberships. I feel also however that my discussion of these perceptions precisely entail the dynamic interplay of various identity factors existing within each individual participant, as suggested by Hansen and Liu (1997).

Cultural

The importance of culture as an identity constituent cannot be overstated. Bruner (1990) quotes Geertz as saying that "there is no such thing as human nature independent of culture" (p. 12). J. S. Lee (2002) defines culture as "a complex entity, which holds a set of symbolic systems, including knowledge of norms, values, beliefs, language, art, and customs, as well as habits and

35

skills learned by individuals as members of a given society" (p. 119). He goes on to borrow Pandharipande's definition of cultural identity as consisting of several factors: "(1) linguistic (2) regional/geographic (3) religious and (4) racial/ethnic. All the identity markers of a social group together constitute the 'culture' or 'cultural identity' of the social group" (p. 120). However not all identity markers need be present for cultural identity to exist.

  Saville-Troike (1989) links culture to communication most strongly when she says,

  Ultimately all aspects of culture are relevant to communication, but those that have the

  most direct bearing on communicative forms and processes are the social structure, the

  values and attitudes held about language and ways of speaking, the network of conceptual

  categories which results from shared experiences, and the ways knowledge and skills

  (including language) are transmitted from one generation to the next, and to new

  members of the group (p. 22)

  Kramsch (1998) admits that "there is no one-to-one relationship" (p. 77) between language and cultural identity; however, she maintains that "language is the most sensitive indicator of the relationship between an individual and a given social group" (p. 77). Accordingly, acquiring a second language carries a cultural load. One can hardly become a proficient speaker of a language without knowledge of "norms, values, beliefs, language, art, and customs." Learning a second language means learning these as well. Second language learners come to the second language with such knowledge in their first language, and they must encounter a second set when they learn the new language.

  The idea of comparison also enters into cultural identity as it did for group identity. Marchenkova (2005), in her explication of Bakhtin, notes that one culture needs another culture to underscore its peculiarities" (p. 179). She says that in Bakhtin's view, knowledge of two or

more languages is a knowledge of two or more cultures. A multilingual person "taps on several cultures at once, and can compare them, thus getting a deeper insight into each of them" (p. 180). This internal intercultural interaction process "has an intricate dialectic and may be hard to grasp in exact terms, but it is a process of enrichment and evolution rather than impoverishment and degradation of one's own cultural identity" (p. 180).

Wenger's (1998) discussion of engagement and imagination in any enterprise, when focused on the enterprise of second language/culture learning, complements Bakhtin's. He discusses engagement and imagination as resulting "in a *reflective* practice. Such a practice combines the ability both to engage and to distance – to identify with an enterprise as well as to view it in context, with the eyes of an outsider" (p. 217). I likewise take the Korean as a second language learning enterprise as a focus for our engagement and for our imaginations to play with. In this sense our imaginations, Wenger feels, enable us "to adopt other perspectives across boundaries and time, to visit 'otherness'... to include history in our sense of the present and to explore possible futures. It can produce representation and models that trigger new interpretations" (p. 217). Wenger views engagement as "a place for imagination to land, to be negotiated in practice and realized into identities of participation" (p. 217).

How the language/cultural acquisition process is conceived, or whether the (unsophisticated) learner is actively aware of it all, likely has bearing on the process as it develops. My participants did interpret their Korean language encounters with the postive mindsets described both by Bakhtin's (1981, and Marchenkova, 2005) language/culture understanding and Wenger's vision of the learning process. However, the cross-cultural encounter can also be viewed as problematic.

Smith & Francis (2005) consider East Asian and Western cultures in regard to differences

in how individuals typically relate to their own societies, claiming that, in contrast to the European-American cultural model of the autonomous individual, Eastern Asians are guided in their actions by very different presuppositions and beliefs. They say, "Self-centered, autonomous individuals are considered immature and uncultivated in China, Japan and Korea. Individuals are expected to adjust to meeting the expectations of others. Social values supersede individual valuation of self" (p. 821). From this they claim, "These fundamental differences in the relationship of the individual and society could potentially produce different experiences of proper behaviors, emotional displays, motivations and attributions…Such differences should be particularly notable in those situations where the self is the primary actor" (pp. 821-822).

Cultural identity and the Korean language. Narrowing the focus to Korean as a second language, Byon (2004a) says, "It is well known that communication patterns among Americans are based, in principle, on an individualistic and egalitarian culture, whereas Koreans' patterns are oriented toward a relatively collectivistic and hierarchical culture" (p. 182). In his survey of relatively advanced Korean language learners, use of Korean "collectivism- and hierarchism-based communicative patterns" (p. 182) were not truly in evidence.

Byon (2004b) also deals with politeness, explaining that there are at least two reasons why learning Korean linguistic politeness "is a daunting task for KFL students" (p. 41). First, the students must understand the Korean cultural and social norms which determine social relationships in Korean society, and then they must apply these to their "use of Korean honorifics, and perception of various aspects of volitional politeness such as directness level of Korean speech acts" (p. 41). He uses the Korean honorific system as an example, explaining that the correct politeness form is necessary in addressing someone in a higher power position. However, this is far from the whole story, since other factors may impact the power relationship.

Thus "where the speaker has a higher status because of his/her age, or seniority compared to that of the hearer, the use of honorific elements must be suppressed to make the utterance socially appropriate" (p. 41). He goes on to explain that the "use of honorifics in inappropriate contexts (e.g., -power situation) makes speakers' utterance sound cynical or even sarcastic to hearers" (p. 41).

The second reason given for the difficulty in mastering Korean politeness forms involves the fact that honorific speech consists of more than a single honorific form of address. As Byon (2004b) points out, and I discuss at the end of this chapter, honorific elements include "appropriate speech level, euphemistic words, and honorific suffix[es]" (p. 41). This means that the learner must coordinate several different aspects of the Korean politeness register simultaneously in order to produce appropriate speech.

Another identity/language issue identified as possibly problematical for the Korean language learner is the way age is treated in the Korean language. Sohn (1986) says that, "Age power is so strong and firm that one cannot degrade a person in a higher age-stage even in fighting or insulting" (p. 403). Furthermore, even the lowest status individual should be addressed with the form befitting his/her age and "even the strongest solidarity would be unable to downgrade a speech style or an address term used to one's senior person. Between ingroup members, even a minute age difference becomes significant" (p. 403).

While Sohn (1986) notes that "Age is also significant to a certain extent as a power variable in such typical horizontal societies as America"… however, "the adult status is easily overruled by intimacy in American English. This degree of intimacy would never cause any address shift in Korean even between ingroup adults" (p. 403). Trying to understand how this worked practically in Korean was something I spent virtually the entire semester asking Korean

speakers to explain. Others of my participants also gave thought to what it meant to conform to these types of cultural behavior implicit in the Korean language.

Again relating to the problematical aspects of cross or multi-cultural identity, Siegal's (1996) study of Western women in Japan using Japanese as a second language illustrates the tension between wanting to be sociolinguistically appropriate and yet refusing to accept certain linguistic behaviors when these conflicted with identity. Ogulnick (1996) faced this dilemma in Japan as well, and suggests that a student having difficulty should ask of him/her self,

> Is there something in the language that threatens his/her identity? Is s/he resisting
>
> capitulating to a set of beliefs different from his or her own, which are either implicitly or
>
> explicitly embedded in the words or structure of the language? (p. 290).

This latter concern was a consideration for some of my participants as part of a larger consideration of future self in the context of future interaction with a Korean speech community and is discussed further in my Chapter 6, *Theme 4: Dynamics of Participation: Resistance and Agency* section.

Song (2005) notes that a speaker's gender also plays a role when speaking Korean. That could clearly play a role in KSL acquisition and use. He says,

> Gender plays an important role in the availability of speech levels…female speakers have
>
> fewer options that their male counterparts. For example, the familiar speech level does
>
> not seem to be an option for Korean women. Moreover, female speakers may not be able
>
> to use speech levels as unconstrainedly as their male counterparts" (p. 129).

Wang (2006) explains that Korean women use honorifics frequently and that they not only "use backchannels far more frequently than men, but they also tend to avoid interruptions and overlapping" (p. 203).

This gender identity aspect of language acquisition did not really show up in my study, most likely because we never got to a level in Korean where such distinctions would be significant. Nor at the early point of our language studies had any of the participants given it much thought in terms of future Korean language use. This was in contrast to the thought that had been given by many of my participants as to their imagined accommodation or resistance to other aspects of future socio-cultural language usage.

Ethnic

Owens (2003) says, "people can accept or reject social definitions that are applied to them, even if others hold opposing views" (p. 224). Pao, Wong, and Teuben-Rowe (1997) affirm this freedom of choice for ethnic identity and further link that choice to language use as an ethnic identity determinant in their study of mixed-heritage (I prefer and use the term dual-heritage) adults. They assert that for dual heritage individuals the

> ability to speak the languages of both their heritages was fundamental to their identity. Without that capability, they would have had no link to one of their cultures and its people. They reported feeling more of a particular ethnicity when speaking [whichever language provided] a means for achieving social acceptance (p. 626)

The importance of language as an ethnic identity factor is further expressed by Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor (1977) who cite several studies showing "that ethnic group members identify more closely with someone who shares their language than with someone who shares their cultural background" (p. 326). They also note that acquired characteristics of an individual's identity "would be attributed by others as truer expressions of an individual's ethnicity than those characteristics ascribed by virtue of birth" (p. 326) and add that in any case, "one has no choice

over one's ethnicity in terms of heritage, but one can exert more control over which language variety one can learn or use in addition to one's mother tongue" (p. 326).

However, the simple accepting/rejecting dichotomy seems to get a little tricky when applied to ethnic identity. Ricento (2005) states, "Ethnicity, like race, is a sociological construct that both reflects and serves various sociopolitical interests. One's ethnicity may be ascribed, chosen, contested, and/or contingent" (p. 901). In this respect Khadar (2006) discusses a particularly interesting ethnography/case study of a female Mexican student (9th grade) who denied her Mexican identity, at least at school and in her neighborhood and resisted Standard American English in favor of AAVE. This reflected her school in which the (overwhelming majority) African American student body used AAVE, had high social status and were seen as "cool" (p. 632).

Khadar (2006) directly connects this to native language use: "This cool factor also had a great influence on her denying her own ethnicity, causing her to argue violently with anybody who claimed she was Mexican. Maria refused to speak her native language in public even if addressed by a teacher" (p. 632). He further connects Maria's identity assertion to the second language classroom. In keeping with her profound identification with "the cool African-American students, she also refused to acknowledge she was in the ESL program. The ESL students were at the bottom of the school's social hierarchy and were considered inferior by most students" (p.632). This was reflected in Maria's resistant behavior. She "came late to the ESL class every day and often circulated around until the halls cleared. She did not mind being marked tardy or absent as long as her friends did not see her entering the class" (p.632).

My participants had various, often mixed, ethnic heritages, and all but one were of non-Korean heritage. While there was no extreme case of denial of ethnic heritage, the salience of

those identities was downplayed by some, seeming to clear the path for their non-heritage Korean investment. In those cases where some salience was asserted, it generally was expressed as imagining future resistance to certain sociolinguistic norms while participating in a Korean language community.

One of my participants had dual Japanese and Korean ethnic heritage. While I do not contend that she should be unreservedly slotted into the heritage learner category, I feel that some discussion from the literature on heritage learners is warranted and applicable to her situation.

Heritage Learner

Considerable literature has been produced on the subject of heritage students, much of it related to language learning and identity. This literature points to various possible areas of investigation. J. S. Lee (2002) notes that the U.S. Korean community is the fifth largest Asian/Pacific Islander immigrant group (p. 117). Based on Lambert's proposal, she discusses

> four possible modes of adjustment by minority-language children to the demands of the wider society; (1) the child may reject his or her heritage language and culture; (2) he or she may reject the language and culture of the wider/dominant society; (3) he or she may become an anomic individual without affiliation either to his or her own culture or that of the wider/dominant society; and finally, or (4) he or she may become comfortably bilingual and bicultural and capable of participating fully in both cultures (p. 118).

Although Lee is talking about children, not college age adults, I present the above four categories as a starting point for consideration of heritage identity and language issues to contextualize my study's dual heritage participant in a later chapter.

Lee's (2002) study further indicates that males and those not born in the U.S. had a stronger ethnic/heritage identification than females and those born in the U.S. The study also showed that "the higher the heritage language proficiency, the stronger one identified with both the Korean culture and the American culture" (p. 132). That a heritage student would begin learning Korean as an adult at college suggests evolution toward bicultural identity and a consideration that language is an important part of that identity. In certain ways this was true of my participant, in other ways not. I discuss her case in detail in my presentation and discussion of results in later chapters.

I anticipated prior to my study, but did not find, that the language my heritage participant had learned at home might "more or less conflict with 'standard' or 'authentic' language expressions, as shown in the textbooks and taught by the teachers" (Jo, 2001, p. 27). Another possibility was that the teacher might have a substantial effect on Korean identity formation. In other words it was suggested that how the student perceives his or her identity position based on such factors as personal history, Korean history and Korean regional identification in the face of "the teacher's contextualization of students' Korean speech and writing" forces these students to "relocate their fragmented version of Korean language forms, pronunciation, and styles in relation to homeland history and regions; [sic] time and context" (Jo, 2002, p. 36). This again was not a significant factor in my study.

Finally Jo (2002) and Chinen (2004) discuss possible effects of the language class on self-concept for the Korean heritage student. They discuss such factors as comparing self to more fluent speakers, and the possibility that more fluent Korean speakers may ridicule the heritage student's speech as possible negative influences. To a certain extent comparisons to the Korean ability of others was a factor in my heritage participant's Korean class experience and is

discussed in the *Comparisons Theme* section of Chapter 6.

Racial and National

There are certainly other categories, related to the cultural and ethnic that could have been evoked. Harkening back to Bourdieu (1991) and Joseph's (2004) contention that these types of categorizations are all subjective, Joseph contends that, "*Racial* identity – now a concept virtually taboo in American discourse…focused, like ethnic identity, on common descent and cultural heritage, but conceived on a grander scale, for example 'black' identity as opposed to Wolof identity'" (p. 163).

More significant in terms of my study is national identity. Anderson (1991) defines a nation as "an imagined political community" (p. 6). Joseph (2004) characterizes national identity as focusing on "political borders and autonomy, often justified by arguments centered on shared cultural heritage, but where the ethnic element is inevitably multiple" (p. 163).

Some among my participants emphasized their American identity as salient to their identity and as likely affecting their future use of Korean; others downplayed their American identities, preferring to position themselves as more internationally minded. The one non-American, Japanese-national, participant indicated that being Japanese was integral to her identity, but also that Korean nationalism among her Korean friends, particularly when it specifically manifested itself against Japan, served to create distance between herself and Korean.

Gender

The relevant issues surrounding gender and second language are, first, what gender is and second, how, if at all it relates to the acquisition/participation process. Ricento (2005) considers gender not as a single fixed entity, but one determined by other social factors, "such as race,

social class, educational background and experience, cultural norms, and so on. Understood in this way, gender itself is neither exclusively (or always) enabling or disabling in terms of language acquisition, learning, or use" (p. 900).

Ehrlich (1997) says that, "feminist sociolinguistics has generally rejected the idea that gender is a set of attributes residing permanently within an individual. More recent conceptions of gender characterize it as something individuals *do* as opposed to something individuals *are* or *have*" (p. 422). She adds, "An important corollary to the view that gender is something locally and interactionally constituted and negotiated is the idea that the construction of gender identities, identities that are not fixed and static, can vary across social, situational, and interactional contexts" (p. 423), and further argues that an individual's gender identity consists of acting in a manner consistent with the social practices a speech community assigned to the gender being identified with. She maintains, "It is not gender per se, then, that interacts with linguistic practices, but rather the complex set of 'gendered' social practices that individuals participate in" (p. 440).

Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (1999) see gender as connected to participation in communities of practice. They feel that "individuals negotiate identity – a place in the world – by negotiating their participation in multiple communities of practice' (p. 188). In their formulation, the meaning of gender and gender identity derives "in large measure, from differentiation in the kinds of CofP in which males and females tend to participate, and from the differentiated forms of participation that males and females tend to develop in mixed-gender communities of practice" (p. 188).

It seems generally agreed that treating gender as isolated from other social and personal factors is improvident. Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (1999) explain that, "Gendered linguistic

practices emerge as people engage in social practices that construct them not only as girls or boys, women or men – but also as e.g., Asian American or heterosexually active" (p. 185). Therefore, since those societal factors that fabricate gender are simultaneously defining "other aspects of identity – such as life stage, heterosexuality, ethnicity, or social class – illuminating generalizations involving gender are most likely to emerge when gender is examined not in isolation, but in interaction with other social variables" (p. 190-191).

Davis & Skilton-Sylvester (2004) indicate that even the presumed clear delineation of gender specific language usage is actually, due to the inevitable multiplicity of identity factors, not clear at all. They contend that identity research has shown "for example, patterns that have been ascribed to women also appearing in the speech of men (and vice versa). In other words, many of the assumptions about who uses what forms have little to do with gender" (p. 384).

Shi (2006) connects the gender-as-one-of-many-aspects-of-identity position to adult second language learning, explaining that prior to studying the second language, such learners "have already formed a pretty robust sense of 'self-image' or 'identity' together with their norms of communication, which are forged by their primary cultural, personal, situation and relational experiences" (p. 6). Thus, "When they start a boundary-crossing journey, the sharp changes in the communities of practice will form considerable impact on L2 learners' identity (re)negotiation, which will most probably lead to clashes and modifications in their language and gender ideologies" (p. 6).

Shi (2006) explains that, when compared with "gendered ideologies and agencies established in their primary socialization" (p. 7), second language learners may find the gender positions of the new language/culture either problematical or congenial. In either case, they may have to change gender behavior to fit the new speech communities. Shi therefore contends that,

"[a]s a main medium of gendered performance, learners' L2 practices will be impacted by their evolving gendered identities and ideologies (as well as other sociocultural factors) to go through a process of transformation" (p. 7). What this process of transformation might entail, is explained by Shi as possibly occurring "with multiple facets and in multiple dimensions" (p. 7). These facets and dimensions can occur "in the form of changes in perceptions, attitudes and behavioural patterns; changes in linguistic proficiency and communicative competence; and changes in social, ethnic or cultural identities" (pp. 7-8). Further, these changes are reciprocal "constituted by, as well as constituting the transformation in intercultural adaptation" (p. 8).

One possibility for such change is adapting to and adopting the new linguistic/cultural gender practices. Oglunick (1996), who studied Japanese as a second language, provides an example of this: "The language lessons my female friends gave me not only produced in me softer, more polite ways of speaking, but also began to change my movements, actions, and feelings" (p. 11).

On the other hand, Siegal (1996), discussing women Japanese as second language learners, points out that when the gendered linguistic stances or positions required by second language 'norms' are problematical, then resistance or refusal to fully transform may be the result. She says "In Japan, among the language learners that I worked with, there was some resistance toward using language forms (which they saw being used by women) that mirrored what the learners thought was 'too humble' a stance or 'too silly'" (p. 363).

I discussed some aspects of gender and Korean language use in the earlier *Cultural identity and the Korean language* subsection. Those aspects were characterized by expressions like, "fewer," "use…unconstrainedly," "use…more frequently," and "tend to."
In my interview I did try to elicit specific gender – language/culture concerns that my

participants felt they had or might have with Korean. It is likely that because we never got to a high enough Korean level, or degree of participation in a Korean context for such distinctions to be significant, my participants did not give any thought to the possibility of Korean cultural gender expectations, as expressed through the language, causing identity concerns. Nor was I able to observe or connect any of my classroom observations to gender, likely again because our Korean interactions were at such a basic level.

Religious

There is no denying that religion plays an important role in the identities of many. While some of my participants claimed to be non-religious, several claimed religion as an important part of their lives. According to Liyanage, Birch, and Grimbek (2004), in some cases religion may even play "a stronger role in determining the selection of learning strategy than ethnicity" (p. 227). Although crowded out of my data discussion in subsequent chapters in favor of other data, one participant did attempt to make use of religion as a learning strategy to a minor degree, having obtained a bilingual Korean-English bible he planned to learn from. Time constraints prevented him from pursuing this learning avenue very far. Although the religion-Korean language study connection proved only very minor in my study, it does suggest the possibility that for some populations the second language connection might be much stronger.

Section Summation

To sum up I would like to emphasize two points. First, since I accept identity as socially co-constructed, and behavior, actions and social interchange as determining and signifying that co-construction, I observed, participated in, and elicited information about social interchanges in, and to a certain extent outside, our classroom. I bring this data into my discussion chapters and further attempt to assess their meanings and import.

49

My second point regards the indivisibility of the elements of social identity. Prominent in the literature on gender is the extent to which that identity is integrated into other aspects of social identity. Group, cultural and ethnic identities are in no way independent of each other, as I tried to point out early in this *Social Identity* section. On the contrary, as Norton (1997) points out, these are often employed, sometimes in combination, as interchangeable terms or even as synonymous with social identity, rather than subsumed within a category as I have presented it. I therefore reiterate that, for the purposes of my study, I treat these identity categories: group, cultural, ethnic and gender, as indications of which aspects of social identity are most salient to my discussion/study at any particular point.

<div align="center">Relational Identity</div>

Owens' (2003) overview of self and identity subdivides identity into three categories: personal, social, and collective (p. 214). Djité (2006) in his slightly different formulation adds a fourth category, "relational identity or identities in reference to others" (p. 6). It is Boxer & Cortés-Conde (2000) who develop this inter-level identity concept in relation to language learning in the classroom. Since this places relational identity so squarely at the focus of my study, that is the intersection of identity, second language learning and the classroom, I have chosen to cite them extensively in this section.

Boxer & Cortés-Conde (2000) consider RID (relational identity) as separate and "intermediary between the individual identity and the social identity" (p. 206), although they claim that relational identity exists only in the context of group identity. The focus however is not on the group itself, but rather on the "bonding between interlocutors that is formed by the group and for the group" (p. 203). They further explain that although "RID changes across time and space, it belongs to the individual only within a specifically confined group interaction. It is

<div align="center">50</div>

not a part of an individual's fixed identity, but varies with interactions and with specific interlocutors and groups" (p. 206).

Boxer & Cortés-Conde (2000) explain RID as a far more short-term phenomenon than social identity, reflecting "a moment-to-moment possibility of shift in frames, footing, or alignments" (p. 207). They feel it is "the RID within and among groups in language classrooms that can create community" (p. 207). They add, "RID can develop only when individuals perceive each other as valid interlocutors. For many learners, the first place they can receive such validation in their L2 is in the language classroom" (p. 203).

Relating this more closely to the classroom, Boxer & Cortés-Conde (2000) propose that RID, by providing the learner "power over educational resources…has important consequences not only for identity enhancement but also for agency enhancement and investment enhancement" (p. 207). Specifically, "Through the community building that is inherent in RID, learners can become invested in their own community of learners and become active agents in the interactional practices necessary for successful L2 acquisition" (p. 207). They further feel that this group is likely to develop a sense of unity, "that is, by the fact that they share the same sense of potential alienation. Thus, sociocultural awareness and pragmatic development in their L2 can be coconstructed by members of the group overtly sharing experiences of cultural conflict" (p. 209).

Finally, Boxer & Cortés-Conde (2000) see this relational identity as varying in intensity from classroom to classroom, depending on classroom circumstances, which include how each class is structured and is tied to teaching method and style. In Chapter 6, in my *Theme 1: Classroom Group Relational Identity* section, I attempt to observe the extent to which this aspect of identity became salient in our class and the effects it had on us.

Identity, Language and the Classroom Interplay

Section Introduction

In previous sections of this chapter I have discussed various aspects of identity/self and then attempted to relate these to language acquisition/participation in general and in the classroom specifically. In this section I attempt to shift the focus to the connection between identity and a second language, adding specific reference to the classroom in the later subsections.

Identity Formation Through and With Language

The intimate connection between language and identity has been referred to in previous sections. More specific reference to how identity and (second) language each work to develop and shape the other has been discussed by a number of writers. Coleman (1988) referring more to first language, but making points no less applicable to second, says that though languages are shared we each use them uniquely and that this common language/unique usage "allows the societal or cultural identity and self to coexist with the personal identity and self, albeit not always peacefully. Through the shaping of identity and self-concept, language creates an individual" (p. 334).

She continues

> Acquiring an identity and self-concept through language represents a classic dialectic: a way to understand how others feel about us or what we are doing, and concurrently an opportunity for us to consciously reflect and shape our own unique personality of self. At the individual level, language operates like proprioceptive feedback, just as facial muscles provide information about emotional states. Listening to the ways we express ourselves – the use of a specific language or dialect, lexical items or phrases – gives us

some insight into ourselves and how we perceive the world (p. 335)

Coleman (1988) also refers to a language as an expression of identity/self. "In both its written and verbal forms, language is such an important channel for thinking and feeling, for expressing the self and identity. To abandon one's native form of expression may require the denial of a central and salient component of the self" (p. 335). If we take this last sentence as applying to the second language learner, Djité (2006) would take exception to this concept of a static linguistic identity and the consequences of this viewpoint, saying, "The concept of "linguistic identity' focuses on language (learning and/or acquisition) in terms of an identity that is lost or gained, and fails to capture the dynamic of continuously constructing one's own "identity" through language" (p. 14).

It remains hard, however, to argue with Coleman's (1998) previous point that all language users, even the beginning second language learner, utilize language uniquely. Armour (2000) sees four processes of apprenticeship in second language identity construction (he says there are five, but lists and discusses only four): "guided participation, participatory appropriation, impersonation, and identification" (p. 226). At all of these levels, even the most basic, it is inevitable that aspects of the learner's identity will be revealed. Armour's second step of identity appropriation would seem to be borrowed from Bakhtin (1981), who says,

> [L]anguage, for the individual consciousness, lies on the borderline between oneself and the other. The word in language is half someone else's. It becomes "one's own" only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention (p. 293)

Zeungler (1989) relates second language identity construction to an interlanguage (IL) model and refers to three influences of identity on IL in social interaction: 1) IL identity (at the

time and context), 2) Interlocutor's identity and, 3) "TL (target language) speakers' reactions to the IL speaker's identity" (p. 87). She neither expands this to a reciprocal IL influence on identity, nor to the classroom, where we can find both interchanges between the TL and IL speakers (teacher and student) and IL and IL speakers as well (between classmates); but I think these are logical extensions. For my research I noted first, teacher (TL speaker) and student (IL speaker) interaction and second, student-to-student interaction as they influenced student identity reformulation, identification with the target culture, and target language development/use. I also drew conclusions about data based on encounters between my participants and members of Korean speech communities beyond the classroom.

S. K. Lee (2001) points out that there is a second language-identity connection which is not, at least not directly, related to social interaction and that is simply the *knowing* of a second language. The ESL participants in his study "reported that their knowledge of English gives them an exposure to alternative views and ideas, and facilitates a more reflective and critical stance towards their own culture" (p. 200). Lvovich (1997) echoes this with the realization from her own foreign language experience:

Learning foreign languages with their cultures helped me to be more self-reflective and analyze things that had been considered as given and unquestionable; contrast and compare, be systematic, find parallels and cyclic movements in the history, civilization development, and the nature of human beings. In other words, contact with languages and cultures stimulates cognitive, mental, and intellectual growth (pp. 26-27).

To an extent, the awareness that, in S.K. Lee's (2001) formulation, "one's language (or culture) is not the sole way of looking at the world and that other paradigms exist" (p. 201) did

provide an impact on identity and an influence on continued investment in Korean among my participants.

Identity, Identification and Assimilation

It is hardly surprising that identification with a culture or group represented by the target language might be a significant factor in identity (re)formulation and could likely impact language acquisition/participation. Ricento (2005) refers to Schumann's hypothesis in which the greater the identification with another culture the greater the motivation to acquire the language associated with it (p. 897) Ricento notes objections to what he characterizes as these type of cultural-identification-is-necessary-for-language-acquisition-early-1960's-80's-SLA approaches, saying that, "they presuppose (often unwittingly) an exclusively *assimilationist* model in which the price of acceptance into a host culture is the loss of ones' identity, or at the least the adoption of dual identities" (p. 897). Pomerantz (2001) further objects that these theories "take factors like social group membership and intergroup relationships to be objectively observable and immutable. They make no provisions for multiple social group affiliations and changing intergroup relationships" (p. 18).

Nevertheless it seems that there is at least some connection between language learning and cultural identification. Lvovich (1997) addresses a particularly strong case of this in her autoethnography. She narrates, for example, that her French friends in the Soviet Union often told her, "they had never met anybody like me, who spoke French without the slightest accent, who seemed to live, not just to know, French culture and civilization. I answered, 'It is because nobody loves you as much as I do'" (p. 28). As Kramsch (1998) says, "Their [language learners] desire to learn the language of others is often coupled with a desire to behave and think like them in order to ultimately be recognized and validated by them" (pp. 80-81).

There are many reasons why an individual might want, or feel the need, to learn a language; being an immigrant is one often discussed. Identification, ethnic or cultural, is another (and is likely a factor in most willing immigration). Identification has to start somewhere. For Lvovich (1997) it began with literature and ended with a total French identification:

Literature has made me feel at home – no matter what my reality was. French literature, with its intellectual and democratizing power, was especially meaningful in a totalitarian country [the Soviet Union], and I was eager to identify with it. It also created one of the most significant and effective inputs in my learning of French, in becoming fully functional in French, in acquiring a French identity" (p. 33).

Kramsch (2003) however emphasizes that other outcomes are more likely for the second language learner than total identification with that language/culture. She explains that, "counter to general assumption, the main motivation for most learners is not to become one of 'them'" (p. 255), and that also, in some cultures, "insiders do not want outsiders to become one of them" (p. 255). She feels that, "the pleasure of annexing a foreign language does not primarily consist in identifying with flesh-and-blood native-speaking nationals. It derives rather from the unique personal experience of incarnating oneself in another" (pp. 255-256).

In this regard, Chinen (2004) mentions the role of ethnic television programming in maintaining a sense of ethnic identity in heritage communities (p. 136). I found that this to be a factor influencing identification, and not merely for heritage students. A fascination with Korean television dramas spurred an interest in Korean language and culture for a number of participants, including myself. It further led me to believe that there are significant aspects of Korean culture I could identify with, not as a 'wannabe' Korean, but rather precisely as Kramsch described in the above paragraph.

Pavlenko & Lantolf (2000) dichotomize those who wish to exist only functionally within a language/society and those who wish to develop new identities within the second language/culture" (p. 170). They contend that people frequently, "decide to learn their second language 'to a certain extent', which allows them to be proficient, even fluent, but without the consequences of losing the old and adopting the new ways of being in the world" (p. 162). The goal of this type "seems to be restricted to developing some degree of proficiency in language as a code, but not to [crossing] the border into the domain where selves and worlds are reconstructed" (pp. 156-157). Maintaining this binary distinction, they state that a "linguistic cross-over is an intentional renegotiation of one's multiple identities" (p. 172), while "marginal participation, on the other hand entails a struggle to maintain previously constructed and assumed identities in the face of a new present" (p. 172).

I find Pavlenko & Lantolf's (2000) characterization of the 'border crossing' problematical, as it seems to deny that there may be a middle ground – that one who learns the language only 'to a certain extent' cannot still be engaged in the 'intentional renegotiation' of his identity, and that a new identity requires completely 'losing the old and adopting the new ways of being in the world.' Why cannot an individual's multiple identities encompass both worlds, or alternatively adopt and adapt the most congenial aspects of them? In my study I examine how attitudes toward, intentions toward, and identification with the language/culture converge with language acquisition.

Snow and McAdam (2000) postulate four identity stages for individuals becoming members of a social movement. In these, the social movement identity:

1. "becomes more salient" (p. 51) (i.e., embellishment and amplification of previously existing identity, moving the individual from periphery to center of a movement)

2. "is consolidated with another one" (p. 51) (e.g., previously a Christian, then a Buddhist, then a Jesus person)

3. "is made more pervasive" (p. 51) (or identity extension, as in formerly a Christian on Sundays, now extends Christian identity to considerably more, even all of his/her actions).

4. is transformed ("In the case of identity transformation, that continuity, that link (with a past or current identity), is deeply fractured, if not obliterated, with the result being a dramatic change in identity, such that one now sees her- or himself as strikingly different than before" (pp. 51-52)

Although a beginning language course is not a social movement, it is possibly a movement toward a new society. As such I feel the dynamic elements of this model are somewhat more compelling than Pavlenko and Lantolf's (2000) claim that a "decision" to not cross the second language cultural border, ends the individual's cultural and linguistic tropism toward the new language and culture. Although there was no hint of anyone approaching the above fourth step, some among my participants exhibited signs of climbing up steps one and three, while others moved down those steps and away from Korean language, culture and societal identification. And I had no reason to believe that for any of my participants a permanent stasis in level of identification was in the proximate future.

It is Wenger (1998) whose analysis lends itself most strongly to my study. He defines identification as "the process through which modes of belonging become constitutive of our identities by creating bonds or distinctions in which we become invested. Nationality for instance is a common source of identification" (p. 191). He further contends that we identify through three modes of belonging. This happens first "through engagement" (p. 192), that is "in the

doing" (p. 193); second, through imagination, as "beyond engagement, identification depends on the kind of picture of the world and of ourselves we can build" (p. 194); and third, through alignment, or simply 'going along' – through a kind of passive alignment with the new culture. This alignment, according to Wenger, is also "a form of identification because it shapes the way we experience our own power and thus contributes to defining our identity" (p. 196). The extent of such engagement, imagined identification, and alignment with both our class and Korean language/culture/society seemed to powerfully relate to the language learning processes of my participants.

<div align="center">*Key Concepts and Terms*</div>

The Role of Community of Practice

The 'community of practice' construct fits the classroom, my focus of inquiry, and my paradigmatic assumptions so closely that it is impossible to ignore. The primary focus of community of practice theory, according to Wenger (1998), "is on learning as social participation" (p. 4). By participation he means the "process of being active participants in the *practices* of social communities and constructing identities in relation to these communities" (p. 4). Further, participation is "a complex process that combines doing, talking, thinking, feeling, and belonging. It involves our whole person, including our bodies, minds, emotions, and social relations" (p. 56).

Wenger includes as components of the theory:

1) *Meaning:* a way of talking about our (changing) ability – individually and collectively– to experience our life and the world as meaningful.

2) *Practice:* a way of talking about the shared historical and social resources, frameworks, and perspectives that can sustain mutual engagement in action.

3) *Community:* a way of talking about the social configurations in which our enterprises are defined as worth pursuing and our participation is recognizable as competence.

4) *Identity:* a way of talking about how learning changes who we are and creates personal histories of becoming in the context of our communities (p. 5).

Regarding (2) and (3) above, Wenger (1998) says, "Practice and identity constitute forms of social and historical continuity and discontinuity that are neither as broad as sociohistorical structure on a grand scale nor as fleeting as the experience, action, and interaction of the moment" (p. 13).

In clarifying which social communities fit the community of practice model, Wenger says, "As an analytical tool, the concept of community of practice is a midlevel category. It is neither a specific, narrowly defined activity or interaction nor a broadly defined aggregate that is abstractly historical and social" (pp. 124-125). I apply the community of practice construct to my research by contending that second language learning in the classroom is essentially dealing with two communities of practice. One, is the, or, a, Korean target language community, that is a real or imagined community my participants saw themselves as eventually participating in; the other is the language classroom itself.

Wenger (1998) would object to considering the target language community, for example the Korean language community, a true community of practice, since that community is far too large and diverse. In other words, speakers of the target language likely form such a heterodox group that it would be more appropriate to treat them as members of smaller, albeit related, communities. He labels the larger umbrella language category a "constellation of interconnected practices" (p. 126-127).

I would argue, though, that the language student is learning the target language less to join a constellation of practice, and more to join and communicate with members of an imagined, often nebulous, single target language community existing in her mind. It is my contention that the world of our classroom colluded, or a least did nothing to dispel our notion of its preparing us to enter a single imagined Korean community of practice.

I have one caveat about the word *imagined* in the phrase "imagined community" as used by Wenger: it is not clear to me whether he is simply talking about imagining participating in a real community or whether the community is imagined as well. While among my participants at least one, Dawn, had a real target community in mind, that of her mother and relatives on her mother's side. I feel that many in my study, myself included, posited an imaginary, non-existent, ideal community, in other words a construct of a community we hoped to participate in, much in the fashion of Anderson's (1991) national imagined community. Dawn aside, when I refer to the participants' imagined Korean or target language community I generally refer to this latter possibility.

Treating the classroom as another community of practice, at least as an effective one, also has some drawbacks, since Wenger feels the mix of newcomers and old timers is an important part of the transmission and negotiation of the knowledge of the community. He says, "When old-timers and newcomers are engaged in separate practices, they lose the benefit of their interaction" (p. 275). Further, "In terms of identity, this segregation creates a vacuum. Generational issues of identification and negotiability become resolved in isolation…Without mutual engagement and accountability across generations, new identities can be both erratically inventive and historically ineffective" (p. 276). The only old-timer in our Korean class, as in the average classroom, was our instructor, although many of the participants had some previous

knowledge of Korean lending them at least an "old-timer" patina to their newcomer status.

This old-timer lack, does not however obviate the value of using the community of practice model for the classroom. We, the participants in a university classroom, were all, more or less, newcomers to the Korean language classroom, but we had all developed some expertise and expectations of a classroom based community of practice from extensive previous experience in the constellation of classroom society, and some of that experience was, for every participant, in other second language classrooms. How we positioned ourselves in our Korean classroom community affected our in-class participation and ultimately our language learning processes.

Participation. Several concepts associated with the idea of participation in the classroom community of practice have gained prominence in recent years. Handley, Sturdy, Fincham, & Clark (2006) talk about terms used to express degree of participation. *Peripheral* is used "for newcomers permitted to participate to a limited extent in simple, relatively discrete tasks and relationships; *full* applies to oldtimers who participate at the core of the community (p. 649). *Marginal* differs from peripheral in that it is used "for participants who are kept at the periphery of the community" (p. 649), not those who are expected to naturally progress to full participation.

Types of peripheral participation differ. Morita (2004) explains, "Lave and Wegner view learning as a socially situated process by which newcomers gradually move toward fuller participation in a given community's activities by interacting with more experienced community members – a process called legitimate peripheral participation (LPP)" (p. 675). The classroom could certainly be considered a community existing to create LPP in its members, in order to, as Wenger (1998) says, provide "an approximation of full participation that gives exposure to actual

practice. It can be achieved in various ways, including lessened intensity, lessened risk, special

assistance, lessened cost of error, close supervision, or lessened production pressures" (p. 100).

As important as participation is non-participation. As Wenger (1998) puts it,

We not only produce our identities through the practices we engage in, but we also define

ourselves through practices we do not engage in. Our identities are constituted not only

by what we are but also by what we are not. To the extent that we can come in contact

with other ways of being, what we are not can even become a larger part of how we

define ourselves (p. 164).

He adds, "In other words, non-participation is, in a reverse kind of fashion, as much a source of

identity as participation" (p. 164).

And non-participation may very well fit into the role of the legitimate peripheral

participant. According to Wenger (1998) some degree of non-participation is necessary to enable

a kind of participation that is less than full. Here, it is the participation aspect that dominates the

individual's role (p. 165). However, an individual's relation to and experience in the classroom

community of practice and/or the target language community (or constellation) of practice may

inhibit class/language participation and language acquisition. This marginality may also take the

form of non-participation. According to Wenger (1998) "Here, it is the non-participation aspect

that dominates and comes to define a restricted form of participation" (p. 166).

Morita (2004), in her research with Japanese speakers of English as a second language at

an American university, studied reasons for non-participation, specifically failure to speak in

classes (regular academic, not ESL) and found a variety of reasons for that non-participation,

some signaling a withdrawal, others an alternate form of engagement with the class. While not

all of these directly relate to the second language classroom, this observation is worth citing for

the kinds of participation I looked at. The reasons given for non-participation in Morita's study included the expected linguistic and cultural factors, but also, "limited content knowledge, personal tendency and preference, learning goals, identity as a less competent member, outsider or marginal status, role as a relative newcomer, role as someone with limited English imposed by others, and instructor's pedagogical style" (pp. 586-587). Furthermore, the author notes that "one student's silence might have different causes or meaning across classroom contexts or in the same context over time" (p. 587). She adds, "Another important finding was that the students were actively negotiating their multiple roles and identities in the classroom even when they appeared passive or withdrawn" (p. 587).

All this is to say that non-participation can be an important indicator of identity within the classroom and target language communities of practice, yet possible reasons for non-participation are wildly diverse and run the gamut from negative to positive as indicators of future full participation.

Handley, Sturdy, Fincham, & Clark (2006) focus more exclusively on the negative impact an individual's identity/self may have on participation in a community when in conflict with that community. That is,

An individual's continual negotiation of "self" within and across multiple communities of practice may, of course, generate intra-personal tensions as well as instabilities within the community. One example of this in the workplace is the scenario where a newcomer experiences a conflict of identity in relation to a role or practice he or she is expected to adopt. Here, the concept of participation may go some way to explaining the individual's response. For example, the newcomer may chose to maintain a *marginal* form of participation in order to avoid compromising his or her sense of self. Alternatively, the

newcomer may adapt his or her practice in ways which secure a continued sense of existential integrity whilst still notionally fitting in with community norms; i.e. exemplifying a *contingent* form of participation. A second alternative is that individuals avoid conflicts of identity and practice by choosing *not to join* (i.e. participate in) non-complementary communities of practice" (p. 648).

In other words the relation between identity and a (our) community of practice may result in *resistance* to that community (language class, language), a concept I explore further in a Chapter 6, *Theme 4*.

Haneda (2006) feels there are some points that need clarifying when relating community of practice to the L2 classroom. She feels that first, "the notion of community needs to be enriched by consideration of who its members are as individuals, with particular dispositions shaped by their life trajectories – past, present, and envisioned future" (p. 815). Her second point is that power relations within the community should be investigated to "address how different individuals come to inhabit particular LPP (Legitimate Peripheral Participation) statuses and to be assigned particular identities as learners" (p. 815). Her third point asks us to more clearly define peripheral participation and its relationship to legitimate participation. Her final point is that it is important to not treat participation and learning as completely equivalent. "Participation has many aspects, and it is necessary to articulate the kinds of practice in which students are engaged in order to discuss the kinds of learning that result" (p. 815).

I believe these Haneda's (2006) concerns are useful, and I attempt to address the first by focusing on my study's participants as unique individuals within our classroom community. This focus does not ignore the second point, as I discuss in particular the idea of participant and even instructor agency to affect the method and means of our course. Haneda's legitimate/peripheral

point is also interesting. If my contention that the L2 student is simultaneously participating in two communities of practice – the classroom and the (idealized) target language/culture is reasonable, then students could be full participants in the classroom, but peripheral or marginal in a target language community or, in contrast, participate fully in a target language community and marginally or peripherally in the classroom. I address this point in Chapter 6, *Theme 4*. To what extent classroom practice and participation encourages entry into the target language community, e.g., our second language acquisition, is again further discussed in later chapters and addresses Haneda's final point.

Legitimacy, negotiability, and agency. Legitimacy is essentially the right to be part of a community. For the newcomer or neophyte (such as the beginning language learner) to be granted legitimacy is a necessary step to becoming a member of the community. Wenger (1998) says, "In order to be on an inbound trajectory (in a Cof P), newcomers must be granted enough legitimacy to be treated as a potential member" (p. 101). Furthermore, "Granting the newcomers legitimacy is important because they are likely to come short of what the community regards as competent engagement. Only with enough legitimacy can all their inevitable stumblings and violations become opportunities for learning rather than cause for dismissal, neglect, or exclusion" (p. 101).

Wenger (1998) relates identity to legitimacy saying, "Identity is a locus of social selfhood and by the same token a locus of social power...it is the power to belong, to be a certain person, to claim a place with the legitimacy of membership" (p. 207). According to Wenger, with legitimacy comes the right of negotiability, that right to negotiate our status within the community, or in other words,

the ability, facility, and legitimacy to contribute to, take responsibility for, and shape the

meanings that matter within a social configuration. Negotiability allows us to make

meaning applicable to new circumstances, to enlist the collaboration of others, to make

sense of events, or to assert our membership (p. 197).

Negotiability is in a sense a form of agency, agency being in part the power to influence

the community and one's status within it. Boxer and Cortés-Conde (2000) relate agency to

identity, power and the learning process saying, "Agency enhancement derives from identities

that afford learners a sense of power over their environment and thereby their learning" (p. 206).

For students, having legitimacy, agency and the power of negotiability is important to

ensure their participation in the classroom community as well as for language learning and

communicating in a second language in general. Relating this to the language learner, in and

outside the classroom, the language we produce can be de-legitimized by our interlocutors

through their actual or feigned failure to understand, ridicule, or disparagement. As Norton

(2001) says, "having one's self-identity as envisioned within the imagined (that to which we

want to belong) community denigrated or denied is a cause for withdrawal/non-participation

from the community" (p. 164). Based on these definitions and my data, I provide my own

definition of agency in Chapter 6, *Theme 4: Dynamics of Participation: Resistance and Agency*.

Investment (Versus Motivation)

Norton (2000) introduces the idea of *investment* to supplant the term *motivation*,

particularly instrumental motivation, which she sees as presupposing "a unitary, fixed, and

ahistorical language learner who desires access to material resources that are the privilege of

target language speakers" (p. 10). In contrast she uses the term investment "to signal the socially

and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language and their sometimes

ambivalent desire to learn and practice it" (p. 411). Like Norton, I feel that "investment" is a

more useful term than "motivation," as it references to a far greater degree the complexity and totality of an individual's identity (or identities), and the degree to which social interaction, legitimacy, and community of practice are implicated in the language learning process. As Norton (2000) says, "an investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner's own identity" (p. 11). Norton also relates investment to the idea of community of practice, particularly that imagined community we each picture our second language study as preparing us for. Each of these imagined communities, she contends, is unique for each individual and is "best understood in the context of a learner's unique investment in the target language and the conditions under which he or she speaks and practices it" (p. 165).

For Pavlenko & Lantolf (2000), as cited earlier, the degree or extent of investment can be key and "most frequently they (learners) decide to learn their second language 'to a certain extent', which allows them to be proficient, even fluent, but without the consequences of losing the old and adopting the new ways of being in the world" (p. 162). That people may so decide is possible, but seems to me to ignore the richness of analysis that the term "investment" invites. McKay and Wong (1996), for instance, link investment and identity to coping strategy, stating, "Whereas individual students favor specific coping strategies, these strategies also appear related to the overall picture of a learner's identities and of the strength and type of his/her investment in learning the target language" (p. 604).

Resistance

The idea of resistance proved important for my study, enmeshed as it is with participation and acquisition. Resistance to the class and/or the language may develop for a number of reasons and take a variety of forms. Either in class or when attempting to participate in a target language community, the learner may be denied legitimacy and/or agency. The language we produce may

68

be de-legitimized by our interlocutors through their ridicule, disparagement, and actual or feigned failure to understand.

Alternatively students may be given a measure of legitimacy and agency – yet that measure may conflict with their identities. As Giroux (1983) puts it, it is "important to remember that ideologies are also *imposed* on students who occasionally view them as contrary to their own interests and who either resist openly or conform only under pressure from school authorities" (p. 91).

Pavlenko & Lantolf (2000) seem to attribute resistance to some form of stubbornness, a refusal to make the identity adaptation necessary to cross over to full membership in the second language/cultural community. Marginal participation which, depending on context, may represent a form of resistance, they say, "entails a struggle to maintain previously constructed and assumed identities in the face of a new present" (p. 172).

Other researchers do not bring this either/or dichotomy (resist or adapt) to the second language crossover. They refer to students resisting some, but not all, aspects of the new language, specifically those that force unwanted identity positions upon them. I earlier discussed Siegel's (1996) study of resistance by female learners of Japanese as a second language, and Byon's (2004) and Sohn's (1986) discussions of Korean in regard to the some of the difficulties the Korean second language learner may encounter. Canagarajah's (1993) Sri Lankan Tamil students of English as a second language provide another example in their extreme resistance to altering their English language pronunciation. As Canagarajah explains,

> A particularly trying time was the correction of pronunciation as required by the textbook. Because Tamil lacks syllable-initial fricatives, the students pronounced *he* and *she* as /kit and /sit. The discomfort of the students in my repeated attempts to correct such

pronunciation was explained by their later comments that revealed their awareness of such pronunciation being identified as 'nonstandard' Sri Lankan English (p. 616). He attributes the resistance to the fact that,

These students had been the target of insults by middle-class speakers of 'educated' Sri Lankan English. Not only pronunciation but the very language was a class marker. Supendran said that he simply avoided contexts in which students (from "better backgrounds") used English with him because he felt that they were flaunting their knowledge of the language in order to make him look ignorant. English then provided unfavorable subject positions to such students, making them feel disadvantaged, helpless, inferior, and uneducated" (p. 616).

Steve, one of the participants in Ishihara's (2006) study of advanced American university Japanese learners, expressed his feeling about use of *keigo* (honorific language) in an e-mail to the author. "*In using keigo, I feel that I am placing a wall between whomever I am addressing, and myself. This wall causes me to feel uncomfortable when speaking and become unable to fully express myself*" (p. 8) [italics in original]. And another participant, Michael, "had trouble with the concept of apologizing for something that wasn't his fault, as a social lubricant, felt that apologies should come from the heart when you've done something wrong" (p. 124).

Although resistance may cause marginalization, it may also be a way to assert agency within the language community, a coping device for maintaining participation when identity seems threatened. Ishihara (2006) feels that "[l]earner agency may function like an internal screening device, censoring what learners would accommodate to or resist as they express themselves with contextual restraints" (p. 108). The learners in her study, when confronted with foreign language pragmatic norms that came into conflict with their self-concepts, realized that

violating the norms might involve social repercussions; still, they either knowingly made a conscious choice to do, so or "conformed to FL norms rather grudgingly under pressure. Stated differently, learners' choice of language resulted from their agency and was sometimes a contested field between community pressure and their subjectivity in the interactional setting" (p. 109). Thus, "novice members (of a second language community) are in fact not mere passive recipients of sociocultural practices, but they actively and selectively appropriate and co-construct existing norms and outcomes of interactions as they act as agents" (p. 133).

Another type of resistance, one with a different, though still identity related, impetus, is self-handicapping, which according to Ommundsen, Haugen, & Lund (2005), "represents a self-presentational strategy in order to protect and enhance self-esteem" (p. 462). Regarding this type, they say that "some students deliberately put off studying to the last moment, or use other 'self-handicapping' strategies, so that if subsequent performance is at a low level, these circumstances, rather than lack of ability, may be considered the cause" (p. 462). Therefore, "Self-handicapping may obscure the relationship between ability and performance so that eventual incidences of poor performance cannot be interpreted in a way that threatens the self" (p. 471).

Resistance can take many forms. McVeigh's (2002) book is practically a litany of the types of resistance exhibited by Japanese students in their Japanese classrooms. These include, "being absent, not responding to questions, and among some students, displaying a lack of manners" (p. 42), "walking about the classroom, chat(ting) with each other, or refuse(ing) to follow instructions" (p. 97), answering questions in an inaudible voice (p. 98), and being "indolent, inattentive, lethargic, listless, and indifferent" (p. 104). McVeigh makes a distinction between those who are somewhat passive but still willing to respond or participate in class, and those who "simply refuse to respond or participate in class, and…ignore questions and requests"

(p. 107). He adds a list of behaviors that may indicate resistance:

> forgetfulness (of pens, notes, paper, texts, assignment deadlines, last week's lecture);
>
> indifference (sleeping in class, daydreaming, not taking notes, not completing
>
> assignments); inaccuracy (disregarding lecture points, failing exams, appalling term
>
> papers); and rudeness (incessantly arriving to class late, making noise, chattering,
>
> snickering at lecturers, ignoring simple requests) (p. 198)

Whether a given behavior indicates resistance depends on the context and circumstances. Some of the forms and causes of resistance discussed above revealed themselves in my study. These I discuss further in Chapter 6, adding there my own interpretation of resistance based on the above and adapted to the data I obtained.

The Classroom: Identity and Language Learning

Thus far, I have tried to relate directly or indirectly the topics in this section*,* to the classroom. In this subsection, I add several new perspectives, or reframe previous ones, but focus on the *classroom* as the locus of the language learning and identity connection. Hall & Verplaetse (2000) refer to language learning in the classroom as "a fundamentally social enterprise, jointly constructed and intrinsically linked to learners' repeated and regular participation in their classroom activities" (p. 11). I feel this ties into Boxer and Cortés-Conde (2000) contention that in the classroom, "identities are generated at many different levels: teachers create and develop identities for their learners, learners create and develop identities for teachers, and learners develop and create identities for each other" (p. 204). They further feel that, "What can be learned in the classroom is how to develop an interactional identity that allows learners to know when to talk, what others want to talk about, and how generally to participate in conversational practices" (p. 204).

Boxer & Cortés-Conde (2000) are essentially positioning the class as the space where communicative confidence can develop. Saville-Troike (1989) refers to this as

both knowledge and expectation of who may or may not speak in certain settings, when to speak and when to remain silent, whom one may speak to, how one may talk to persons of different statuses and roles, what appropriate nonverbal behaviors are in various contexts, what the routines for turn-taking are in conversation, how to ask for and give information, how to request, how to offer or decline assistance or cooperation, how to give commands, how to enforce discipline, and the like – in short, everything involving the use of language and other communicative dimensions in particular social settings (p. 21).

Boxer and Cortés-Conde (2000) invoke the concepts of agency and investment, suggesting that the classroom may be the site of 'agency enhancement' affording "learners a sense of power over their environment and thereby their learning" (p. 206) and that investment is connected with "access to resources that were previously unavailable to the learner…the first and foremost resource is interactional and…this availability for interaction creates opportunities for language learners to further their language acquisition" (p. 206). In sum, they "posit a direct relation between the building of classroom community and the freedom to negotiate interaction, thus stretching the learner's linguistic and pragmatic abilities" (p. 207) and suggest that

The (classroom) community of practice can allow for a safe haven where students build on their prior schemas their developing understanding of the new set of norms. If successful, the language classroom can become a *transitional space* in which one negotiates the meaning of the new culture vis-à-vis the old culture" (p. 209)

One final possible consequence of learning a second language in the classroom as

opposed to other settings is the possibility of the student studying, as Williams and Burden (1999) put it, for the purpose of performance goals (looking good, getting a good grade) rather than learning goals (communicating in a second language) (p. 195) or at least getting these goals confused.

<p style="text-align: center;">*Section Summation*</p>

I began this section (*Identity, Language and the Classroom Interplay*) by exploring the relationship between language and identity. I discussed second language learning as an ongoing process, yet one in which the individual expresses his/her identity through that language at each step of the way. This language-identity connection is developed and expressed through social interaction; but additionally, the acquisition and knowledge of a new language seems to lead to self-reflection, a looking at the world and one's place in it differently, and ultimately a possible reconstruction of identity.

I next discussed the connection between identification with the second language/culture the degree of language acquisition. The discussion included degrees of identification, including the goal of full assimilation, and opinions on how that identification may affect language learning. It concludes with reference to Wenger's (1998) linking of identification to belonging. As my data indicate, the links between identity, identification, and language acquisition seem to be more complex and nuanced than might be superficially expected.

I continued with the concept of community of practice, developing the premise that students in a second language class are participating in the community of practice of the classroom and as neophyte proxies in an 'ideal' target language community of practice. That imagined target language community of practice is also the target community of practice the class is supposedly preparing its students to participate in. The ongoing practice within the class,

within the target language/culture as constructed in the classroom, and within the imagined target language community the language students visualize their future selves as participating in, are inseparably linked to ongoing identity re-formation and likewise to the target language acquisition and use.

I further delved into the relation between community of practice, language learning, and identity by discussing the concept of participation. The penultimate section discussed key terms, including *agency* and *investment*, both often linked to the community of practice concept, and finally *resistance*. My study pays significant attention to these, as I believe they provide key points of interface between individual identity and language acquisition.

I finally discussed a few aspects of language learning which are specific to the classroom, including the idea of the classroom as a non-threatening safe haven. A classroom that establishes such an atmosphere is likely to engender a far more positive identity construction in relation to the second language than one that does not. The last classroom point notes the possibility of investment for non-linguistic purposes, such as a grade or academic success. Individual investments in a classroom may include a relatively straightforward desire to participate in an imagined target language community, the desire for only a good grade, or a mixture of language acquisition and academic purposes (in my own case, research purposes).

Conclusion

I found in the literature a multiplicity of juncture points for the language acquisition/participation process, the classroom and self and identity transformation. Shi (2006) says this "cross-cultural transformation" can occur in the form of "changes in perceptions, attitudes and behavioural patterns; changes in linguistic proficiency and communicative competence; and changes in social, ethnic or cultural identities. All these changes are constituted

by, as well as constituting the transformation in intercultural adaptation" (pp. 7-8) Where and how the junctures of identity, language/culture and our class reciprocally impacted each other is the overall focus of my discussion in subsequent chapters.

Korean–Specific Background Information

In order for readers not familiar with Korean to have a clearer sense of some of the language issues discussed in later chapters, I present some general information on several Korean related topics below.

Korean in Relation to Other East Asian Languages

The family of Chinese languages is totally unrelated to either Korean or Japanese. Whether Korean and Japanese are related to each other is a subject of ongoing debate among linguists. Whatever the case for those latter two languages, it is true that there are a number of broad grammatical similarities, which include SOV word order for a typical sentence, and sentence particles indicating subject, object, location, and so on.

Over the course of history many vocabulary borrowings took place largely from China to Korea and China to Japan, although in some cases, dating from the late 19th century, words coined in Japan from Chinese roots were exported to China, Korea, or both. Furthermore, native Japanese words and Japanese borrowings from other languages such as English, entered Korean during the colonial period. After the Second World War Koreans made a conscious effort to expunge those words clearly borrowed from Japanese, even to the point of changing the pronunciation of Western loan words slightly so as not to mirror the Japanese pronunciation. Since it is not always obvious which Chinese-root Korean words had been coined in Japan and entered via that route, some of those words have remained as "good" Korean.

Pronunciation - Consonants

There are separate written symbols for the voiced and voiceless consonants d/t, g/k, b/p, and j/ch. There is also an additional so-called *tense* distinction for some consonants (such as *dd*) as well. One problem for Korean language learners is that the voiced version varies in pronunciation allophonically according to position, sounding to non-native speakers, such as Garrett (one of my participants) and me, similar in some cases to the unvoiced version. This troubled me enough in terms of my own pronunciation that I brought it up with our instructor, Paul, outside of class and was told that the distinction was relatively unimportant in terms of affecting how I would be comprehended, and that I should not worry about it. Of course this didn't make it easier to spell an unknown word based on its pronunciation when it included one or more of those consonants.

Pronunciation - Vowels

Throughout this study I have used the Korean government's Romanization system from the year 2000. Although I can now read *Hangul* (the Korean script), I, even today, find reading many of the Korean vowels difficult to read when Romanized, due to their disconnect from typical English orthographic sound patterns. Therefore, for the benefit of those who would like to have some phonological sense of the language, I present some rough vowel sound equivalents in English words. Some of these may look like diphthongs, but in fact are not.

a   as in h*ah*, m*a*

eo   as in d*aw*n

o   as in *oh* or wh*oa*

u   as in m*oo*n

eu   as in p*u*t

i   as in *meet*, although sometimes reduced, as in *h<u>i</u>m*

Although the following two are represented by different symbols in Hangul and therefore Romanized differently, in modern standard (Seoul) Korean they are pronounced identically.

ae / e   as in *p<u>e</u>n*

The Korean vowel system also incorporates diphthongs; two that I consider most problematical when read in Romanized form are:

oe   as in *<u>we</u>t*

wae   as in *<u>wea</u>r*

Indicating Respect in Korean

According to Cho, Lee, Schulz, Sohn, and Sohn (2008), "Korean may be called an honorific language, in that different forms of expressions and different speech levels are used depending on the person you are talking to as well as the person you are talking about" (p. 7). Specifically: "A small number of commonly used words have two forms, one plain and the other honorific. The honorific forms are used for an adult equal or senior, whereas the plain forms are used for a junior or child" (p. 7). For example, the plain form of the word for rice or meal is 밥 (*bap*), while the honorific form is 진지 (*jinji*). There are also humble forms which, in other words, lower the speaker, rather than elevating the person talked to or about. The plain form of the verb to give is 주다 (*ju da*); the humble form is 드리다 (*deu ri da*). Pronouns also have these forms, 나 (*na*) being the plain form of *I* or *me* while 저 (*jeo*) is the humble form.

Also according to Cho, et. al. (2008), "Korean has six speech levels that indicate the speaker's interpersonal relationship with the addressee. These speech levels are indicated by sentence-final suffixes attached to verbs and adjectives" (p. 9). These levels are: deferential, polite, blunt, familiar, intimate, and plain. "Younger speakers use only the deferential, polite,

intimate and plain levels" (p. 9). The authors explain, "The most common level used to an adult is the polite one, which is less formal than but just as polite as the deferential level" (p. 9). They add that both levels are used to address equals in conversations between adults, but that the polite is preferred among friends. The intimate level which simply drops the polite form ending, is also known as "half talk" and "may be used by an adult to a student, by a child of preschool age to his or her family members, including parents, or between close friends whose friendship began in childhood or adolescence" (p. 10).

Here are examples of the four most commonly used levels for the verb 먹, (*meok*, to eat):

Deferential: 먹습니다 (*meok seupnida*)

Polite: 먹어요 (*meok eo yo*)

Intimate: 먹어 (*meok eo*)

Plain: 먹는다 (*meok nun da*)

Additionally there is a subject honorific suffix, used when "the subject of a sentence is an adult equal or a senior" (Cho, et. al., 2008). This is produced as 세 (*se*) with the polite form and 시 (*si*) before other suffixes as in 안녕하<u>세</u>요? (*Annyeong ha <u>se</u> yo*?, Standard greeting) in the polite form and 안녕하<u>십</u>니까? (Annyeong ha <u>si</u>(p) ni ka?) in the deferential. In our Korean 101 class we learned the polite and deferential forms, the subject honorific suffix and studied, in one of our lessons, a number of the common plain/honorific pairs.

A final Korean note: The pseudonym of our Tuesday instructor, Kain, is pronounced as two syllables: *Ka in*.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Overview

I employed research methods that I felt enabled me to obtain the deepest understanding of my research questions, as restated here:

1. How do learners enrolled in a beginning Korean class describe their experiences with the new language in ways that might be interpreted as related to identity?

2A. In what ways do these learners' perceived identities affect, and in what ways are they affected by, in-class events, their in-class experiences, and their class participation?

2B. In what ways do participants' statements about identity in relation to their class develop over the course of the semester? In what ways do these re-conceptions of identity over time (during the first semester second language learning process) affect the second language learning process, judging from participants' perceptions and observation of classroom dynamics?

3A. How do the student participants react in class to positive feedback from the instructor? How do they describe this positive experience, and how do their subsequent behaviors in the class seem to change after such an experience?

3B. How do the student participants react in class to negative feedback or criticism from, or a negative interaction with the teacher or other students? How do they describe such experiences, and how do their behaviors or stated strategies in class seem to change after this kind of experience?

In seeking answers to the above questions the data I was able to obtain enabled me to additionally identify themes which further shed light on the second language learning process as mediated by identity in our Korean classroom.

Theoretical Underpinnings

As it provides the foundation for my study, I will first discuss my paradigmatic perspective, that is, the epistemological underpinnings with which I approach my research questions and which best fit them to a qualitative research approach. The perspective generally known in the social sciences as "social constructionist" (referred to by Richards (2003) as contructivist) is the one I use to inform my study. That this social constructionist perspective is also the convergent lens through which I view language, language learning and identity, as discussed in Chapter two, I consider a further justification of its use as methodology. I reprise the subject of social constructionism below, this time relating it to my methodology.

LeCompte and Schensul (1999) conflate several paradigms including social constructionism (constructivism) as essentially similar, saying, "Interpretivists, phenomenologists, and constructivists all base their approach on a cognitive or mentalist view of reality" (p. 48). Taking interpretivism to represent the view of all three, LeCompte and Schensul further say that, "Crucial to interpretivists, constructivists, and phenomenologists is the 'social construction of reality'" (p. 48). They say that "intepretivists believe that what people know and believe to be true about the world is constructed – or made up – as people interact with one another over time in specific social settings" (p. 48). This is in contrast to positivists "who assume that reality has some tangible referent and that agreement can be achieved on its nature given sufficient time and careful research" (p. 48).

The practical implications of this paradigm are profound, because, as LeCompte and Schensul (1999) say, "Unlike positivists or critical theorists, interpretivists stick close to local meanings and find it difficult to tell only one 'story.' Instead, they tend to present complex

accounts as polyvocal texts, or stories told in the voices of many different people or constituencies" (p. 49). It is exactly this polyvocal approach I feel I have employed.

Kasper's (2006) explanation of poststructuralist perspectives speaks to the constructionist perspective as well. Her perspective views social contexts, actions and linguistic resources not as fixed, constant entities, but rather she emphasizes "the mutually constitutive roles of agency and social structure in situated, concrete activities" (p. 244), seeing "social identities (both claimed and ascribed), relationships, and contexts…as emergent, co-constructed and renegotiable in interaction through discursive strategies and linguistic resources" (p. 244). This encompasses the perspective I take in my data collection and analyses.

Research Methodology

I relied largely on ethnographic methodology, including narrative, an approach that has moved squarely into modern mainstream ethnography. Since my research involved the study of my own full-scale participation in addition to those of my classmates, an *autoethnographic* perspective was employed as well. As the practice and purpose of these approaches vary somewhat across disciplines, and more so across epistemological paradigms, since they have evolved over and with the times, and further as I am adapting them to fit my particular research needs, I provide more detail below.

Briefly I:

1. Was a participant observer in a beginning Korean language class.

2. Used participant narratives to build theory, deriving meaning from the story.

2. Used narratives both to illustrate patterns emerging from my data and to demonstrate exceptions to those patterns.

3. Through opportunistic selection, enlisted 7 classmates as co-participants.

4. Kept as field notes, *Classroom Notes*, and additionally a *Journal* of notes related to items beyond the classroom.

5. Interviewed each participant, including myself, three times and the instructor twice.

6. Engaged in reflexivity and member checking.

7. Coded my data.

8. Tried to conduct my research in an ethical manner.

These are explained in more detail in remaining sections of this chapter.

Ethnography

In this section, I intend to show how my study fits with ethnographic method. According to Richards (2003), the goal of ethnography is to "describe and understand the behaviour of a particular social or cultural group. In order to do this, researchers try to see things from the perspective of members of the group and this requires extended exposure to the field" (p. 14). Spradley (1980) notes that "rather than *studying people*, ethnography means *learning from people*" (p. 3). An ongoing concern in ethnography is whether the ethnography is done from an *emic* viewpoint, that is an insider perspective, or an *etic*, outside observer, perspective. Agar (1996) questions whether emic and etic can truly exist as a binary distinction for the ethnographer, contending that we will always be somewhat different and yet always share commonalities with those we study.

In their table 4.3 on page 83, LeCompte and Schensul (1999) list minimal conditions for choosing ethnographical methodology as the basis of a study. These are:

- A population, process, problem, context, or phenomenon whose characteristics, parameters or outcomes are unclear, unknown, or unexplored;

- Use of open-ended interviews and participant observation;

- A defined or operationalized group;

-A concern with using cultural concepts to guide the research and to help explain or

interpret data.

Since these fit the conditions of my study so precisely, ethnographic research methods seem to

have been an inevitable choice.

<div align="center">(My) Practice of Ethnography: Underlying Premises / Overview</div>

While others may frame it somewhat differently, Agar (1999) expresses two seemingly

universal ethnographic essentials: "One is the *student-child-apprentice* learning role of the

ethnographer. That is, the researcher pursues the object of his focus as if his observations, even

those things he may be quite familiar with, are new and require understanding. The other

essential is "the search for pattern" (p. 242). I attempted to follow these precepts while taking

into account the ways in which ethnography has evolved. In this respect, Angrosino and Mays de

Pérez, (2003) observe that, "The traditional concern with process and method has… been

supplemented with (but by no means supplanted by) an interest in the ways in which

ethnographic observers interact with or enter into a dialogic relationship with members of the

group being studied" (p. 115). This interest likewise informed my methodology, particularly I

believe in my interviews.

<div align="center">Narrative</div>

Since narrative has become an important part of ethnography and is central to

autoethnography, its importance merits discussion here as a topic in its own right. Agar (1996)

discusses some key changes in accepted ethnographic representational models from the first

edition of his book to those becoming mainstream as he wrote the second. The earlier type

models, which he refers to as 'encyclopedic,' are described in terms of the outsider researcher

uncovering knowledge of those in other societies to help "understand the world within which those 'others' live" (p. 8). Language and interviews are stressed and the ethnographic study that results is "more about knowledge than it is about what a particular person does with it. The assumption that flows from such a product is, when people do things, they just take this knowledge and implement it" (p. 8).

In contrast, Agar (1996) refers to the later model as 'narrative'; in his own terms, it is a model that seeks "more stories and less and less encyclopedia" (p. 8). It also shifts the focus of participant/observation from the observation to the participant. "Participant experiences lend themselves to story formats, narratives of what people said and did" (p. 9). As Agar says, "the new ethnography in general, goes after narrative ethnography with participant observation data; the encyclopedic material serves as background for its analysis" (p. 9).

Agar (1996) explains that narratives provide an added dimension or counterpoint to the encyclopedic style, that description of a society is more than a reduction to a set of rules dictating behavior, and that societal members "don't just implement the shared knowledge in the encyclopedia. They mix it up with other things, 'contest' and 'subvert' it, to use the fashionable terms, maybe even ignore it" (p. 10). In the newer type of narrative ethnography, "what's interesting are just those complications and contradictions, not as evidence for the encyclopedia, but as problems to explain in their own right" (p. 10). He adds, "By going to the narrative ground and celebrating the complications and contradictions, ethnography features *variation* rather than *uniformity* or *consistency*" (p. 10). Such variation in the present study, starting with the participants' identities, and crossing over to their diverse approaches and responses to their Korean language encounters, and again to their participation in the classroom, is exactly what I

found and tried to present. In other words I tried to foreground the narrative and spotlight variation against the counterpointed background of the shared encyclopedic knowledge.

If it remains necessary to further justify or defend my use of narrative, others state the case quite eloquently. Ellis (2004) says, "Stories are the way humans make sense of their worlds. Stories are essential to human understanding and are not unique to autoethnography" (p. 32). Pagnucci (2004) argues explicitly and implicitly (through the narrative form of his text), that meaning can be well presented through the vehicle of story, sometimes in ways not possible through more mainstream forms. Pomerantz (2001) asserts**, "**People call their selves into being through narrative by appropriating, resisting, and reworking the subject positions made available in their environments" (p. 110). Significantly, this statement can also be taken to affirm the bond between narrative and identity; in other words my focus on identity and the tradition of narrative are complementary and intertwined.

Richardson (2003) sums up narrative's current position relative to data, analysis, and the historical background leading up to this position, referring back to the feminist researchers of the 1970's who developed the metaphor that:

> 'Theory is story.' Not only is the personal the political, the personal is the grounding for theory. With the new metaphor for their work, many feminists altered their research and writing practices; women talking about their experience, narrativizing their lives, telling individual and collective stories became understood as women *theorizing* their lives. The boundary between 'narrative' and 'analysis' dissolved" (p. 506).

As Richardson suggests, I used participant narratives to build theory, deriving meaning from the story.

There are however various approaches to the way narrative has been conceived and employed. LeCompte and Schensul (1999), not quite embracing Agar's (1996) narrative viewpoint, elaborate on the distinction between the anthropological use of narrative and its use in narrative study. They say the anthropologist's "focus remains on the culture of the group; the stories told by key informants are only nominally the stories of that particular individual. Rather, they are used by the anthropologist to *typify* the behaviors and beliefs of the group" (p. 86). By contrast narratives in a narrative study "have no necessary similar cultural referent; they are taken to represent the experience of the individual alone" (pp. 86-87); Chase (2005) echoes the latter point saying, "Narrative discourse highlights the uniqueness of each human action and event rather than their common properties" (p. 657).

Miller and Glassner (2004) emphasize the importance of narrative from a sociological perspective, saying, "All we sociologists have are stories. Some come from other people, some from us, some from our interactions with others" (p. 138). The purpose to which they feel narrative should be put seems to represent the generalizing or typifying position, when they add, "What matters is to understand how and where the stories are produced, which sort of stories they are, and how we can put them to honest and intelligent use in theorizing about social life" (p. 138).

Chase (2005) mentions that some qualitative researchers consider any open-ended data (that is non-short-answer or closed-ended data) to be narrative. This type of data/narrative does not correspond to the aforementioned narrative study type which Clandinin and Connelley (1999) and Chase (2005) refer to as narrative inquiry. For that, Chase would apply more rigorous criteria. She explains,

A narrative may be oral or written and may be elicited or heard during fieldwork, an

interview, or a naturally occurring conversation. In any of these situations, a narrative

may be (a) a short topical story about a particular event and specific characters such as an

encounter with a friend, boss, or doctor; (b) an extended story about a significant aspect

of one's life such as schooling, work, marriage, divorce, childbirth, an illness, a trauma,

or participation in a war or social movement, or (c) a narrative of one's entire life, from

birth to the present (p. 652)

Thus on the one end of the narrative spectrum, narrative is used simply to find "typical"

cultural patterns; on the other, every narrative is considered unique and represents a particular

individual, situation and/or context. I don't think it is heresy, though, to consider a meeting at the

middle of this spectrum, such as the approach explicated by Chase (2005) who advocates

beginning the interpretation of the narratives produced in our interviews "with narrators' voices

and stories, thereby extending the narrator-listener relationship and the active work of listening

into the interpretive process" (p. 671) rather than *beginning* with a theme-based mindset. I agree

with her stand that, "Rather than locating distinct themes *across* interviews, narrative researchers

listen first to the voices *within* each narrative" (p. 671). Although this approach emphasizes the

individual and his/her narrative, it does not require the researcher to totally dismiss the search for

themes common to the researched narratives. I believe my data analysis kept both options open,

i.e. it catches both the particular in the stories and where applicable, the emergent general

themes.

Therefore my study is not a narrative inquiry; rather it borrows from narrative inquiry,

remaining closer to the picture of modern ethnography painted by Agar (1996). In other words, I

looked, on the one hand, for common narrative threads to explore shared knowledge of group

and individual identities in tandem with our class' experience of second language acquisition, what Agar refers to as the 'encyclopedic' approach. However, in addition, I made a strong effort to explore and discuss how these common threads are uniquely challenged, modified, "contested", "subverted" or "ignored" within each individual narrative.

A final perspective on narrative treats individual narrative as group defining. As LeCompte and Schensul (1999) say, "narratives obtained from different people and sources can be used to assemble a composite picture of a group's experiences" (p. 87). I consider this group-defining picture as one key to my study, in the sense that no one individual provided the full panoply of identity and second language acquisition possibilities in the classroom interaction. Only through the participant group portrait was I able to suggest one of the core underlying observations of my study, the exceedingly wide range and variability of those possibilities.

Autoethnography

As an original "founding" member and as full a participant in our Korean 101 classroom community, I made myself one of the foci of the study. Both in classroom notes and in a journal, I reflected on my own responses to the classroom and to Korean as a Second Language. I also interviewed myself with the same question sets as I used to interview the other participants. In other words I used autoethnographic, as well as ethnographic techniques.

Placing *auto* in front of ethnography still seems to require some defense, or at least some explanation in the academic world; in that vein I quote Richardson (2003) who insists on the necessity of the *auto* in ethnography by saying,

> The ethnographic life is not separable from the Self. Who we are and what we can be –
> what we can study, how we can write about that which we study – is tied to how a

89

knowledge system disciplines itself and its members, its methods for claiming authority over both the subject matter and its members (p. 525).

Jones (2005) writes, "Autoethnography writes a world in a state of flux and movement – between story and context, writer and reader, crisis and denouement. It creates charged moments of clarity, connection, and change" (p. 764). My *Journal*, *Class Notes* and three participant interviews over the course of the semester, exemplified this dynamic fluid process of getting to know unfamiliar classmates and instructor, grappling with an unfamiliar language, and sometimes accommodating, sometimes resisting, what and how we were expected to learn. From self–observation and reflection over the course of the study, I found in myself, and found evidenced in my participants as well, a microcosm of just such a world of "flux and movement" which resulted in "moments of clarity, connection, and change." Many of these moments have been, I hope, successfully conveyed in subsequent chapters.

In sum, to some extent I followed the lead of Ellis (2004) who explains, "As a form of ethnography, autoethnography overlaps art and science; it is part *auto* or self and *ethno* or culture. It also is something different from both of them, greater than its parts" (pp. 31-32). However, I feel Motzafi-Haller's (1997) justification of her own auto-ethnographic research provides the best expression of what I tried to accomplish:

> By collapsing the categories of native and non-native, subject and object, researcher and subject of study, I hope to go beyond the strict laws of the genre identified with traditional social-science practices. This is making me a better, not less able, anthropologist and analyst (p. 219).

In this study I present my own thoughts and behavior, subjecting them to interpretative analysis, as the eighth participant, in other words from an emic perspective. There is of course a key

autoethnograpic difference in the far greater depth of my understanding of my own experiential and thought processes than I could possibly have developed for my participants.

Site Selection, Participants, and Class

To choose the site I looked for a well-established Korean program at an American university. My own university, Indiana University of Pennsylvania, had at one point offered one year of (beginning) Korean, taught by a graduate student. However, that course was not offered at the time of my study. I considered several other, and applied to two, universities with robust Korean language programs, was rejected by one, but kindly granted approval to conduct the study at the University of Hawaii as a visiting scholar in that university's Korean Program.

It can be said that the actual class I participated in and observed was opportunistically chosen, although it was actually forced upon me. In retrospect however, I feel it was also the best among the possible alternatives, as I cannot imagine finding more ideal participants, both as study participants and as individuals I liked and enjoyed talking to. I was originally permitted to conduct my study in any of the four sections of Beginning Korean, each meeting for one hour four times a week, with the proviso that I obtain the consent of the selected session's instructor. The first section met at 8:30 a.m., the last at 11:30, the second and third during the two intervening hours. As awakening and functioning in the morning hours is an on-going problem for me, in the absence of any other information about the classroom and instructors, I registered for the 11:30 class. Unfortunately both that instructor and the 10:30 instructor were unwilling to allow me in the class. After having registered for and un-registering from both sections, I was told that the 8:30 instructor, also the most experienced would be my best bet. He graciously consented, resulting in my participation in the 8:30 section.

91

Other than myself, my study's participants were also opportunistically selected; all among my classmates, seven in total, who volunteered were included. Consisting of both men and women, representing a range of age groups, they comprised a diverse group from various ethnic, geographic, and educational backgrounds. I was requested by our primary instructor, Paul, to wait several weeks before soliciting volunteers from the class. After negotiation, I was permitted to explain my study and ask for volunteers at the end of the second week. During the last few minutes of class that day I briefly introduced myself, explained that I was and considered myself their classmate, in class to learn Korean as they were, but that I was there also as a researcher. I then introduced my study, asked the class to think about volunteering, handed out participant consent forms to all, and said that all who were interested should fill the forms out and hand them back to me as I waited outside the classroom door. As previously noted this culminated in seven classmates volunteering and becoming participants.

Data Collection Instruments

Fieldwork // Participant/Observation

I cite the following description of fieldwork by Richards (2003) since it so aptly describes how I proceeded. "Fieldwork is central to all ethnography, which means that the researcher has to negotiate entry into the research site, often as *a participant observer*" (p. 14). He explains that participant observation permits the transition from outsider to insider perspective, "although the aim is not to become a complete insider because this would mean taking for granted the sorts of beliefs, attitudes and routines that the researcher needs to remain detached from in order to observe and describe" (p. 14).

The research data, Richards (2003) says, is primarily obtained through "fieldnotes and interviews, though documents may also be used and it may also be possible to tape interaction"

(p. 15). Furthermore, that data is analyzed in classic ethnographic style, in other words depending on "the identification and categorization of key themes, perspectives and events, working towards an account that embraces adequate description and interpretation, which may include amongst other things extracts from fieldnotes, narrative vignettes and samples of talk" (pp. 14-15). This essentially was my method.

Thus, participant observation was central to my research, indeed as Wolcott (2004) observes**,** it "is the heart, and heartwood, of all qualitative inquiry" (p. 101). To expand on my conception of my participant observer role, I believe Spradley's (1980) explanations of the differences between ordinary participants and the participant observer are still ripe for my appropriation. I summarize and enumerate them as follows:

1. Dual purpose: The participant observer has the dual purpose of engaging in an activity and observing. The ordinary participant's purpose is only to engage.

2. Explicit awareness: The participant observer consciously focuses on things the ordinary participant does not pay attention to.

3. Wide-angle lens: The participant observer has to focus on a wide variety of observational data to relate to what is being studied. The ordinary participant has a much narrower focus related to accomplishing the specific task or goals.

4. Insider/outsider experience: Ordinary participants are insiders only. Participant observers are both insiders and outsiders. "Doing ethnographic fieldwork involves alternating between the insider and outsider experience, and having both simultaneously" (p. 57).

5. Introspection: Ordinary participants are not very introspective. Participant observers need to consciously increase their degree of introspection.

6. Record keeping: Participant observers keep records; ordinary participants don't.

However, while much of what *is* participant observation has not changed over the years, the product, that is what the participant observer chooses to reveal, has evolved. Tedlock (2005) says that when participant observation originated in the late 19th century, "This method was widely believed to produce documentary information that not only was 'true' but also reflected the native's own point of view about reality" (p. 467). Tedlock goes on to explain that, originally that which was observed was considered worthy of scholarly report, while the social participation aspect was restricted to the purview of the personal memoir. He says, "This dualistic approach split public (monographs) from private (memoirs) and objective (ethnographic) from subjective (autobiographical) realms of experience" (p. 467). Our present day perspective, however, renders this dichotomy "not only improbable but also morally suspect" (p. 467).

Due to the influence of "critical, feminist, poststructuralist, and postmodern theories, with their comparative, interruptive, non-universalistic modes of analysis" (p. 468), Tedlock (2005) continues that ethnographers have moved toward a unification of the two realms as "they reflect on and critically engage with their own participation within the ethnographic frame" (p. 467). He considers autoethnography the result of the unification, and characterizes the goals of this methodology in contrast to earlier patterns, explaining that, "The issue becomes not so much distance, objectivity, and neutrality as closeness, subjectivity, and engagement. This change in approach emphasizes relational over autonomous patterns, interconnectedness over independence, translucence over transparency, and dialogue and performance over monologue and reading" (p. 467). It is this unification underpinning autoethnographic practice, and

indicating that modern ethnography may no longer be possible without an autoethnographic element, that I take as fundamental standpoint for my study.

Field Notes

Field notes are considered essential for any ethnographic research. I availed myself of the experience and advice of authors such as Maxwell (2005) and Spradley (1979; 1980), as to how best establish a field note routine, but ultimately fit mine to my circumstances. Specifically, I would take very brief notes during class, mostly short phrases to serves as memory joggers, after something occurred that I felt ought be noted. This included the activities we were doing that day, observations of my classmates' participation and some on the spot thoughts. At this point I was not slotting things into categories, as I preferred to not analyze my observations too early.

As soon as possible upon returning home, whether directly after class or somewhat after, I would type up my abbreviated, memory-jogging notes on my computer, but in an amplified version more clearly explaining my observations and adding further reflections as well. At this point I would perform a certain degree of categorization. For example, I headed a section "Resistance" and another "Group Identity," if what I had noted seemed to fit either of those categories.

Before the semester of the study began, while thinking of the process and purpose of my *Class Notes*, I considered that I would likely have encounters, experiences and thoughts related to Korean, but not directly related to our class. I decided to keep a journal related to those, including for example, thoughts on watching a Korean drama or movie, talking in or about Korean to Korean and non-Korean acquaintances on campus, and thoughts about the Korean conversation class I was auditing as well (described in Chapter 4). I wrote these *Journal* notes

more sporadically than my class notes, but still fairly often, and I sometimes refer to them in later chapters.

Interviews

I interviewed each participant three times, once each roughly at the beginning, the middle and the end of the semester. The first interview provided both a background and introduction to the participants, particularly as related to identity and Korean, and their expectations about Korean and our class. When something I felt worth pursuing came up in the first or second interview, something that I had not specifically asked about, I would ask about it in the next interview. Since much of the reason for deciding on three interviews was to capture the dynamic nature of the identity-Korean language-classroom interaction, I repeated a number of questions, particularly from the second to the third interview, to see if the answers had changed over time. Furthermore, before the second and third interviews, I listened again to each participant's preceding interview and added questions specific to each participant for clarification or to follow further down the trail of something previously touched on lightly that seemed interesting. During the interviews themselves I did not limit myself to the written questions. Those were starting points, but I asked follow-up questions whenever it seemed necessary. If something new and interesting presented itself, I would also ask questions intended to pursue that line.

I additionally interviewed Paul, our primary instructor, once around the middle of the semester and once after the semester ended, largely for triangulation purposes, in order to get his instructor's perspective, on our class in general, and in the final interview on its individual members. He was also able to clear up some of my questions and assumptions about our course and the Korean program at U.H. in general. Although he could have made educated guesses as to

the identities of my participants, I asked him questions about both participants and non-participants, and believe he was not able to identify precisely the members of my study.

I interviewed myself as the first interviewee for each of the interviews. This was beneficial for several reasons. First, it forced me to another level of reflective thought, beyond my class notes and journal. Second, my memory would certainly not have been up to the task of remembering changes I had undergone over the course of the semester had I not recorded them; my answers provided a record of the dynamics of my own Korean journey that would likely otherwise have been unrecoverable. Finally it helped me to sharpen the questions I had asked and even develop new ones. As I would start to answer, I might realize that a question was ambiguous or did not really ask what I wanted it to. Moreover, I would often see that a follow-up or additional related question needed asking, and would then rewrite or add a new question.

Many writers discuss the "how to" of the ethnographic interview to varying degrees. Spradley (1979) some decades ago provided an in-depth and still useful treatment of interview techniques. However, much as in the case of fieldnotes, I adapted the advice of Spradley and others in developing my own interview style. Below, I discuss some broader tenets of interviewing that I adhered to.

First, was a willingness to change direction. Spradley (1980) feels that ethnographic researchers should be willing to change or adapt research objectives to fit informants suggestions. He adds that it is not only the questions formulated by the researcher that imply answers, but that answers or statements, "always imply questions. This is true even when the questions or answers remain unstated. In doing participant observation for ethnographic purposes, as far as possible, *both questions and answers must be discovered in the social situation being studied*" (p. 32). Therefore within the context of my overall research questions I

97

tried to be open to unexpected directions cropping up in the course of my interviews, as well as adapting and coming up with new questions as my study proceeded.

Second, there are certain paradigmatic assumptions that I held implicit in my interview process. As with identity and language, I took the interview to be socially constructed. Gubrium and Holstein (2003) reconceptualize the interview "as an occasion for purposefully animated participants to *construct* versions of reality interactionally rather than merely purvey data" (p.32). Furthermore, I took neither the participant interviewee nor myself, the interviewer, to be neutral, since the former have "been socialized according to multiple roles that cannot be predicted" and "live within imagined communities and identify with a group or organization or institution" (Gubrium & Koro-Ljungberg, 2005, p. 708). Likewise I considered myself, the interviewer, to be actively "implicated in the production of knowledge" (Gubrium & Holstein, 2003, p. 33) and further did *not* view my role in the interview process to be objective or neutral; As Gubrium and Koro-Ljungberg say, "neutrality is not figured to be necessary or achievable" (p. 33).

I also heeded Gubrium and Holstein's (2003) insistence on the relevance of voice, specifically in noting what role(s) the respondents took on during the interviews, (roles that may have changed at various points in the interview), such as student, ethnic or other group member, a "local," and so on.

Finally, while each interview is an individually socially constructed event, I attempted to tie it into the fabric of the larger world. As Miller and Glassner (2004) say,

> Research cannot provide the mirror reflection of the social world that positivists strive
> for, but it may provide access to the meanings people attribute to their experiences and
> social worlds. While the interview is itself a symbolic interaction, this does not discount

the possibility that knowledge of the social world beyond the interaction can be obtained.

(p. 126)

Concerns and Responses: Reliability, Validity, Generalizablity, Triangulation, Reflexivity and

Member Checks

Reliability

The concepts of *reliability* and *validity* are foundational cornerstones of the quantitative

approach, cornerstones which provide the crucial support for the "believability" of the research

results. Qualitative researchers in general, including ethnographers, often seem intent on

justifying the value of the research against the "benchmark" of the "hard-science" quantitative

approach. Probably in some measure as a means of demonstrating that qualitative research

"matches up" scientifically to quantitative, but likely also to respond to legitimate concerns about

the rigor of qualitative research, attempts have been made to relate these two concepts to

qualitative methodology, often using different terminology to reflect the disparate natures of the

two research approaches.

Of the two terms, reliability seems more difficult to translate, or it seems at least to be a

more slippery concept to grasp in conjunction with qualitative methods. Whereas for quantitative

research it means that the same experiment will produce the same results each time it is repeated,

in qualitative research this concept presents some problems. This is understandable since, as

Denzin and Lincoln (2003) say, qualitative research emphasizes "the socially constructed nature

of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the

situational constraints that shape inquiry" (p. 13). And qualitative researchers "emphasize the

value-laden nature of inquiry. They seek answers to questions that stress *how* social experience is

99

created and given meaning. In contrast, quantitative studies emphasize the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables, not processes" (p. 13).

All qualitative research is specific, located in a particular place, at a particular time, with particular participants and a particular social context. Repeating the research should absolutely *not* reproduce the same results. And the research cannot be precisely repeated, as at least some, or most likely a great many, of the particulars studied will have changed over time. The following quote from Denzin and Lincoln (2003), in which they compare the qualitative researcher to the activity of a bricoleur, who cobbles together diverse methods, illustrates this specificity and explains why a quest for replicability by the qualitative researcher is both a quixotic and unrealistic goal: "The interpretive *bricoleur* understands that research is an interactive process shaped by his or her personal history, biography, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity, and by those of the people in the setting" (p. 9). That is, the interaction of the particular researcher with the research participants and setting are inextricably a part of the research – different researcher, different time, different results.

This does not mean that some concept of reliability lacks any applicability for qualitative research. At a minimum, reliability in qualitative research seems to require considerable transparency in demonstrating conclusions drawn--that is, a sufficient reporting of the data and the logical chain leading to subsequent conclusions to enable the reader to follow the thinking and arrive at her/his own conclusions. As Richards (2003) notes, utilizing Lincoln and Guba's *Naturalistic Inquiry* formulations, "*Dependability* [reliability] and *confirmability* [objectivity] are to be assessed in terms of the documentation of research design, data, analysis, reflection, and so on, so that the researcher's decisions are open to others" [internal brackets in original text] (p. 286).

It is true however that ethnography and naturalistic inquiry, referred to in the preceding paragraph, differ in some significant ways. Stewart (1998) explains that, "some naturalistic inquiry research methods such as stepwise replication and audit trails are non-ethnographic" (p. 10). And it is precisely these two techniques that are most specifically aimed at ensuring the qualitative equivalent of reliability. Nevertheless, I believe I have provided, in subsequent chapters, a sufficient account of my data, analytic processes and reflections so that the reader can see clearly how I arrived at my conclusions.

Finally, Perakyla (2004) contends that tape recording goes a long way toward ensuring reliability, stating that "working with audio and video recording and transcripts eliminates at one stroke many of the problems that ethnographers have with the unspecified accuracy of field notes and with the limited public access to them" (p. 285). To a certain extent recordings could actually correspond to the (partial) audit trail of naturalistic inquiry. I did digitally tape record my interviews with my participating classmates.

Validity

In quantitative research, validity refers to the "truthfulness" of the data, generally meaning that statistically it is shown that there is (or is not) a correlation between elements or datum. Cho and Trent (2006) refer to "transactional" validity in qualitative research, that is an approach to validity that "is grounded in active interaction between the inquiry and the research participants by means of an array of techniques" (p. 320). They consider it to be "an interactive process between the researcher, the researched, and the collected data that is aimed at achieving a relatively higher level of accuracy and consensus by means of revisiting facts, feeling, experiences, and values or beliefs collected and interpreted" (p. 321).

Cho and Trent (2006) further explicate the concept, averring that, as a transactional process, it "consists of techniques or methods by which misunderstandings can be adjusted and thus fixed. In most cases informants are engaged in making sure their realities correspond with the interpretations brought forth by the researchers" (p. 322). In other words, "validity of the text/account is of primary importance" (p. 322).

To ensure validity Cho and Trent (2006) endorse some standard techniques, saying, "Transactionalists privilege the research account and employ strategies such as triangulation and member checking to bolster its integrity" (p. 324). These are techniques I intend to employ and will discuss further in this section. However, Cho and Trent also point out that these techniques alone are not sufficient to ensure validity. Qualitative research data is, by its nature, open to multiple interpretations. Therefore validity becomes an intrinsic part of "the way the researcher self-reflects, both explicitly and implicitly, upon the multiple dimensions in which the inquiry is conducted. In this respect, validity is not so much something that can be achieved solely by way of certain techniques" (p. 325).

Richards (2003) puts it slightly differently, but means much the same, when he refers to three key validity checks: (1) member validation, (2) constant comparison (evaluating and reevaluating data in different ways from different perspectives), and (3) negative evidence (seeking out data which contradict our analysis or interpretation and integrating that data into new analysis and interpretation) (p. 287).

I discuss my understanding and use of member checks, triangulation and reflexivity as they relate to validity and to other purposes in greater detail below.

Triangulation

Triangulation, as mentioned previously, is often seen as ensuring validity in qualitative research. Denzin and Lincoln (2003) say, "Viewed as a crystalline form, as a montage, or as a creative performance around a central theme, triangulation as a form of, or alternative to, validity thus can be extended. Triangulation is the display of multiple, refracted realities simultaneously" (p. 8).

Moran-Ellis et al. (2006) explain the original premise for the use of triangulation in social science being that results "from two or more different research methods enable the researcher to conclude whether an aspect of a phenomenon has been accurately measured, just as comparing several measurements of a geographical area allows a more accurate mapping of the territory" (p. 47). This assumption takes as its basis "that if different research methods produced similar results about a phenomenon then accurate measures had been used" (p. 47). Moran-Ellis et al. add, "Thus, at the heart of this model of triangulation is the increased confidence in the implied measurement outcomes of the research where there are convergent findings. We call this the 'increased validity' model of triangulation" (p. 47).

I use my main data collection methods – interviews, observation and my own participation/fieldwork – partly for triangulation/validity purposes. In addition to triangulation of method I also avail myself of triangulation of perspective, what Richards (2003) refers to as data triangulation and explains as obtaining data "from different time, space or person perspectives" (p. 251). In this regard, as noted earlier, I conducted two interviews with our course instructor, thus getting the instructor's perspective on us, the students, and our learning processes.

Moran-Ellis et al. (2006) bring up a possible problem in the use of triangulation for validative purposes, in that various methods may have similar flaws leading to more confidently

asserted misinterpretation (p. 47). My (researcher) reflexivity and member checks (although also a triangulation/validity tool), at least if adequately performed, were my defense against this problem. I will discuss these in the section below.

Moran-Ellis et al. (2006) also explain that triangulation may be employed for reasons other than to ensure validity. It can alternatively be used "to inform the design of another method" (p. 49); it can be used to provide complementary rather than validative data, or in other words, various research methods can be "*combined* rather than integrated" (p. 51). Alternatively, different methods can be used to elucidate various "components in a single empirical project" (p. 50).

I utilized triangulation for at least the first two of these above purposes. My observations and personal participant experiences, for example, helped to shape the direction of my interviews. Further, observation was used, not merely to confirm, but to also be taken in combination with interviews to add richness to derived understanding. Additionally I treated the data from individual to individual as additive (combined), creating a composite portrait of the identity and second language classroom acquisition nexus, much broader and more comprehensive than could have been obtained from any one individual case study. In sum, the participant interview data, filtered through my subjectivity, and added to my observations, participant experience, and the instructor's perceptions of the participants, including myself, was utilized to develop and present a co-constructed picture of participant identity and the beginner second language learning process(es).

Reflexivity, Including Member Checks

In my research I attempted to attain reflexive awareness and maintain that reflexivity from the early stages of data collection on through to the final writing process. As one aspect of

reflexivity, I made member checking a key part of my interviewing technique, rephrasing, elaborating on and stating inferences about my participants' statements back to them for confirmation of my understanding of their intents. Where this confirmation was refused, and it fairly often was, we would work together to make the participant's meaning clear to me or to co-construct an elaboration or inference the participant felt was appropriate and accurate.

In addition to my revisiting participants' statements of previous interviews in subsequent interviews for clarification as earlier mentioned, each participant was provided with, and their comments were invited for, near final drafts of my final three chapters, as well as on their own profiles from Chapter 4, including every quote of theirs used, and my interpretations of their statements and observed behavior in the classroom, via e-mail. Five of the seven responded.

To elaborate on my rationale for this protocol, reflexivity, according to the literature, seems to consist largely of thought, specifically focused, questioning, interpretative, re-interpretative, analytical and empathetic thought. It has become widely accepted as a key to keeping the research and researcher on track, for deriving deeper insights and understanding, and rectifying misunderstandings and miscommunication. Wall (2006) says the concept of reflexivity is one "in which the researcher pauses for a moment to think about how his or her presence, standpoint, or characteristics might have influenced the outcome of the research process" (p. 3). Meneley and Young (2005) consider the point of reflexivity is to "engage in a critical reflection on one's relationships with others, as circumscribed by institutional practices and by history, both within and outside of the academy" (p. 7). Richards (2003) explains *reflexive* as keeping "in review the continually evolving interrelationship between data, analysis and interpretation" (p. 269).

Although the concept of reflexivity as described above would seem essential for all types of qualitative research, it is autoethnographers who seem to have most developed it. Etherington (2004) understands that "researcher reflexivity as the capacity of the researcher to acknowledge how their [sic] own experiences and contexts (which might be fluid and changing) inform the process and outcomes of inquiry" (p. 31). She feels this reflexivity is at the core of good qualitative research and must be attained through awareness of "how our own thoughts, feelings, culture, environment and social and personal history inform us as we dialogue with participants, transcribe their conversations with us and with our representations of the work" (pp. 31-32).

Highlighting a different aspect of reflexivity, Cho and Trent (2006) explain how member checks can be a key reflexive tool, explaining these as the continual "backward and forward confirmation between the researcher and the participants under study in regard to re/constructions of constructions of the participants. Reflexive member checking seeks to illuminate a better representation of the lived experience of the participants being studied" (p. 322). Furthermore, this should involve critical reflexivity by the researcher in such a way that new insights are gained as part of this reflexive process: "In other words, the researcher should openly express how his or her own subjectivity has progressively been challenged and thus transformed as he or she collaboratively interacts with his or her participants" (p. 322).

Coding

After transcribing every interview, I randomly started with one and noted and developed categories for each topical exchange, then copied and pasted that category and the exchange to a new document. As I progressed from interview to interview, eventually enough categories were formed so that all subsequent exchanges fit under those previously derived. Some exchanges seemed to fit two or more categories, and these I cross-referenced. I performed the same

categorization process with my own typed self-interviews, my *Class Notes* and my *Journal*. Once this was accomplished I examined my categories again, looking for those that seemed most closely related, and from those developed broader categories in a sort of super-categorization.

Generalizability

If, as I believe and following the mainstream of modern ethnography, the data and particularly the narrative produced by my study (or any ethnographic study) is unique to the individuals and context of the study, the value of the study for academic purposes can be questioned. Can anything of value be conveyed or apprehended from such a study? I, and others, feel the answer is clearly, "Yes." Stewart (1998) says, "Ethnographers cannot aspire to generalizability or external validity, but they can aspire to perspicacity, which is the capacity to produce applicable insights" (p. 47). I agree with Ellis (2004) when she contends that it is the readers who determine the generalizability of a narrative as they decide whether it "speaks to them about their experience or about the lives of others they know. Readers provide theoretical validation by comparing their lives to ours, by thinking about how our lives are similar and different and the reasons why" (p. 194-195).

I wrote about the specifics of my beginning class, but feel there were also common links to be made to the second language learner and language learning in general, and to the broader world of the second language classroom as well. In succeeding chapters I have made consistent efforts to draw attention to these links.

Ethical Considerations

Angrosino and Mays de Pérez (2003) provide three criteria for helping to decide on the ethics of research:

- "First, *the means used will not cause more harm than necessary to achieve the value*" (p. 139) [where the *value* refers "to the production of some form of ethnography" (p. 139)].

- "The second criterion is that *no less harmful way exists at present to protect the value*" (p. 140).

- "The third criterion is that *the means used to achieve the value will not undermine it*" (p. 140). [bulleted format mine]

I believe that my study fulfilled these three criteria. Although I did not imagine that the possibility of harm to my participants was significant, I did take steps to avoid even that small possibility. First I made it clear to all individuals, in the informed consent form, and orally as well, that that they absolutely should not answer any question they did not feel comfortable with or simply did not want to answer. This occurred very rarely. In general my participants answered my questions willingly, thoughtfully, often at length and with enthusiasm.

I tried to be sensitive to the sensitivities of my participants as well. In a few cases I felt participants were telling me in so many words to back off from further inquiry on some identity or personal history issue I was asking about. Whether I was always correctly interpreting that message or not, in each case I refrained from further questions on the subject in question. A few instances of this type of situation are briefly noted in later chapters.

Since the interpretation of my data is *my* interpretation, the possibility exists that something I wrote about one of my participants might inadvertently hurt him or her. To deal with

this, as explained earlier, I provided participants with near-final drafts of my discussion and analysis, informing them that I would either delete anything I agreed was in error, or at the very least present their objections in my final draft. Of course I had earlier advised my participants that withdrawal from the study and being removed from mention was always an option if at any point they were unhappy with their participation or the results of such. That did not occur.

A final issue is participant identification. I informed all my participants that pseudonyms would be used. Several did not really care, several indicated they would have been happy to have their real names used, and several others indicated they indeed would have been concerned to have their real names in print. All participant names used in this study, other than my own, are pseudonyms. I gave each participant the option of creating his or her own, a few such as Howard, did. I created the others. Those who responded to my member check e-mail seemed pleased with their new names. Paul and Kain, the names of our instructors, are likewise pseudonyms.

It seems to be common practice to not indicate the specific university research site, referring rather to a region, such as "the northwest." I feel this is generally possible since in most cases the site specificity is important only in regards to some generic references such as a large urban university or a small liberal arts college in a semi-rural area. I feel however that too much would have had to be obscured and distorted, to the detriment of my data, in order to prevent Hawaii from being quickly identified. Furthermore the very size of the University of Hawaii Korean program makes that specific university location almost absurdly easy for an interested party to determine. I felt again that the benefits of revealing the actual site, rather than trying to remove all identifying factors, outweighed any risk.

CHAPTER 4: BACKGROUND

In this chapter I provide the background for my data discussion and analysis in subsequent chapters. I discuss the physical setting, the course itself, and most importantly the participants to enable the reader to get a strong sense of each individual.

The Setting

Our class was a held in the Korean Studies Center at U.H., more or less at one end of the campus. According to the signboard outside the building it was designed in traditional Korean style by two Korean architects and inspired by "the buildings of Kyongbok Palace in Seoul." Our classroom was on the second floor. It was painted white and rather shallow and wide. Several enclosed frames containing Korean artifacts hung from the back and one of the side walls. The room was brightly lit with fluorescent lighting. There were also some windows on the right (if facing from front to back), while the door was to the left. About 12 seats, with attached writing surface arms stretched across the breadth only 2 rows deep, although there were an additional three seats or so curving around toward the front at both wings. In front, slightly off to one side, was the instructor's desk, while covering nearly the length of the front wall was a green chalkboard. A movie screen could be, and often was, pulled down over about the middle width-wise two thirds of that chalkboard.

The Course

The semester began the last week of August 2008 and ended in the second week of December. There were four sections of Korean 101, all meeting for an hour daily, Monday through Thursday. The first, the one I attended, met at 8:30 a.m., the others at 9:30, 10:30 and 11:30. On Tuesdays we had a lecture from our second instructor, Kain, consisting for the most part, of explanations, in English, of the grammar points we were going to encounter for the next

week. Cultural explanations, and references to the vocabulary we were scheduled to learn were sometimes added as well. On Mondays, Wednesdays and Thursdays we met with Paul, our regular instructor and would review the grammar points Kain had discussed, then practice them. Paul would also sometimes discuss cultural points, explaining about such things as holidays and Korean food.

In addition to the four Korean 101 sections, there was also a Korean conversation class, Korean 111, which met three times a week at 10:30, and which taught, from the same textbook, virtually the same material as the 101 sections, minus the lecture day. I decided, and was given permission, to audit that class which served for me as review of what we were learning in the 101 section.

Besides both a written midterm and final, we had an oral midterm, requiring us to memorize four short dialogues from the text, and a final video project, described in greater detail in research question 2A, plus frequent quizzes, particularly of vocabulary, and brief dictations for writing practice.

Both Paul and Kain made frequent and extensive use of Power Point, projected on the movie screen, to accompany the explanations and sometimes for our practice activities as well. These were often quite creative and somewhat interactive. Comments from my participants about the use Power Points were universally positive. Paul would fairly frequently play Korean pop (K-pop) with video from the internet leading up to our 8:30 class start time. As a break we also viewed DVD's of two Korean movies (with subtitles) during the semester.

In order to convey a sense of the curriculum, a description of the textbook should suffice. The text was entitled Integrated Korean: Beginning 1 (Cho, Lee, Schulz, Sohn, & Sohn, 2008), in a draft second edition version, on photocopied pages. It contained nine lessons which we were

scheduled to, and did, complete. Each lesson began with a short dialogue, followed by vocabulary, new expressions, possibly some exercises, grammar notes, some relevant exercises (however, we rarely did the exercises in the book), a second dialogue, again vocabulary, new expressions and grammar notes, followed by a page or so of culture notes, a narration in Korean using vocabulary, grammar and information from the two conversations, and a usage section practicing the grammar points in conversational type exercises, which again we only occasionally did. The final page contained an English translation of the two conversations and the narration. The conversations and narration were written in Hangul, vocabulary had English translations, all the notes were in English with examples in Hangul often, but not always, accompanied by, English translation. There seemed to be no discernable reason why some but not other examples were translated.

Despite the two sample conversations, each lesson seemed to center on the grammar points it presented. The sample conversations provided context for that grammar. The vocabulary we were expected to learn seemed somewhat randomly selected, ranging from, phrase book, survival, kinds of words and expressions such as *left*, *right*, *in front of*, *behind*, *next to*, and those for telling time, to academic sorts of words, like *psychology* and *economics*, to seemingly random words like *gold ring*. There also seemed to be a somewhat haphazard presentation of the vocabulary. For example, vocabulary for several days of the week was presented in one lesson, the other days only some lessons later. Further, some vocabulary was introduced outside of the boxed vocabulary sections in the lesson notes.

Usually, rather than do the practice activities provided in the text, Paul provided alternate practice activities. These were often for pair work, for example a handout with blank clock faces for us to fill in as we asked and answered our partners what we customarily did at certain times

of the day. Another activity involved photocopies of Korean money and purchasing various items at different prices. Especially during early in the semester, there were games involving the whole class, for example a number game (similar to the game *Buzz*) and another in which groups of four stood in front of the class lined up front to back, the last in line writing a Hangul symbol on the back of the person in front, she in turn writing it on the next person's back and the last person having to identify it. Power Points were sometimes used, for example to practice verb conjugations in which the "plain" form might be shown on the screen and we would be asked, as a class, to verbally provide the polite form, following which that polite form would be provided on-screen as confirmation.

There was also a workbook companion to the textbook from which homework was assigned. I listed the authors as Chang, et. al. (2008) in my references, but she is actually listed as "instructor," and no author cited. This book was, like the textbook, a series of photocopied pages. It consisted of nine lessons corresponding to the text's. Each lesson consisted of a series of exercises related to the vocabulary and grammar in the corresponding lessons, although early on there was some writing practice as well. Some of the exercises involved listening comprehension. We were provided with a website address to download the audio. That site also provided audio for the conversations and narrations in the textbook.

We were usually assigned about three fourths of the workbook exercises per lesson to hand in around the time we finished the corresponding lesson. Our instructor would check to see that we had done the assignments, then provide us with answer sheets so that we could self-correct and hand in the assignments a second time. A common complaint from my participants was that many of the exercises were not well matched to our ability levels; some were too easy; often they were way too hard. Probably exacerbated by our text's mid-revision status, a further

frustration to some, especially me, was that (un-translated) vocabulary was sometimes included that had not been presented in the main text.

<center>Extracurricular Activities</center>

We made an optional class trip one evening in the middle of the semester to a dinner at a Korean restaurant followed by a Korean movie at the Honolulu International film festival. On the evening of the last class we also organized a class party. Both of these were at the behest of some class members, among whom I played a key role. They enjoyed strong support from our instructor, Paul, who helped with their planning and attended as well.

<center>Note on Quotations from Participants</center>

When quoting my participants, I generally omitted fillers such as "you know", repetitions, false starts and hesitations, though these were occasionally retained to let a bit of the "spoken" voice to come through. Grammatical inconsistencies and half thoughts have been, on the other hand, been retained, as my policy was to omit, but not change vocabulary or phrasing from my transcriptions. I further decided to keep this policy consistent for Natsu, an L2 English speaker, to let more of her voice be heard. Where I thought the reader might have difficulty understanding a transcribed section I did insert words of clarification. All of my insertions are indicated by brackets [ ] which are used for no other purpose in the quotations.

<center>The Participants</center>

<center>Ilima</center>

Personal History

Ilima was named after a Polynesian flower. At the time of our first interview she was 19 and a sophomore. She had a rather tumultuous family history. Her maternal grandmother came from the Philippines while her maternal grandfather was a French-Canadian who "somehow

<center>114</center>

ended up in the Philippines." Her mother was born in the Philippines; but she was brought to Hawaii when she was one year old and considered Hawaii her home. In her second interview, Ilima recounted that her maternal grandfather had been in the navy, that he must have become a naturalized American at some point, and that when her mother was about eight and "really really sick, like one of her kidneys wasn't working," and her grandfather was at sea, her grandmother "ran off with my grandpa's best friend" and "abandoned her [Ilima's mother] and my uncle and my aunt at my neighbors house. They just sort of dropped her off." Her mother was taken care of by a neighbor and by her grandfather when he returned from sea, but Ilima recounts she was mostly on her own, attended an all girls catholic school and when she got older "started to get into trouble" and wound up in a "girls' detention center." Ilima's mother didn't meet her mother again until she was nineteen and they reconciled to the level of "being on speaking terms again." Ilima had no contact with any relatives from her maternal grandfather's side.

Her mother moved to Southern California on her own when she was 19, which is where Ilima and her older sister were born. Ilima said her "father is not in the picture" so strongly that it seemed clear she didn't welcome further questioning on the subject. However, she was in contact with relatives from her father's side of the family who were mostly on the East coast with Irish immigrant roots going back to the 1830's and Hungarian immigrant roots from the 1930's.

Except for six months in Hawaii, Ilima lived in southern California for the first eight years of her life; for two of those years she lived with her father's mother, the remaining time with her mother. Because her mother worked full time, Ilima was often baby-sat by her maternal grandmother and her grandmother's mother as well. That great-grandmother died when Ilima was eight and didn't speak English, so Ilima didn't have strong memories of her. When she was

about eight or nine, her mother, having divorced her second husband, wanted to return to where she considered home and moved the family to Hawaii.

Ilima's mother had been on good terms with Ilima's paternal grandmother however, "recent events led to a fall out." Ilima sighed when describing her family situation as "always drama, never ending." Ilima herself had not talked to her maternal grandmother for a few years. Although she was closer to her paternal grandmother, she said she's "not really close with any of my family, cause they always have a lot of drama and I can't really deal with it."

Her "coolest" friend when she was living in California was Japanese. Ilima "pretty much lived at her house" for two and a half years and "every time I'd go over her mom would just talk to me in Japanese" which she wouldn't understand, but thinks "it probably played an influence on me for where I am today."

Education

Ilima attended public schools growing up and was a good student. She said, "I had that Asian shtick, like you have to get good grades." However, her mother

> all through elementary school, middle school and the first half of high school was really
> strict about getting good grades and then all of a sudden one day she just sort of switched.
> It was like "whatever you want. It's your life."

This was part of her mother's sudden switch from an "authoritative parenting style" to "laissez-faire do whatever you want," a switch that Ilima found "kind of weird." Ilima best explanation is that "she had a rough childhood, so I'm sure her ideas of parenting are a bit out there."

Ilima enjoyed school "for the most part." In high school in Kauai, she especially liked band, where she played trombone, and JROTC, because "it was really structured" and because she was very close to the instructor who was kind of a father figure for her. She also liked having

increasing responsibility as she progressed through high school and which included being in charge of people. Other classes she liked were history and math except for geometry. She disliked her science classes and English as well, the latter because of a teacher who made the course unpleasant. Even in the courses she didn't like though, Ilima did rather well.

Ilima had studied for a year at a college in Washington State and transferred to U.H. since the tuition had skyrocketed and also because she wanted to study Korean and U.H. was one of not so many schools in the U.S. that offered it. She had liked the Washington school, but found the weather there too depressing. At the time of the first interview she was thinking of majoring in "Asian Studies with an emphasis in Korean." Among the courses she took the semester of this study, that is two anthropology courses and Introduction to Linguistics in addition to our Korean 101 class, she found our Korean course to be the most interesting.

Roles

In her family Ilima was the quiet, studious one while her sister was the rebel. She feels her friends saw her in the same way, but that, as she became older, she's "the really out there one," since her interests had diverged from those friends and "I like to be weird, make jokes."

Identifications / Group Identities

At one point in the first interview Ilima said she half identified with the Asian side of her family, half with the Caucasian side; at another point she indicated a leaning toward the Asian side as she said, "I think growing up, especially seeing my dad's side of the family and how they are like, I don't really want to identify with Caucasian people even though I am." Since she's "haole- [Caucasian] looking" she said she made a point of letting people know that she's Filipina. Despite this, and her mother knowing three Filipino languages, Ilima did not know any

117

Filipino, nor did she have any desire to learn, saying, "I just don't really see the use in learning it."

Economically Ilima didn't consider herself middle class; when she was growing up her family struggled a lot financially. She didn't feel religion played a significant role in her life and identified with her generation only to the extent of sharing some interests such as computer games. Although she claimed some political interest, she didn't see any politician representing her interests. Less than two months before the 2008 election (September 16th) she said she wasn't happy with either candidate, so "I kind of don't even want to bother." She did identify herself as an American, but the fact that she had a lot of non-American friends who from their perspective might have negative views of the U.S., inclined her to distance herself from a strong American identification. Taking this further she agreed that she would consider herself as belonging more to a group that sees itself as internationally minded citizens of the world.

Likes, Dislikes, Interests

Ilima liked video games, roller coasters and traveling, but since she really hated "flying on planes and riding on trains, it kind of makes it difficult to go anywhere." She had lived in or visited about ten states, but had never been abroad which she really wanted to do. She particularly wanted to visit China, Japan, South Korea and possibly Taiwan. When she had free time she liked to "hop on the computer and chat with my friends." She no longer played the trombone; she used to like to read, but said she didn't have much time for it anymore, and "college has sucked the fun out of it" as well. For exercise she used to do wrestling in high school, but no longer did. The only sport she still engaged in was swimming, but she didn't swim "as often as I should." She also liked American, Korean, Japanese and Chinese movies,

particularly comedies. She used to like and watch Korean dramas, but saw so many that she grew tired of them.

Characteristics

Ilima considered herself introverted, a pessimist, "really shy and really passive," although she guessed kind of "passive aggressive because on the outside I'd be really passive, but on the inside I'd be thinking of ways to do something about it." She liked a balance of time spent with others and time alone saying, "if I spend one day hanging out with people, then the next day I kind of want to just have time to myself." She also saw in herself some antipodal character traits. For example she was both "really easy-going" but also stressed "out a lot about things." Even while "being super stressed out" about having to take care of something, she would still procrastinate and tell herself there was enough time, but in the back of her mind she would be conscious that there was not.

Korean Connections

Ilima had a lot of Korean friends, both from Korea and Korean-American, and felt that "that even if I don't really want to learn it, they'll force me to." One of her friendships went back to elementary school where she learned to say her first words in Korean, "바보 토끼" (*babo tokki*, silly rabbit). It was Korean dramas though that really first got her interested. She enjoyed them as an "outsider," liking that they were so different and even exotic. Although she felt that she had overdosed on them, resulting in her losing interest, the interest in Korean they stimulated remained as "the one thing that really interests me."

Natsu

Personal History Including Education

At the time of our first interview Natsu was twenty and a sophomore at U.H. She was born and grew up in Nagoya, Japan, had two younger sisters and two puppies. When she was sixteen she moved to Toronto, Canada where she attended a small high school of about 200 students. Her move to Toronto was on her own. She lived in a school dormitory with mostly other international students. "It was very very small boarding school, so I lived with all girls in the dorm, like around 40 people in the dorm, so it was like big family and all sisters and it was very fun." Although most of the students arrived with their parents, hers hadn't accompanied her and she remembered a bit of homesickness on the first day, "but then from the next day [there was] so much going on that I didn't even have time to being sad."

After high school Natsu moved to, and at the time of the study, was in her second year in Hawaii. She was joined in her move and shared a house with her mother and youngest sister in order to improve the latter's English. As much as anything else her reason for choosing to study at U.H. was the great Hawaiian weather. She had been in Hawaii before, having come with her family every summer for a month from the time she was in first through to seventh grades. She talked to her father in Japan about once every three weeks, far less than her mother and youngest sister did, and saw him about once every two months; either he would visit them in Hawaii or during vacations she would return to Japan. Her middle sister, seventeen at the time of the interview, was studying, as Natsu did, in high school in Canada, although not at the school Natsu had attended.

From Natsu's mother's side came a connection to the love of learning. Natsu referred to her maternal grandparents as a "teacher family." Her grandfather had continued studying for an

advanced degree as a part time student at a university in Tokyo until graduating the previous year. Through his love of studying in such areas as Japanese literature he was continuing his studies on his own after graduation. Natsu's father's family was more strongly focused on business. Her paternal grandfather, who had passed away eight years previously, had started a company manufacturing plastic bags for things ranging from IVs to rice, a business her father now ran.

Natsu considered her father to be the one who loves making money but not spending it, while her mother, although also somewhat interested in business, in her case real estate, was also interested in spending money, spurring her father to think of ways to make more. Her father was never particularly interested in studying for school and didn't graduate from a particularly good high school. He was however an enthusiastic reader of books about business and how to be successful. The educational philosophy he imparted to Natsu was that "if you [are] really interested in something, then you can study all by [on your] own. You don't have to be really good in school."

Her father's view seems to have been carried over to a general family attitude. Unlike the stereotypical Japanese family, which stresses academic achievement for the children as primary and a key to a successful future, her parents never really pushed her or her siblings to do well in school. While below average would have been unacceptable, average was o.k. Her parents would never bother to check up on how she was doing on exams. They felt that "'you don't have to be perfect in studying,' cause they know that study is important as education, but it's not really as important as being successful." Natsu considered herself an average student who did well in some courses, less so in others. She amplified on that saying that where she was interested in a course she would work really hard, but where she was not interested in a required course she would just do what it took to pass.

In Japan Natsu had attended *juku*, that is private school classes, at night and weekends. In Japan such classes are considered virtually essential for significant academic success and therefore required by "right-thinking" parents. In Natsu's case there was no parental push for *juku* study, instead she was the one who choose to attend, who found the *juku* she wanted to attend, and decided what she wanted to study. She felt her parents chose this parenting style to encourage her independence and was very happy to be have been brought up in this way. Furthermore she felt that they succeeded in shaping a Natsu who was independent and able to decide things by and for herself, "so I don't usually make wrong choices."

Natsu said she had a lot of friends growing up from her public school days in Nagoya, classmates who had often been her neighbors as well. Beyond that she had made additional friends while participating in after school activities, such as sports, that her mother had signed her up for. She still felt close with many of those friends in Japan; when she went through difficult periods in Canada she took comfort from the fact that her family and friends "are waiting, always welcoming [me] back and supporting me from far away." Of her friends from Nagoya, she was pretty much the only one to study abroad and when she would tell her best friend that she was returning to Japan, that friend would spread the word and they'd hold a party to welcome her back.

In Canada Natsu made good friends as well and considered her dorm mates to be more like sisters. She said that it was hard to keep in touch with all of them, but that e-mail and Facebook helped. She had about five especially good friends from that time, at least some of whom she expected would travel considerable distance, as she would, to get together. Several had already visited her in Hawaii. Natsu felt she had made friends rather easily growing up and through high school. Since U.H. is so big she said it wasn't easy to make friends in the large

122

lecture classes, however it was easier in the smaller language classes and in the on-campus groups she had joined, particularly the International Students' Association.

Likes, Dislikes, Interests

Natsu enjoyed school to a great extent for its social aspects saying, "I have a lot of friends and it's really fun to come to school." Subjects she indicated liking in her first interview included political science, especially involving "world issues," some math courses and the French and Korean courses she was taking that semester. For those language courses she said "I need to memorize a lot of stuff, but it's kind of discovering new world kind of thing and I think it's really fun." Her major was still undecided but she was thinking of a program in which she could create her own, one which would incorporate peace study, international relations, communication and political science. Like her maternal grandfather she enjoyed studying in general.

Natsu didn't like any science courses and didn't feel that fun had been involved in studying English; it had been more a matter of a learning necessity, which she had gone ahead and done. Additionally the English she had studied in Japan had been really boring because, "if you live in Japan you almost never need English." While still in Japan she did enjoy the aspect of trying to communicate in English with foreigners, but the English taught in schools was all about reading, writing, remembering grammar rules and memorizing vocabulary.

Other than academics, Natsu enjoyed hanging out with friends, camping, eating, learning new things, traveling, and playing sports. Sports she didn't like included rugby, football and racketball as they seemed to be too pain inducing. She really liked volleyball, skiing, swimming, basketball and most especially soccer, although she felt that playing her soccer position, goalie, didn't really count as soccer.

She also enjoyed volunteering and teaching little kids. During her high school years she spent a month in India as a teaching assistant, teaching math to third graders, which she found both fun and interesting. She felt the best way to spend free time was to get together with family and friends in a large group and have a good time.

Characteristics

Natsu felt it was hard to say categorically whether she made friends easily; she thought that having lived in English speaking countries for five years it had become easier to make friends with non-Japanese than Japanese people. To first get to know a Japanese person there are certain socio-linguistic related concerns (as in Korean) she had to address. She said "like if they're older I have to use polite form or not, but I'm away for so long that I don't know. Like 'Oh what should I do?' and then so I just get confused making Japanese friends." While once she got over that initial stage she had no problem making Japanese friends, she felt that non-Japanese are more friendly and outgoing from the first and that you don't have to follow all the socio-linguistic rules in English that Japanese requires.

Natsu considered herself an active person, easy-going and someone who always looks on the bright side, even to the extent of finding the positive in situations most would find negative. In contrast to a stereotypical Japanese woman of twenty, she considered herself more independent. Compared to the average Nagoyan she saw herself as having a wider view of the world and its possibilities. Most of her Nagoyan friends had not conceived of a future outside Nagoya as she had.

Roles

Among her siblings Natsu saw herself as the outgoing one, talkative and friendly especially when compared to her quieter middle sister. Her youngest sister was closer to Natsu in

regard to these traits. However she described her younger sister as more careful about things such as schoolwork and friendship. Natsu was content to get by in courses she didn't care about; her youngest sister would get upset at not getting an "A" on any test. For Natsu the learning experience was far more important than her grade as long as she wasn't failing, for her sister the grade had greater importance and provided validation that she had indeed learned something. Natsu felt that neither she nor her sister's attitude was ideal, that if she and her sister split the difference, so that if she cared a little more about how she did and her sister a little less, they would attain perfection.

Identifications / Group Identities

Natsu considered being Japanese an important part of her identity and her local Nagoya background had resonance for her as well. One way that this differentiated her from Americans, but connected her to Korean culture, was that she felt both Japanese and Koreans tended to commit to stronger friendship bonds with friends, whereas, she thought, typical American friendship relationships were less intense. Natsu felt herself a part of the student culture. Economically she considered herself middle class, although she didn't feel this played a big role in establishing who she was. Religion as well was not an important component of Natsu's identity.

Korean Connections

Even before class began Natsu did not see herself as very much an outsider to Korean. She hadn't had any particular interest in Korean, Koreans or Korea when she was growing up in Japan, but her interest began in Canada where a number of her high school classmates were

Korean and

> We would hang out outside of the class a lot and on the weekend we would go to like
>
> karaoke together and stuff and I had really really good time with Korean people, so I was
>
> really interested in studying that [Korean].

She also did a summer homestay in Canada during her high school years, which, by chance, turned out to be with a Korean family. From those two Korean encounters, Natsu came to feel that, "I really like Korean food and Korean people and Korean culture. It's, some part, is very similar to Japan, but some part is like completely different. I think it's very interesting."

<center>*Quinn*</center>

Personal History

Quinn was born and grew up in Hawaii on the island of Oahu. He described a rather idyllic extended family environment growing up, with an older sister and eight cousins he was close to and one in which his paternal grandparents and maternal grandmother lived in the same house. That house was located on a rather private lane as it ended in a cul-de-sac. His cousin lived next door and his mother had grown up with many of his neighbors, "so we had a whole family village. It was a really good upbringing."

Quinn's maternal grandmother was born in the Philippines, came to Hawaii, he thought in the 1950's, and married his grandfather who was a Filipino plantation worker on Oahu. His paternal grandfather had also worked on a plantation on the Big Island (Hawaii) and met Quinn's future grandmother, at that time a masseuse, when he was stationed in Oahu as an airplane mechanic in the air force.

Growing up, Quinn didn't have any trouble making friends. He felt that in middle school and high school "some people would say I was a popular kid, not like jock popular, but I was in

student government and the president in middle school, the president in high school, so I liked to surround myself with lots of people I guess." He also thought that he had been "fairly well known" in his milieu.

Education

19 years old at the time of the first interview, Quinn had attended a private Catholic grade school from sixth grade, and then the high school which was part of the same institution, graduating in 2007. Religion was emphasized in the school and was an important facet of Quinn's life. Quinn enjoyed school and particularly liked social science courses such as history, social studies and economics. He disliked math, finding it difficult sometimes to grasp a concept or see how a particular answer was reached. Even in math though he did pretty well and saw himself as a good student.

Quinn was, at the time of the study, in his sophomore year at U.H. He had decided to stay in Hawaii rather than go to the mainland for college because "I'm pretty close with my family, so my dad didn't want me to go away." He had actually been granted a full scholarship to study at another local university, but decided not to go there because "it was too much like my high school, very small, and I wanted a very big campus feel." He was currently undecided as to a major, "leaning toward communications."

Roles Growing Up

Not only was Quinn the youngest child, but also the only boy in his lane. As a consequence he saw his younger self "as spoiled. I always got what I want, the toys, but at the same time sometimes I made trouble. By the age of four I used to bite people." However he was also very playful and "the person who loved making things."

Likes, Dislikes, Interests

Academically Quinn was interested in communications, journalism, speech and Korean all of which he was taking that semester. Outside of academics he liked music and felt he had eclectic and diverse musical tastes, particularly enjoying music from the 1920's through to the present. He played the drums, which he really liked, at his church where he was "pretty involved." He also enjoyed volleyball and bowling. He didn't like negative "themes" or "anything like swearing," preferring to "keep it pretty positive."

Whenever Quinn had a bit of free time, his first inclination was to head for either the computer or the TV. On the computer he was particularly into social networking on sites such as Facebook. On television he favored movies; action, drama, comedy, he liked them all as long as they were well done. He also counted Korean dramas among his likes, although he was unable to watch them often due to the time they consume.

Characteristics

Quinn considered himself "a pretty friendly guy," which I would have to amend to *very* friendly and gregarious. He also felt himself an optimist and easy-going, someone who doesn't "yell or get angry in public or elsewhere." He said that, "when I'm talkative it's pretty talkative" and that he liked to "engage in good conversation." He also tried to be sociable, even with people he didn't know. He did like "little solitude times" and felt those times of introspection were "fairly balanced" with his social times.

Quinn considered himself a procrastinator and referred to himself as "slightly organized," that is not as completely organized as his sister. He tended "to overthink and overanalyze and before I make a very simple decision I go through, 'ok [if] I do this, well this happens, ok, if I do this then…'"

Identifications / Group Identities

Ethnically Quinn considered himself "mostly Filipino," but also from his father's side, Hawaiian, Scottish and Portuguese. He considered his Filipino heritage important to a degree in determining who he was, and saw "a lot of characteristics, my characteristics, of the Filipino culture in my home and we joke about it." He even debated with himself before the semester started over whether to take Korean or Ilocano. However he decided that Ilocano "wasn't really something I was very interested in or something that I thought I could use." Furthermore, he felt that Filipino identity was not the most salient or strongest factor in how he saw himself; it was simply part of the mix.

Quinn saw himself as belonging to his church and beyond that as a Christian. He also saw himself as affiliated with various groups of friends, each pursuing different interests, such as a group that enjoyed video games and another group that liked hip-hop dancing. Quinn cared about politics and saw himself as a Democrat, but a moderate one.

Korean Connections

Quinn's mother started watching a Korean drama when he was in high school "and then pretty much the whole family got into it." Since, "I just really like learning different languages, so, 'Wow, Korean' and I don't know much about Korean, so I looked it up and I looked on the internet, asked my friends, bought some self-teaching books." He started to learn Korean from then, although he "didn't take any classes. It was pretty much self-study."

<div align="center">

Oliver

</div>

Personal History

Oliver was 38 as our class began. His other family members consisted of his parents, a younger brother and a younger sister. On his father's side he had an English grandfather and

Scottish grandmother, his extended family on that side was, by and large, still in Great Britain. His mother's side had been Australian for generations, originally having come from Ireland. His maternal Australian links may stretch back to the convict ship settlers, although Oliver was not completely sure about this.

Oliver was born in Brisbane, Australia but at age four moved to Canada, subsequently to England, and at age nine to Los Angeles where he lived until the age of twenty-four. Consequently his early education was in public schools in Canada, Britain and mainly California. For high school his parents enrolled him in a private all-boys Catholic school not, he says, because they were particularly religious or that he required an all male environment, but because of the school's pretty good academic reputation.

When he was young he "found it pretty easy to get good grades without a lot of effort" but when somewhat more effort was required in high school, his grades weren't particularly good. He remembers as a "middle-school" student in the U.S. "being on the bus and dreading going" although he recalls no particular reason for that feeling. In high school that dread had become indifference; he "didn't like it much, but didn't particularly dislike it."

Directly from high school he entered one of the Cal State schools where, due to his indifference to school and studying, his resulting poor grades caused him to be placed on academic probation. After taking a semester off to travel around the U.S., he decided to change schools and attended junior college. Although he felt he was still not "all that directed then as well" his grades were good enough to get into one of the University of California system schools. From there as he says, "I really started studying and then started to do reasonably well. I kind of got my routine down when I finally graduated." He added that he enjoyed "the kind of intellectual stimulation of studying something I was interested in" there.

At age twenty-four he traveled and wound up moving back to Brisbane, Australia for a couple of years, working for a couple of his uncles and enjoying his life there. Around 1997 he taught as a substitute teacher in L.A. then went back to Australia and did some postgraduate study in Melbourne for a bit more than a year.

From 2002 to 2004 he taught English in Korea during which time he married a Korean woman. Together they returned to the University of Melbourne to complete Masters' degrees in Applied Linguistics. He describes the experience of earning the Master's degree as "relatively enjoyable as well, just pure interest and sort of the acquisition of knowledge from a field you're interested." Degrees in hand they returned to Korea to work for several more years. He then applied and got accepted to the PH.D. Program in Second Language Studies at the University of Hawaii in which he was, at the time of study, matriculating.

Oliver was not enjoying the Ph.D. program as much as he did his Master's program however, because he felt that although the classes were interesting, he was under "pressure to publish and you don't have much time to do research work and there's a kind of different atmosphere among students and academics." Furthermore,

> There's a lot I feel I don't understand, where other students do. I find that a slightly
> demotivating state of affairs, set of circumstances…I find it difficult to read some of the
> material that's assigned and I come to class and I feel like other people understand it, and
> I feel like jeez, 'should I really be here you know?' It's not very enjoyable. I mean I get
> over it, but it's not a very enjoyable experience.

Roles

Oliver strongly saw himself in his family role, "I'm a father and that's pretty high up on my list of sort of priorities." This is a role he strongly enjoyed and endorsed for himself. Being a

Ph.D. student however was a role that Oliver maintained with far greater ambivalence. While he considered himself very much a Ph.D. student, he maintained he was not a very good one and would qualify that status by saying, "Yeah well I'm a Ph.D., but I got in the back door."

Identifications / Group Identity

Ethnically and culturally Oliver linked himself to certain "aspects of Australian culture which I would say is sort of ethnic white Australian culture that I would identity with." He also felt the pull of his British heritage, "because I've got all those ties back to England and Scotland. I sort of like British humor. I feel like there's this kind of connection to that national and ethnic [group]."

However, to a considerable degree Oliver rejected group identification saying, "I don't have much membership particularly in any group. I mostly feel very much sort of singularly isolated." Much of how he characterized his affiliations consisted of not being an insider in groups he might nominally be considered a part of. These included the concept of a nationality, of being or not being American. As Oliver said, "I have to tell a story you know. There's no simple answer to that, so the answer is that I sort of feel neither and both, but it's more a feeling of not really belonging to either."

Furthermore he categorically rejected the idea of having a religious identity. Nor did he see himself as truly middle class given the paucity of his GA's recompense. He saw himself as "quite removed from say a group some of my high school friends now occupy, which would be sort of white middle-class professional men who have established careers and conventional sorts of life styles."

In contrast he aligned himself with other Ph.D. students.

I hang out with Ph.D. students in the SLS department and when we get together we don't go to nice houses and we don't talk about fancy vacations and we don't plan like ski trips together, we go to our apartments and we buy not very much food and it's all a very scaled down existence. I feel very much part of that kind of impoverished graduate student [set] and some of them are my age, so I feel very much part of that group and I feel very much removed from mainstream middle class America.

Even this seemingly strong identification was tempered by his self-identification as a "white male" which he felt seemed to push him to outsider status in the academic environment, that is "from a kind of ideology at universities which is kind of pro-feminist, pro-social justice, pro the concerns of minority groups, you know ultra-left wing." He explained that the

literature is sort of the talking about the evils and the sort of nefariousness of the white Caucasian systems of economics and politics and such hegemonic sorts of ideologies all coming from white men, so I'm very much one of them.

This distancing of his identification from the academic community was nuanced however, by Oliver's actually considering himself "pretty left wing." Nor was he completely unsympathetic to the social justice concerns of the above groups. He said that it was "in my weaker moments I don't identify with the politics and flat out disagree with some of things that I read," which I take to mean at other, non-weaker moments, he could identify or empathize with such concerns.

In light of these it is perhaps not surprising that Oliver did not identify himself closely with any political party or ideology, but rather considered himself "a bit of a pragmatist. I mean I think, that's a good idea, that's a good idea, that's a good idea, that's a good idea and it's all different parties."

Despite Oliver's Korean experience, his Korean wife, and the Korean aspects of her heritage that his young daughter will have to integrate into her identity (discussed by Oliver at other points in our interviews), and despite also the multi-ethnic nature of the Hawaii in which Oliver has been living, it was apparently his self-identification as a "white male" that precluded his stated lack of identification with any of the Asian groups represented in Hawaii or in our Korean class.

Finally, while Oliver saw himself a fitting into an age appropriate category for the Ph.D. student role, he saw himself as older than most of the members of our Korean class, positioning himself in contrast to the class, but in alignment with me in that regard. He said, "I would say I feel my age in that Korean class. Absolutely. Like everyone's kind of young. I feel very much not a part of that group. Well we probably feel quite similar."

Likes, Dislikes, Interests

Oliver enjoyed surfing, his lone remaining sporting pursuit. He also liked "reading stimulating books" meaning "non-fiction historical books but that are kind of not too dense and easy to understand and they've sort of got a bit of a narrative and they're kind of interesting."

At the top of Oliver's "like" list though were his young daughter and wife. In his free time he strongly enjoyed

> spending time with my daughter. That probably would be at the top of the list and my wife. Free time – doing something around Hawaii with my wife and my daughter without the bloody Ph.D. weighing heavy on my consciousness.

Pertaining to the Ph.D. reference, he enjoyed "doing work that I feel like I understand and feel like I do well," however

> aspects of my Ph.D. really get under my grill. It's a real source of stress actually and unique in my working life and educational life up to this point. Basically what I really dislike is trying to think of a Ph.D. research topic, trying to think of publishable papers for classes. I really dislike contemplating the fact that I don't feel I really have the aptitude to be able to prosecute those things well.

Characteristics

Oliver didn't see himself as fitting into any particular role in his family growing up. He got along "pretty well" with his parents, but he did say his parents "thought I was a bit undirected, sort of a bit casual in my approach to serious things in life like studying and future plans and things like this. [They] were kind of waiting to see when things were gonna fall into place and I was going to get serious about a career or those kinds of things that parents are worried about." On the other hand he did just well enough in school to prevent them from being overly concerned.

Oliver wasn't lacking for friends growing up, however his moving from place to place when young had an impact, causing him to repeatedly start "at the social periphery." More significantly it engendered the feeling of being an outsider which Oliver says, "I continue to have that to this day, simply because of that not being a part of some, any kind of, group when you show up at a new school."

That feeling did not prevent Oliver from enjoying a "fairly satisfying social life at junior high and high school" one in which he didn't feel "excluded. I didn't feel any kind of animosities or anxieties or something because of my social experiences." He thought that what "greased the

wheels" socially at that time was being pretty good at sports, although interestingly he felt that having his popularity enhanced by sports was regrettable, that one should be appreciated for the "quality of your character" and not "the accuracy of your jump shot."

Growing up, there was an element of shyness in Oliver's make-up, partly he felt from having to fit into new places repeatedly when young, but in the "right circumstances," with friends, he was a "fairly gregarious sort of talkative kind of person, don't mind a joke, my dad's a bit that way, and you know Aussie culture is a bit of humor, friendly sort of thing." As his sports involvement suggests, he was physically active growing up.

Among the salient character traits Oliver used to describe himself, was "slightly pessimistic," a procrastinator, and "easy going about most things," although in some stressful situations he did "get uptight and worried." He was not impulsive, preferring to "kind of think things through" even "to brood a little bit." He also thought he was "a pretty funny guy" in the right circumstances, although funnier when younger. He didn't consider himself very competitive, but was sensitive to "looking stupid in public." It's not that he tried "to appear smart to deflect this, but when it does happen it really cuts me to the quick."

Oliver and I discussed some similarities between us, among them: being older than the other class members, being Ph.D. students in the same field, shared interest in Korean culture, our having lived in Asia, and as he put it, a "shared interest in analyzing cultural differences in Asia."

Korean Connections

Oliver's aforementioned years teaching in Korea and his tie through marriage provided a strong Korean connection. Those experiences provided him with

a fairly extensive background, not formal learning, my Korean's not that good, but I've listened to lots of Korean you know. My wife talks to me a lot. I've talked to my daughter a lot. I've been there [Korea] for a long time. I've spent time in my parent-in-laws' house where they kind of simplify their language to speak to me so it's a kind of input.

Also, "I've been living there and reading the language all the time just casually and passively when I'm walking through the city or whatever, so I've got quite a strong familiarity with the language."

Oliver identified himself as fan of Korean movies from his time in Korea. The fact that others in the class, particularly Quinn and myself enjoyed Korean dramas had, by the second interview (around midterm), piqued his interest in those as well. Towards the end of the term he and his wife watched and enjoyed one I recommended.

<center>*Howard*</center>

Personal History Including Education.

Howard, at the time of the study 28, was born, grew up and went to school through college around and in Boston. He was the oldest, by two years, of two brothers. Roots go back to Ireland, England and Italy, it being Howard's great and in some cases great great grandparents who immigrated to New England. All his grandparents were born in Massachusetts.

Howard felt himself kind of an odd-boy out growing up in his neighborhood. There were no other kids to play with who lived on his street for any significant length of time, so he and his brother, whom Howard was close to, grew up "kind of isolated in that regard." He started

<center>137</center>

reading when he was two and had an intellectual bent from childhood whereas, "where I'm from they don't always value book learnin' a great deal." In elementary school he was picked on and "socially it was always a little tough to adapt because I was always moving in and out of classes." In junior high he was in a program for the gifted so things were somewhat better; "I wasn't picked on nearly as much. I was still picked on, but I wasn't picked on nearly as much." High school was better still. He attended an all male catholic school just outside of Boston and "everyone was so focused on their own success that outside of freshman year there wasn't really a lot of time to give anybody any crap, so I was fine after freshman year."

Howard attended Boston College and says he made a lot of friends and had an opportunity to socialize there, but since he was taking six classes a semester and working as well he "didn't have the stereotypical Animal House experience." Whereas in elementary school and to a lesser extent in junior high he was considered somewhat of a nerd and a misfit, as he got older and studied outside his hometown of Quincy, that is from high school on, the "nature of the academic experience" improved. Not only was that improved academic atmosphere more congenial for Howard, but he encountered more people who felt the same way and thus had a lot more in common with, resulting in an improved social experience.

Howard felt he was always a good learner although that didn't always translate into his grade point average. That was because he was consistently successful learning what he wanted to learn which didn't always match up to what the professors wanted him to learn. Additionally he had a slight tendency to have trouble concentrating and getting work done on time, which in some cases was tolerated, but "where it was not tolerated my grade suffered." Where it was tolerated, he said, this "habit unfortunately was made stronger." Rather than work on assignments for school in a timely fashion he would do things he was more interested in, things

138

he didn't consider a waste of time and didn't regret, such as outside reading. At the same time he felt, "I was certainly intellectually capable of getting far higher grades if I had complied with the rules of classes."

Notwithstanding this pattern he said, "my grade point average when I left BC was 3.4 which is pretty much the same GPA I had in high school." Howard indicated that he was most intensely satisfied with the deep personal connections that he formed with professors and fellow students at Boston College, and equally with the interests "cultivated while I was there in American politics, in history, and things like that, especially in international conflict resolution."

Subjects Howard liked were International Relations and Intellectual History. He seemed to have some regret about math, specifically calculus and linear algebra as he felt he understood those subjects, but when studying them was unable to muster the self-discipline to concentrate sufficiently. He thought it likely that he would be able to do better if he were to take those courses again.

Howard had begun studying at UH in 2007, but was unable to receive sufficient financial support to continue his studies beyond seven months. He then went back to Boston where he worked for a year. He had decided to study at UH because it had a good Asian Studies department and that department "also works with a wide range of faculty members." He returned to UH in 2008, and, on the advice of a faculty member, transferred to the History Department where he received a teaching assistantship and was able to transfer his previous credits. In the Fall 2008 semester he was working on his MA in history with a focus on Korea.

Roles

Howard considered himself to have been "always the good kid, good student type." As discussed above, he didn't have a lot of friends when younger. His brother was "quieter and shier

139

than I am," but counter-intuitively "made friends a little more readily than I did." At the time of the study he saw himself in the role of a student, but in his first interview and second interview he discussed his goal of identifying himself as a writer. His preference was to focus on popular non-fiction, but if he were to go on to a Ph.D. thought he would be writing at least some academic books as well. Writing was a goal he had long held, but deferred "in order to get by financially." In the third interview he said he had made some progress "towards becoming a writer of history, as a professional writer, not quite as much."

Identifications / Group Identities

While Howard acknowledged his multiple European heritages and felt he had absorbed some Irish cultural influence because of where he was from as well, he considered himself an un-hyphenated American and felt that no other culture defined him "anywhere near as much as being an American does." He felt a strong identification with his Massachusetts roots and more specifically Boston connections. He was raised Catholic but didn't see himself as subscribing to the tenets of the Church, referring to himself as "a cultural Catholic and a theological deist."

In economic terms Howard identified himself "in that that edge between working and middle class." He felt he had an identification with the working class, although he was not particularly pro-union, anti-management; he considered himself "evenhanded" when it came to labor-management relations. He didn't feel any particular generational identification, rather he said, "I always felt far more comfortable interacting with adults than I did my peers. I think to some extent that was true even in college." Politically he classified himself as closest to libertarian although "not a perfect fit."

In Hawaii Howard felt he was viewed more as an "an ethnic mainlander than necessarily someone who's identified with the conquest of Hawaii or colonialism or anything of that nature."

He felt there might be some people who chose to view him as simply "*haole*" [Caucasian] but he felt those people would be missing out on who he was. For the most part though he felt that people in Hawaii had "been very receptive and very kind" and had not made him feel like an outsider.

Howard saw himself "as outside of most groups" or at least not fitting too closely to any, since "often times fitting in too much with a particular group requires acquiescence to things that you don't necessarily agree with or like and I've never been really comfortable with that." He said:

> As far as really core affiliation go, the only groups I would say I'm unswervingly allied to are my family, my closest friends, and my country, but at the same time a critical aspect of my patriotism is dissent and keeping an active and open mind. It's not an allegiance to any party or ideological point of view.

Likes, Dislikes, Interests

Howard liked "family," spending time with his own and with close friends, although he enjoyed solitude as well. He preferred to be outside rather than inside, although around the time of the first interview his academic role had forced him to become more of an inside person. When he was younger he enjoyed *taekwando*, although it had been a long time since he had the chance to practice it. He had also played basketball, baseball and soccer, but with the latter two "I was never any good at them and after a while it just became frustrating to do something year in and year out that realistically is not a talent." With basketball, although he was not a standout, he said, "I had things during the game that I was good at, like playing defense and rebounding and kind of the unselfish kind of stuff, and I enjoyed it, so that worked out well." He enjoyed

141

reading, even to the extent of reading in areas he was not particularly interested in. Learning languages was also source of enjoyment.

Howard didn't like "unnecessary disputes," "pettiness" and "people lording things over other people. In particular I never have liked people who humiliate people in front of other people or even in private. I don't like bullies." He also didn't like, "being the wallflower at a party."

Characteristics

Howard felt that growing up he was "was a weird combination of shy, introverted on the one hand, and then talkative when interacting with adults." He felt that he was not very good at "small talk" type of "social conversation," whereas "if the topic is serious or requires deep thought I'm usually quite ok." He elaborated that it was not a question of disliking small talk, so much as a lack of skill and comfort level, that it was not in his "wheelhouse." He only had a high comfort level with people he knew really well and with them he said, "I can be funny."

Howard said he was always willing to speak his mind, but at social events, unless someone took the first step to draw him out, he was "more likely to be up against the wall." He felt, "it's just not in my nature to go out of my way to engage in conversation with people I don't know." Until he had been brought into a conversation he might hang at the fringes of several conversational groups as a spectator and be stalled deciding which one to enter and the best way to do so. His eventual usual method of entry was to have someone notice his presence and bring him in to the conversation. Once that initial entry had been accomplished, he felt it was usually smooth sailing from there.

Howard considered that he could be an active take-charge person in certain contexts, "particularly situations that are more important or situations that are more serious," but in social

142

situations, "I would still consider myself a pretty passive person socially." He also saw himself as someone who "always think(s) things through" and tries to be fair, reasonable and nice. He saw himself as characteristically an active "mediator" or "conciliator" and said, "I try to promote the solution that works best for everybody. I don't like conflict, but I can handle it."

Howard identified himself as "a worrier" who experienced "unusual feelings of self-doubt and guilt." Sometimes he felt like "I'm a walking Woody Allen film." Regarding things he was not necessarily enthusiastic about doing, he felt he could be a procrastinator. He felt that being a worrier might occasionally be the best motivation for ending a case of procrastination or be a useful goad "in terms of achieving particular goals," but in "the grand scheme of my life it's not unusually helpful." Howard felt he might consider himself a morning person if he went to bed early enough to get a lot of sleep, but as that was not his normal pattern, he didn't. He considered his most alert time of day to be around noon.

Korean Connections

Howard's original interest in Korean language came from studying *taekwando* which incorporated a bit of Korean language "for describing various moves and using it, counting, during the exercise." From those language bits he "just thought it was a really interesting language." His interest in Korea was later piqued by the conflict between the two Koreas, in large part because that situation meshed with his interest and studies in International Conflict Resolution as an undergrad. While in Boston Howard began taking Korean at a Saturday school about two and half years previous to our interviews, taught by people "who were used to teaching really small kids." His class would consist of one or two other people, "usually an adoptee or someone who was married to a Korean." In his first short stay at UH he had "studied Korean on my own with tutors."

143

Personal History

At the time of our first interview Garrett was thirty-seven. His grandparents had all passed away when he was young, leaving him without much knowledge of or even family stories about that or previous generations in his family tree. His father had been in the marines from 1963 until 1993 when he retired. His mother, although primarily a homemaker, also worked in Marine Corps Exchange as a manager for a while. When they lived in Okinawa she worked as an educational aide at pre-schools and kindergartens and later, in North Carolina, started working in the Naval Hospital in the pediatric ward.

Garret was the youngest of seven siblings with four brothers and two sisters and the only one still single. Other than Garrett and one other brother, all his male siblings had joined the military at some point, while his sisters married military men. As he was growing up his brothers and sisters gradually moved out leaving just Garrett with his parents for some years.

Typical of many military families, Garrett's moved around a lot and in fact he referred to himself as former military brat before describing the places he had lived. In chronological order his family moved from South Carolina to North Carolina, and on to Hawaii when he was about ten. Three years later his family moved back to South Carolina for two years, on to Okinawa for the next five, and then back to North Carolina, Garrett's last living-with-his-family stop, from 1991 to 2000.

Growing up, Garret had a lot of acquaintances but not too many close friends. He felt this was because of the military life, not just that he moved around so often, but that his military family classmates would often leave school in mid-term to accompany a parent being reassigned.

Roles

In his family Garrett played the role of the "good kid, good student, clean up, just do what was asked." Despite all his moving around, he never considered himself an outsider in his successive environments, but only because he was sharing the outsider experience with those around him. In other words he was perpetually an insider in a world of outsiders.

Education

Garrett started his education in a public elementary school. From the first grade he was ahead of his classes, which resulted in behavioral problems. He explained,

> I would do my work and wouldn't have anything to do. The teacher would give me something else to do and I'd finish it and they wanted me to play with these other toys and I'd play with them get bored very quickly and that was causing some discipline problems.

It was eventually realized that he wasn't being challenged enough, so he was moved to a "gifted and talented" program. His parents, who took a strong concern in Garret's education, felt that the level of elementary school education in Hawaii lagged behind the mainland and so placed him in private elementary school for about a year and a half when they were there.

After Hawaii it was back to public school in South Carolina and on through high school in Okinawa where Garrett attended a DOD (Department of Defense) school. The DOD system enabled him to remain with his parents in Okinawa after graduation from high school and continue with college extension courses though the University of Maryland on base. At that time he was working on base during the day and taking courses at night. The courses were similar to "a compressed summer session but it was much more intense." He felt this forced him to be "organized and be committed" to his study in order not to do poorly. During this time he took

courses such as English, math, Japanese and psychology, aiming for courses that would be accepted as transfer credits at a university back in the States.

Garrett did return to the States to finish up his BA, but not before he had transferred to three universities, ultimately UNC Wilmington. During his university days he always had a job and felt that most of his longer lasting friendships came from work relationships rather than from among his classmates. During that time he also did some traveling in the U.S., a study abroad in Spain, and traveling in Ecuador and Colombia.

Adult Years

After graduating from college Garrett returned to Japan for seven years and worked in, first, Japanese national, and subsequently Japanese local education programs that brought native English speakers into ESL education in Japanese public schools. He then decided that to improve his future prospects on the job market he would need to earn a Master's degree at a minimum. He chose U.H. for several reasons, among them the strong recommendation of a friend who had joined the program several years earlier and because it permitted him to get a GA which involved teaching ESL to foreign students in a program that fit his teaching style and in which he could apply the theoretical knowledge he would be gaining from his Second Language Acquisition Department coursework.

Non-academic factors also played a role. Garrett not only liked the Hawaiian weather, but felt that the climate and environment agreed with his health, especially in that his allergy and respiratory problems were reduced to a minimum (this was my own experience as well). He additionally felt that Hawaii would be a good halfway point between the Mainland, U.S. and Japan in the sense of reduced reverse culture shock. Finally he thought that Hawaii was a place

he could convince his parents to move back to, so that even if he were living in Japan they would be somewhat closer to him.

Academic Identity

Garrett considered himself a good student, that is one able to master subject matter to his satisfaction easily enough, but only when motivated. That had not always been the case. During his undergraduate years he became "tired of transferring and losing credits and more or less starting all over again, so my motivation was low at the time." At that point he wasn't even focused on getting good grades, but only on doing the minimum to pass. He also had a tendency to place greater focus on his work life rather than academic life. Basically though if Garrett were interested in a course he would concentrate and do well in it, also receiving a good grade as a byproduct. If not he would just try to get by. Those courses that did interest Garrett were those he could see a practical use for, while classes emphasizing theory for theory's sake were de-motivating. Apart from his interest and how well he actually did in a given course, Garrett was confident of his ability to do well any time he applied himself.

Garrett approached every new class with some wariness because each presented an unknown situation. Additionally he always expected and found that there would be some fellow students who had a greater knowledge of the subject than he did. Therefore, for as much as two thirds of the semester he liked to "observe and listen and get an idea of the dynamic of the class before I begin to make my opinions known." He analogized this to "collecting data." Garrett felt that presenting his opinions in a context where he didn't know his classmates and instructor well enough, would often result in them failing to understand or misunderstanding those opinions, whereas getting the lay of the land first enabled him to frame his ideas in ways best suited to them getting his meaning.

Likes, Dislikes, Interests

　　Academically Garrett did not like subjects involving math or research, either quantitative or qualitative, including methods of such research. In the past he had not seen much practical use for such courses and took them simply because they were required to earn his undergraduate degree. What he did like were classes in language(s) and more "creative" kinds of things, such as creative writing and analyzing literature. His literature interests tended not toward mainstream American, but strongly toward world minority literature. He felt this was so since "to me it says that I'm interested in things that aren't considered to be the norm or something that isn't quite mainstream." Additionally he felt that the more mainstream American writers, such as Twain, had been well covered to the point of saturation in academics and to his own satisfaction "from elementary school, from junior high school, from high school and sure, great writer, but I need something else to read."

　　Garrett took my questions about his likes and dislikes as an opportunity to expound on his personal ethos. He liked honesty, meaning he disliked lying to people and to himself. In terms of being a teacher, he said he believed in using his personal experience to improve himself, that listening to his students was necessary and that not being satisfied with the status quo, but instead always striving for improvement, was his credo. He said he didn't like it when people try to impose their own views on him or others. This was an outgrowth of his believing we should "respect the individual and their choices and what their personal preferences are" and respect "them enough to know that they're different in this way, I'm different in this way, but we can still have some type of witty repartee perhaps in the future."

Garrett didn't especially like having to work. He was "indifferent to sports" and liked music, favoring no particular genre, but particularly music from the 1950s through 1980s. He liked cooking, eating and outdoor activities such as hiking and bike riding (and witty repartee).

Characteristics

Garrett felt that when he was younger he had been very outgoing and friendly, but once he reached his teenage years "I became a little bit more withdrawn to myself simply because I didn't have any familiar surroundings around me." At another point he said he had been rather shy growing up, but that others interpreted that as being "aloof or cold or what have you, something negative. But I wasn't feeling that way." There was a stage in high school when most of his friends had moved and there was no one around he wanted to get close to, which he felt contributed to that aloof impression he created.

Garrett considered himself introverted "at my core," but that as he got older he learned to become more extroverted and adapt to his social environment, enough so that he considered himself social in public, albeit quiet and relaxed at home. Rather than choosing to consider himself a passive or active person, he felt he could best be described as either actively passive or passively active. He considered his most salient characteristics to be loyalty, tenacity, holding high expectations, and patience. He also felt himself to be easygoing in the sense that he was relaxed about "things I don't have any control over." Garrett would prioritize things he needed to get done and be sure to take care of things at the top of his list on time although not early. When it came to those items below top priority though he tended to procrastinate.

My own impression from our interviews was first that Garrett was extremely thoughtful in the sense of clarifying meaning behind my questions and thinking through every answer thoroughly. Second, he seemed the most guarded of my interviewees. Although this could have

been merely a byproduct of his careful parsing of responses to my questions, I did ask Garrett to respond to my "guardedness" impression. He basically agreed saying, "I don't divulge too many details about me personally so much, just gradually over time." He also felt this tendency was reinforced by his time in Japan. There he learned by experience "that being direct is not the best way to approach people."

Identifications /Group Identities

Garrett felt that he was not defined at all by group identity. He felt for example that although others might define him as African-American or American, neither of these did in fact define him or were important constituents of his identity. Although he had earlier referred to his "typical army brat" experiences, he didn't see himself as slotting into that group. Nor did he care about politics or identify with a political group or faction. Even defining himself broadly in terms of economic class was likewise something that Garrett considered irrelevant.

Given Garrett's refusal to be branded by a national identity, I asked him whether he at least identified himself as an insider in any culture. Within this frame he felt strongest insider status in American and Japanese cultures, identifying himself as 80% a cultural insider for the former and 65% for the latter.

There were some groups however that Garrett identified with either much more or somewhat more strongly. His religious, Christian, beliefs were quite important to him, although not as something to be paraded before or pushed onto others. He considered himself a student, or at least part of the group undergoing that transitional stage. He saw himself as a member of his generation, at least to the extent of being conversant with its culture and comfortable with cultural allusions that "only me and other people from that generation would understand." He

also identified with expatriates, sharing their international, rather than purely local perspective, although not to the extent of actively seeking out their company.

Korean Connections

Garrett's sole Korean connection prior to taking our class was that some of the ESL students he was teaching at the time were Korean. He felt that learning some Korean would better help him understand their difficulties in studying English.

<div align="center">

Dawn

</div>

Personal History

Dawn, 18 at the time of our class, was born and raised in Hawaii. Her father, third generation Japanese-American, was also born in Hawaii, as her paternal grandfather's side of the family had immigrated there, while her paternal grandmother's side had immigrated to California, where they were interned during World War II, moving to Hawaii only after the War.

Dawn's father did not speak Japanese and while he was proud of his Japanese heritage and had absorbed a Japanese mindset, in a contest, Dawn said that he would always be on the U.S. side.

> During World War II and afterwards they (her grandparents) really tried so desperately to assimilate themselves into the American lifestyle and blend in with being American and not differentiate themselves, so I'm sure my grandmother and my grandfather really instilled within my uncle and my dad, [that] you have to be so proud that you're an American, that you're here, and that you're, don't try to be so Japanese, because you live here. I think they really wanted their children to be, I don't know, safety I guess if something were to happen again.

Dawn's father somewhat denigrated the importance of learning a second language; she attributed to him the sentiment that, "Dawn, you know one day you're going to learn that your being an American is what everyone else is trying to be," a sentiment that she had some sympathy with, but considerable disagreement as well; she was studying both Japanese and Korean. Despite this she felt her father identified more with being Japanese than she did. Dawn's relation to a Japanese cultural identity was in many ways a result of a conscious effort, rather than naturally occurring, so she felt her "dad's definitely more Japanese in that sense."

Dawn's mother was born and grew up in Korea, first coming to America when she was 21. Her mother's family had been wealthy, but was rendered impoverished by the Korean War, forcing her mother to quit school to help support her family. Her mother moved to Hawaii for the promise of a better life, became a beautician, would remit money back to family in Korea and eventually brought all her immediate family members to Hawaii. The words that Dawn used to describe her mother were "driven, ambitious, and hard-working."

Dawn's relationship with her father seemed more uncomplicated and positive than that with her mother. She said, "My father always instilled with me certain values and certain morals that I've held in my heart and my life, for my life." Although she acknowledged the considerable extent to which Korean culture was a part of her, she said, ethically and morally she identified more with being Japanese because she had always idolized her father. Since Dawn's mother worked so much, a close mother-daughter bond was absent most of Dawn's life and their relationship had often been strained.

This relationship had only slightly earlier undergone dramatic change, whose resultant effects were to a large extent responsible for Dawn's enrollment in our Korean class, specifically her mother's going to Korea in March of 2008 and reconciling with her extended family. This

experience caused her mother to change, as Dawn said, "I think she's such a different person now, that going back there she understands that she's not who she was back then [when she originally left Korea]." After making that trip she told Dawn to visit as well, which Dawn had done in June. It is not surprising that Dawn's Korean experience had a strong impact on her, one aspect, involving language, was that in the process of communicating while there she realized she knew things she had not known she knew. Of greater emotional significance was the degree of change in Dawn's feelings about her mother, Korean language and culture,

> because I wasn't really that interested in learning Korean, but seeing my grandma's family, in weird ways it helped me understand my mom better and my grandmother because it just it helped me separate the person. I could see someone else and see [her mother] through them. It was really weird, so I wanted to learn more and be closer to them.

After Dawn returned from Korea she thought a lot about understanding her mother better and realized that

> most of the things that was difficult about communicating with her and trying to be with her was the language barrier – trying to communicate our sentiment and our feelings and really what we were trying to tell each other because there was these cultural differences where words mean different things and you know we never could really bridge that gap.

This thought process led to canceling her enrollment in a Mandarin Chinese language class and enrolling instead in our Korean class, which "elated" her mother when Dawn informed her. Even by our early semester first interview, she noted a new mother-daughter role relationship, that of teacher-student. Previously Dawn's mother had left teaching in the academic sense to Dawn's father because "she wasn't confident in her English ability or her academic

ability." Now though she had become the expert teacher in Korean and "she loves that relationship with me."

Dawn had one sibling, a brother two years older. Compared to him, she felt that she was more sociable and outgoing, a little more book smart, and slightly more interested in her heritage languages. She didn't feel that she was typecast into one particular role in her family growing up; she was the good child and student, but also the rebellious one, the talkative one and the funny one.

In general, possibly more so in our first interview as we had barely gotten to know each other, Dawn made a point of being self-effacing so as not to appear too smug and arrogant. Thus it was not completely clear if she was extremely popular when younger, but at least she felt she had her fair share of friends. When she was growing up she also had been fairly active in sports and extracurricular activities, but such participation decreased as she got older.

Formal Education

Both Dawn's parents emphasized the importance of education, her mother because she herself had "never had that chance. She always wanted it." Her father, "always just knew it was for a better life." She went to public schools and was a good student in junior high and high school. She had a bit of an academic dip in her first year of high school because of a lack of interest in studying, but improved thereafter. She particularly enjoyed English, history and languages, but didn't like math. In her senior year of high school she took AP Japanese. "It was the first time they offered it…I was really into it and then it bridged over to college." At UH she was majoring in political science and was particularly interested in, "international relations, world history, world cultures, international stuff."

Likes, Dislikes, Interests

Outside of academics Dawn liked Korean dramas, to read and to write. Regarding the latter, during high school she did creative writing, but with time a commodity at UH, she tended to just jot things down "just to settle one of the many thoughts that are bouncing around my mind cause I'm stressed out or something."

Dawn used to play soccer, but just ran for exercise in college; she used to play piano, "what Asian child hasn't, but I guess I like music, just not very talented." She also liked traveling, thoroughly enjoyed Korean food, which she considered home cooking, and learned to like Japanese food. On the other hand she disliked disorganization and people who aren't punctual, somewhat ironic given her frequent lateness in our class.

Characteristics

Dawn described herself (and everyone else) as a somewhat dichotomized outer and inner person. She saw her outer version as "poised" and "confident, together and understands what the bigger picture is" while her inner self was more "selfish" and "emotional." She also considered herself a "worrier," who was more concerned about what was weighing on her mind than she showed on the outside.

In our first interview, on September 11, Dawn indicated that she didn't mind being sociable with other people but if anything she preferred solitude "cause it's calming I guess." In later interviews she called into question her own attitudes towards solitude and socializing and began to act upon the conclusions she tentatively drew. During the second interview on October 30th she commented on her connections to others, saying that she had become disconnected from her friends, explaining this as a function of lack of time to waste and energy. She summed up her problem as always feeling compelled to use her time wisely, even when she was trying to have

fun, therefore the fun would end up feeling contrived. She considered her attitude, a "terrible mindset," which she was trying to rectify.

For a considerable period of *my* adult life, after I had severe hepatitis in the 1980's, I suffered from frequent migraine headaches which impacted virtually every aspect of my life – what I did, what I wanted to do, work, socializing, social interactions, plans I was willing to make and commit to, how I saw myself, undoubtedly how others saw me and so on. When I learned that Dawn suffered from migraines, some of the choices and behaviors she indicated above seemed to tie in to my own migraine related behavior. She acknowledged that the headaches defined her to an extent. Her migraines regularly occurred before exams, causing extreme sickness "like my body is sabotaging me." She felt the headaches didn't cause, but exacerbated her natural tendency to isolate herself.

Identifications /Group Identities

As Dawn made reference to in her piano-playing comment, she saw herself most definitely as an Asian woman and as an American, but strangely enough not so much as Hawaiian, having the feeling that she grew up in the "wrong place;" and that "It's too pretty here. It's too different in the world, so isolated." On the other hand she appreciated the values she felt she had learned from Hawaiian society, specifically "how to be racially blind" and the idea of equality for all regardless of background. If she had to define herself to Americans on the mainland, she felt her Japanese heritage would be more important in defining herself than being from Hawaii, and more important than her Korean heritage as well.

Dawn's friends and elementary and secondary school environment seemed to have impacted the degree to which Korean-ness played a part in the construction of Dawn's identity growing up. Her neighborhood was largely ethnic Japanese, so her "childhood group was all

Japanese. The people that we've been close to were all Japanese." Interestingly though Dawn didn't try to downplay her Korean identifications, saying, "I guess in a way to identify myself, or separate myself, I took on a more Korean persona, or emphasized more my Korean side."

Dawn also spent some time with a school related program in Okinawa. She didn't get much of a chance to practice her Japanese there though, as her host student acted as a buffer in most exchanges and the locals she met were often more interested in practicing their English than talking in Japanese. In Okinawa, although she identified with Japanese culture, rather than feeling wholly Japanese, the feeling of being Japanese-American predominated. In contrast, during her stay in Korea she did not seem to feel the identity of being Japanese, or Japanese-American or even American to the extent she had felt American in Okinawa. She said, rather

> I felt Korean. It was really weird. I didn't feel as American. I felt really Korean, because in Okinawa I was with my host family and I was with my friends from school, but I was by myself. I could take in the situation by myself and evaluate it, but in Korea I was with my family and I connected with them and it was an emotional experience. It wasn't like an educational experience. [It was] a bonding.

She elaborated further in our second interview on the relation of context to her sense of identification saying,

> When I was in Korea I was surprised to see how comfortable I was with it, how very alike I was to most people, so much so that no one really would have picked me out to be a foreigner, but I mean in my own environment with my cousin here [in Hawaii], I begin to notice more how not Korean I am, how I'm very much American or I'm also Japanese.

Dawn saw herself as squarely middle class, "the ones that get ripped off. We're the one's that have to pay for it, everything." She also felt some commonality with her generation. "Lazy,"

"TV watching," "video game," and "computer" are generation-defining words she invoked. However, she also felt that she could separate herself from her generation's identifications, that she could and did view these with a critical eye, enabling her to make her own decisions about how to act and live.

Korean Connections

Through her mother and other Korean relatives Dawn was far more an insider in the Korean world than any of her study participant classmates (although some of our non-participant classmates also had Korean heritage ties). To Dawn, her parents represented their respective heritages, "literally and symbolically Korean and Japanese, Korean is my mom and Japanese is my dad and both of them are such different people." She had also long watched, enjoyed and identified with characters in Korean dramas, far more so than for Japanese dramas.

Dawn was exposed to and used Korean early on, hearing it from her mother, her grandmother, who spoke only Korean, and her aunt and uncle who spoke only limited English. She said her comprehension was really good because

> I was always trying to listen to what they were talking about and then slowly, I mean it was a lifetime thing you know, I did that my whole life – trying to listen to them and see what they were trying, like if they were talking about me, saying 'What are you saying?' and so over the course of time I guess I just kind of picked it all up.

While growing up, when her maternal grandmother would speak to her in Korean she would respond in Korean, but in the most simple way possible, because, "I did understand what she was saying, but I wouldn't know how to put it properly. I just know how to say like short words." Besides her early family exposure, when Dawn was very young she briefly attended Korean class leaving her a familiarity with Hangul, such that she knew "the consonants and basic

vowels," but not the way the vowel symbols were combined to form diphthongs. She said she could read before entering our class, but not very well. Since her return from Korea, before our class began, she had been speaking to her mother only in Korean except when something really difficult to express was required.

<p align="center">*Me*</p>

Personal History

I was already in my late 50's at the time I began this study. All my grandparents were Jewish immigrants to America from Russia or Poland and all made New York their home for the remainder of their lives. All met in America and all struggled, like so many other Americans, during the Great Depression. My paternal grandfather came to America as a young man with his parents and siblings. Family history has it that my great grandfather had figured out how move a bridge downstream, at governmental request, and so had been rewarded by the Czar the right, unusual for a Jew, to live in St. Petersburg, the Russian capital at the time and to move freely around the country. However, as young Jewish men were being forcibly conscripted into the Russian army at that time, he decided to take his family to America. Since my great grandfather had a certain measure of renown, he felt he might be pursued and therefore changed his family name, to Diamond, adopted from someone in Ireland, bearing the same surname, who had treated the family well while en route to America.

My paternal grandfather spent his working life doing what he could to support his family, working a variety of jobs. I remember vaguely, when very young, going with my father to visit him at the Fulton Fish market, where he was selling produce at the time. In earlier times he had worked as painter on such projects as the Brooklyn Navy Yard. Although I have fairly strong, loving memories of my paternal grandmother, I do not know much of her background, other than

that she was from a small town in what is now called Belarus, had, due to family poverty, been put to work chopping wood from the time she was six and had never been able to attend school. I remember my father reading the news to her in Yiddish from the Jewish newspaper, the Forward, when we would go to visit.

My maternal grandparents came from opposite ends of the socio-economic scale. My grandfather's family was quite wealthy, described by my mother as having servants and horses with stables. My grandfather though espoused left-wing radical ideas. In order to keep him out of the hands of the authorities and prison his family sent him to New York. In contrast to my other grandparents, and so many other early 20th century immigrants to America, he arrived, first class, onto the Manhattan docks in an ocean liner, rather than through Ellis Island. His entire family, parents and siblings, remained in Europe, thinking their wealth would protect them, despite the entreaties of my grandfather for them to emigrate as the Second World War approached. They killed themselves en masse at dinner one night to avoid imminent deportation to a Nazi death camp. Once in America, my grandfather became a union organizer and rose to a high position in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

My maternal grandmother's mother had died in childbirth and her father had remarried a woman who hated her and made her life miserable. To escape that situation my grandmother left home in Russia and traveled to New York as a young teen-ager where she was taken under the wing of a distant female cousin, a woman I knew as an aunt, and with whom she remained extremely close over that cousin's lifetime.

My paternal grandparents spoke Yiddish as a first language and at home so it became my father's first language as well. His parents held him back from school in order that he begin school with my aunt, his younger by a year, sister, with the result that he started in first grade

160

rather than kindergarten. One of his bitter memories was, when not able to answer in English, as he didn't speak it, of being hit by his first grade teacher. My mother's parents both spoke Russian in addition to Yiddish and my grandfather spoke Polish as well. Since their life was in America however, they decided to speak English at home. Yiddish became the language of secrets, and my mother regrets to this day that her Yiddish ability is limited.

My parents both grew up in the Bronx and both, despite the straitened circumstances of the great depression were able to go to college by taking advantage of CUNY's free tuition, my mother going to Hunter and my father to City. Their early years of marriage were likewise spent in the Bronx, as were my first few years. When I was five, and my younger brother two, they moved us out to the wilderness, that is the suburbs in Queens, where I grew up, fairly uneventfully, until leaving for college at age seventeen.

Education

I was educated in N.Y.C. public schools from elementary through high schools. I was rather an indifferent, basically a B, student preferring to read voraciously anything I could get my hands on from at least 2nd grade on, than to do any homework or studying outside of class. Like so many of the other participants, I did tend to do well and get A's in courses whose subjects I enjoyed, such as English and history and less well in others. There was never the slightest question of whether to go to college; it was simply assumed. I attended SUNY Albany as an undergraduate.

My junior year marked a turning point in my life. I spent it in Singapore, despite having very little knowledge about Asia in general, South-east Asia more specifically and even less about Singapore before I left. I did have an interest in the world outside the U.S., so that pretty much anywhere abroad would have seemed more exciting than Albany, N.Y. My first choice,

having studied French from junior high to a semester in college, a genuine interest in French culture, and some college friends that were going to spend their year improving their French language abilities in Nice, was a junior year in France. However, consistently mediocre academic performance in that language foreclosed that avenue.

Singapore was the only available year abroad program that required no second language skills. I would be studying Chinese in the program and it sounded exciting. That haphazard opportunity changed my life in that it pushed me toward Asia, instilling in me a desire to live there, and a fascination with Asian cultures, specifically at that time Chinese and South-east Asian. My desire to live in Asia eventually led me to a Master's degree in teaching English as a Second Language as a means of living and supporting myself in Asia.

After graduation I worked for a while as a teller in a bank in New York, but during that time applied to graduate schools in Asian studies. I eventually went to Washington University in St. Louis, earning a Master's in Chinese Literature, having switched from Asian studies for financial reasons. While earning that degree I took a semester to study in Taiwan, where I also fell into part time English teaching. I saw then that teaching English as a Second Language could be a path to living in Asia. However, my teaching experience on the fly in Taiwan left me not very confident of my teaching abilities, leading me to embark on yet another masters degree, from what was at that time the ESL Department (later renamed Second Language Studies) at the University of Hawaii.

I pretty much disliked school through high school. Only as an adult did I realize that I am not a morning person and usually would not be alert until after lunch, which was probably a contributory factor. I was also a procrastinator when it came to school work, and so faced the constant dread of deadlines, doing assignments at the last minute, not doing assignments on time,

and even into junior high, staying home with "stomach aches" or "sore throats" when I hadn't done an assignment. I gradually became a better student, better in college than in high school, and a consistent "A" student in graduate school, where A's were required, improving, as my studies followed my interests, and I became more disciplined and academically savvy.

Beyond the Master's

My goal upon graduation from Hawaii was to teach in China, but various reasons, among them friendships and a growing interest in Japan fertilized by the strong Japanese cultural and linguistic presence in Hawaii, led me first to spend what I originally intended to be a relatively short time in Japan. It *was* at first short, interrupted by a teaching Fulbright for an academic year in Kaohsiung, Taiwan. My subsequent return to Japan landed a succession of increasingly better jobs, which coupled with inertia, resulted in my spending more than fifteen years in Tokyo.

Health problems developed, including an increasingly bad seasonally related asthma, and near-fatal hepatitis B, the latter leaving me easily fatigued, dyspeptic, and suffering from vertigo and frequent intense migraines. Life, and particularly work after the hepatitis became more and more a struggle. After several more trying years I left Japan in the late 1990's and rented rooms in the home of my brother and his family in Oakland, California. A combination of feeling well enough to do so, and the idea that if I were to return to teaching it would be wise to refresh my knowledge in the TESOL field, led me to the Doctoral Program in Composition and TESOL at Indiana University of Pennsylvania and this dissertation project.

Roles Growing Up

As my brother and I got a little older, going into our teenage years, my brother became more overtly rebellious, while I saw myself more as going along on the surface with the demands of my parents, but doing what I wanted in ways that avoided confrontation. My, by comparison,

163

lack of overt resistance resulted in me becoming the "good one." During arguments, my parents

would ask my brother why he couldn't be like me. This I greatly resented, as I had no desire to

be the good one, to be a role model for anybody, and especially because I thought it would cause

him to unnecessarily resent me.

From elementary school through junior high at least, I also had somewhat of the role of a

class clown, my forte being puns, and, I believed, skewering those comments of the teachers, that

I felt deserved it, sotto voce, to those in my vicinity. This tendency was not appreciated, at least

by some my teachers, and would get me into trouble from time to time.

Likes, Dislikes, Interests

I am old enough to have developed various enthusiasms at different times, some of which

are long-standing and have shaped my life, others shorter-lived and less significant. My interest

in Asia, especially East and South-east Asia, is a prime example of the former.

My feelings about playing sports are positive, although that wasn't always completely the

case. Growing up I was a failure at sports involving some form of bat and ball, always striking

out at bat and never able to catch the ball; at American football I was not much better. My lack

of skill would inevitably lead to humiliation when teams were chosen. Friends would pick me

last, acquaintances would try to give me away to the other team. I suddenly developed an eye for

hitting a baseball as a teenager, just before my peers stopped playing.

On the other hand I enjoyed and found racket sports such as tennis, badminton and table

tennis easy to play. I first played badminton in summer camp as a kid, later in Taiwan and most

recently at UH while doing this study, each time a source of great pleasure. I started to play

squash in Japan and remain a great enthusiast of that sport as well. An added benefit to my

164

squash playing has been the interesting people I have met through it, many who have become good friends.

For as long as I can remember I have liked games: card games, word games, strategy games and computer games from the early days of personal computers. In my years in California I also spent time in card rooms playing poker, and won a tournament in Reno which gave me a chance to play in the World Series of Poker in 2005, which I unfortunately didn't win.

As I mentioned earlier, reading was my passion growing up. Generally fiction, but biography as well, I would read with a flashlight in bed at night, with a book "hidden" in my desk in elementary school, positioned, I hoped so that the lecturing teacher couldn't see, with a book under the homework I was supposed to be doing, lifting the homework to read, and quickly dropping it back down on the book when one of my parents came to check. I read anything I could get my hands on, science fiction from friends, the Tarzan series, Tolstoy and De Maupassant. The only time I had trouble getting into a book was when it was assigned for school, with that there seemed to be an element of work interfering with the pleasure. This pleasure in and opportunity to read has sadly decreased in recent years. My pleasure reading is mostly in the detective/thriller genre, and even that was limited to a paltry two last year.

I believe I have a rather eclectic taste in music ranging from classical and opera, to rock, and pop, including that in other languages, such as French, Italian, Chinese and Japanese and Yiddish. Movies have likewise been an interest of longstanding. Again I believe my interests have been rather diverse, going back to silent movies, and early sound pictures, classics, and B movies from both Hollywood and abroad, particularly Europe and Asia, including Bollywood. One final pleasure I have come more and more to enjoy is sharing a delicious meal and good conversation with good friends.

Characteristics

I consider myself thoughtful and skeptical, tending toward cynical. I tend to automatically question people's claims as to things being true, good, false or bad. I don't like to rush to conclusions, but consider matters thoroughly. Judgments I make are rarely final, as I leave myself open to the possibility of new information or perspective causing me to change my mind. I don't much like to take others' unsolicited advice. I see as negative my not liking to admit not knowing something about a subject I feel others expect I should. I also tend to see things more in shades of gray, than as black and white, noting that seemingly beneficial things often have harmful elements as well and that harmful things often have some desirable aspects. I do tend though to have self-confidence in and trust my own judgments about other people and issues, even in the face of strong and numerically overwhelming opposition.

I have moderated my procrastination tendencies so that when I am responsible for meeting a deadline, such as in preparation for teaching a class or doing an assignment for a class, I make sure to be ready on time, even well ahead of time. I still tend to procrastinate with more open-ended deadlines, such as this dissertation. I am lazy about doing things I "should" be doing – academic work, household chores, but not about playing – poker, gambling, word games or squash. I feel I have a pretty good sense of humor, although I realize it's always a risk to say that about oneself. I don't completely dislike the limelight and praise, but tend to be somewhat uncomfortable with both.

I am to a certain extent, although less so than when younger, shy. I tend to lack self-confidence in interpersonal relationships, believing that the people I find interesting will not find me interesting. At it's worst, at parties with strangers for example, I have always found it hard to approach people. When I do enter a conversation, I'm fairly quiet and dislike building myself up,

preferring self-denigrating humor. Compared to those who make friends at the drop of a hat and seem to know everyone, I can hardly call myself sociable. Still I've never lacked for good friends, a number of whom have remained so over many years.

I see myself as more passive than active, evidenced socially by my tendency to not initiate contact with others, even friends, for fear of being rejected. Nor do I push others toward activities involving my enthusiasms, for fear of being derided for my, idiosyncratic, enthusiasms. Rather I wait for others to do the organizing, the planning and the inviting. To an extent, this research project caused me to modify this tendency and become more active than I usually would, both in mixing with my Korean class classmates and actively promoting extracurricular class activities.

Identifications / Group Identities

Politically I consider myself moderate from a 1960's – 1970's American perspective, but undoubtedly left wing in the American early 21st century. I strongly support unions and unionization and have an increasingly strong distrust of large corporations and disgust at the unequal rights extended to them under the law.

I do not consider myself particularly religious and suppose the agnostic label fits me reasonably well. Nevertheless the perception of being secularly Jewish is strong – from having grandparents who spoke Yiddish (my father's first language was Yiddish as well), to enjoying Jewish jokes, knowing which famous people are Jewish, enjoying "Jewish" food, to referencing my father's occasional inclination to categorize some behavior for my edification as "Jewish" or something "Jews don't do."

I consider myself tolerant of people with different beliefs, religions and so on, however, consider that, with religion for example, our persuasions tend to be an accident of birth; we could

just as easily be the other or they us. I intensely dislike proselytization and it's implication that those who belong to the proselytizing group know the only "true way," while the proselytized, and their ways, are therefore inferior. I cannot imagine myself being a member of such a group (with the possible exception of a group proselytizing for anti-proselytization).

I consider myself American culturally, and feel there is much to be proud of on that score. However, I do not feel that there is something inherently better about being American than being from any other country. And I disassociate myself from and am quite critical of many American governmental policies and acts. Like some others in the study, Ilima and Garrett for example, I identify more with those who have a broader, more international view of the world, viewing the U.S. for example, both as an insider and as sensitive to how it appears to the world outside. I identify with those who can acknowledge their own countries' strengths and weaknesses, finding things to be proud of and things to decry.

Having spent so much time in East Asia and devoted much effort toward understanding, enjoying and participating in the arts and culture of the region, I definitely have some identification with the peoples of that region. I tend to automatically note for example how Chinese, Japanese and now Koreans are represented in the American media, or underrepresented for that matter, and am drawn to news and culture from the area.

Although I feel I'm too lazy to be a true intellectual, I enjoy the company of those who traffic in ideas and like to associate with them, even if only as a hanger on. Hearing two or more informed, penetrating, profound minds verbally sparring over even the most minor issue, can be to me exciting, even revelatory.

Korean Connections

I had long held a rather small interest in Korea due its position in the East Asian triumvirate, somewhat dragged along by my strong interest in both China and Japan. While living in Japan I came to know, and had students of, Korean descent, developing an interest in Japanese, often discriminatory, attitudes toward and treatment of members of that community. Although I had some Korean classmates in my Ph.D. program who became friends, my interest in Korea and Korean did not take a great leap forward until I began to enjoy Korean dramas about a year and a half before beginning this study. Once I had decided to study Korean, I more or less taught myself Hangul from a website on the internet during the summer prior to the class.

<div align="center">Non-participant Classmates</div>

Approximately half my Korean class participated in this study. In this dissertation I do not describe the non-participants, refer to their opinions, feelings or perceptions in any way. However, sometimes to a greater, sometimes to a lesser, extent, we participants did interact with those classmates. To the extent that these eight non-participant classmates were relevant to my participants as *they* discussed issues relevant to my study, I do refer to them. To ensure anonymity they are simply referred to as *A*, *B*, *C*, *D*, *1*, *2*, *3*, and *4*.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In this section I discuss and analyze my data as it relates to my research questions.

Research Question 1

To explore how learners' perceptions of their social and personal identities relate to their beginning second language learning processes, Question 1 is phrased as follows:

1. How do learners enrolled in a beginning Korean class describe their experiences with the new language in ways that might be interpreted as related to identity?

I discuss this question in the context of the ideas about identity presented in my Chapter 2 review of the literature. In this way I intend to connect my participants' experiences to some of the relevant theories, models, and generalizations that have been proposed in the literature on identity. In doing so I will explore the extent that these ideas from the literature inform my participant data and whether those relevant models, theories and so on require modification to fit my data.

Future Selves / Identities

The concept of future identities was intimately tied to my participants' interactions with the Korean language. To briefly recap, McElwee & Dunning (2005) discussed a view of the self as "not just about one's current characteristics, but one's past and possible future selves, as well" (p. 114). They define 'possible selves' as cognitive conceptions or images of the self in alternate, particularly future, states" (p. 114). A similar concept from a different perspective sees identity "as a struggle for redefinition" (Norton, 2000, p. 127). Wenger (1998) talks about "imagination," which enables "us to adopt other perspectives across boundaries and time, to visit 'otherness'... to include history in our sense of the present and to explore possible futures. It can produce representation and models that trigger new interpretations" (p. 217). He further says that through

imagination, "identification depends on the kind of picture of the world and of ourselves we can build" (p. 194).

Kramsch (2003) theorizes that, counter to general assumption, most learners do not desire to become one of 'them'" (p. 255) i.e. a full member of the target culture, and that also, in some cultures, "insiders do not want outsiders to become one of them" (p. 255). She feels that, "the pleasure of annexing a foreign language does not primarily consist in identifying with flesh-and-blood native-speaking nationals. It derives rather from the unique personal experience of incarnating oneself in another" (pp. 255-256). I see this as true for many of my participants.

In fact, with the exception of Oliver and partially of Garrett, my participants all visualized future selves with Korean as a strong component of their identities. Still, this was nuanced in every case. More or less common to Ilima, Natsu, Howard, Quinn, Oliver and myself was the feeling that, no matter to what degree we attained verbal, sociolinguistic and cultural fluency, we could never be fully accepted as Korean by Koreans. Nor did we necessarily want to be. However we all, with the exception of Oliver, did visualize getting closer to "insider" status as actors in Korean contexts. This group, sans Oliver but plus Garrett, all visualized attaining satisfaction from being mistaken, in certain circumstances, for Korean by Koreans.

Natsu felt that, with the large number of Korean friends she had made in high school and her summer homestay with a Korean family during her high school days, she was already no longer a complete outsider. In fact she was often taken for Korean by Koreans, and in those cases she usually tried to keep that perception going. As she said, "So they will talking to me Korean so I will thought it will be kind of funny if I can answer in Korean. They will think I'm Korean, so I'm kind of faking to be Korean."

Pavlenko & Lantolf (2000) dichotomized those who wish to exist only functionally

within a language/society and those who wish to develop new identities within the second language/culture. To remind the reader, they contend that people frequently, "decide to learn their second language 'to a certain extent', which allows them to be proficient, even fluent, but without the consequences of losing the old and adopting the new ways of being in the world" (p. 162). In terms of future selves, second language learners could either visualize their future selves as remaining the same person but with the added knowledge of the new language, or as becoming a new person through knowledge of that language.

It may have been Oliver whose goals most clearly mirrored the purely functional. This was somewhat ironic because, other than Dawn, his investment in things related to Korean was significantly greater than the other participants. He had lived and taught for some years in Korea, had more first-hand knowledge of Korean life in Korea than his classmates, and had a Korean wife and an infant daughter whom he visualized as fully embracing her Korean heritage. And yet Oliver was the most adamant about maintaining his identity to the extent of not accommodating himself to Korean norms. He imagined no feeling of satisfaction if he were to be briefly mistaken for a Korean native speaker. Nor did he have any wish to become to any degree an insider in Korean culture/society. Rather he said,

> I'd be kind of indifferent I think to being an insider and in fact I would say I don't have any particular desire to be an insider in Korean culture. I'm perfectly happy to operate as an outsider as far as Korean culture goes.

He went on to say, "the more I find out about it [Korean culture] the more alien it becomes and the less I feel like I could or would want to be an insider."

172

In this way Oliver seems to also fit neatly into Kawakami & Dion's (1995) second theory of social identity (SIT), which posits that (italics mine),

[g]roup memberships are not merely labels individuals use to distinguish themselves from others but often provide a locus of identification for the self. By inclusion into some categories and *exclusion from others*, together with the values and emotional significance of that membership, we define our social values and emotional significance of that membership, we define our social identity (p. 553).

Identification

If Oliver was 'odd man out' among my participants in terms of his own visualization of a future self lacking a Korean identity component, I argue that other factors did pull him toward such a component. These are best explained by Wenger's (1998) linking of identification to identity, where he defines the former as "the process through which modes of belonging become constitutive of our identities by creating bonds or distinctions in which we become invested" (p. 191). Wenger sees identification developing through three modes of belonging. While Wenger's second stage, imagination (for Oliver, of a Korean identity), is something Oliver denied, the first "through engagement" (p. 192), that is "in the doing" (p. 193) had been significant in Oliver's life, particularly in the human bonds in which he had become invested. Not the least of these was with his toddler daughter, with whom he felt more connected talking to in his limited Korean than in English. Note Oliver's comment on taking on the role of "Korean father figure" in this excerpt from his first interview transcript:

Those sort of words and phrases you use to your daughter in English sort of makes me feel quite uncomfortable I have to say. It just feels sort of silly, but to me that stuff in Korean, I quite like it just 'cause it doesn't have that association, but it just seems sort of

173

nice and friendly and kind of cuter and nicer and sort of something my daughter might

like. And so I don't mind assuming this kind of Korean father figure in Korean as

opposed to modifying my interaction and speech with her in the way that you would if

you're a father using English phrases.

Oliver also had Korean friends, and identified with the types of personal relationships

that Koreans often foster, particularly friendships. He said,

I find them very passionate in their relationships with each other, like their friendship. It

seems to be this very passionate deeply felt kind of thing between people and I quite like

that. I mean that's quite a nice thing to have between human beings you know… that I

really respect and really quite like and would like to have in friendships as well."

Oliver also spoke positively of his experience with Korean culture in terms of "the regard for

family, the kind of the warmth of the people. That's really quite lovely."

Both Wenger's first mode of "engagement," and his third of "alignment" (i.e. simply

"going along" through a kind of passive alignment with the new culture), are well represented by

Oliver's comments. In further support of this point, Oliver spoke of his "interactional style with

Koreans in English when we're talking to each other, which is quite different from how I talk

with friends or Westerners." Oliver even went so far as to overtly describe what was essentially

an identity shift in his discourse when speaking English to native Korean-speaking Koreans, as

opposed to non-Koreans:

I tend to replicate the style of discourse that I receive from Koreans back to them which

is in English and the way it sort of comes out is sort of very polite and kind of quiet and

understated you know at times…And there's some aspect of it that appeals to me, an

aspect actually that has similarities with style of discourse and a style of speech that's

similar to my parents [who] speak in a British, conservative, this gentle sort of thing, so it's quite nice in that respect. I assume that I replicate this style back to them which would be utterly different [than] the way I speak to you or native speakers."

Media

Demonstrating a reverse twist on the role of ethnic television programming in maintaining a sense of ethnic identity in heritage communities (Chinen, 2004), and further illustrating Kramsch's (2003) conception of the second language learner "incarnating oneself in another" (pp. 255-256), is the seminal role Korean dramas played in establishing identification for a number of my participants. I became a fan of Korean drama shortly before deciding on Korean as the language I chose for my study. This was not the only reason for my interest in Korean language and culture, but vicarious identification with the emotional responses of many of the characters played a large part, both in my study and in influencing my developing sense of involvement in Korean culture. Both Ilima and Quinn, like me, began their Korean engagement with dramas. Ilima had also watched Japanese and Taiwanese dramas, but preferred the Korean. Quinn's mother had been the first in his family to watch the dramas and then had gotten his whole family involved. Quinn and I would often enthusiastically discuss dramas outside of class.

Dawn, whose mother was Korean and father was Japanese-American, was also a big Korean drama fan. She preferred Korean to Japanese dramas as she felt a lot more connected to the Korean characters. She felt that:

The [Japanese drama] display of emotion and the way they communicate their emotion is like a lot more subdued. I mean that's the culture you know, but it's hard for me to try to feel connected to the characters because they often keep the viewer and their peers at a certain distance.

175

To Dawn, the Japanese dramas often didn't "seem that real, whereas the Korean dramas really capitalize on the emotion and the subtleties of" the characters.

Roles

Perhaps with no other participant did the concept of "role" play as important a part in investment in Korean as in Dawn's case. Whereas writers such as Snow & McAdam (2000) talk about identities which vary in terms of their situational reach or relevance, in Dawn's case there was a conflict between the relative salience of various identities. Dawn's role as her mother's daughter had assumed great importance just prior to the beginning of the semester. Improving her Korean in order to be better able to communicate with her mother and grandmother was the impetus for Dawn's enrolling in our course. However, Dawn saw her goal as a college student as being to prepare herself adequately for a successful professional life in the future. In that sense, taking our class conflicted with her desire to develop a professional identity and play the role(s) involved in that identity. Speaking of Korean in this context, she said, "from an objective point of view I know it's not so important in the field that I want to go into." Until her last minute change of plans, she had been planning to take a Mandarin class and had even registered for that class "because I'm interested in international relations and taking Mandarin is kind of like a no-brainer at this point."

Dawn's conflict between her personal and professional roles continued throughout the course. Dawn had been studying Japanese since high school, had made it her minor and considered it an essential piece of her professional future. Even at the time of the first interview, her intention was to study Korean as much she could, but not at the expense of taking time away from classes in her major or her study of Japanese. Dawn foresaw early on that her roles as a Korean student and a Japanese student might come into conflict.

176

By the time of the second interview, October 30th, Dawn's cousin had come from Korea and Dawn found herself using Korean "every day to the point where I find myself thinking in Korean, so it's a little strange to me." She felt that it was actually interfering with her Japanese learning, "because I'm so immersed in Korean right now that Japanese – I'm forgetting it so quickly and it's really bad." The result was that Dawn felt it hard to simultaneously devote enough effort to her Japanese, that studying two languages at once made it hard to completely focus on either one, and therefore she chose to devote more effort to her Japanese. Dawn's efforts outside of class for our class decreased to virtually nothing, albeit with the occasional exception, notably for our final class project.

The Heritage Factor

The only heritage student in my study was Dawn and whether she should be considered a true heritage student is probably a matter of debate; perhaps she could be referred to as a dual heritage student. I felt Dawn seemed comfortable in her identities, availing herself, consciously or unconsciously, of whichever seemed most useful at any given time. To recap from her profile, both being American and being generically Asian were important parts of her group identities. Most of her friends growing up were ethnically Japanese and to "identify" or "separate" herself when interacting with them, she emphasized her Korean side. During her summer in Korea as well, she "felt really Korean. With me, though, and perhaps as a default self-identity, Dawn felt that her Japanese heritage defined her more strongly than her Korean heritage.

Still it was obvious that Dawn had a strong connection and identification with Korean. Through her mother and other Korean relatives, she was far more an insider in the Korean world than any of her study participant classmates (although some of our non-participant classmates also had Korean heritage ties). To Dawn, her parents represented their respective heritages;

"literally and symbolically Korean is my mom and Japanese is my dad and both of them are such different people." She said that, "symbolically whenever I think of Korea, I think of my mom; whenever I think of Japan, it's my dad."

In Chapter Two, I referred to four possible modes of adjustment by minority-language children to the demands of the wider society as discussed by J. S. Lee (2002): (1) the child may reject his or her heritage language and culture; (2) he or she may reject the language and culture of the wider/dominant society; (3) he or she may become an anomic individual without affiliation either to his or her own culture or that of the wider/dominant society; or finally, (4) he or she may become comfortably bilingual and bicultural and capable of participating fully in both cultures (p. 118). Although Dawn, as an adult with a dual heritage background might not be the target of this model, it is still striking to me that Dawn did not fit well into any of these categories.

Dawn did see herself as a full-fledged member of the wider/dominant society, that is as an American; furthermore, she rejected full-fledged membership in her Korean heritage language and culture, which would seem to correspond to J.S. Lee's first mode. Regarding culture, she, like Oliver, viewed a number of things about Korean society negatively, rejecting, for example, the homogenous, somewhat biased and even prejudiced views of the outside world that seem to exist in Korean society. Perhaps more revealing is Dawn's description of what she considered makes a Korean person Korean, in terms of their behavior and life philosophy. Her description of Korean cultural values contained elements that I found admirable, and that many might easily identify with.

For instance, in our second interview, Dawn described the joy Koreans take in eating, "like sitting together and making sure that it's warm and that it's something good and something

178

that they'll enjoy and that they'll eat three times a day." She felt this pleasure was seen as a counterbalance, a "tiny solace" in a life that's hard and busy and a world that's "really cruel and cold and seems incessant and endless." As Dawn expressed this, it sounded to me as if her voice was conveying her own incessant struggle to find enjoyment in a bleak universe. She then broadened the concept by saying it's a Korean trait to try "to find happiness in a small way, but trying your best to make it a memory." The kicker though is that, despite *my* feeling that Dawn fit herself into this Korean perspective, she unequivocally denied sharing this world-view.

Dawn further rejected aspects of Korean societal norms as evidenced in the language. She explained, for instance, that it was a battle to master and use honorifics since "it's not culturally the same for us. I mean we can talk polite to people, but it's in the way that we're talking to them and presenting ourselves without having to say it in a different way because we think that they're so darn special."

In other ways, though, Dawn did not fit J. S. Lee's (2002) first, heritage rejection mode. If Dawn did not seek full-fledged participation in any Korean community, she in no way rejected her heritage language and culture. Previously mentioned was Dawn's enjoyment of Korean dramas, to the extent that she identified with "the love interests or their crushes so much more than I can with the American style." Others noted Dawn's emotional and behavioral similarity to the drama characters. Dawn recounted that after convincing a friend to watch some, that the friend told her,

> "Dawn, I totally get you now. You are just like them in the drama. You act just like them. Whenever we are talking about a boy or whatever, you react just like them and you get all shy and go off on tangents."

Dawn concurred with her friend's evaluation, saying,

> I guess that's really about what it is like. I feel like they understand things that I'm
> thinking about or how I see it, instead of how I'm supposed to see it or how other people
> see it in my society or in Hawaiian, so it just it makes more sense out of things.

Dawn was likely the only one of the participants who might have visualized full legitimacy for herself in a Korean speech community. As mentioned above, she does seem to have seen herself at times as a legitimate member of a Korean community, most prominently when staying with relatives in Korea. I would like to relate this to J. S. Lee's (2002) study showing that "the higher the heritage language proficiency, the stronger one identified with both the Korean culture and the American culture" (p. 132). In Chapter 2, I inferred that for a heritage student to begin learning Korean as an adult at college suggests an evolution toward a bicultural identity and a consideration that language is an important part of that identity.

If my inference was correct, then Dawn seems atypical. Her original primary objective in studying Korean was not to become a legitimate member of the Korean community more broadly; rather, it was to better communicate with and understand her mother. Seen in this light it is unsurprising, although still perhaps ironic, that a desire for legitimacy was not really an issue for Dawn, while in contrast, it was more important for other participants, such as Quinn, Ilima, Howard, and me, to attain at least a degree of legitimacy in a Korean-speaking community and to be concerned over the extent to which such legitimacy was possible.

In Question 1 above, I attempted to identify various ways that the points of convergence between the identities of my participants and Korean manifested themselves. In the first part of my answer to Question 2A below, I similarly try to identify the manifestations of participant identities, this time in interaction with our Korean class.

Research Question 2A

To understand how identity perceptions seem to affect the classroom experience, and in turn how the classroom experience seems to affect identity perceptions, I explored two questions, the first of which is given here:

2A. In what ways do these learners' perceived identities affect, and in what ways are they affected by, in-class events, their in-class experiences, and their class participation?

Introduction

It should be noted that much of what I am discussing in this section is not uniquely about second language study. Question 2A itself is about the connection between the class and identity, and omits the mention of language study. That my data might be relevant for a non-language class in a larger academic context however, in no way negates its consequence in the second language classroom.

I intend to answer this question in two ways, the first by continuing to reference the relevant guideposts from the literature in exploring two aspects of the classroom-identity connection, the second through discussion of a majority of my participants in the context of one activity, our final classroom project.

Two Classroom-Identity Connections

Self-concept

Self-concepts, "the mental representations of those personal qualities used by individuals for the purpose of defining themselves and regulating their behavior" (Niedenthal, & Beike, p. 106), played interesting roles in determining the actions of some of my participants toward their investment in Korean and our class. In Garrett's case, his strong self-concept as a successful language learner possibly kept him in the class and studying longer than he might otherwise have

done. For more on this, see *Theme 5: Korean Withdrawal* in Chapter 6.

Dawn's academic self-concept as an excellent student played off against her being able to get by with minimum effort due to her false beginner status. She was enabled to make the minimum effort choice by choosing course grade rather than language acquisition as her criterion for "excellent." Since ours was an introductory course, given her Korean language background, she felt (at the time of the 1st interview) that she had to get an *A*, even to the extent that she would rather learn less and get an *A*, than learn more and get a *B*. This played out in a resolve to study more when she thought she had done poorly on our second big exam – that was until she received her grade and found she had done quite well. She said, "because of that reinforcement of the fact that I didn't really need to study, I studied less or not even at all."

Competence and Confidence

Competence, and the *feeling* of competence, in other words, confidence, were involved in classroom identity. Not surprisingly those who had some background in Korean felt they had the competence and therefore the confidence to handle the class without problems early on. Quinn, for example, felt a degree of confidence because, "I know some [Korean] going into the class." In our second interview, that confidence was maintained even for new unfamiliar material, of which Quinn said, "I feel good that I can nail it later." Furthermore, he felt that this confidence affected his progress positively in learning Korean, up to the time of the second interview. At the time of the third interview, though, Quinn felt a bit less competent and confident. He felt too much was being thrown at us all at once for him to be able to assimilate it all well. He sometimes felt unprepared when called on in class. He also compared himself negatively to some of his other classmates such as Ilima.

Natsu had the added challenge in our class of studying Korean through the medium of her second language, English. Grammar explanations in the texts and lectures were given in English, vocabulary definitions were provided in English and classroom instructions were often given in English. Despite this, and her relative lack of Korean language background when compared to some of the other participants, she felt somewhat confident early on. This was partially because she believed there were great similarities between Korean and her native Japanese. However, despite her early confidence, she felt performance anxiety when called on and tended to hope that Paul would call on someone else. In the second interview she admitted to having had doubts about doing well early on, but felt more confident as time went on. She thought this was due to her trust in the course and the institution. She felt that UH had "a really good program" and textbook, and that our "teachers know how to teach, so if I follow it I think I can learn Korean." By the third interview, Natsu's confidence level had decreased, which she attributed first to her study habits, particularly cramming, which enabled her to adequately prepare for the quizzes, but also resulted in her forgetting quickly, and second, to the dichotomy between what little Korean she had known coming into the class and what her classmates who had a greater Korean language background had known.

Some discouragement toward the end of the semester was nearly universal, extending to Dawn, Ilima and Oliver as well. Excluding Garrett, who had by that time dropped the course, only two participants did not feel a reduction in confidence: Howard who had, previously, with tutors, covered both the previous edition of our text and the next in the series, and I (perhaps due to the great amount of studying I was doing, to my auditing the Korean 111 section, to the fact that I had never previously done so well in a beginning language course, and to my slow but steady improvement over the course of the term, gradually eroding my doubts about my ability to

183

do well).

My own trajectory was a bit different from the others. At the time of my first self-interview, at the very beginning of the semester I said in my Class Notes,

I hope to do well, but expect to do poorly. The first few classes may go well, particularly since I have (imperfectly) taught myself to read Hangul. However, I can already see some problems with Hangul that I am having difficulty with (such as dipthongs). I expect to have trouble with some Korean sounds/pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary indicating proper respect, and with verbs.

In the second interview I said,

I feel more confident which I attribute largely to studying ahead of the class and somewhat to reinforcing what I've learned in 111 [the other Korean section I audited]. In some areas I'm doing far better than others – in terms of learning the vocabulary – very easy, the grammar – I'm surprisingly not doing that bad – in other languages at this point I'd be starting to go under. In listening comprehension it's often hard to put the spoken version of what I've learned and can read into comprehensible input. One sentence I'll hear and understand clear as a bell; in the next, words that I know run together and I have a lot of trouble catching.

I felt my increasing confidence "kept me enjoying the class and still interested, even enthusiastic, about learning Korean – if I were doing more poorly or feeling lost more often that would have brought those levels down."

Although I said in an earlier paragraph that my confidence became steadily higher through to the end of the semester, variation in my degree of confidence was actually a bit more nuanced. In my third self-interview I said,

In the classroom my feelings of competence vary depending on what's going on. When we have a vocabulary test I feel strongly confident/competent. I don't expect to do well on dictation however. As for being called on – I can translate things well and read off of the power point slides. When we are called on to read I pretty much feel there is no problem, but then I often hesitate or read more slowly than I feel I should when called upon – so definitely mixed there. Being called on to answer a questions – sometimes I am confident, although when called on rarely can answer with quite the fluency I envisioned for myself. Other times I'm really not ready to switch my brain from the passive listening mode to the active participation mode – my brain freezes up and I hope not to be called on. Overall though, I am comfortable and look forward to going to class.

I noted specific occasions when my competence and confidence took a big jump up and days it seemed to decline as well. On September 8th for example, as we were reviewing the Hangul we were learning, I wrote,

> Others are faster than I am with the consonants, but for some reason I feel/seem to be a whiz with the vowels this morning. Likewise for our dictation quiz – six words, five I've learned, said in hangul, which we write in hangul. I get five of the six absolutely correct and the one I don't know, I didn't really miss - just wrote the wrong "e" [에 instead of 애 – see my Chapter 1, *Pronunciation – Vowels* subsection] where the two vowel alternatives are pronounced the same. I can write the words without falling behind as I did with earlier dictations – so I really feel I've improved…Today I definitely felt quite a bit more confident and competent in class than in previous classes.

On the other hand on September 15th we practiced typing in Korean in the computer lab. I had known I was slow and had practiced at home over the weekend, therefore "thought I would

be faster or at least equal to the class doing it today – but no, Quinn on my left is finished when again I'm only half way through; I believe *B*, on my right has also [finished].

Ilima's confidence/competence roller-coaster began with confidence at the time of our first interview, because she said, since she loved language, she put "more time into studying and even studying things that we aren't even learning about." At the time of the second interview she was confident that she "should be getting an *A*." She did say, though, that her confidence in class also fluctuated from day to day. There were some days she was quite confident, others not very much, days where she really didn't want to get called on and thought to herself, "Don't call on me, don't call on me." She felt that as we learned more she tended to forget some of the things, such as vocabulary, that we had previously covered and didn't want to be in a position of having to ask for help with when called upon. In Ilima's case this type of lack of confidence seemed to have a positive effect in that that later she tended to go "back in the textbook and look it over just to double-check."

In our third interview Ilima again raised confidence-threatening concerns about being called on for things she had forgotten, noting that she would get a little worried if Paul would ask even another class member a question that she herself did not know how to answer. Then she would think to herself, "like, 'Oh no if he asks me that I would not know how to answer it.'" Ilima found this feeling of not knowing and having to look up things we've already learned, "kind of discouraging."

Howard's confidence remained at a consistently high level throughout the course. At the time of his second interview he indicated that the course was helping him in areas he was weaker or had forgotten, so that "I feel much more confident and comfortable." This increased confidence contributed to his increased liking for a class he already liked. It also accelerated his

progress because "it's made me feel confident enough to continue practice and really do what I got to do." He concluded that it made him "feel better and encouraged to at least do what I was doing if not more so."

If not surprising, it is still worth noting that where confidence was high or increased, the consequences were largely positive. Participants such as Quinn, Howard and myself all responded positively to our own sense of increased competence in terms of increased enthusiasm for the class, for studying Korean or as an incentive to maintain or even increase the efforts we were making. Perhaps more interesting is what happened when confidence became lower. While there was some sense of discouragement and dissatisfaction, for Quinn, Ilima and myself for example, in no case among my participants was this enough to completely discourage our efforts. In some cases it was even demonstrably a stimulus. For Ilima and myself, a decreased sense of confidence caused us to take steps to increase our competence through study.

The two somewhat anomalous cases of Garrett and Dawn provide further insights into the ramifications of competence/confidence level and confidence-threatening situations. Garrett was well aware that he was behind the class virtually from day one. Rather than succumbing to a feeling of discouragement and losing confidence at his lack of competence in fulfilling the tasks required by our class, he redefined his expectations to be satisfied with progressing at a pace he felt adequate for himself. In general, with that redefinition, he was able to remain confident and optimistic, at least until the reality of a poor grade loomed imminent.

In the *Self-Concept* subsection above, I discussed Dawn's response to doing well on an exam she originally thought she had done poorly on. When Dawn felt that her competence was demonstrably deteriorating as evidenced by a prospective poor grade, she, like Ilima and myself, was stimulated to put further effort into her studies. In her case though, when the eventual good

grade indicated competence and instilled confidence that she was doing well in class, that confidence pushed her in the direction of *less* effort toward the course and studying for it.

<div align="center">*The Final Project*</div>

I feel our final class project also provided data germane to the Question 2A discussion. Our final projects involved our writing, performing, filming, and editing, in small groups, a short skit and recording our efforts onto DVD. One narrative thread connected Dawn, whose group additionally consisted of Natsu and *3,* to Howard, whose group's additional members were Oliver, Quinn and I. I feel that presenting the process of my group's efforts plus Dawn's identity connection to it in a somewhat narrative form, should enable the reader to draw her own conclusions about the interplay of identity and forms of participation, although I subsequently do add my own thoughts. Finally in this section I discuss Dawn (and Natsu's) and Ilima's groups as they relate to this question as well.

The Dawn – Howard Connection

 We had been informed previously that we would be forming our final project groups on Thursday, October 30. In my *Class Notes* I wrote,

> I kind of broach the subject of the final 'group' to Quinn as we meet up on the way to
>
> class, but don't push being in the same group – at the beginning of class Oliver asks us
>
> both to be in his group. Quinn hesitates – I miss clearly seeing what is going on, but *C*
>
> seems to be trying to engage him in her group. Quinn soon tells me he is good in our
>
> group. At the end of class both Howard and *3* turn toward and ask us (actually Howard
>
> asks Quinn) if they can join us. *3* looks kind of expectant – I feel really bad not including
>
> him. I talk to Oliver about it afterwards – he'll send Paul a letter saying we're good with
>
> *3* in a group of five, if he doesn't have another group to join.

On Monday, November 3, Paul missed class. Those that came sat around, people straggled out as time passed and Paul hadn't come, but all stayed for at least twenty-five minutes. The four members of my group (Howard was the final member, *3* had joined Dawn and Natsu's) came together to talk about our project. From my *Class Notes*:

> We decided to do a police interrogation. I am enthusiastic about and get the sanction of the others to be the bad cop. The others and, with misgivings, I too, accept Howard's proposal that he rough something out by himself before we meet on Wednesday – my misgivings, first because I much prefer the working together and brainstorming aspect of creating something with others – feeding off their ideas and having them feed off mine. To me that's fun and writing the stuff alone is work. Howard, on the other hand, strongly prefers working alone. Second, because this gives Howard considerable control of what we are doing rather than leaving it to group consensus. On the other hand my innate laziness is a counterbalancing factor – a willing volunteer to do the "work" means less time commitment from me.

In our third interview (December 2nd) Dawn discussed overhearing Howard as his (my) group discussed preliminary ideas for our final project that Monday, and feeling that she had seen her conflicted self in what he said. She said,

> I overheard you guys discussing how you were gonna write your script and everything and he seemed to reject being in the group environment, like he likes doing it by himself. And I mean I feel that way too a lot of the times, but it sounded very strange when he vocalized it. I mean I was kind of taken aback like "Wow." I wouldn't think people would say it that way. I mean I feel like that all the time. I'm very not a group person.

As we discussed this it became clear that while she sympathized with Howard's non-cooperative

189

bent, she felt that to insist on it so strongly "where you make people uncomfortable and you really put people off" showed disrespect to the group. In Howard's place, Dawn would have subordinated her natural solitary inclinations to the preferences of the group.

And yet Dawn wound up doing, with some resentment, the lion's share of her group's work, which included writing the script in its entirety. Strangely enough however, much of Dawn's unbalanced contribution was at her own suggestion, so that she could work the way she liked. "I told Natsu 'would you mind if I just write what I think and then I'll send it to you guys and you guys can make any changes you want.'" Dawn said that this was in a sense "reflecting my solitary personality," that "like Howard, just do it myself you know." To create some balance in effort, Natsu was the main character and *3* was supposed to edit it. However, *3* didn't have the software and didn't know how to edit, so Dawn, who did know how, did this job as well.

My Group

On Wednesday, November 5th at 12:30 our group met up at the on-campus Paradise Café to continue discussions. Howard had come up with something, a sort of logical whodunit that the audience could figure out if they paid close attention. I felt it was all right, but not the way I would have gone, if for no other reason than that our Korean 101 classmates might not have an easy time understanding the Korean he had used. Also I would have gone straightaway for cheap laughs.

Our first battleground was over the scene set up. I pushed for two cops questioning two suspects at the same time, as opposed to Howard's one cop – one suspect, two parallel but sequential interviews idea. My working criteria were: a) try to create humor. I felt that all of us in one room made it easier to produce contrastive humor and b) make our Korean as easy to produce as possible. With the simultaneous questioning set up, we would be able to use the

others' dialogue as lead-in support to our own, through such devices as repeating questions and answers exactly or with slight variations. We finally agreed on Oliver's compromise suggestion (somewhat Howard's suggestion as well) that we have two cops interviewing first one then the other suspect.

I was hoping, at least, for our group to work off of Howard's script and start a rewrite on the spot, but we really didn't rewrite at all at that time and wound up deciding to follow Howard's solitary way. Quinn was to type up Howard's printed pages and revisions, then add his own lines. He was then to e-mail that to me, where I would add my new lines by referencing his good-cop lines from a bad cop perspective. Then I would e-mail that to Oliver, who would work on his (2nd suspect's) lines. I was a bit disgruntled, since that was exactly the way I preferred not to work and I felt it was a poor way to produce a good result. I had a feeling Howard was a little disgruntled as well, that instead of simply accepting his efforts and complimenting him on a job well done, we had considered wholesale revisions. Oliver and I walked to Moore Hall once we were done, and I let off steam about Howard's preferred way of working being diametrically opposed to mine. Oliver diplomatically agreed, if only to the extent that he also would have chosen humor as a guiding principle.

On November 12 we had another lunch meeting. In retrospect I had felt that Oliver and Quinn tended toward my viewpoint in the negotiations with Howard over process. Rereading my notes indicates that I was the odd man out more often than I thought. I reported,

> The group doesn't go my way – which is to incorporate as much of Howard's script into
> a revised version, on the spot – everyone has their own idea so I give in. I write a brief
> ending in English, which Howard will put into Korean. Quinn will do the bulk of the

remaining script work by incorporating Howard's stuff into what we have and revising the questions and answers for the second suspect.

On Thursday, November 20th we had our final script meeting after that day's class. Howard and Quinn left after an hour. Oliver and I finished up and made an effort to insert some humor. Since what we had was a mashing together of what Howard had first written, with what Oliver, Quinn and I had subsequently written, it was not in sync. I was concerned over the amount of effort needed to do the syncing, particularly to match up the two suspects' interrogations. I came up with, and was quite proud of, the idea of matching the two scenes side by side on a document (on the computer of course), making the syncing-up much easier. Although it was clear to me that there was considerable room for improvement, it seemed to be coherent and humorous enough that we went with it, that is after Oliver had his wife check the Korean and help with some needed additional vocabulary as well.

There was one final dustup between Howard and me. All of us had copies of the script well before we got together in early December to film. As the two cops, Quinn and I, were interrogating the second suspect, Howard, he changed some of his lines, thereby eliminating the "brilliantly" crafted humorous intent of that section. Shooting came to a halt! Howard had decided that his lines cast him/his character in too bad a light and so changed his lines on the spot. I was upset that he had not consulted us beforehand, as well as his assumption that playing the identity role of a criminal suspect somehow reflected Howard's own identity. In the end, compromise was effected, so that at least some of the original humorous intent was reinserted.

Ilima's Group

Ilima's project was spelled T-r-o-u-b-l-e, with a capital T, from early on. *C* and *4* were her other group members. As Ilima explained to me in our third interview, *C* "just stopped

contact" at some point,

> so me and *4* tried to get the group together so that we could work on the script and come up with ideas and we sat down once to do it. And we came up with an idea and it was gonna work out just fine, the three of us. And then she [*C*] didn't want to do it. That was pretty much it.

Ilima thought that *C* might have been piqued because "she had an idea, but we didn't go through with it." That was "cause we were like, 'It's too hard to do grammatically right now. Maybe if we had another semester of class, but that's just too difficult to do.' And in the time we had." Subsequently "we just stopped and then she stopped coming to class."

> Eventually, but not until considerable time had passed, Paul told them to go ahead without *C*. Her final collaboration with *4* though,

> wasn't that good, cause there was just no communication. I don't like doing group work with *4* because it's kinda just brush off. "Like it's ok we'll get it done," as opposed to just sitting down and doing it together.

4 wrote his own script for himself and wanted to use that, so Ilima

> had to write something else to put it together, so I mean his [was] like a show and I had to write up a script between two people just talking to each other about random things and then saying, "Oh I'm gonna watch this show" and then the show started.

She felt, as a result, "it's really pretty bad" and would have been much better if she had been able to work together with *4*. In fact she had anticipated trouble when our groups were first formed and had thought to join "you guys if you had room, but *C* was just like 'Let's be a group' and I was like, 'No. Oh save me.'"

Additional Identity/Participation Connection

Most of what can be drawn from the previous examples point in the direction of participants' (perceived) identities affecting their class participation. Again in the context of the final project, I feel Quinn's comments illustrate identity being in turn affected by participation. Quinn's greatest efforts for our class were directed primarily to our final project and secondarily to our memorization of dialogues for our oral midterms. Although this effort was partly in response to their importance for our class grade, Quinn explained why he felt these activities were otherwise important to him.

> The midterm and final project weren't just the grade, they weren't just writing you know, like vocabulary tests, lessons, you just write things. This one [these], well we had to communicate with other people and then you had to be pretty competent when you're saying it [them] and you had to sound pretty good. You also had to [communicate] posture-wise, body language-wise, so I think it was a bit more creative and useful than just writing.

As we discussed this further, Quinn expanded on this, saying that from these activities the participant could see himself "using the language, putting into use. You, yourself, using it, speaking it." He explicitly tied participation in these activities to identity, by further explaining, "I see myself a little bit more Korean doing those things" and through the activities he could "even just pretend that I'm Korean."

Analysis

Question 2 explores the identity-class connection, as Question 1 explored the identity-second language connection. Therefore the Question 2 connections illustrated are hardly limited to the language classroom, but could occur in any class where classmates are asked to

194

collaborate. That said, it is no less instructive a consideration for the language class. In broadest terms the above descriptions show that the identities of the group members affected our behaviors, actions and reactions in the class and both the process and the product of group collaboration as well.

This latter was evidenced, not just in the preferences of each individual as to the how of completing the task, but also in the degree to which members were willing to negotiate and accommodate or even surrender to the preferences of the other group members.

In Dawn's group they did it her way. In my group, neither Howard nor I, as probably the most opinionated members of our group, were able to fully get our ways, with compromise as the result. That is not to say that Oliver and Quinn were merely disinterested mediators between the two poles. Both had their own opinions, neither were shrinking violets when it came to expressing them, and all played the game of give and take. Ilima, at the opposite pole, felt forced to do it *4*'s way and accommodate herself both to *4*'s solo working style and the solo work he produced. The resulting process of accommodation ran counter to her own proclivities and left her unsatisfied with both the process and the product.

Although my first research question discussed second language acquisition in the context of identity, and this, Question 2, the class in the context of identity, I feel Quinn's statements precisely slot themselves at the nexus of my three foci: the second language, identity and the class. In the two class activities Quinn refers to, the final project and the midterm dialogue memorization/performance, he perceived and made use of the chance to play with his identity vis-à-vis the second language. On the other hand, Howard's problem, in which his role in our group project skit conflicted with his "real" identity to the point that he felt it impossible to carry on with the activity as originally planned, hints at the possibility of negative repercussions

involved in such identity play.

<div align="center">Research Question 2B</div>

2B. In what ways do participants' statements about identity in relation to their class develop over the course of the semester? In what ways do these re-conceptions of identity over time (during the first semester second language learning process) affect the second language learning process, judging from participants' perceptions and observation of classroom dynamics?

<div align="center">*Introduction*</div>

This question deals with the dynamic nature of identity in relation to our class over the course of the semester. I feel there is enough variation among my participants in regard to this question that is worth discussing them on a case-by-case basis. Although the participants exhibited commonalities, I find the diversity of responses most instructive, indicating that the stimuli from one classroom is capable of producing a wide range of responses from individual to individual. As elsewhere in this study though, since factors external to the classroom occurring during the period of the study were also part of a bigger picture and often linked to the classroom, I discuss these where applicable as well.

<div align="center">*Participant Data*</div>

Natsu

Natsu, in her second interview, felt that taking our course resulted in her liking Korean better. Furthermore she felt that she was learning and gaining confidence in class so that she was "able to speak more with my Korean friends," and become more involved "with Korean people." Again in her second interview she indicated that it was because of the class that she was able to learn grammar and connect grammar and vocabulary together enabling her to produce sentences.

<div align="center">196</div>

For those reasons she felt "much closer to the Korean language" than she had at the time of the first interview. And at the same time she felt that learning Korean had become "more important" to her as well.

While at the time of the third interview Natsu hadn't lost any of her enthusiasm for Korean, she felt that due to pressures from the demands of other classes she was sometimes falling behind on homework, studying for quizzes and so on (see Chapter 6, *Theme 4: Dynamics of Participation: Resistance and Agency*, for more on this). She felt that as we were asked to learn more and more vocabulary over the course of the semester she had forgotten much of the earlier learned vocabulary, "like maybe more than half." Part of the problem, but not all, she felt, was not enough studying. She also felt her own long-term memory couldn't compete, especially against those students who had some previous background in Korean. This sense of "losing" vocabulary, particularly to a greater extent than her classmates, caused her to be "a little less" confident in class than she had been at the time of the second interview.

This increased lack of confidence, didn't extend to outside of class however, where she felt she was more confident about using Korean for things like simple text messages with her Korean friends. From the time of her the second interview through to our third, the trajectory of Natsu's increased identification with Korean language and culture continued. Ultimately, directly (or indirectly through her increased Korean interactions with friends and new acquaintances), because of her experience in our class, Natsu felt closer to "Korean culture and Korean language" by the end of the course than she had at the beginning.

Oliver

Oliver, in our second interview, felt that his competence in the classroom decreased slightly as his lack of studying, coupled with the natural cumulative increase in material we were

expected to learn over the course of the semester, meant his previous Korean knowledge became a somewhat smaller factor in his performance. Like Natsu, he also questioned his own memory, in his case believing that memory decline is a corollary of aging. At age 38, the oldest, after me, in the class, Oliver felt his memory was well past its prime and that he was therefore unable to retain a lot of the Korean we were studying as well as his younger classmates.

Oliver's investment in Korean through the vehicle of our class declined dramatically over the course of the semester. When Oliver began the class he felt, "This is a great opportunity to finally start to really learn in a sustained and organized kind of a way, where I felt I would make some progress instead of learning in the slightly haphazard, sort of just pick stuff up incidentally, kind of way that I've been learning before." By the third interview he said,

> I'm kind of dreading the fact that I've got another year and a half of this, of spending a lot of time learning [in] a very inefficient sort of a way where it could be a whole lot more productive. So I don't have that hopeful feeling of anticipation, of really learning the language. That's sort of gone.

Oliver added that early on,

> I wanted to learn. I mean I really wanted to get the most out of it, learn as much as I could, like really know all the vocabulary and not really know all the sort of grammatical structures I guess, so I was quite keen to absorb as much as I could 'cause this was a nice opportunity. That sort of changed. I sort of didn't care so much towards the end, 'cause I was just being taught the wrong things I thought.

Howard

Howard, did not seem to experience much change over the course of the semester in terms of readjusting or re-conceptualizing himself in relation to the class or Korean. The most

198

significant change for which our classroom experience played a significant role was that his enjoyment of the overall class experience strengthened his belief in, and encouraged him to continue on, the Korean related academic and career paths he was pursuing.

Quinn

In our first interview Quinn saw himself, in terms of Korean culture, "outside and I'm making my way in." In subsequent interviews Quinn cited a number of reasons why he felt closer to Korean culture. The classroom experience pushed Quinn in the direction of deeper connection to and identification with Korean. He noticed changes with a Korean friend he mainly communicated with via Facebook. In the past they had mainly communicated in English, but once he started using some Korean with her and asking questions about what we were learning in class, she started using more Korean when writing to him. Quinn reported that this increased Korean exchange was "encouraging." This is a rather prosaic example of the language acquisition process working positively. Quinn learned enough in the classroom to give the language a spin in the real (albeit virtual) world. His friend's positive response encouraged him to pursue his path of increasing identification with Korean language and culture.

Like Dawn, Quinn felt the cultural explanations provided in the class gave him a deeper understanding of "the uniqueness of Korean culture." He cited as an example Korean's expressing the speaker's possession by including the listener. That is, where in English the speaker might say, for example, "my parents" or "my girlfriend," in Korean he would say "our parents" or "our girlfriend." I suppose such a difference could be off-putting to a language learner. In Quinn's case it made him more enthusiastic about Korean "I think cause it's more unique. It brings a new side to it."

It is interesting that the cultural knowledge obtained in the classroom, which highlighted the unique aspects of Korean culture, provoked in Quinn the desire to more closely explore that different world. While it is well known folk wisdom that "Opposites attract," it doesn't seem to have been so much noted in the literature on group identity that, that the very taking pleasure in and deriving satisfaction from the differences between another group and our own may be an incentive to identify with the other group. Put in another way however, this may reflect the urge to see, learn about and experience new things, a universal human trait.

If the sense of "not like me" somehow encouraged identification, the sense of "like me," or at least "connected to me" did so as well. When Quinn spoke of experiences outside of class, he also took the opposite tack of connecting Korean to his own roots in Hawaii, saying in our third interview,

> I probably feel more connected with Korean than before I started the class, probably also since the second interview. I remember reading in the newspaper – there's a picture and they're setting up this art structure, and it said "Korean artist is setting up this sculpture as a symbol that Honolulu", or not, "Hawaii is like the sister city of", oh no "that Honolulu is the sister city of Seoul," or something. And then I kinda felt, "Oh that's so cool." I kinda felt like Korea was embracing Hawaii and Hawaiian ties, and I identify with Hawaii and so then to have a country that I'm learning the language of come symbolically close to Hawaii, "Oh. ok, yeah we're on good terms." It felt good.

Unlike Dawn and Ilima (discussed below), Quinn's interpretation of factors external to the classroom increased his perception of the value of Korean to his future and therefore his willingness to invest in it. In our second interview he explained, in response to his mother's having read of the likelihood of more Korean tourists arriving in Hawaii, that he might consider

200

a tourism related job involving Korean, that Korean was, "Now not just a hobby. I can see the practicality of more Korean tourists to Hawaii."

Quinn seemed to also demonstrate the reciprocal effect, that is the second language learning process affecting identity. My own desire to incorporate outside cultural activities to stimulate cultural identification, which I describe in Chapter 6, *Theme 4: Dynamics of Participation: Resistance and Agency* section, and which paid off in a mid-term outing to a Korean restaurant and movie, worked as advertised for Quinn. He had been an active and enthusiastic colluder in initiating and planning the project, and it was thanks to him that we eventually ate at a Korean restaurant run by his friend's mother. As in the previous example of his Facebook friend's communication, Quinn's exchanges with his friend's mother, which had previously been mainly in English, moved more to Korean on that occasion. We were after all only a first semester Korean class and so it was less the quality of the interchange than the simple reality of communication in a Korean language community that fired Quinn up. He described it as, "seeing it first hand outside the class and then with my friend's mom like speaking to me in Korean…I didn't get so much she was saying, but it was like more hands on." And Quinn further talked about seeing "their mannerisms" and "being a part of it" to describe that experience. Compared to his statement in our first interview that he was "outside" the culture, "being a part of it" provides a striking contrast.

Quinn, like Oliver, Natsu and Ilima (discussed below) also felt that he slowed down in his responses late in the semester because of memory problems, that he would take a little while to recall things we had learned, causing him to become slower to pick up the meaning of sentences in Korean. I found it interesting that this internal perception of memory interfering with acquisition was so widespread, but that participants seemed to feel they were alone in this,

and did not notice it in others. On the contrary, Oliver felt that he suffered in comparison in this regard to our younger classmates, specifically Quinn. Quinn likewise felt that Ilima did not have this problem and was therefore much faster than he.

Ilima

Various factors pushed and pulled Ilima toward and away from identification with Korean and effort in the class. She was enthusiastic about studying Korean from long before beginning our class. Perhaps this was attributable to friendships she had developed with Koreans over the years, perhaps to a previous infatuation with Korean dramas, perhaps to an attraction to the "really family oriented" culture she saw as an important Korean cultural trait in contrast to her own tumultuous family history. Evidence of her strong desire to connect with Korea though, was that she had previously studied Chinese at her college only as the closest substitute for Korean, which hadn't been offered there.

By the time of the second interview, though, there was a dip in the amount of effort she put into class preparation, which she attributed to mid-semester fatigue and considered part of the normal peaks and valleys learning process. However, various additional factors in and outside of class discouraged or pulled Ilima away from investment in Korean. By the third interview she also had fallen victim to the "memory" problem. She felt that her rate of forgetting material that we had previously covered had increased over time. She would recognize that we had studied, for example, a particular word before, but wouldn't be able to recall its meaning. She would also forget that she had learned what was required to fill in a particular blank in an exercise and would in the end have to look it up.

Ilima had, up to the time of her second interview, been considering changing her major to Korean, but was reconsidering for practical purposes; she was not sure if a Korean major would

really help her once she graduated. She felt that an international company that wanted someone with Korean skills would be more likely to hire a native Korean speaker. By the third interview she had unequivocally decided to change her major to nursing rather than Korean, and this had "definitely affected my attitude towards Korean." She still, as before, hoped to go to Korea some day and hoped she'd remember enough Korean at that point to "at least get by;" but now she was thinking that "maybe the most useful thing, if I learn medical terminology in Korean, then at least if I have patients that speak Korean, I can speak to them in Korean instead. It would be easier for them."

Partly as a result of these factors, by the time of the third interview, Ilima also felt a change in her attitude toward class participation. Whereas in earlier interviews she had indicated that there were some days she hadn't felt prepared, and therefore hoped she wouldn't be called on, that feeling occurred more frequently as she prepared less later in the semester. She also came to feel that her Korean level relative to her classmates had dipped from middle-of-the-pack level earlier in the semester to slightly below that by the end, although she thought Paul hadn't noticed.

On the other hand, Ilima felt that she had developed a slightly deeper understanding of Korean culture by the end of the semester due to cultural notes in the text and some in-class presentations by Paul. Specifically she was able to learn about "little things" that were typically Korean that she hadn't known before. And despite Ilima's decreasing preparation, generally increasing resistance to class, and decreasing investment toward Korean language and culture, she nevertheless, at the end of the semester, still felt she had done more work for our class than for any of her other classes, that it was her favorite class (to the extent that she proselytized other students to study Korean), and that she wanted to continue with it the next semester, which she

did. In other words despite centrifugal forces pulling Ilima and Korean into more distant trajectories, there were some centripetal ones, namely the fires of her earlier enthusiasm and her overall enjoyment of our class, providing a countervailing push toward maintaining her Korean orbit.

Me

I attempted to be more social early on than I ordinarily would have been in any class, particularly one that met at 8:30 in the morning. Although many of the participants identified cliques as having formed in the class, and generally slotted me with Oliver, Quinn and Howard, I made an effort to sit in different areas of the class, next to different people, during the course of any given week and probably got to know more people in the class reasonably well, through my interviews as well of course, than any of my other classmates. In my third self-interview, I reported that, "I feel that, due to my research, I have forced myself to act in a more open and friendly manner than I would have otherwise and this resulted in people being more open and friendly with me."

While my role as researcher led to a change in my normally more passive classroom behavior, a change I rather liked, it didn't spill over to that great an extent into the Korean arena. One small-scale crossover, however, was that part of my more active sociability involved my making some effort to use Korean phrases or expressions with classmates, especially in the classroom before class began. On Monday, October 6, I discussed an example of this from my *Class Notes*.

I come to class not decided where to sit – then decide to sit next to Howard, but Oliver clears the seat between him and Quinn so I sit there. I say "어떻게지내요?" (*Eo tteo ge ji nae yo*?, How's it going?), impressing the heck out of Oliver, Garrett and maybe

Quinn – ignored by everyone else. After we establish what I'm saying, I say I want someone to ask it back to me, so I can answer, "그저그래요. (*Gu jeo gu re yo*, so-so).

Finally, although there weren't profound changes in terms of my identification with Korean over the course of the semester, I noted in my third self-interview, "I do feel more connected to Korean language and culture. I find that the simple act of learning the language has drawn me in further, some of it probably due simply to the time and effort invested."

Dawn

Dawn had two major identity issues she was working through, although the first was far less about Korean and our Korean class than about Dawn's conscious attempts to redefine herself socially in her classes in general; this seemed so significant to Dawn that I would like to discuss it. Specifically, Dawn's identity and how it reflected in her social relationships became a focus of self-examination leading to change, although not specifically in reference to our Korean class and Korean. In her second interview, Dawn explained that she consciously isolated herself from her classmates. Among her reasons were that she was embarrassed, that she was sweaty after walking to class, and in the early days of a class she was "very shy or very nervous to be around people." She did say that as a class progressed she tended to feel more comfortable and more willing to talk to people. At the time of the second interview Dawn did most of her in-class chatting with Natsu, but not so much of even that, since class had often started by the time she arrived.

By the time of the third interview Dawn had become quite friendly with Natsu, to the extent of hanging out with her outside of class. Dawn's relationship with Natsu also expanded her social horizons in that she became an active member of the "International Students' 'whatever' club" an organization in which Natsu and Natsu's boyfriend played a prominent role.

Despite Dawn's shyness and nervousness around strangers, she hoped to "have fun with and really make new friends – people who are interested in the same things" in that club.

There was considerably more going on though, than simply the natural development of friendship and increased social contact over the course of a semester would indicate. Starting after our second interview, Dawn made conscious and self-willed social identity changes, the underlying proximate reason for which she felt was too personal to tell me. Those changes involved intentionally becoming more sociable. She called herself, "more receptive to other people's friendly advances; you know just trying to become a part of the class environment." She said that previously she had been "rejecting" the social environment of her classes, that she was "not really sure why. I think I was just more consumed with getting in getting out, instead of trying to build relationships with other people and build some kind of camaraderie within the class." She felt that after her decision to become more socially involved she was

> allowing myself to be a little bit more comfortable and natural and more readily available to accept other people's friendship and other people's invitations to being part of the student versus teacher environment, 'cause I was a very solitary student.

At her third interview Dawn indicated she was happier with this "new her" and said that it translated physically as well into more energy and no migraines. Although Dawn believed she was changing herself for the better, she was worried that her increased sociability might result in lower grades, a trade-off she was not sure she was willing to make. Therefore whether she would continue down this path in the future was an open question. As she said, "I'm at that point too where I want to believe grades don't matter and it's more about that growth and that growing experience, but because this world is so dependent on grades, it's hard to pretend otherwise."

Whatever the result of Dawn's experiment, it played out in our Korean class, not only through her deepening relationship with Natsu, but also in friendly conversations with *3*, the other member of her final project group, and *4*. I also noticed immediately in our third interview that this seemed to be a more cheerful, upbeat, energetic Dawn and felt that Dawn's attending our (that is Natsu's, Oliver's, Quinn's, and my) final exam study session at the Paradise Café was another indication of this change.

The second issue inversely mirrored the first in the sense that while the above described *increasing* social engagement, the following demonstrates *decreasing* Korean engagement. Of the two, this change seemed to correlate more directly with her Korean acquisition process and involved Dawn's evolving relationship with her mother, which I describe in Chapter Four under Dawn's personal history. To briefly recap, Dawn's mother's recent reconciliation with her extended family in Korea resulted in Dawn's spending time in Korea with her Korean relatives the summer just prior to our class. This experience seemed to provide a catalyst for Dawn's desire to work out her identity as her mother's daughter and to better understand and connect with her mother. It also was the cause of her last minute decision to enroll in our Korean class rather than the Mandarin Chinese class she had originally registered to take.

By as early as the second interview and more so by the third interview, Dawn pulled back from this mother-daughter identity concern, her Korean investment and her class participation, for reasons she did not completely make clear. What she did make clear at our second interview as far as class participation was concerned, was that, as further discussed in the Chapter 6, *Theme 4: Dynamics of Participation: Resistance and Agency* section, in trying to keep her participation at the level of what we were learning rather than what she knew, "it discourages me to be more engaged, 'cause when I'm engaged and intuitive, excited, I'll try to use as much as I know and

everything that I know to learn more." She added, "I guess I kinda withdraw myself unconsciously."

This tied in with having begun to feel that full academic investment in both Korean and Japanese was becoming too difficult. As Dawn put it,

Class four times a week – it's very draining, especially in the morning, so I'm starting to see that maybe now may not be the time for me to learn Korean, even though I really want to and it seems like a good opportunity. But because we've gotten so far in Japanese already, I feel that it would do me a disservice to not finish it.

Dawn seemed to be in a state of flux over just how important Korean was to her, as illustrated by the following statement, "It's [Korean's] not, it's less, it's not less important, it's just, I mean it is less important, but it's less immediate."

At the same time Dawn had partially pulled back and begun to question her future investment vision.

As far as studying there [Korea], I don't know if that's something I see, I mean when I was there I definitely wanted to study, I wanted to live there, I wanted to do everything, but I don't know if that's really my place, or it's just infatuation and it's just in love with the idea rather than committed to it, or rather that it's beneficial to me in the long run. I don't know. It's changed a little bit. I've become a little more dispassionate about it unfortunately.

By our third interview Dawn had gone from some, limited studying for our class to none at all. What most struck me as I reread my transcription of the third interview months later, was that Dawn had recast her original narrative of studying Korean to better communicate with her

mother. In this third interview, she made no reference to her mother in talking of her original decision, saying instead,

> At some point in the semester I thought to myself that I learned what I needed to learn in this class which is the alphabet, which is how to read, and that's all really my goal was in the beginning.

Since she'd accomplished that, "I kind of almost stopped learning, you know [didn't] really put in an effort."

Also by the time of the third interview Dawn was speaking less Korean outside of class. She had made a conscious decision to speak less Korean with her cousin in order to help her cousin improve her English. Additionally she didn't talk to her mother very much, saying, "Really I don't know what it is, we just don't really talk that much, much less use Korean." I felt this latter statement was strikingly significant given Dawn's original goal of better communicating with her mother. I decided not to press for more information, since I had the impression it was too sensitive a subject.

This last statement does seem to indicate that something about Dawn's relationship to her mother had undergone yet another change. How much of that impacted Dawn's recasting of her goals as discussed above, how much it reduced her participation in, investment in and energy for our class, how much it caused her to question the spurt of identification and the Korea/Korean related goals that her summer stay in Korea had provoked, I can't say to a certainty. It does seem likely to me though, that just as the desire to explore her maternal heritage language was deeply connected to Dawn's evolving relationship with her mother, this daughter-mother relationship likely continued to evolve over the course of the semester and likely affected the cooling off of Dawn's desire for language acquisition. As I noted in my Chapter 4 profile of Dawn, she felt her

parents represented their respective heritages, "literally and symbolically… Korean is my mom." Dawn did not take Korean 102 the following semester. It is certainly likely that identity played a significant underlying role in that decision.

<center>*Analysis*</center>

Memory

I brought "memory" into my above discussion because it seemed to be on the minds of several of my participants. Natsu, Ilima, Quinn and Oliver all seemed to feel that having memory problems was part of who they were, and was a handicap in terms of second language acquisition or at least retention, and one that each thought unique to him/herself. The passage of time, plus the increasing cumulative mass of the material presented in class, meant that this identity "defect" became more serious and a source of frustration as the semester wore on. Although it was interpreted by my participants as a threat to their language acquisition, in no case did it determine their actions in our class, their actions toward language acquisition, or their feelings about our class and the Korean language.

In Natsu and Quinn's cases it was merely a minor decelerant on their highway to increasing identification with Korean. In Ilima's case it was one of a number of factors negatively influencing her optimism about and investment in Korean, but even in concert with those other factors, was not sufficient to derail her from that route. In Oliver's case, it was one more 'drag' factor, added to his concerns over dealing with his Ph.D. responsibilities in his major, and his unhappiness over the grammar-centric course design, that pushed him toward a last minute decision to not register for Korean 102.

Finally, I found it interesting that this internal perception of memory interfering with acquisition was so widespread, yet participants seemed to feel they were alone in this, and did

not notice it in others. On the contrary, Oliver felt that he suffered in comparison in this regard to our younger classmates, specifically Quinn. Quinn likewise felt that Ilima, who *did* see herself as troubled with memory concerns, did not have this problem and was therefore much faster in response than he.

The Class And My Participants: Varied Responses

Natsu and Quinn were most able to parlay what the class offered into increasing investment and identification with Korean. Over the course of our class the increased knowledge and confidence Natsu gained from the Korean she was learning enabled her to increase participation in Korean language communities, to feel "closer to the Korean language," and led to her considering learning Korean as "more important" as well. In other words Natsu's experience in our class led to increased identification with Korean. As with Natsu, Quinn was able to take his ongoing classroom experience and bring it to the outside world in the form of interactions in Korean. These in turn increased his identification with and desire to invest himself in Korean language culture and society.

In contrast, the class curriculum, although not the sole factor, conflicted with Oliver's identity as a language learner. Oliver liked to learn and felt he learned best with a communicative approach. Our grammar structure approach, and the large portion of the class time given over to grammar lectures, resulted in frustration and resistance for him (See Chapter 6, *Theme 4: Dynamics of Participation: Resistance and Agency* section for more on this.).

External Factors

For Oliver the demanding Ph.D. candidate requirements took precedence over the demands of our class, given that his identity as a Ph.D. student in the Second Language Studies department far outweighed his identity as a Korean language learner, and further decreased his

investment in our class and the Korean language. I likewise made a case, even if a speculative one, that external identity factors were an influence in Dawn's decreasing investment and identification with Korean.

Quinn and Ilima found themselves on escalators going in opposite directions toward and away from visualizing Korean as an important part of their future identity. During the semester, Quinn saw the possibility of using Korean in a future job in the Hawaiian tourism industry. Predictably this stimulated his further desire to invest in the language. Ilima negatively re-evaluated the role of Korean as part of her future career identity, which equally predictably resulted in a diminution of the desire to invest herself in the language.

Conclusion

The participants' identities interacted with the class, sometimes positively to bring identity, particularly identification and investment and participation closer to Korean language and culture; sometimes it worked negatively, as in Oliver's language learner identity example, to increase that gap. Other factors, sometimes external events or realizations during the semester, caused identity reevaluations relevant to Korean and our class, again affecting positively or negatively identification, investment and participation. I sum up the trajectory of participant investment, which I take to include class participation and identification with things Korean, in Table 1. Even if the factors discussed above were not the sole causes of the following trajectories, I feel I have made a case for their importance as key factors.

Table 1

Korean Investment Trajectories Summary

Trajectory Momentum	Participants	Continued with Korean 102
Greater	Quinn, Natsu, Me	Yes[1]
Very slightly more	Howard	Yes
Very slightly less	Ilima	Yes
Considerably less	Oliver, Dawn, Garrett	No[2]

Note. [1] I started Korean 102 and withdrew after about a month.
[2]Garrett withdrew from our Korean 101 course.

<div align="center">Research Question 3A</div>

Although the data for Research Question 3, particularly for 3B, were disappointingly

scant, I feel there was still material of interest, which I present in the remaining short sections of

this chapter.

In order to examine how continuing development (or failure to develop) in the second

language seems to affect the student's perceived social and personal identities, I explored the

following:

3A. How do the student participants react in class to positive feedback from the

instructor? How do they describe this positive experience, and how do their subsequent

behaviors in the class seem to change after such an experience?

<div align="center">*The Situation*</div>

Most of us, with the exception of Garrett, who hadn't noticed many compliments to the

class in general, noticed Paul often complimenting the class. Oliver felt that individuals were

complimented rarely, Garrett did note some compliments to individuals; the other participants

noticed a fair amount of this individually directed praise. Specifically they indicated that, both to

the class and to individuals, Paul frequently said "Good job" in English or "잘 했어요," (*Jal haesseo yo*) in Korean, the latter meaning, "well done" or "good job."

<div align="center">Perceived Intent</div>

As to the underlying meaning or intent of compliments as interpreted by the participants, Howard felt they were sincere, as did Dawn, who considered them more than just automatic teacher reflex. Garrett had barely given the compliments any thought until my questioning him about them, but felt they might have been "automatic [teacher] response," although he withheld definitive judgment on the basis of insufficient evidence.

Others had more fully formed, sometimes less positive, opinions. Oliver thought most of these compliments to the class were basically "teacher talk." Natsu felt that those types of compliments were things "they just kind of say," and when they did, she would dismiss the idea that she may have earned the praise, saying to herself, "Oh I didn't say anything." Ilima thought that type of compliment was certainly preferable to saying, "that you did horrible," but she was not convinced that a good job had always been done. She gave an example from the class held on the day of our second interview, where "I was reading that first sentence. I really butchered it, like really in blocks, and he [Paul] said 'good job' and I was like, 'it wasn't all that good, so choppy.'" In my second self-interview I said, "Paul often says 'very good' in Korean or English. I don't mind it, but I don't find it very meaningful, since he seems to say it reflexively, whether or not the person has done well." On September 22, I noted an example of this, writing, "*3* totally has trouble reading, Paul lets him mis-read and says, 'Very good.'"

Although most of us did not feel these compliments were always offered at face value, some of us did read other things into them. Oliver felt that one reason for those compliments was that, "It's just encouragement." Quinn felt that Paul's usual compliments sometimes meant the

<div align="center">214</div>

person had done well, but other times "after someone reads it's more like a, 'Thank you for reading' type of thing." Ilima didn't feel our instructors were being insincere, but that it was perhaps either teacher talk or that they had their own standards, not as demanding as hers.

Dawn thought our instructors might be letting us know that our in-class responses indicated we were "progressing a lot quicker than they thought." She also felt that their praise reflected their pleasure at our interest in learning Korean, and that their compliments were aimed at that interest, rather than at our actual language performance; they "feel like Korean is not that important as our native language [English] 'cause everyone is learning our native language." Based on those reasons she inferred that our instructors did not really hold us to high standards.

Special Cases

Howard was unique in voicing the interpretation that our instructors provided an overall "feeling of support without necessarily too many explicit words being involved." Although not mentioned by anyone else, likely because it fits a broader conception of the meaning of compliment than might generally come to mind, this was something I also felt clearly and, from their overall comments, I believe the others without exception felt as well.

Specific compliments that stood out as more meaningful were rare and included Oliver's remembering that Paul, at the last class, said, "we were one of his better classes." This particular compliment he took to be sincere. In another instance, Paul told Dawn and Natsu that they had done a good job after they had finished their oral midterm "performance." Natsu also took this particular "good job" to be more heartfelt than the usual ones.

Quinn received what I considered to be the strongest personal compliment I heard from either of our instructors, so strong that it made me sit up and take notice. On September 30th,

after he had read some lines from the textbook, Kain said something to the effect that he almost sounded like a Korean.

Although this question is about compliments in the classroom, I feel it is worth expanding to beyond the classroom. Natsu, during our second interview, discussed receiving compliments from friends. She had been using her Korean with Korean friends and Korean hula class classmates. They would compliment her by saying things like, "'Your pronunciation is getting better' and 'You learn like pretty fast.'"

<div align="center">Effects</div>

It does not seem possible to say that compliments played a large role in affecting our performance in class and in the language. Nevertheless they did play *a* role, even if that role was diffuse and largely one of providing a positive environment and encouragement. At the no-effect end of the scale, Garrett hadn't noticed compliments directed to the class, and as for those directed to individuals, he maintained they had no impact on him and that he had barely given them any thought until my questioning him about them.

Oliver also did not feel any particularly strong direct effect from the compliments. He recalled that earlier in the semester he was one of the go-to people who could "actually answer the question in the way desired." Later, as he became less competent due to the newer, more difficult material we were covering, coupled with his lack of study, he felt he was called on less and therefore complimented less. And yet he asserted that this did not particularly bother him, as it merely confirmed his self-assessment. All in all however, Oliver thought that he could "take it [the complimenting] for what it is," whether completely sincere or not. He felt it was a "nice thing to say" and even considered that, "it does sort of motivate me a little bit to try to do better."

Howard considered himself "pretty self-directed" and therefore not unduly influenced by the compliments, but nevertheless "grateful" for them. Likewise Dawn was happier than not at the compliments, but felt they didn't have a very significant effect and that she was far more "concerned with my grade instead." As far as the somewhat pro-forma compliments went, my own feelings were similar to many of the others presented above. I felt they were somewhat less meaningful insofar as they were being delivered in response to poor performance, but still felt they worked to create a positive and encouraging atmosphere.

The more stand-out compliments seemed to produce a slightly stronger effect, albeit of the same encouraging variety. Natsu felt that Paul's compliment to her and Dawn made her feel a "little better." Her response to her friend's compliments was a bit stronger still, in that it encouraged her to learn more forms in class that she could try out with those friends.

Quinn found Kain's "almost Korean" compliment "very, very encouraging." But, "at the same time I was thinking 'Oh I could probably have done better too.'" My own reaction to the compliment was jotted down in my *Class Notes*, "I'll bet he was pleased. I'm pleased for him, but a little jealous as well." Strangely enough none of the other participants took much note of that compliment, or at least it made so little an impact that none saw fit to mention it.

Conclusion

For my Korean class participants, compliments seemed to have the small but nevertheless overall favorable effect of providing encouragement and adding to a positive class atmosphere. There was a distinction between the run-of- the-mill type and that much rarer type which seemed to have a greater degree of heart-felt sincerity. The latter seemed more capable of provoking a stronger response in the listener. Although I was the only one, other than Quinn, to feel an impact from Kain's compliment to him, my experiencing jealousy as one emotional response

217

hints that the stronger compliments may produce unintended collateral damage in innocent bystanders.

<center>Research Question 3B</center>

3B. How do the student participants react in class to negative feedback or criticism from, or a negative interaction with the teacher or other students? How do they describe such experiences, and how do their behaviors or stated strategies in class seem to change after this kind of experience?

<center>*The Situation*</center>

Quinn didn't think he had ever noticed Paul or Kain criticizing any individuals or the class in general. Oliver thought Paul "doesn't criticize much. That's my perception." About the frequency of criticism, Natsu said "Not at all." Ilima never noticed either instructor ever criticizing anyone in the class or the class in general. On the contrary she felt that if we had made mistakes "he'll just help you out. He won't put you down." She felt Paul might actually give a compliment despite the mistake, saying, "'Good job' for putting in effort." Howard never noticed any criticism coming from either Paul or Kain. He felt this was conscious on their parts, indicating that they appreciated the difficulties English speakers have with Korean, and had a high level of "empathy" with us.

Garrett did note an example he categorized as criticism from Kain, in which she informed us that we would be retested on the native Korean numbers, because, (speaking for Kain) "This is an area where everyone's weak on, so we're giving you another test." He felt this instance and another time when we were informed of a retest was "done more in the appreciative sense rather than depreciating comment"— that it was, in other words, constructive criticism.

<center>218</center>

I seemed to be the only one that noticed something even approaching criticism from Paul. In my second self-interview I noted that neither instructor offered any direct criticism. However I did write that, "Paul did indirectly criticize some class members when one day he said that some of us had better work on our reading or we'd fall too far behind." And on September 11, I wrote in my *Class Notes* that, "Paul says we do well orally, but some of us had better keep working on our writing."

Dawn did not feel that our instructors ever criticized us. If not exactly criticism though, Dawn did receive a strong private warning about missing too many classes from Paul.

<center>*Effects*</center>

Although Oliver hadn't noticed any criticism, he did volunteer that hypothetically "criticism would probably be fairly demotivating," although that would depend on the context and content of that criticism. Garret, in response to the positive criticism he had noted, did not have any significant reaction such as the desire to work harder. His reaction was rather "nothing special." To the criticism about our reading that I had noted, I wrote in my second self-interview,

> Although I believed that I was slower than many others in the class, I also believed I was making adequate progress and so was not very worried. On the other hand, perhaps due to unusualness of any criticism, and the fact that Paul did not ordinarily make remarks like this, I felt it a little intimidating.

I was a little less secure about the writing criticism at that early point in the semester saying in the same interview,

> I don't know if my slowness is natural – that others have had such a head start, that it would be unrealistic to expect anything more from me now, or if I'm below average slow and should be worried. I'm leaning toward the former.

The warning to Dawn over attendance had a clear effect, that of eliminating her absences, although she was still often late and worried about that. Afraid that Paul was paying attention to her frequent tardiness, she planned to try harder to avoid being late as well.

Beyond the Classroom

Ilima took the occasion of my question to expand the topic of criticism to beyond the classroom, saying she did not like being criticized when it comes to language and that for her even being corrected implied criticism. She had not noticed any such criticism from our instructors, but did experience this from some of her Korean-speaking friends whom she categorized as "kind of ruthless" and would respond to her Korean speaking attempts with, "'I can't understand you' or 'I can't understand.'" She found that "really unpleasant." I identify with Ilima in this regard and feel that it doesn't take much of this type of correction/perceived criticism to shut down my second language communication with such an interlocutor completely. This idea of being criticized for our second language use was also an important factor for many of my participants in determining who they would and would not be comfortable conversing with in Korean, and is further discussed in my Chapter 6, *Theme 2: Comfort Level In Talking To Various Others* section.

Conclusion

No one was unhappy over the paucity of criticism in our classroom or suggested that they would like to see more. That very paucity limited the amount of my data on this subject. Those who did weigh in seemed to feel that strong criticism would be a negative factor. Both Garrett and I felt that the indirect, rather constructive criticism was not detrimental, yet it was perhaps so mild and indirect, that it had no effect on him, small effect on me, and was not even noticed by our classmates. The strong warning/criticism to Dawn solely about her attendance, not the

Korean language, was effective, backed up as it was by the threat of her failing the course. Although it worried her, she felt it was justified and was not discouraged by it.

Despite such limited data and including the references to correction/criticism outside of class, it seems obvious that criticism has the potential regarding second language acquisition and participation, to disrupt, discourage and demotivate. However, some of the means and types of criticism specific to our class, e.g. the criticism/warning directed at Dawn and the study warnings directed rarely and non-specifically to members of the class, were possibly mildly beneficial or at least avoided such negative consequences.

CHAPTER 6: THEMES

Simply discussing my data as a response to my research questions as I did in Chapter 5 omits much of what my study revealed. When analyzing and coding my data I identified a number of themes for which the data seemed to generate useful insights into my topic. In order to present these, I chose to discuss five, entitled respectively, Classroom Group Relational Identity, Comfort Level In Talking To Various Others, Comparisons, Dynamics of Participation: Resistance and Agency, and Korean Withdrawal Analysis, they have in common a focus on the individuals in my study rather than on the simple language input generating language output equation.

Theme 1: Classroom Group Relational Identity

In the course of our interviews Dawn expressed the following, which encapsulates perfectly what I understand to be the advantages of a classroom group relational identity and the disadvantages of its absence:

The only people I have access to speaking Korean with are people who are fluent. Like [I] try to use these forms that doesn't really make sense and words I think I heard but sounds weird and I don't really know how to pronounce and I try to say it to my mom. She's like, 'What're you talking about?' But like with my friends [studying Japanese] we're learning the same things you know and we kinda know some things. Maybe I know a little bit more from whatever. Maybe they know a lot more about whatever, but we kinda know what each other's talking about and we know that we both make dumb mistakes, because we don't really get it either, so there was never that pressure to try or I wasn't ever afraid to just say stuff. Because, hell, we all don't know. But with my mom, she knows it [Korean] and most of my aunties and my uncles and my

grandma they know it, so I'm embarrassed to say [it] cause it sounds wrong and I don't

want them to laugh at me…so there's always that difference for me. It never felt like

anyone was with me in trying to learn Korean, because it wasn't that readily available

and it wasn't that interesting for most people. (Dawn, 3rd interview)

Taking a class is not the only way to learn a second language. You could try to hang out

with a group of native speakers, study one-on-one with a tutor, try the solitary approach of

learning from a book, recordings, a computer program such as Rosetta Stone, or watching

television and movies in the language. Each mode has unique characteristics. What seems to me

unique about the classroom is the opportunity it affords to interact with other learners. I

discussed Boxer & Cortés-Conde's (2000) concept of RID, or relational identity, in my Chapter

2 literature review in which they contend that, "learners can become invested in their own

community of learners and become active agents in the interactional practices necessary for

successful L2 acquisition" (p. 207). They further feel that such a community is likely to develop

a sense of unity through a sharing of "the same sense of potential alienation. Thus, sociocultural

awareness and pragmatic development in their L2 can be coconstructed by members of the group

overtly sharing experiences of cultural conflict" (p. 209).

However not all classrooms are equal in terms of the relational identity that develops.

Boxer & Cortés-Conde (2000) see the degree of relational identity developed as dependant on

classroom circumstances, specifically how a class is structured, the teaching method and the

teaching style. To this I would add the identities of the students and their degrees of willingness

to "perceive each other as valid interlocutors" (p. 203). I intend to focus on the classroom and the

language learner group identity it fostered in the context of my Korean class.

Less

Whether a class group identity actually formed in our class was a matter of dispute. At one end, Garrett's non-equivocal reaction to that proposition was, "Nope." He was happy to help others in the class on those rare occasions when his Korean ability permitted; however he felt that this was not a response based on class identity, but rather his teacher role identity kicking in.

Those who saw our class as something other than a collection of individuals, but having less than an robust class identity included Oliver, Ilima, Natsu and Dawn and me. At the time of our second interview Ilima had not observed a definitive overall group identity in our class, but did feel that the class had divided itself into clearly into small subgroups. The people usually closest to the door still hadn't registered so strongly with her at the time of the second interview, but from the window side to the middle of the class she identified as groups, *A* and *B*, the grad students (Garrett, Howard, Oliver and me) plus Quinn, and then herself with *4* and *C*. She felt a bit of regret at being tied to her "group" since she said, "[I] kind of wanna go out and pair with other people."

Oliver felt there were "factions that have identities" noting essentially the same groups that Ilima saw, although he felt we "shared" Quinn with her group. He further classified Dawn as "a bit peripheral; she seemed to do her own thing." Oliver saw our group as a "kind of the happy-go-lucky let's enjoy ourselves in class kind of group." He compared our class unfavorably in the class-identity regard with a French class he had taken as an undergraduate whose members would

> get together afterwards and we're this little group of French learners who enjoy each
>
> other's company…there was a kind of cohesiveness…where we're all sort of in good fun

and we're all learning and enjoying at the same time. I don't particularly have that sense

with this group [our Korean class].

Still, Oliver didn't place our class at the complete opposite end of that spectrum, saying, "It's not

non-functioning [where] everybody sort of hates each other, but it's somewhere in the middle."

More

Natsu also saw our class as having formed groups, yet she also had another sense of a

certain core group of classmates who sat in the middle of the classroom, "they're kinda like

really friendly outside of the class too." Dawn had observed by the time of the second interview

that some groups had formed. She also extended Natsu's "core" idea, though, viewing the class

as having a core group with at least a partial group identity, and our other classmates outside that

core, which included herself. That core group, she felt, included Quinn and me who had made

"an effort to you know bond and try to make friends."

Beyond being friendly in class, some level above minimal participation also seemed to be

a requirement for core group membership in Dawn's categorization, as she felt that those who

had gone on our Korean dinner and movie outing would be considered members. Dawn had not

gone, but had a sense of who participated from the arrangements made during class time. By the

third interview Dawn had noticed a strengthening of the clique model, by then including two

partnerships: her own with Natsu, and *I's* with *D*. Earlier in the semester she had felt that those

latter two individuals and she herself had been unaffiliated, but when working with the two later

in the semester felt they had formed a "partnership" to which she suddenly found herself an

outsider.

Most

Quinn felt that we had started to develop a class identity by the time of his second interview, citing as evidence that "we are easier to get into groups and when he [Paul] says find a partner we're a little quicker in finding a partner than just sitting there waiting for someone." He further said that our class identity was stronger than in his considerably larger communication class, although our smaller size was probably a major contributing factor. By the third interview, though, Quinn felt we had slipped back into smaller groups, that "it [our class] fragmented a little, especially [at] the end." He thought further that, "especially with the video project, it showed the cliques."

From Howard's perspective, we had a degree of class identity that had actually increased slightly by the time of his third interview from earlier in the term. That was evidenced, he felt, by our pulling for one another. He said that in some classes people not only wanted to get 'A's, but wanted their classmates not to, while in our class he thought we all would have been happy to see our classmates get their 'A's as well. Like most of the other participants, he did feel that we could be better categorized as a collection of groups than one single cohesive class unit, but added, "all of those groups have a very positive feeling about the others."

Natsu was slightly more positive in her third interview than in her second, about our having developed an identity. At least she saw us as moving in that direction, saying, "I think it's more group. I think we['re] getting closer." Even Ilima, in our third interview, while not rejecting her "clique" perspective, talked about our class in class-identity terms, noting that it was "more the bubbly happy class as opposed to the next class [another Korean 101 section] that comes in. They always seem so quiet and not happy to be there."

226

Probably influenced by the various impressions of my participants, I could see the validity of different perspectives. When I interviewed myself for the third interview on November 30th, I said,

> If anything I think we've gone backwards on this [class identity] – I feel we've hardened more into groups or pairs: Quinn, Oliver and me plus Howard; to a limited extent Natsu and I; Dawn and Natsu; *B* and *A*; Ilima, *4* and *C*; and *D* and *1*. Perhaps *3* has come in a bit out of the periphery, since he changed his seat and also joined Natsu and Dawn's group.

But even on December 11, the last day of class, I echoed Dawn in my *Class Notes,* writing, "At this final point I feel we really have a core of people maintaining a class identity and others more or less on the fringes of participating in that identity (which is not equal to class participation). I feel this is borne out by those who say they'll come to this evening's get together [the final class party] – although I do realize that some people are working – *B* (who says she has to work), *A*, *1* and probably Dawn won't make it. I believe Natsu, Quinn, Oliver, Ilima and *4* will. Howard has said he will probably make it as well. The prospective attendees I feel have more of a class identity, the former more of, at most, their own clique identities within the class."

While the perception of our developing a class identity varied from participant to participant, the consensus seemed to be that we were more or less a collection of cliques or groups, and that (other than in Garrett's view) at least there had been some steps taken toward a class identity, even if those steps had never come close to reaching an ideal level.

Table 2

Summary Of Participants' Perceptions Of Class Identity Formation

Participant	Perceptions	Interview
Garrett	None	Throughout
Ilima	Cliques	2nd and 3rd
	Limited class identity	3rd
Oliver	Cliques	2nd and 3rd
	Limited class identity	3rd
Howard	Some class identity	2nd
	Some, increasing, class identity	3rd
Dawn	Cliques	2nd
	Core/peripheral bifurcation	2nd
	Strengthening of cliques	3rd
Quinn	(Started to develop) Some class identity	2nd
	Strengthening of cliques	3rd
Natsu	Core/peripheral bifurcation	2nd
	Cliques	2nd
	(Moving toward) Some class identity	3rd
Me	(Started to develop) Some class identity	1st, 2nd, 3rd
	Core/peripheral bifurcation	2nd and 3rd
	Cliques	2nd
	Strengthening of cliques	3rd

In light of the nearly consensus perception of an incomplete, or not fully achieved class identity, two questions suggest themselves. The first is, "What factors seemed to push us toward and away from an 'ideal' class identity?" The second was, "Were the beneficial effects of relational identity among classmates, as discussed by Boxer & Cortés-Conde (2000), felt in our Korean class, despite the limited class identity we achieved?"

As regards the first question, Boxer & Cortés-Conde's (2000) ascription of a class relational identity formation to the structure of the class seems most apt. Games involving the whole class, as teams or not, seemed to help. On August 27, the first week, of class, Paul divided us into teams of four and gave us cards with Hangul symbols written on them for us to hold up when he spoke the corresponding sound. The team holding up the correct card first would get a point. I noted in my *Class Notes* that, "the teams all seem enthusiastic and enjoying themselves." I felt that this shared participation/competition caused my classmates to open up a bit and make common cause with each other. On October 9th, we played a numbers game, 삼 육 구 (*sam yuk gu*, 3, 6, 9) in groups. When at the end of the activity one from each group went to the front of the class to play against each other, the class applauded spontaneously when they did well.

Another example comes from our class outing. After our dinner, while we, some of the class, were outside the theater waiting for admittance, we again, with Paul, played Korean number games. Eventually Paul told us that the loser in Korea often pays the penalty of being hit, or rather the winner hits everyone else, so we did that, tentatively at first, but with everyone starting to hit harder later. Although hitting and being hit did not suddenly become my idea of a good time, we seemed to be enthusiastically sharing the experience of participation in a Korean game and paying the consequences in a Korean culturally appropriate manner.

229

Group work, in our class most often pair-work and including role-play, was another strong push toward group identity development. Boxer & Cortés-Conde (2000) say, "What can be learned in the classroom is how to develop an interactional identity that allows learners to know when to talk, what others want to talk about, and how generally to participate in conversational practices" (p. 204). Pair-work certainly brings this type of interactional knowledge to the forefront. Several participants singled out pair-work activities as strongly positive class activities. Ilima generally enjoyed the pair-work and found it to be our most useful class format. Oliver enjoyed it more than any other activity, as evidenced by his response when asked about what was most useful in the class:

> Anything that allowed us to just talk and use the language with a partner, even those [activities that] weren't very good. Any kind of roleplay that we did. I remember that we were given some fake money and we had to go and talk about stuff we wanted to buy in the store. It was great you know.

Lectures, where the class was not asked to work with each other, was, if not a drag on group identity, at least not a contributory factor. And that is exactly what I said in my *Class Notes* on September 11th: "I don't see a great deal of class relational identity developing today. It seems to develop most where we interact in pair, group work, and games – none today, hence no change."

But such group work only went so far. Personality and a willingness to participate socially with classmates also played a role. *A* and *B* came to class as a dyad and made little effort to integrate themselves socially into the class. *D* and *1* seemed to form an exclusive group of their own, although *1* did attend the Korean movie part of our dinner and movie outing. *3* moved from the extreme social periphery to a position as a marginal participant, coming to the

restaurant and movie and becoming friendlier with Dawn and Natsu as they worked on their final project. As discussed elsewhere, Dawn consciously moved from avoidance of social entanglement with classmates to becoming friendlier with Natsu and to a lesser extent *3*. She did not attend either the restaurant/movie outing or our final party, but did join a final study session with Quinn, Oliver, Natsu and me.

Table 3

Summary of Participation In The Formation Of A Class Relational Identity

Participation Level	Participants
Fully or nearly so	Quinn, Me, Oliver, Ilima, *4*, Natsu, Howard
Moved from little to some	Dawn, *3*
Moved from some to none	Garrett, *C*[a]
Remained marginal	*A, B, D, 1*[b]

Note. By participation I mean degree of interaction with classmates and participation in extra-curricular activities. I base this data on participant comments and interpretations of my observations.
[a]Both dropped the course late in the semester
[b]*A* and *B* entered as a self-contained group; *D* and *1* formed a self-contained group during the semester

The "How" of Participation

Group and pair work certainly seem key activities for the development of a group identity, but the "how" of that participation seems no less important. A social willingness to participate in those activities and the level of unselfishness demonstrated in that participation likely influenced the development of a class identity. Specifically to what extent people were willing to help and be helped by others seems a measure of that unselfishness, which in turn seems to have been a positive factor in class identity formation. Most among my participants were quite willing to help and accept help from classmates. Quinn indicated feeling exactly that way for example. Natsu said she was quite comfortable asking her partner for help and had even developed a strategy for helping her partners when she thought they had made a mistake. "Whenever I find some mistakes I just [say], 'Oh I think, isn't it this one?' "

However there were some examples to the contrary, where class members were less willing to offer help. Specifically, Ilima was willing to help her partner during pair-work, but was unhappy if her partner's need for help cut into her own practice. Furthermore, there were some people my participants found more or less uncomfortable to work with, due to the alliances discussed earlier in this section. Oliver was put off by the sophomoric behavior of *D* and *1* when he worked with them in a group. Dawn felt excluded by the same two later in the semester due to the strong bond she felt had developed between them since she and they had last worked together earlier.

A different type of situation interfered with the development of solidarity between classmates for both Ilima and me when we worked separately, on different occasions, with *A*. Both of us felt intimidated by *A*, not, I feel, so much because she was at a considerably higher level of proficiency, but perhaps because of her no-nonsense manner and the way she would

peremptorily correct our mistakes. On October 1st I wrote in my class notes about an information

gap exercise,

> I'm with *A* – it's even more clear that she knows much beyond what we've covered in
> class. We ask and answer what things are in her bag and my room. She corrects me
> several times as my brain and mouth struggle to put meaning, vocabulary and grammar
> together, as if she is a tutor and I the tutee – I feel vaguely embarrassed that I'm not a
> worthy partner and that I've in some way failed her.

Howard and I paired up fairly frequently and he was always quite happy to take the

teaching role. We did however encounter one situation which both illustrates Boxer and Cortés-

Conde's (2000) emphasis on the importance of interactional conversational skills in the

development of RID, and also exemplifies the problems that can develop in building those skills

through those classroom practices. On December 10th I paired with Howard for a guided

conversation. We disagreed on how to follow the not so clear instructions. I preferred, as a more

natural conversational style, to ask him questions about the things he was reporting (what he did

the previous weekend). He preferred to tell me everything in one big chunk. After a brief back

and forth, rather than continue disagreeing, I let it go his way, but was mildly dissatisfied and

annoyed, since doing it my way "clearly" would have resulted in a better activity.

December 9th, two days before our final class, we viewed all the final class project videos

in class. If working in our groups tended to reinforce cliques, I felt that watching our classmates'

productions, reacting to and receiving our classmates reactions, was a unifying activity.

However, some were absent. I said in my *Class Notes* from that day,

> I don't know the reason that *B, A* and *I* were absent but it felt like a slight toward me and
> the others who were present. I was looking forward to seeing what the others had done

and looking forward to having them see what we had done. It felt like they were announcing they didn't care to see our work and didn't care to see how we reacted to theirs – sort of rejecting a class identity.

While some felt we were getting closer to a class identity through to the end of the semester, Quinn had noted, in my opinion with some validity, that there seemed to be a drop off in the trajectory of class identity development between the middle of the semester and the end. As our instructors felt the need to "finish" the text by the end of the semester and review with us what we had had previously learned, so as to prepare us for the final exam, there was a definite drop off in the amount of class and group/pair communication activities that we did in favor of increased lectures, including lecture reviews of what we had studied. As I noted earlier it was precisely the interactive activities that seemed to propel group identity formation, while teacher to class lectures seemed to bring such formation to a halt.

Relevant to the second question, "Were the beneficial effects of relational identity among classmates, as discussed by Boxer and Cortés-Conde (2000), felt in our Korean class, despite the limited class identity we achieved?" Boxer and Cortés-Conde (2000) note that

> [s]tudents in a language class likely share the experience of "being in the same boat;" that is, by the fact that they share the same sense of potential alienation. Thus, sociocultural awareness and pragmatic development in their L2 can be co-constructed by members of the group overtly sharing experiences of cultural conflict. (p. 209)

That type of experiential feeling was expressed by Dawn in the long quotation opening this section, both positively as a part of her classroom Japanese acquisition experience and negatively as not a part of her previous Korean acquisition process, largely with family members.

I believe the benefits of a class relational identity did accrue for our class. Regarding the "same boat" feeling, Ilima in our third interview referred to the students in our class as "being all together kind of in the morning." Also, it wasn't a tremendous revelation to me that group cultural and language activities outside the classroom would contribute to a class "bonding." I instigated the Korean restaurant idea, supplemented, at the suggestion of Oliver and Quinn, with a Korean movie, having that idea in mind. I felt and had had the experience from previous language learning situations, that this type of activity represented the "fun" part of learning and that sharing that fun with our fellow language learners would be mutually encouraging.

Another benefit ascribed to RID is that,

The (classroom) community of practice can allow for a safe haven where students build on their prior schemas their developing understanding of the new set of norms. If successful, the language classroom can become a *transitional space* in which one negotiates the meaning of the new culture vis-à-vis the old culture. (Boxer & Cortés-Conde, 2000, p. 209)

My fellow students seemed quite comfortable participating in activities involving just such negotiation of the culture through Korean language. Ilima voiced this sentiment more prosaically, saying about our class that, "since we're all learning it's ok to make mistakes." The tolerance, patience, and understanding of our instructors certainly contributed to this; they never criticized individuals (as discussed in Research Question 3B), nor did they cut a struggling student off, but would instead, non-judgmentally, provide some verbal help to assist that student to complete her statement or the selection being read.

In short our class seemed to demonstrate that it is not necessary to reach an ideal level of class relational identity to produce many of the benefits Boxer & Cortés-Conde (2000) claim for

it. Their analysis of what seems to engender RID in the classroom, that is, in my loose paraphrase, some agency provided by the instructor(s) for the student to participate in language practice as part of a shared experience with fellow students and the promotion of a non-threatening environment by the instructors, seemed borne out by my data. A "perfect" class relational identity was not established in our class for reasons, such as the late term reduction of RID-encouraging activities, and, in some cases, personal identity mitigating against RID. This indicates to me that even partial success in attaining such an identity can result in some success in reaping its benefits.

<div align="center">Theme 2: Comfort Level In Talking To Various Others</div>

Although my study connects language and identity to the classroom, we, the participants, did not park our identities, as salient to Korean, at the classroom door; instead, we brought them to, and especially imagined them in, the outside world. In this section I discuss the participants' comfort level in using Korean, which I equate with a willingness to talk in Korean with other people. While I can draw no hard and fast positive or negative correlations between our willingness to talk to others and our language acquisition, it is reasonable to suppose that a greater comfort level with a wider range of interactional partners is more beneficial to language acquisition than the lesser alternative involving fewer chances for interaction. What was most clearly demonstrated by my data was that there was a, surprisingly wide variation from individual to individual regarding to whom and to what extent we would be comfortable talking in Korean.

Although this theme leads beyond the classroom, it is not completely divorced from the class milieu, as it discusses our willingness to communicate with our instructors and classmates in Korean in addition to non-class related Korean interlocutors. In this it also connects to the

theme of a group/relational class identity. Furthermore, the fear of criticism seems to have a clear connection to how comfortable we were in using our new language to talk to others, thus extending the theme of criticism in and beyond the classroom as discussed in Research Question 3B. I connect this theme more concretely back to the classroom in my Chapter 7.

I chose to focus on the idea of the degree of comfort my participants would feel in talking to others, as this seemed to be intimately connected to their willingness to communicatively utilize their Korean outside the classroom. In other words a person comfortable in talking to another would likely feel unthreatened, and be willing and happy to engage in a wide range of communicative opportunities. If uncomfortable however, he would likely feel anxiety, be unhappy, and reject many such opportunities.

<p align="center">Me</p>

It seems significant that individuals felt very differently about whom they would feel comfortable conversing in Korean with. I had assumed that everyone felt roughly as I did, that it was most comfortable to converse with a classmate and least comfortable to do so with a Korean stranger. With a classmate, I would have been happy to initiate or respond in Korean as long as he was willing and we could keep it going. Indeed this happened several times with Quinn when we bumped into each other on campus. He seemed to enjoy as much as I did prolonging the conversation by steering it in the direction of things we had studied. Of course it depended on the classmate. One exception, that is someone with whom I felt far less comfortable conversing, was *A* whose level was clearly higher and who, from my experience with her in pair-work, would frequently assume the teaching/correcting role. Another exception was Dawn, also at a much higher level, who I felt would be impatient with anything more than a Korean greeting from me. I felt most comfortable conversing with a classmate who was sharing my desire and pleasure in

practicing and manipulating the language we had learned, and not as comfortable with those riding their Korean two-wheelers while I was riding my tricycle.

I certainly would not have walked up to a Korean person I didn't know and try to engage her in conversation in Korean. Furthermore I would have been uncomfortable if introduced to a friend's friend and asked to "perform" in Korean. With our teachers, Paul and Kain, I would have definitely initiated and felt comfortable with a Korean greeting (more comfortable than English) and perhaps asking how he or she was. Insofar as the instructor continued the conversation in Korean and I was able to comprehend and respond, I would have been moderately comfortable continuing the conversation, but less so than with a classmate.

Finally with a Korean person I knew, it would depend on our relationship, his patience and how we interacted. A Korean friend or acquaintance who was willing to adjust to my level and limit his corrections would have been my ideal. Input far above my level of understanding would quickly cause me to give up, as would trying to express something totally beyond my Korean capability. Furthermore being corrected, even to the extent of once every few sentences, especially when not done with tact and sensitivity, would likewise discourage me to the point of giving up. And I would absolutely have wanted any conversational partner to know that I was a beginning student from the start so as not to be judged and criticized for my lack of ability and to give my interlocutor the chance to compensate for that lack of ability.

Quinn

Quinn would not have been completely comfortable talking to a friend of a friend. He indicated that most of his discomfort would come from the fear of making mistakes and appearing to be too proud of his Korean language skills while the other person was mentally categorizing him as merely a learner. He further felt that if he were to have an exchange in

Korean with a stranger who knew from the outset that he was studying the language he would feel pressure to perform well.

With a total stranger in certain contexts though, Quinn did have a level of comfort. He had actually encountered a situation of standing near two Korean students near the lockers in the bookstore which required a quarter to use and overhearing one saying,

> "쿼터 없어요" (*Kwata eopseo yo*, I don't have a quarter). And then I just immediately grabbed my quarter 'Oh here, here you go'; and then they go 'Oh you know Korean. You know what we are saying.'"

Quinn then replied, "'Oh sort of' and then I walked away." He added, "I think I would be comfortable in a situation where I surprise them."

Quinn indicated he would be most comfortable talking with Paul, whom he considered understanding of Quinn's ability and patient with it. He felt that he would, in general, be comfortable talking to a classmate, but slightly less so than with Paul. Specifically, he felt that he would be less comfortable with several of our classmates who seemed to be struggling. With *3* for example,

> I wouldn't want to talk too much in Korean with him 'cause he's kind of struggling with it, and then if he didn't ask for my help, I don't want to be in his face or make him have more of a hard time trying to understand.

He also felt his comfort level using Korean with a Korean friend would be equal to that with his classmates.

On a scale of one (most uncomfortable) to ten (most comfortable) Quinn felt that a conversation with a stranger would be about a five or six, and with Paul, a ten. In my case, although I also felt least comfortable conversing with a stranger, my ratings would diverge more;

on the 'stranger' scale I would enter a one or two, although my most comfortable situation, a conversation with one of my classmates (with a few exceptions), would, like Quinn, be a ten.

<p align="center">Oliver</p>

Oliver felt he was most comfortable using Korean with his wife and expected that same level of comfort with his daughter as she grew up. Other than his immediate family he, like me, would have felt most comfortable trying to use Korean with his classmates and would have been only slightly less comfortable with Paul and Korean people he knew at least fairly well. Oliver would have been willing to use his Korean, and feel somewhat comfortable about it, with a total stranger who had initiated the conversation in Korean, say with someone who had noticed him studying Korean in a public place. Oliver felt a strong aversion though to the idea of being the conversation initiator in that situation. Most interesting to me was that he indicated that he would be least comfortable trying to converse in Korean with someone he knew only slightly or with someone his wife or a friend was introducing him to, although he wasn't sure why that would be the case. In that situation he would attempt to steer the conversation, if possible, into English. Oliver considered it equally uncomfortable to try to communicate with his in-laws in Korean.

<p align="center">Natsu</p>

Natsu felt that she would have been most comfortable using her Korean with friends and fairly comfortable with her classmates. She said she would have been somewhat uncomfortable talking with friends of friends, but would have assumed they weren't expecting too much and would take the conversations as far as she could. She had about the same comfort level talking with Paul in Korean, although she would have done her best. She indicated that she would have felt the most uncomfortable talking to a stranger, that she would definitely never initiate such a

conversation, and that if a stranger were to talk to her in Korean, Natsu would immediately let her know that she was only a beginner in the language.

Ilima

Ilima felt she would have been fairly comfortable talking in Korean with a Korean stranger in certain contexts. She had had an experience where she described to strangers what we had been learning in class and was told, "'Oh yeah that's good.'" Relating that to other situations she figured that if the person she was talking to knew she was learning the language she would be forgiving "if you have bad pronunciation or you messed up." For anything other than a greeting she would have been less comfortable talking with Paul than to a stranger. She imagined that if he asked a question in Korean in such a situation she would have had to respond in Korean and would have been uncomfortable because he might have criticized some aspect of her Korean reply. Ilima agreed that he never criticized any of our Korean attempts, but nevertheless had that fear.

Ilima would have been most comfortable having a brief conversation with one of our classmates. Those times where she did so the conversations would "normally blend in a mix of English and Korean" adding to the comfort level. Ilima felt a conversation with a Korean person she knew fairly or very well was "the most embarrassing, cause they won't be afraid to criticize you."

Howard

Howard said he would have been most comfortable talking in Korean with a classmate outside of class or with Paul. He also felt he would have been fine having a conversation with a Korean person he knew fairly well although, "It probably wouldn't last very long just because of my knowledge base." He would have been slightly uncomfortable engaging in a conversation

with a Korean stranger since he was afraid they might not appreciate his limitations and, because of his comprehension problems, either not being able to express what he wanted to say or "not being able to respond contextually to what they're saying." That, he felt, would "make for a pretty awkward conversation." He would have been somewhat more comfortable if that stranger was introduced as a friend's friend. In that case there would have been some shared understood "context" and the support of friendship as well.

Garrett

Garrett's attitude toward conversing in Korean seemed to be less about comfort than lack of enthusiasm. Basically, he did not feel his Korean level was high enough to be trotting it out outside of class. He was not particularly enthusiastic about the idea of talking to Paul outside of class in Korean for example, at least not beyond a simple greeting. If he were to initiate the conversation he was not even sure whether his greeting would have been in English or Korean. If Paul initiated the conversation in Korean he felt he would have tried to respond in Korean to the extent that he could.

Likewise if I were to have tried to get a conversation going with Garrett in Korean, he would have taken it as far as he could. However he saw no real benefit to engaging with our classmates in Korean, as our levels were so low. Garret compared this to his situation when taking higher level Spanish. In that case he intentionally spoke in Spanish with classmates, particularly those more advanced, and felt comfortable code-switching when necessary.

Garrett was no more enthusiastic about conversing in Korean with friends, acquaintances or his Second Language Studies Department Korean classmates, feeling that since English would be the dominant language it would also be the most comfortable. He did imagine that there might

be certain friends or acquaintances in certain contexts with whom he might engage in limited Korean conversation.

Although again not enthusiastic, the hypothetical possibility of talking to a friend of a friend was the only one where he didn't focus on a preference for English. Garret felt he would have been comfortable as long as that friend's friend knew his limitations and was patient in waiting for his responses.

Dawn

Dawn felt she would have had anxiety having a brief conversation with an older person she didn't know, that she'd have to worry about using correct forms and possibly being criticized for being Korean and not knowing the language. When in reality introduced to a Korean friend of her cousin, one whom she knew was studying English, she did feel considerable comfort, similar to the rather high comfort level she felt with Japanese friends in Okinawa, because she felt they

> understand that their language doesn't really span across their borders that much, that when they hear people who are learning use certain words and certain phrases, they're just very, very surprised and they always say 'Oh wow you're so good. You're so good,' even though it's very basic stuff, but they're very encouraging because they know that English is the predominant language.

Moreover she felt their own efforts to learn English made them appreciate the difficulties she had in their language. The fact that members of this latter group were less likely to criticize her communicative efforts played a large role in her willingness to attempt conversation. This high comfort level extended even more to Korean ESL speakers she knew well, since not only was she comfortable with them already, but also due to their high levels of empathy she saw

them as sharing "that common understanding that we're both gonna sound stupid and make so many mistakes" in each other's language.

Unexpectedly, to me at least, Dawn would have been extremely reluctant to talk to our instructor Paul in Korean. If she had had to, she would have made an effort to talk as she did in class, slowly and not saying anything that went outside the boundaries of what we had been taught. She felt that if she were to reveal what she already knew beyond what had been covered in class, she might convey that "I don't need his teaching" or at least that she was "discounting" his teaching efforts. She also indicated that, "sometimes I'm afraid my pronunciation is weird or maybe it's wrong or maybe the structure [is wrong]. I mean I just feel a lot more insecure."

In contrast to most of the other participants, Dawn would also not have been that happy talking to her classmates, imagining that, "I'd probably just say a few lines, a line that we both know like as a joke, it'd just be like 'Yeah' and then talk in English." Again her reasoning was that she did not want to use language that we hadn't learned in class and that her classmates might not know.

Discussion

There were 5 types of interlocutors discussed: a stranger, a friend of a friend, a friend or acquaintance, our instructor(s), and a classmate. By far the strongest projected levels of comfort indicated by my participants was for conversations in Korean with friends or acquaintances (indicated by 6 of the 8 participants) and with classmates ((indicated by 6 of the 8 participants). 3 of the participants felt they would have strong comfort levels conversing with our instructors.

When asked to rank with whom each of my participants would be hypothetically most comfortable holding a Korean conversation with, 5 preferred classmates, strongly suggesting that that the benefits of a Class Relational Identity (see *Theme 1: Classroom Group Relational*

Identity) had accrued in producing a group of interlocutors with whom most of us felt we could comfortably try out our developing language skills. 2 participants felt maximum comfort level with our instructors. Garrett was reluctant to answer on the basis of comfort level, feeling that low proficiency level made any attempt at conversation in Korean with anyone rather pointless. He did say that he would have been most comfortable, although still rather unenthusiastic, with a friend of a friend as an interlocutor.

Even in areas where there seemed to be a lot of agreement, such as a high comfort level when trying out one's Korean wings with friends, there were significant exceptions. I, for example, envision some friends for whom error correction rather than communication takes precedence. With those friends I imagine quickly becoming frustrated and discouraged, in other words uncomfortable to the extent of ceasing further interchange in Korean. But at least I can also visualize patient friends who make an effort to aid my efforts to communicate, who supply grammar and vocabulary to make up for my inadequacies and make sure I understand what they are saying. For Ilima, friends fit only in the former category, that of disagreeable partners, since they were the ones whom she thought would feel most free to criticize her.

While the contexts for positive levels of comfort indicated by the participants seem somewhat predictable, it was our levels of discomfort and the contexts that we indicated produced them, that showed surprising variation from individual to individual. 4 participants felt their greatest level of conversational discomfort would be with stranger, 4 felt it would be with a friend of a friend, 2 felt it would be with a friend and 1 felt it would be with our instructor (the total comes to more than the eight participants since there were a few cases of participants having an equal level of maximum discomfort with several interlocutors).

The wide range of reactions to the idea of one-on-one conversations with our instructors was most striking. Quinn, Oliver, and Howard, and I all felt it to be agreeable, Howard, Quinn, and I to the greatest possible extent, while Dawn, Ilima and Natsu all felt various degrees of discomfort with the idea. Dawn indicated her degree of discomfort would be most extreme; Ilima and Natsu felt they would be only moderately uncomfortable.

There was far more variation in the *degrees* of projected discomfort for the participants than there had been for projected levels of comfort. Quinn, for example, was only moderately uncomfortable with the idea of talking to a stranger in Korean; Natsu was strongly uncomfortable. Quinn again would have been only moderately uncomfortable talking to a friend of a friend, Oliver would have been extremely uncomfortable.

I feel these summations give a clear indication that who we are affects our reactions, both positively (a high comfort level) and negatively (a high discomfort level) to various types of social interactions in the second language. To me at least the wide variation among participants in this regard was surprising and a further indication of the extent to which identity factors are implicated in second language participation.

<div align="center">Theme 3: Comparisons</div>

<div align="center">*Introduction*</div>

In my Chapter 2 literature review there were numerous examples of the importance of comparisons in formation of identity (i.e. Tajfel 1981; Kawakami & Dion, 1995; Callero, 2004), and also discussions of comparisons with others in academic contexts, specifically by Martinot and Monteil (2000) whose explanation of "self-to-prototype matching (or prototype matching)" seems to dovetail with the data from my study. As a reminder, this strategy or technique "entails

(a) the comparison of one's own attributes with those of a typical person-in-situation and (b) the selection of the situation with the greatest self-to-prototype overlap" (p. 120).

Taking a cue from the literature, I created and asked some interview questions specifically addressing this type of strategy. Although responses to those were useful and incorporated in my discussion below, at least as often unsolicited comparisons would bubble up in participants' answers to other questions. Indeed in some instances, when asked directly, my participants stated they rarely made comparisons, but would subsequently provide them while responding to other questions.

Many comparisons fit both Martinot & Monteil's (2000) (a) and (b) categories. Particularly the (b) type, that is previous second language experiences, were ubiquitous and frequent. That they were so common would seem to indicate their importance to my participants in terms of language learner identity and how that identity impacted their responses to our Korean class.

<div align="center">Comparisons to People</div>

Modeling

Comparisons were not only made to "a typical person-in-situation" but to others as well. First, there were comparisons to specific individuals. Quinn compared himself to *A*, as did several others from a variety of perspectives. In Quinn's case he particularly admired her accent and considered her to be "like a model." He would say to himself, of her, "That's how I should sound." He also took Oliver as a model because he used what we learned "right away" and tried to "integrate what we're learning already to any situation." Looking over my data from my other participants, I'm surprised that this modeling type of comparison was not more common. I did not, in my own frequent comparisons, think of the objects of those comparisons as models.

Comparisons to the Class in General

At the time of our first interview, Ilima felt that she was somewhere at the middle of the class in terms of Korean language proficiency, but that those who were better started the class already more proficient. At the time of the third interview she felt she had let things slide in terms of preparation for class and that, coupled with her problem of forgetting things we had learned earlier, might have caused her to slip just a bit in terms of her proficiency relative to her classmates.

Natsu said she never compared herself to other individuals in the class, but she did slot herself relative to the class in general terms, saying, during her second interview, "I think I'm around average or a little lower than average".

Comparisons to Ideal or Desired Self

Ilima felt that given the advanced Korean background of a number of our classmates, "just for starting out in 101 without really knowing much, I'm where I should be," indicating that she felt that matching up to an internal prototype, as opposed to matching up with her classmates, was the more important gauge of doing well in her eyes. Natsu too compared her own performance in the class with performance she would have been happy, or at least satisfied, with. As she put it, "I don't compare with others, but just if I'm following the class and I'm not lost, I'm like, 'Ok I'm good. I'm doing pretty good.' " Garrett, during his second interview, saw himself as falling short of his own standards from the beginning of the semester, but nevertheless improving and coming closer to those standards up to the time of the interview. As he said, "I'd say now, compare myself about a month ago, it's better. There's still room for improvement, but I'm satisfied [with] the pace that I'm going."

Oliver did "sort of informally just say 'Oh who's sort of better and who's sort of' – you know I sort of rank people"; however, he claimed that he did this "just for interest," not to compare himself to others or for any other reason. More importantly, although he questioned my phrasing of "an ideal self," he had "the sensation or the perception that I could be better and would prefer actually to be at that level if I really had the time to study everything in detail."

Rejection of Comparison to Others

Some participants were tempted, but ultimately rejected comparing themselves to others. Garrett began the semester comparing his Korean language ability to the higher abilities of his classmates. However, he felt "I spent too much time focusing on the external, their ability, rather than focusing on my ability and trying to improve it." Therefore he consciously changed his focus to himself, that is comparing his performance to a level he reasonably expected himself to reach.

Garrett had gone through the same process of early comparison to others and subsequent rejection of that approach when studying Spanish. Then, "I took the same approach, just compared myself externally to the abilities of others, but realized that was defeating my own learning, so I decided not to do that." Rather than building on his Spanish as a second language classroom experience and categorically rejecting such an approach from the first day of our Korean class, Garrett ended up recapitulating his earlier rejection process. From this I conclude that the temptation to compare himself to others was obviously strong, while rejecting it was, for him, necessary, yet going against his natural inclination.

Like Garrett, Howard indicated he consciously avoided comparing himself to others in the class, since in his previous language learning experiences, he had learned that we all have our cycles of ups and downs, our individual strengths and weakness and that an individual having

trouble at one point may very well be the most successful language learner of the group in the future. Therefore he tried to keep the focus on his "own learning." He additionally did not devote much effort toward measuring his progress in our class against some sort of "ideal Howard" benchmark, something he tended to do more of in the context of other classes. He felt that most of his progress in Korean would come in Korea and that his best strategy in our class was to relax while doing "what I'm supposed to do."

Competition and Identification

Dawn talked, in our second interview, about connecting competitiveness to comparison; that she would compare herself to our classmates who have some Korean language background and "like wonder if my Korean is stronger than theirs." Dawn particularly compared herself to *A*, because *A* seemed most similar to her in many ways. "She seems to know a lot of the same things I know, so when she spins off on her own I'm kind of surprised that she said that, because I mean that's something I would have said, or that's the vocabulary I would have used, so I'm kind of surprised. I mean it's kind of funny, because sometimes I struggle with the reading and sometimes she struggles with the reading, so when I'm trying to read too and she's picked to read and she struggles, I'm kind of like 'Oh yeah I would have done that too.'"

In Dawn's case this self-to-other comparison and competitiveness was not one of the more significant factors influencing her language acquisition and class participation. While it *might* have provided a great incentive for increased acquisition, spurring her to eliminate any perceived gaps between her level and the target of her comparison, perhaps even trying to surpass *A,* she rather short-circuited this progression. She was instead sufficiently satisfied with the knowledge that *if* she worked as hard as *A,* she was capable of doing equally well.

Furthermore she put other concerns about the class ahead of this factor, namely getting to our early morning class on time.

In her second interview Ilima, while discussing her experiences with classmates as activity partners, made a gratuitous comparison to *A* as well, saying, "I think she might be better than me at fluency or something." This did not seem to affect or challenge her self-image as it did with Dawn, however. And I too, when paired with *A,* had also quickly noted that she was far more advanced than I was in virtually every aspect of Korean, but had not felt Dawn's sense of competition or identification. For Ilima I believe, and certainly for me, *A* had entered the class at a too high level for us to attempt to hold ourselves to her standards.

More on the order of Dawn comparing herself to *A***,** who had certain characteristics she considered analogous to her own, Ilima made reference to two Caucasian sisters, fluent in Korean, whom she had seen on YouTube. She saw herself in them as non-Koreans who would never be accepted fully as Korean, but always be foreigners, noting that "even if I ever become fluent in Korean, I won't ever be fully accepted. I'll just still be a foreigner." She seemed to take the sisters as her ideal investment trajectory end-point in terms of Korean, saying it was "kind of just amazing to watch, to see a non-Korean person speaking fluently." In watching them she thought, "'Wow, I don't know if I'll ever get to that point' and like it's kind of discouraging, but at the same time it's like, 'You need to study harder.'"

Self-denigrating Comparisons

In an example I discussed previously in my answer to Research Question 2B, Quinn compared himself unfavorably to Ilima during his third interview, saying, "I thought I was a little slower in recognizing what the sentences mean compared to Ilima." He felt the reason for Ilima's superiority was that she was naturally gifted. This negative comparison example seems to me

251

analogous to Ilima's and mine with *A* (the former discussed above, the latter below), in which the object of our comparisons did not closely enough match our "prototypes" and therefore did not suggest to us the need for competition or emulation. In Quinn's case, attributing a natural gift to Ilima let him off the competitive hook.

Me

Although I also used comparisons fitting most of the above category types, my own use of comparisons tended to be not limited to just one type or another, but were all over the place, representing my different identity positions and positionings. In my second self-interview I said,

I compare myself with individuals in the class – whoever is called on or I work with in a pair. I think 'I'm not doing as well as this person; I'm doing better than that person.' Sometimes when my comparison is not favorable I get discouraged – other times I reassure myself that that person has studied Korean prior to our class, that compared to a generic learner who has not studied Korean before, I'm doing fairly well.

I had what might seem to have been an internally inconsistent view as to my own ability. On the one hand, I felt it was realistic to more and more over time consider myself totally on top of things in terms of preparing for the class and doing well on quizzes and tests. On the other hand, like Ilima, I also felt I was nowhere near the Korean language level of most of my classmates who seemed to have various degrees of Korean language background. And yet, at least in the area of vocabulary, I learned more of what was being presented in the text than participants I otherwise acknowledged as far advanced, such as Oliver and Dawn.

I made a number of comparisons in my *Class Notes*, particularly in my first month of writing when I was least confident about doing well in class. On September 2, for example I compared myself to the rest of the class, writing, "I notice I can't help judging how I'm doing

against a general picture of the class (and finding myself lacking)." On September 4, I made the same type of comparison, but felt a little better about the result saying, "I feel slightly less inferior when compared with my classmates today than previously…no worse than anybody else on the 'telephone' game."

On September 3, I worked with *A* and *B* and in my notes said, "I contrast myself, this time unfavorably, with my "group," *A* and *B* – having noted that B seemed to be having a little trouble reading yesterday – she reads more fluently than me today." While *A* and *B* weren't participants in my study and I didn't learn so much about them, they seemed to have had similar backgrounds; however *A* possessed the stronger Korean language skills. I felt my (lack of) Korean ability was closer to *B*'s level and therefore focused more on comparing my performance to hers.

I compared myself with my classmates in other instances as well. On September 15, this comparison led to action. I said,

> Today we met in Moore Hall computer lab to practice typing. Since I had done the typing
> exercise halfway in 111 class on Friday (at seemingly half the speed of everyone else),
> and then again on Saturday at home, I thought I would be faster than, or at least equal to,
> the class doing it today – but no, Quinn on my left is finished when again I'm only
> halfway through, I believe *B*, on my right also finished much earlier. I resolve to play
> around with the Korean typing site listed on the handout.

I subsequently did so at home.

On September 16th, I compared myself more favorably with *3* and *C*, saying,

> *3* and *C* are asked to read from Lesson 2, Conversation 1 – unless they've prepared as I
> have, it's cold – no practice and some unfamiliar vocab. Both do so only hesitantly. I

could have done a much better job (having studied it since last week), but declined to volunteer when the class was given the chance.

On September 11th, I made both favorable and unfavorable comparisons, which I feel instructive, at least for learning something about myself.

> We move on to a dictation quiz – good and bad for me, the good part is that for the six sentences I make only one very small mistake. The bad news is that it is not just *2*, but nearly everyone who seems to be able to write twice as fast as me – Quinn (I sit between Garrett and Quinn) is practically finished when I'm still beginning every sentence. I say this out loud and Garrett comments that he is 75% slower than me.

What I found instructive about this occasion was that I was far more dissatisfied in response to my negative comparison than satisfied with being positively compared to Garrett. In other words I valued my negative perception as far more important than the positive one.

I considered Howard, like *A*, too advanced to make direct comparisons worthwhile. Our respective levels triggered another response however. On September 30, I wrote,

> When Kain goes over a few of the sentences in various spots and asks the class to translate, I notice that Howard, whom I'm sitting next to, can translate some of the words and sentences much more quickly than I can – the thing is I feel that the universe should give me extra credit for my true beginner status and having learned the vocabulary in those sentences ahead of time (I specifically remember being proud of knowing "경제학" [*gyeong je hak*, economics] – so I want to, in my mind, tell Kain and Paul, "It's not fair – he knew this stuff before / his level is way higher to begin with."

I felt the need to be acknowledged for what I did on a level playing field, and not forced to compete against someone who had a head start.

Introduction

One characteristic common to my participants was that Korean was not actually a true "second" language for any of them. All had studied at least one other language at some point. That previous language study was a common thread running through all of the following types of comparisons.

Other Languages

Participants sometimes drew on other languages they had studied for comparison. In some cases interference was a problem. Ilima worried about interference, "cause I might start remembering the Chinese word instead of the Korean or mix them." She had already experienced interference from Korean back to Chinese when she had tried to count in Chinese and "started mixing in Korean numbers." Not having a sense of how Koreans nativized English loan words, I noted that when we practiced writing some in September, I had to "fight my default mode of Japanization" of such words. Quinn viewed the language overlap more positively, saying about the numbers, "because I'm familiar with that kind of system, so all I have to do is copy-paste Korean on it."

Natsu would sometimes relate Korean back to Japanese. She was somewhat confused by Korean honorific forms which, although similar to Japanese, were different enough so that she couldn't merely apply her knowledge of her first language to Korean. On the other hand, the rule for answering positive and negative questions positively or negatively in Korean was the same as for Japanese, the opposite of English, and therefore Natsu "got it" quite easily. (In English *yes* and *no* responses to a positively and negatively phrased question, represent "truth" value, while

in Japanese and Korean a positive response agrees with, and a negative disagrees with, the positive or negative phrasing of the question.)

Howard had spent the summer studying basic, intensive Japanese at Middlebury College. Given the recency of that experience, it is probably not surprising that he made frequent comparisons to it. This included comparisons of Korean language to Japanese language. It was his observation that vocabulary derived from Chinese by both languages was just different enough in each that his intensive Japanese experience over the summer in many cases had pushed out of his head the Korean versions he had previously studied. This perception of loss had goaded him to study Korean again at Hawaii. Howard also contrasted listening in Korean and Japanese. He felt that there was far more elision in Korean between syllables than there was in Japanese, making it more difficult to catch Korean words and phrases. The first comparison, and the loss-of-language result Howard felt it engendered, resulted in his further investment, or perhaps, reinvestment, in Korean. The second comparison seemed to provide more of a sorting out or clarifying the characteristics of the languages.

I was constantly consciously trying to relate the Korean vocabulary I was learning to Chinese and Japanese, and sometimes felt frustrated that I didn't have the Chinese characters on call. I also wondered, as we learned some grammatical structures such as sentence particles, how much their usage overlapped with Japanese. In the same way I wondered about similarities and differences between Korean and Japanese when it came to sociolinguistic concerns, such as the use of terms of address, honorific and humble forms. Part of this was probably simple curiosity connected to my interest in languages. Part might also have been an attempt to simplify my learning process by following Quinn's "copy-paste" system. In any case, this led me to ask a number of people outside of class for explanation and their interpretations of these socially-based

systems, and in doing so form tentative theories and models of how Korean "worked" in these areas. I hadn't done this type of investigation when previously studying other languages, but I now found it to be part of my learning process.

Other Language Classes: The Course

Probably the most common type of comparison made was to previous language classes. Natsu compared our Korean class favorably to the beginning French class she was taking the same semester, in terms of how both classes were structured and taught. She thought our class was "more well-structured," that we would for example practice talking about "going here to there," first studying the necessary grammar points and related vocabulary, and then practicing them. Her French teacher, though,

> just started talking, cause she know what she's talking about…but she doesn't really explain what we're doing, so she's just like 'Ok open page this and then just read it.' Then every student just gonna read it, but they don't really know what they are saying. They're just reading it.

She felt that the lack of some kind of structure in the French class was "very discouraging" in contrast to our Korean class.

Natsu's comparison of language classes and languages extended to their effectiveness, judged by her use of the languages outside class.

> I think when I try to speak French it's really hard to pronounce every word. Compared to Korean, I think Korean is much easier to pronounce, so when I say it, they actually can understand it. It's more fun because I'm being successful learning Korean from my class...sometimes I can actually catch the words Korean people are saying, but it's really hard to do it with French.

Garrett compared aspects of Asian language classes at UH and our Korean class to previous Japanese language learning experiences elsewhere, nearly always unfavorably to the Korean class, although he diplomatically took pains to say that certain aspects of our class might be positive for others, just not for him. Talking about both Japanese courses at UH and our Korean class, he said,

> Using what I have learned here stateside and also back in Japan, as far as Japanese language is concerned [it] is entirely different. They start with the basis that you have zero ability in the language. You have no knowledge, nothing at all.

He said those courses "placed you correctly," whereas at UH "it just kind of assumed that you're a heritage learner or you had some knowledge of it."

Another of the several unfavorable contrasts Garrett made between his previous Japanese classroom experience and our class dealt with reading. He started with,

> Again I'm going to compare this to my study of Japanese… [T]hey initially start off with the romaji [Romanized script] and then introduce the hirigana, katakana, but even then there's still some texts will have the Romanized word right next to the kana.

For those unfamiliar with Japanese, Garrett was saying that when the two non-Romanized symbol Japanese scripts (kana) were introduced in his earlier Japanese class, the texts had provided the training-wheels of simultaneous Romanization as a helpful aid to the learner. Our Korean text provided no such aid with Hangul, the Korean writing system.

In this chapter's *Theme 5: Korean Withdrawal Analysis* section, I discuss another example in which Garrett contrasted the teaching of verb conjugations in our class with his memory of the presentation of conjugations in Japanese class, another comparison in which our Korean class came up short. Garrett was even critical of the contact class hours of Korean we

had per week when contrasted with Japanese. His explanation incidentally begins with a confirmation of Martinot & Monteil's prototype matching strategy that is "the selection of the situation with the greatest self-to-prototype overlap" (p. 120).

> I understand why the class meets four days a week, but when I take, and again I'm just comparing to Japanese because it's the best comparison I have with an Asian language, when I had taken it in undergraduate, and then also in while I was in Japan, the class met twice a week and the contact time was smaller. The undergraduate class was an hour and a half and it was the same when I was taking it in Japan twice a week, but that was all we needed.

Although this passage looks like a neutral statement about scheduling, subsequent remarks make it clear that he meant that, for the Japanese class, there had been "a lot more time for independent study." Further, he eventually preferred that to our Korean situation:

> Going to class so frequently was at first motivating; but then 'Ah, I gotta do this again and there's not much of a break, because I gotta prepare for this, which will be in this class on this day' and it was just wearing me down a little bit.

> Howard's Middlebury experience, in which he was a true beginner with some false beginner classmates, contrasted with our Korean class where, having previously completed the first two years of our textbook series, he was the false beginner in a class with some true beginners. In Middlebury he felt that his true beginner status had not been properly appreciated by his instructors. He drew from this experience some sensitivity and empathy toward our instructors in dealing with our mixed class and toward his classmates in our Korean class who were on the other side of the beginner divide.

Although this sensitivity contributed to his "resistance" to frequent volunteering in our Korean class, something I further discuss in the *Theme 4: Dynamics of Participation: Resistance and Agency* section, Howard had more positive feelings about the treatment of true beginners in our class. He felt that our Korean instructors factored the false versus true beginner status of our class members into account and didn't penalize the true beginners, whereas his Japanese instructors had only noted that the false beginners were performing better than the true beginners, had rewarded them for that, and had accelerated their pace to match the more advanced false beginners, to the detriment of the true beginners. In this he was validated by Paul's interview comments to me, indicating that he tried to be sensitive to the lack of background of some students and the considerable Korean backgrounds of others. Somewhat less favorable judgments as to degree of sensitivity exhibited were rendered from those on the other side of the divide however, notably Garrett and myself, based on our own experiences and relevant comparisons.

Howard preferred some aspects of the Middlebury Japanese experience to ours, particularly those associated with the immersion system versus our four-hour a week schedule. He liked it that in Middlebury he had had access to the Japanese instructors for such a wide "swath of the day." He also liked having to speak Japanese at meals. Even so, he felt the policy of speaking Japanese twenty-four hours a day was too much for adults, especially at the beginners' level, who sometimes needed to, but couldn't express anything very complex. Given these sorts of pros and cons to both classes, Howard's conclusion did not come down completely on either side of his comparison. He instead suggested that some sort of in-between, semi-immersion language program would actually be best.

Ilima compared our class favorably to her Chinese class, which had consisted largely of reading the text, taking vocabulary quizzes and doing the homework. She liked it that in our class, unlike her Chinese class, our instructors presented some cultural aspects of Korean, such as the K-pop music videos Paul would play in class from time to time.

I compared the quizzes and tests of my Korean class with my Japanese 101 class taken at UH while I was a master's student years before, and I felt that the present class was doing things right in that regard as compared with the earlier class. I had two entries in my *Class Notes* almost two months apart expressing this:

Monday, 9/22//08

The third week of classes begins with a test. Actually Paul reviews before the test begins. I like the philosophy of going over very clearly what the test will be. Giving us as much help as possible without actually giving the answer key. Contrast to Japanese 101 – tests seemed to be designed to trick students and weed out those who had trouble.

Wednesday, 11/12/08

I compare the quizzes and tests here to those I had from the Japanese class here years ago – those seemed designed to test insignificant small points, to trip up those who didn't quite get it and weed out a significant number of students. The Korean program's tests seem designed to encourage and carry everyone higher – we retake exams when many don't do well etc.

In the next theme, *Theme 4: Dynamics of Participation: Resistance and Agency*, I discuss one more type of comparison. While I discuss this in more detail in that section, it is worth mentioning it briefly here. A number of my participants indicated that they had some sort of internal prototype to match to the level of the material we were learning. In other words, they felt

261

that some material was appropriate for our beginning level class, while other material belonged

in intermediate or advanced classes. It is hard to say how much this comparison made use of

previous language study experiences, but participants indicated that it significantly affected their

willingness or ability to learn items they felt inappropriately matched to our beginning level.

Other language classes: The social environment. Comparisons with other learning

experiences sometimes focused on issues beyond pedagogical or structural issues, such as the

participants' views of the group members' interactions. For instance, Natsu "really liked that

class environment, like [the] atmosphere that we have, and everyone is very friendly, and I think

that's motivate[d] me more." She felt, "the people in Korean class are more friendly than French

class." For that reason our Korean class became, "more fun."

I felt the diversity of my Korean 101 classmates was impressive, in and of itself, but also

in comparison to my aforementioned Japanese class. There, 18 out of my 19 classmates had been

heritage students. I didn't consider that a positive or negative, and I had largely felt that we were

getting deeper into their heritage culture together. But I liked the mix we had in our Korean

class, as associating with groups encompassing a wide range of interests and backgrounds is

something I simply get a kick out of. To the great extent that I approved of, liked and enjoyed the

company of these people, it seemed to validate my choice to study Korean and encouraged me to

continue.

Identification and Investment

Quinn compared his identification with and investment in things Korean to his previous

Japanese studies. When he started studying Japanese he felt "'Oh wow this is cool'; and I started

eating with chopsticks more and I watched more Japanese TV." However with Japanese, "after a

while I got tired of it, just grew out of it," but for Korean, which he had been learning "probably for around the same [length of] time, I don't feel tired of it."

Conclusions

Person to Person

The data from my participants showed them to generally have a strong sense of the Korean level they would like to have reached as the class progressed, which I characterize as comparing themselves to an ideal (Korean learner) self. This was far more important as an indicator of satisfaction with their achievements than how they matched up to the class in general, or to specific classmates. Some even rejected the latter type of comparison.

Elaborating on this last point, it was not of great significance to Ilima that she felt herself in the middle of the pack; what was important was her feeling that she had progressed to the level that was appropriate for who she was. Garrett, as I discuss further in *Korean Withdrawal Analysis*, did not even visualize the possibility of realistically meeting the level demanded by the class; instead, he conceptualized and tried to meet his own less stringent standards. And Oliver, who, given his background, was able to muddle through in the top tier of the class without much studying, had a higher ideal level in mind that he would have liked, and thought he could have achieved, under different circumstances.

Further spotlighting the relative unimportance of comparison to classmates, and even casting it in a negative light, was the finding that some had reflected on and rejected such comparisons. Both Garrett and Howard considered those types of comparisons a trap, either not useful or even potentially detrimental to the language learner. Others though, availed themselves of the prototype model, either identifying it with classmates or looking outside class. Where that occurred, specifically with Dawn and *A*, competition was invoked; or with Ilima and the

YouTube girls, emulation was involved. Where comparison was made, but the prototype to self matching wasn't acknowledged, as with Ilima to *A*, it seemed to warrant no more than a passing notice and, in the cases of my participants at least, the consequences of such comparisons seemed minor or limited at most. Even in Dawn's case, where she acknowledged that the "competition" aspect to her prototype matching comparison with *A* could have resulted in significant action, it did not. Ilima's prototype matching comparison to the You Tube girls led to some discouragement, but also the impetus to study harder. Neither effect seemed to translate into much concrete action, however.

A final point about comparisons between classmates that I take as instructive is that certain circumstances such as a class with true beginners and false beginners can result in the disadvantaged student's feeling un(der)acknowledged or unappreciated if the instructor does not seem to take her particular circumstances into account.

Person to Situation

The person to situation comparisons led me to several observations. First, who we are affects how we interpret the comparisons we make between languages and how we act on those interpretations. Ilima for example, was worried about interference, while Quinn was looking for similarities between languages to aid his Korean acquisition. Howard felt that the similarities between the Korean and Japanese loanwords he had studied resulted in his losing his grasp on Korean forms, a viewpoint that pushed him to enroll in our class. My knowledge of Chinese characters from Chinese and Japanese led to frustration that these weren't at hand as I studied Korean. I felt they would have enabled me to more readily make the connection between Korean loanwords and the Chinese and Japanese pronunciations, and additionally to memorize that vocabulary more quickly. On the other hand, my curiosity as to the extent of similarities and

differences between Korean and Japanese socio-culturally and socio-linguistically encouraged me to learn more about Korean.

Second, the result of classroom comparisons favorable to our Korean class, such as Natsu's with her French class, and me with my Japanese class, seemed to provide encouragement and reinforcement of a positive attitude toward our class. I cannot conclusively say that Garrett's overwhelmingly negative comparisons between our class and some of his previously taken language classes were the cause of his dropping out. In retrospect, though, they seem to give a clear indication that Garrett and our course were not a smooth fit and that his efforts to succeed might be likened to swimming upstream.

Third, whether positive, negative or mixed, such situational comparisons led to or were part of the process of reflecting on our identities as language learners – what we preferred and liked to do, what "works" and what doesn't – and helped us to figure out how we felt about our class. Howard's analysis of what was good about both his intensive Middlebury experience and our class, and then his suggestion of a synthesis of the two to form his ideal learning environment, exemplifies this link between learner identity and class-comparison.

Quinn's type of "investment" comparison, how he related to Korean versus his feeling about Japanese after a similar time period of study, was unique to Quinn among my participants, but no less interesting for that. I interpret this kind of comparison as a kind of self-check, a "where am I now" in terms of investment, which for Quinn resulted in a reassurance that it was still all systems go with Korean, even at the stage when he felt that his Japanese investment had crashed and burned.

We took our past analogous experiences (i.e. language learning experiences) to inform our understanding of what we expected from a language course, what we liked and disliked, our

language learning strategies and behaviors. Overall I see the use of comparison, particularly situational, as leading to a language learner's building a framework or model of his or her ideal class, and an understanding of his or her ideal learning styles/preferences, although it might also lead to a hardening of those preferences and a rejection of alternate class and learning styles which could prove useful if given a chance.

<center>Theme 4: Dynamics of Participation: Resistance and Agency</center>

The relationship between agency and resistance is complex, with resistance being one of several ways in which a student can claim agency in her learning process. Moreover, these two may manifest themselves in different ways in different contexts. How agency and resistance might be expressed *in KSL* (or any second language) on the one hand, and how they might be expressed *in the classroom,* on the other hand, have different manifestations and consequences. Therefore I found it useful to subdivide and discuss my data with that KSL/classroom distinction in mind. To illustrate, it is quite conceivable that a student offers no resistance, but rather participates fully and enthusiastically in the classroom, but then asserts his agency by resisting participation in a second language community. It is also quite possible that a student might resist in the classroom to a greater or lesser extent, for whatever reasons, but offers no such resistance to participation in other contexts. Dawn provides a fairly good example of the latter, limiting her participation in class for various reasons, and yet enthusiastically using Korean with her mother and cousin outside of class.

I do recognize linkage between participation in the classroom and in a language community as well, one such link being that resistance in the classroom might hamper acquisition, thereby hampering future participation in a second language community; A second such link, with the opposite consequence, might be that resistance by a student in the classroom

is employed as a strategy/use in order to enhance acquisition of language skills and thereby increase the potential of participation in the imagined second language speaking community. This claim will become clear in discussion of the results later in this section.

<center>*Resistance, Agency, and Participation as KSL Related*</center>

Resistance and Second Language

Before discussing results specific to my participants, I will first briefly discuss my framing of these three terms in relation to first the language and then the classroom. With respect to language, degree of participation is essentially the extent of functioning in the language within a community or even a dyad. A conscious decision to limit participation, by, for example, attempting to force a change in language, i.e. from Korean to English, or simply ignoring anything said in the language, would be resistance. Where these types of resistance are not purely linked to lack of ability, identity is likely heavily involved. Some, for example, have the confidence to strike out in the new language with barely a few phrases in their linguistic repertoires, while others may be too afraid of criticism to say much of anything. It is certainly a matter of individual identity to whom and under what contexts we feel the most comfortable and are willing to try communicating in the second language, is; I explored this issue in my Chapter 6, *Theme 2: Comfort Level In Talking To Various Others* section.

Agency and Second Language

Agency in a second language, as defined in the literature, is, if possible, even more closely linked to identity (i.e. Ishihara, 2006; Morita, 2004). It is most clearly apparent when the second language speaker refuses to follow certain linguistic or socio-linguistic norms in order to maintain her self-identity concepts. Stated thus, it is clearly a form of resistance. In contrast, partial or full accommodation to those norms, resulting in fuller participation and less or no

<center>267</center>

resistance, is the other end of the spectrum that agency encompasses. As Ishihara (2006) says, "Learner agency may function like an internal screening device, censoring what learners would accommodate to or resist as they express themselves with contextual restraints" (p. 108).

It could be argued that resistance and agency in this context is not a function of language acquisition (or non-acquisition), it may be a refusal to use language that the speaker has already acquired. While this may be true to a certain extent, insofar as our participation in a language results in our continuing to acquire it, resistance to participation will affect acquisition. Furthermore, as I will discuss in the *Data* section below, the idea of agency, of how my participants intended to represent their identities in Korean, affected their attitudes, enthusiasm toward, and ultimately acquisition of what we were learning.

Resistance, Agency, and Participation as Class Related

Resistance in Class

I would consider full participation in the second language classroom to include a number of behaviors such as: paying attention, enthusiastically doing in-class activities as instructed by the instructor (including reading or responding aloud either chorally or individually when called on), volunteering to answer instructor posed questions and asking questions relevant to obtaining understanding of the language and the class. I feel these, as listed, represent roughly some sort of continuum from less to more active forms of participation. Resistance in the classroom then would entail some sort of refusal to participate in these types of activities, such as not paying attention or not doing instructor suggested activities at all, at least not as directed. Not engaging in the more active types of participation such as volunteering or asking questions would be more subtle types of resistance, not as severely curtailing participation. Coming to class late could in certain contexts, be another type of resistance as could the even stronger statement of missing

class altogether. I further considered doing homework or studying outside of class to be class-related activities that students could resist or accommodate to.

It should be noted that, as Rampton (1996) demonstrates, what one party may interpret as resistance might not necessarily be intended as such by the party taking the action. Furthermore, resistance need not be completely conscious, and the line between what resistance is and what it is not may not always be clear. For example, it may not always be clear to the student himself, let alone the observer, whether coming late or missing class in a particular instance was partly or not at all rooted in resistance.

Additionally, to simply assume that the purpose of resistance is simply to defy or perhaps cause change in the object of that resistance, is not necessarily warranted. In the case of a class where second language acquisition is ostensibly the goal, a student might, for example, resist participating as instructed, but instead modify implementation of the activity, because he believes the transformed version better assists his learning efforts. In this way resistance to the particular activity may actually indicate strong accommodation to the overall goal of language acquisition.

Agency

I define agency in this classroom context as taking action to either shape the class to one's liking, or adapting, ignoring, or subverting some aspect of the class to suit individual needs or wants. The latter type may be a solo performance largely aimed at an audience of one, the self, and may be sub-rosa, beneath the radar of the instructor and perhaps fellow classmates. Agency could also be framed as using our power to influence what and how we are taught/learning for either for ourselves only, or on behalf of our classmates as well.

Agency can be completely ceded to the instructor and the department, or asserted in the form of effort by the student to modify, or at least question, what the instructor or department has chosen to do. Overt attempts to assert agency can be made through resistance or dialogue with those who possess agency/power over the student – the instructors, the department, or the school.

KSL Related Data

Since ours was a beginning class, my data on actual participation in a Korean language community was not as rich as that for the classroom. Nevertheless, there was some use of Korean by some participants outside of class, and some additional nascent consideration given to that prospect by a number of my participants, the latter largely through the visualization of future selves and investment in Korean. Furthermore there were some specific instances of resistance in the classroom which were so directly tied to KSL acquisition that I include them in this KSL subsection as well.

Harsh Realities of the Language

Discovering realities of the language based on our exposure to it in the classroom produced some resistance from Ilima. About midway through the course she indicated that her growing realization of just how different Korean was from English caused her to be "resisting class more, cause just getting discouraged a little bit." She felt she had to "get over that, so I can keep going." This resistance was subtle, more about attitude than action, although it tied in with her putting in less effort toward studying as the class went along.

Discouraged at Repeatedly "Not Getting It"

Not asking the instructor to provide needed help with the language was one passive way to resist. At the time of the second interview Ilima talked about some grammar points that were causing her some confusion at the time, among them the topic and subject particles: 은 (*eun*) and

는 (*neun*, topic markers) versus 이 (*i*) and 가 (*ga*, subject markers) respectively (which of each

pair is used depends on whether the preceding word ends in a vowel or consonant). The

difference between "subject" and "topic" caused some difficulty for most of us, leaving us

wondering when to use one particle rather than the other. Ilima resisted asking Paul for help

saying, "I don't want to ask him to explain, cause he explains all the time. I still don't get it."

Priorities Influencing Resistance to Acquisition

It was a common theme among my participants that there wasn't enough time to learn

well. In fact everyone seemed quite busy, and none of the students, other than me, placed Korean

at the top of his priorities. In her second interview, Natsu, for example, talked about problems

with vocabulary. Early in the course she had been pretty confident that vocabulary would not be

a big problem due to overlap with Japanese. Although where such correspondence occurred it

indeed proved helpful, she realized that there were many other "words I never heard of and it's

not even close." I devoted time to studying vocabulary daily, but still felt that we were required

to learn too many per week (we averaged about 55 new words per lesson and did slightly less

than one lesson per week). Natsu however felt she had a hard time remembering vocabulary

partly because, "I'm just taking too many courses that I don't have too much time for Korean. So

I just need more time."

Oliver laid it out as:

My time, and focus, and mental energy is just taken up with other stuff, so I feel like I'm

half there, like I'm in class, but I'm not really putting in the time outside of class to really

learn really thoroughly and really get all the structures and grammar, kind of rote learn it

in my mind, so that it can just come out like reflex.

But for much of the time between classes he would

forget that I'm even a Korean student. It's just out of my mind until the night before when

I think, "Ok. What do I have to do before Korean class?" For me it's just too intermittent

of a focus to really learn the language.

Oliver and I had a discussion in our third interview over whether his not doing the last

few homework assignments due to lack of time could be construed as resistance:

O: That wasn't resistance that was just a pure lack of time; Um, was it? I don't know. I

mean I have to say I wasn't very motivated to do it.

M: Right

O: I mean if you want to construe that as resistance I think you could.

M: Could I construe that as resistance in the sense that you had priorities and you were

O: Absolutely, I had priorities. I had things that I had to get done and if the homework I

felt was really beneficial and something I enjoyed, and I felt like the class was something

that I enjoyed, I would admit there'd be a much greater possibility that I would have done

the homework. But the way the class was, the priorities were such, that went utterly to the

bottom, fell off the map frankly. That's sounding rather resistant, isn't it?

I feel this shows a case can be made for ascribing an element of resistance to the setting

of the priority for our Korean class below a number of other priorities. Further supporting my

contention is Oliver's suggestion above, that if certain things about the class had been done

differently, he might have given the undone assignments a higher priority.

Natsu similarly resisted studying and doing homework. In reference to a particular quiz for example she said,

Last time was the counter and the counting. The first time [we re-took the quiz] I did pretty bad, so I'll be like, "Oh I should have studied more." But in a way I was like, "Oh but that day I was kind of busy, so next time."

Natsu though ordered her priorities both within and between her classes, so that in some cases Korean took precedence. Requirements for other classes often took priority over quizzes in ours, but, "for midterms, like big test, that's pretty important, so I will focus on that."

Even so, Natsu felt that her resistance to studying for quizzes affected her language acquisition negatively. She explained,

I think quizzes are small thing, but that's the basic and we need to build up on the base, so I think sometimes it's important. I think if I know all the vocabularies, like on the quizzes and stuff, I wouldn't have too much problem when I'm learning dialogue, but because I don't have the base part, I'm sometimes confused.

Time was not the only priority that impacted resistance. Later in the *Agency In Imagined Korean Language Communities* subsection, I discuss Dawn's resistance to fully mastering various honorific and other forms of respect found in Korean language and society. Related to this present context, though, is the idea of "priority of acquisition." Dawn did acknowledge that the various honorific forms, as part of the language, should be taught, but that since they were more esoteric and less basic language elements, it should be during later semesters. In other

words she felt she would be more all right with, and less resistant to, the idea of acquiring these forms at a later date.

This feeling that there was a priority to, a hierarchy of, or a least an order in which, a language was to be learned, was articulated clearly by Oliver when he questioned "the obscurity of some of the vocabulary." In his third interview he gave the example of the Korean equivalent of gold ring, 금 반지, (*geum ban ji*) as one such obscure vocabulary item that he found difficult to learn due to its "obscurity." Oliver hadn't really considered why obscure vocabulary should be any more difficult to master than more basic items. When I pursued why this might be so, he felt it was plausible that, "I just didn't want to learn it, so it became quite hard to remember. That could be it." He gave another example of

> these really weird verbs like 'to die,' honorific, [돌아가시다, *dul a ga si da*] which I put
>
> to you I will never say ever in Korean. I found it hard to remember. Didn't want to.

I take these examples to indicate that at least some language students may hold some sort of mental framework as to what aspects of the language are beginning, intermediate or advanced, and that one possible response to being asked to acquire too-far-advanced elements of the language, is resistance.

Identities Working in Conflict and Concert

In Oliver's case, his classroom roles and identities were factors that mitigated against strong resistance and in favor of strong participation in the classroom. Among these was his identity in our classroom which included seeing himself as personally connected to our instructors. He felt that his status as a Ph.D. student in SLS, his office in the same building, on the same floor as the Korean Program offices, and his having taken a class in which Paul was his classmate, led our instructors to view him as "not quite a colleague but at least there in-between."

He also indicated personally liking Paul and Kain and feeling that they appreciated both that and his interest in their Korean culture.

And Oliver, like Garret, me, and to certain extent Howard, identified with the role of the teacher, leading to his attempting to lend support through active participation. As he put it, "I try to be a bit active just cause I sympathize with the teachers. Having been one myself, so I try to get into it." He added "I try to do stuff that that they want us to do and I try to participate…I'll try and help out cause I'm sympathetic to the plight of all language teachers."

Oliver's participation attempts extended beyond his own contributions, to encouraging others to participate as well, as evidenced by his conscious effort to contribute to a positive class atmosphere.

> The other thing I do is to try and create as comfortable as possible an atmosphere for other students. I don't claim to have succeeded doing this, but at least not trying to impede the atmosphere, the dynamic in the classroom, like trying to befriend Quinn right away, befriend Howard, say "안녕하세요" [*An nyeong ha se yo*, Standard greeting] to people, be enthusiastic so everybody feels sort of comfortable. I think that's a nice thing to have in a class.

The above were all factors pushing Oliver toward increased participation in class. As I mentioned in the introductory paragraphs though, some participants also resisted to suit their language learning identities, in other words what they perceived as their particular learning needs or styles. Oliver was consistently and strongly unhappy with the grammar-based organization of our course. Despite the constraints of his above discussed investment in, and efforts toward, participation, his response, at the time of the second interview, was to utterly reject it [the grammar focus] quietly in class.

What I mean to say is, I don't try and go home and figure it out and try to learn it and practice it in the way that it's presented to me. This is not the way to learn. I just sort of practice it and just try and understand the concepts.

He added, "When the time comes to actually try and imagine myself and practice learning the language, I just do it totally in my own way."

Between the second and third interview Oliver took this resistance further, using it to enhance what he saw as his personal language acquisition needs, which were,

to function [in] real time, understand what's said to me, get an answer out that may or may not be perfect. It doesn't matter. I mean I'm functioning in the language in a competent way, such that communication happens and I could care less how grammatically accurate it is.

He elucidated,

I made a conscious choice toward the end of the class to just speak the Korean that I wanted to speak, which is to say I just wanted to be able to communicate as quickly and as fluently as I could, and I really didn't give a shit about grammatical accuracy which was the focus in the class.

He elaborated that he had decided to

tailor the opportunities to speak offered to me within the class to my own needs…When we were given exercises and we're supposed to use all the miniscule little grammatical rules and keep track of all the stuff and produce it, I just didn't care. I was just going to get the sentence out how I would say it and just practice.

In elaborating on a specific instance, he said, "In that particular case there's lots of little things that we were supposed to know and I just ignored them and tried to get the ideas out."

The importance of role in pulling me between the poles of participation and resistance is clearly shown in my own response (slightly restated for clarity) to one of my second interview questions (5c). I said,

I see my role as a researcher in the classroom pulling me in different directions regarding my participation in the classroom. On one level I feel I should be good at Korean in class to maintain my identity as the graduate student researcher who should know what he is doing. On another level, I feel like I should keep a little distance from full participation in order to maintain that researcher persona and therefore don't want to volunteer very often in class. On yet a third level, I want to demonstrate that I am enthusiastically fully participating whenever I'm called on, to show that learning Korean is coequal to my research as my goal in taking the course and thereby emphasize to my classmates my role as a Korean learner co-participant rather than observer researcher.

Moreover, in order to facilitate my research I feel I must have a "friendly" identity, at least to the extent of initiating conversations I would not ordinarily be inclined to initiate. I don't consider it part of my character to approach people I don't know very well, but generally wait until they approach me. And early mornings are not my friendliest time – if not doing the research I would definitely be less friendly – curl into a cocoon, sit in the back off by myself, and feel less a part of the class.

My point in presenting the examples above is to emphasize the non-unitary aspects of identity, some pushing toward participation and language acquisition and some pulling away from those, resulting in resistance.

Strategy to Enhance KSL Acquisition or Suit Own Acquisition Needs

The above section included several examples of choosing to take or use what the class offered and tailor that to the participants' own perceived needs or desires, even when that entailed resistance to participating in activities as directed. Specifically Oliver focused on fluency and communicative adequacy rather than trying to nail the grammar being practiced in the activities. Additionally Garrett refused to begin most activities on cue, as his learning style required thinking things through before jumping in.

> Because I'm still processing what was said or exactly what the focus is of the activity or the exercise, I want to know what we're doing first before I start giving answers blindly. Anyone can do that, but if you don't comprehend exactly what you're doing, you aren't learning. More or less you're being one of the Skinner's white rats.

These then were examples of agency through resistance, by the self for the self, intended to adapt materials and activities to perceived learning needs and styles.

Resistance Through Accommodation: Teaching Style / Learning Style Conflict

While this may be somewhat controversial, I see a possible connection between having difficulty learning something and resistance to learning something. I found examples from participants that seem to illustrate such a link. Korean uses two sets of numbers, one native Korean, the other Sino-Korean; various situations require either one or the other; only in limited contexts are both acceptable. One usage example is that when telling time, the hour is given in native Korean, the minutes in Sino-Korean. While Dawn was familiar with and able to use both sets before entering class, she actually felt less confident and more confused about the numbers once we covered them, particularly after going over the text, saying "before I used to feel like I understood the numbers better or more and now they confused me a little bit more." She

attributed this partly to the sense that learning the rules for using the two number systems "is interfering with my understanding of it a little bit." To put it another way, Dawn felt that the way the numbers were presented in class caused unnecessary difficulties in her acquisition because they "interfered with my own way of learning."

Garrett, in his second interview, talked about having difficulty with verb conjugations, saying "It still isn't entirely clear to me when to conjugate from one form to the next." In the next breath he proposed a solution, "It would be easier if it was divided up into smaller steps." He even went into much greater detail, comparing it with his previous experience in the Japanese language classroom.

In Japanese you have your three types of verbs and a few lessons you're focusing on type one. Then you go into type 2. …Similarly something could be done with the verb conjugations [in our class]. 'Ok, today we are focusing on this form' maybe two days and then move on to the next and by the end of the week maybe have a little daily quiz seeing how everyone is progressing.

The point I take from these two examples is that neither student felt there was some inherent difficulty in the particular points of language we were learning to be the source of acquisition difficulty, but instead that the presentation or teaching style was creating difficulty. In both cases they felt there was gap between how material was taught and how they best learned, but neither used agency to adapt that presentation to their own perceived learning needs. In Garrett's case, there was a clear perception of what steps he felt were needed to alleviate the difficulty, but he did not take action to implement those.

In Dawn's case the manner of presentation actually interfered with language she had already acquired, possibly causing her to feel the need to mentally access our learned, verbalized,

279

rules of use rather than her internalized grammar, for confirmation as to the correct form. She seems to have not take the step, which would have been a form of agency, to validate the worth of her own internalized Korean knowledge, but rather took the rules we were learning in class as more valuable and the resource of first resort for language production. I argue that where the actual resistance manifested itself in these examples was in my participants' struggles to learn, or relearn, the material. They were resisting absorption of the material, not because of the substance of that material, but as a byproduct of resistance to its uncongenial delivery method.

This subsection again dealt with language learner identity as referred to in the previous two subsections. I see the difference between this and the previous subsection as centering on agency. The previous subsection provided examples of students modifying elements of the course to suit their own learning styles. The examples from this subsection showed participants attempting to wholly accommodate material taught in a style somewhat incompatible with learning style preference and producing unsatisfactory results.

Agency in Imagined Korean Language Communities

Among those who had considered that identity and KSL beyond the classroom might come into conflict were Howard, Dawn, Ilima and Oliver. I have already reported, in my answer to Research Question 1, that although Dawn understood the *idea* of different language required to demonstrate respect for individuals of age and/or status in the Korean family and society, she didn't *emotionally connect*, as an American, with the idea that such a complex system was needed. She didn't reject ever using those forms, but her statement that since these were not "basic" Korean and should therefore be deferred to advanced Korean classes, implies that she considered their usage as less essential to her communication needs and perhaps safer to ignore or downplay in conversation than many other aspects of Korean. In so downplaying the

importance of these forms, she thus asserted her agency in maintaining her identity as an egalitarian American.

Howard had similar concerns, indicating he wouldn't be able to relate to and didn't necessarily like some of the "more hierarchical stuff" denoting "aspects of social inequality" in Korean culture. Where that came up in the language however, he predicted that he would learn what was expected and not resist using it, in order to fit in and communicate to maximum effect.

On the flip side of the honorific context, in situations where he foresaw himself as the top dog interlocutor, Howard felt he might be somewhat uncomfortable using the least formal, least respectful level, 반말 (*banmal*, half-talk) (which was not taught in our 101 class) with people he didn't know very well, such as with a hypothetical younger classmate, but would prefer to use the polite form instead. Howard seemed to consider this case borderline in terms of which form to use. If he were very close with a Korean speaker, using the *banmal* form wouldn't bother him. A Korean friend has assured me that this projected usage would, in fact, probably be preferred by a majority of Korean speakers, although a minority might use *banmal* from the first. Despite Howard's having arrived independently at the "correct usage," his implication was that, in terms of agency, he would consider using a form that was probably not incorrect, but possibly not what most Koreans would use in the same situation, in order to remain comfortable in his own skin.

Although agency has often been discussed in terms of resistance to aspects of second language usage or behavior where they clash with identity (i.e. Vitanova, 2005; Ishihara, 2006; Ogulnick, 1996), Ilima provided another reason for adjusting her speech, one that may be obvious, but is also of particular relevance to the second language user of limited fluency. Since, like most of us, her Korean had not reached the level of asserting agency with any appreciable level of subtlety, she had thought about the problem of, "knowing the different levels of speech

and knowing when to use it, when it's appropriate and not appropriate." Although she had known that this was part of Korean language before taking our class, she hadn't realized just, "how complex it is." She said, "It seems easy. Yes, 'This is honorific, this is intimate, this is just polite' but knowing when to use it that's a different story." Because of this, she thought she might be afraid to make mistakes and unintentionally offend people. Therefore, rather than use a form of whose appropriateness she was unsure of, she expected to stick to the polite form, indicated by the 어요 / 아요 (eo yo / a yo) sentence ending. In other words rather than use her agency to assert her identity, she would use it to avoid offending her interlocutor.

Ilima also used the bluntest form of agency or resistance to using KSL beyond the classroom during the semester of the study; that was electing to not participate. In her second interview Ilima said she and 4 would frequently IM, and she said, "he'll be like talking to me in Korean. I'll be like, 'Stop it I don't understand.'" Although she could simply have asked him what he meant, since his level was higher and he tended to continue writing things she didn't understand, she used her agency to simply shut down all L2 and revert to L1.

It was Oliver, though, who most strongly articulated using his agency to maintain identity through resistance and rejecting accommodation. Given the choice of developing linguistic fluency to the extent of producing language that fit Korean societal norms but conflicted with his own beliefs and values system, or not developing that fluency and rejecting those alien values, he chose the latter. Unlike a number of others of us (such as Garrett, Ilima, Quinn and me, who all would have been happy, even delighted to be mistaken for Korean, say in a phone conversation), Oliver was the exception saying, in our first interview,

282

There's a list, but those things make me a bit reluctant to really embrace the culture and get really enthusiastic about it to the degree that I want to be considered a Korean when they speak to me on the phone. I really don't care.

Oliver explained and provided examples of the type of values he rejected, saying there were things he "diametrically opposed" and that he felt

deeply about, like the hierarchies of social levels and how these things are organized in Korea and the way men are sort of superior to women – particularly having a daughter, you know. I mean I'm not sure I really want my daughter going back into that environment where she's treated as a second-class citizen.

As a Ph.D. student in Second Language Acquisition, Oliver was sophisticated about second languages and the importance of socio-linguistic aspects. With these in mind he somewhat walked back his anti-accommodation stance. As he anticipated situations where the countervailing demands of second language communicative needs and his own identity might clash, he explained,

You can't say what you want to someone older than you. That's a fact in that culture, so if you're not going to do that, you're going to be a bit of fish out of water. I mean it'll be accepted because you're a foreigner, but if you want to communicate appropriately you're going to need to do those things. You might need to be polite to someone that you don't think you should have to polite to and yet you do.

As in previous instances, Oliver ended up qualifying his qualification. Although, he realized that conforming to socio-linguistic norms in Korean would bring him closer to true

Korean communication, he could not embrace this wholeheartedly saying,

> I'm a bit recalcitrant I have to say. I mean it's one thing to understand these cultural
>
> differences, it's very much a different thing to internalize them as your own beliefs and
>
> accept them without any kind of ill-will.

If faced with this situation in the future he indicated that he would "find some negotiated

solution. I don't know what's going to happen. I can't predict, but I can tell you I'm not going to

fully identify with that role. I might offend a few people."

Exerting Agency for Increased KSL Acquisition

Asking questions, which our instructors rather encouraged, could be considered a form of

agency through active participation, as it enabled us to direct the class toward our perceived

language acquisition needs. Though this was not often taken advantage of in the class by our

classmates, Garrett and I sometimes asked questions trying to connect the material being taught

or lectured about to "real world" usage, specifically to elicit where things fit into Korean

interaction socio-linguistically. Howard used questions in another way. He would sometimes ask

questions to which he already knew the answers in order to provide the class with information he

felt was important for his classmates to know.

Ascribing Agency for Learning from the Class

My participants felt that studying was ultimately the route to successfully acquiring a

second language. No matter if there were problems with the text, the curriculum, or how things

were taught, they felt all that was required to master the language we were being taught was

sufficient studying. In consequence, all felt that 'agency' in a broad sense, that is taking ultimate

responsibility for learning Korean, rested on their own study efforts. Placing the agency for

acquisition, that is the power to acquire Korean, squarely on their own shoulders tended to

remove responsibility for acquisition from the course design, the instructor and the class and to obviate the need to assert agency (as I defined it earlier) in the classroom, that is, to wrest some control over the content and/or form of the class.

For example, Ilima did not avoid asking Paul to clear up problems she was having with the Korean we were studying merely because she still didn't get it after his explanations. She felt the deeper problem lay not in how we were taught, but rather in her own insufficient efforts, "probably 'cause I don't study."

In our third interview, Natsu discussed having problems with verb conjugations, which she asserted were "getting really, really confusing." She identified the problem as due to a lack of organization clearly defining the how and why of the different forms. Speaking of learning verb forms, she felt, "If I categorize everything, I think I will be able to (do it), but I still don't have time to do it, so that's why everything is kind of in the air, all mixing up." I raised with her the possibility that some of the responsibility for this problem lay with the course, and that, therefore, Natsu could have used her agency to ask for some help or perhaps for an in-class review of the material. She, however, placed the blame squarely on herself as evidenced by the following exchange from our third interview.

M: So you blame yourself?

N: I think so.

M: But you don't blame the course? I mean maybe they could organize it better for us.

N: I think if I follow I think I can do it.

M: Ok so they did a good job; *you* didn't study hard enough?

N: I think so.

By ascribing sole agency to her own efforts, Natsu denied herself agency to alter the class to her benefit.

<p style="text-align:center;">*Class Related Data*</p>

Demands of Passive Participation Engender Passive Resistance

Dawn would sometimes resist by simply not paying attention, more so during the Tuesday lectures, because we weren't called on to actively contribute and thus there was no direct consequence of inattention. She would feel justified in not paying attention if she felt she had already mastered what was being covered. However, she also did this even when she did not know the material: "if I'm tired and I have a lot of other things to think about that day, then I'll not want to learn it that well." In contrast, Dawn felt that she did not resist any aspect of our pair (active) activities, rather she wanted to do that type of activity and just went ahead and did them.

My own example illustrates not quite complete inattention, but feeling pushed in that direction. Kain's efforts to cover all the material scheduled in her lectures required shifting into "hurry up" gear as the semester wore on. One of the practical effects of this was that throughout the term in order to check if we had understood, and possibly, to give us a little practice in what she had just gone over she had made it a practice to toss out questions for the class to answer as a whole. As the pressure built to complete all the material required by the text however, she more and more quickly would provide the answer herself, leaving me still working the question through. I would feel short-circuited and eventually discouraged from even trying to come up with the answers myself. While this may seem a minor point, like Oliver, I did not feel the grammar-centered curriculum fit my own learning style very well. I felt, though, that any language I did acquire with such an approach was developed only after being given a chance to

apply it, with thought, to "real" language. Once that chance was taken away, even when I could follow Kain's explanations, no real acquisition was accomplished.

Resistance In Order To Conceal Or Downplay Ability To Maintain Identity With Classmates

The following is an example of what seems to me the most interesting case of resistance I found, all the more interesting because it involved positive feedback rather than criticism from Paul. Early on, Dawn responded to a question from Paul in class by using a syntactical form and vocabulary we hadn't studied. She felt Paul was surprised, but emphasized that his response was positive, and that he had gone on to explain to the class what she had said. That experience though, resulted in Dawn monitoring her in-class responses so that she wouldn't reveal she knew more Korean than was being taught in the class. She explained, "I guess I didn't want to be like flaunting or arrogant in any way," and also that others "think that I'm too good or think I don't belong here, that I shouldn't be in this class. Because if I really thought that I would have switched out." This not wanting to appear "show-offy" or "uppity" had a negative impact on Dawn's participation, that is it caused her to "withdraw" or disengage to a certain extent, and prevented her from "putting it all in there."

In this case the demands of identity seem to have forced Dawn to resist full participation in the classroom. Her attempts to avoid self-aggrandizement, the self-concept she aspired to, coupled with the desire to play a modest role in the class, caused her to disengage from full class participation and self-censor her Korean language use, despite lack of negative feedback from others. Indeed the only feedback she did receive from using language that revealed her advanced level was positive. Paradoxically, then, Dawn's knowing too much resulted in reduced participation and therefore resistance to aspects of the class.

A probably much more common scenario involving downplaying advanced ability was exhibited by Howard, who had previously studied both an earlier edition of our text and the next text in the series on his own. Howard made a conscious effort not to volunteer so often, feeling that "jumping in on ninety, ninety-five percent of the items" just wasn't cool. There were times he could not resist answering a question from one of our instructors and just reflexively blurted out an answer. Regarding those instances he said, "then I'll feel slightly bad about it later." Quinn and I both had similar thoughts about not wanting to be seen as showing off or dominating the class by volunteering too much. Since my level was below the others mentioned here, there was somewhat less need for me to rein myself in.

Frustration or Personal Distaste

Another type of resistance, evidenced by Ilima, arose whenever we were asked to read chorally. In her second interview she said she would do so very softly because, "I make mistakes, so I don't want to be like shouting and everyone can hear me mispronouncing things." By the third interview she had "progressed" to not reading at all, just watching as others read. Her reasons were that they would never read communally in her previously taken Chinese class, "it bugs me if we're reading and everyone's reading at different paces," it "bugged" her if the pace was too slow or too fast: "sometimes we read too fast and I can't see the board, so then I'm like 'Ah just watch.'" And yet Ilima was not against this communal reading in theory as she thought, "It's useful. It's practice speaking and reading at the same time." In practice, though, it "bugged" her enough to lead her to engage in small acts of resistance.

Of the reasons Ilima gave for this resistance, the first, that it hadn't been done in her Chinese class, would seem to indicate that she had formed an opinion of what should and shouldn't be done in a second-language class based on previous second language learning

experience. However, most of her other comparisons between our Korean class and that Chinese class revealed a preference for the practices of the former. And she concluded her comments about choral reading by indicating she felt it useful. On balance then it seemed that she simply disliked the activity to the extent that she eventually refused to participate.

Quinn talked about an instance of working with Howard on a pair activity that involved asking questions. He "didn't know how 선생님 (*seonsaengnim*, instructor) wanted us to ask. And I thought maybe he [Paul] should've go[ne] through some of the questions verbally as examples. But he didn't and so I was kinda confused." Therefore they both rather quickly gave up on the activity. They could have asked Paul to explain and then proceeded, but there was a certain amount of frustration, a feeling that it had been Paul's responsibility to explain better and that there shouldn't have been a need to ask for further explanation. In the end, then, they didn't ask.

Some frustration with the text workbook also caused Quinn to resist a bit by putting off doing the workbook homework. He said, about the night prior to our second interview, that

I did a little bit last night and I didn't finish so, "Forget it I'm gonna go to bed it's kind of late." It's not like early in the year. I kinda noticed that [then] I would get it done and do it.

Quinn felt that some exercises from the workbook, such as the audio, were too demanding for our level, "and some of the questions are kind of – there's some new words in here I haven't known, so just skip it. And it kind of makes me not want to go back to it."

Oliver demonstrated resistance behavior due to frustration over the emphasis on teaching and learning rules, in English, as the main vehicle for acquiring Korean. At the most passive level he simply would tune out. For example, he said, "as soon as he [Paul] started talking about pronunciation rules I just stopped listening. Since the Tuesday classes were totally given over to

lectures, much of Oliver's ire built toward that class as the semester moved along. "I really dreaded Tuesday towards the end of the semester. The grammar component, I just thought it was a waste." At a far more active level of resistance, he even missed a Tuesday class, partly due to his frustration. As he explained, "It was towards the end of the semester. I was super busy and I had a presentation (for another class) and I thought "Oh god, it's Tuesday class why don't I just skip this one?" He felt it wouldn't have been impossible to meet the demands of that day's schedule and still squeeze Korean class in, "but the fact that it was Tuesday was the nail in the coffin."

Re-Conceptualization of Korean in Future Identity and Reduced Investment

Prior to our second interview Ilima had considered changing her major to Korean, envisioning a future with an international company that required Korean skills. She was hesitating, however, as she questioned whether her future Korean ability would ever be adequate to compete with a native Korean speaker for a position of that type. By the third interview Ilima had unequivocally decided to change her major to nursing rather than Korean and this "definitely affected my attitude towards Korean." She still had thoughts of visiting Korea some day, but now saw Korean in her "Korean" future in the context of learning "medical terminology in Korean. Then at least if I have patients that speak Korean, I can speak to them in Korean instead. It would be easier for them." She also said she was preparing less for class than she had been at the time of the second interview. While she gave fatigue as one reason, saying that she had "hit the point in the semester where I'm getting just lazy," she also said, "Now that Korean's not my major, that's not where my priority is any more, so it's probably why I've been really resistant even more lately. It's because I don't plan on going down that route any more."

Resistance to Working with (Specific) Others

When we would do pair work, or, very occasionally, group work, the unwritten rule was that we would work with people seated around us. Paul did not try to influence the group makeup by having us work with unfamiliar partners. There were sometimes dissatisfactions with partners. Natsu said she tried to always participate enthusiastically in group work but would be a "little disappointed if my partner is not too excited, or not trying to do it too long and just go over once." In that case, "I will feel uncomfortable." In Natsu's case, though, she didn't seem to make a special effort to avoid working with those unenthusiastic people.

Ilima had from early on become part of "clique" whose other members consisted of *C* and *4*. She found it frustrating when her partner's level was so low that it got in the way of doing pair-work. She gave an example of pairing with *C* who kept asking "questions like 'What is this?' and 'Why is it like that?'" when, Ilima said, "I'm like 'I just wanna practice.'" When her partner's level was so low that she didn't get to actually practice what was intended, she felt that "I kinda miss out on something." On one or two occasions Ilima made a point of switching from her "regular" seat near the center of the classroom where she generally sat with *C* and *4*, specifically to avoid sitting next to *C* and being paired up for group work. This was rather unsuccessful in that *C* would enter the classroom later and sit near Ilima's new position.

Oliver was at one point working with two others, *I* and *D*, which he termed "a disaster." He felt "they just didn't take the given activity seriously, you know to actually try." He explained there were "juvenile jokes and a lot of speaking in English and doing the absolute bare minimum to get the thing done." After that experience he felt, "I didn't want to, so I didn't spend any time on that side of the room again." Of the three, Oliver was the one who most successfully resisted participation in unwanted group contexts; he simply "didn't sit near them again."

To Maximize Classroom Performance

Resistance also was employed to improve performance in the classroom. Ilima discussed thinking "about other things that pertain to the class, but not what they're saying right now." She gave the example of "earlier, I think when *3*, was, or was it *1*, somebody was reading a sentence and that's when I was going over the next sentence in my head so I wasn't really paying attention." In this example she was readying herself to answer well if called on subsequently. This probably tied in with her dislike of participation, due to the feeling of being "put on the spot."

Another example was provided by Natsu who didn't volunteer in class, not because she didn't want to, but because, "I really can't." She had a "hard time writing down everything" and trying to "catch up what they saying, so only when they ask I have to answer." She continued that when called on,

> I have to stop what I was doing and then answer to it, but if I volunteer, I have to stop and make a question or make a answer for it, so I just don't have time for it. That's why."

This type of resistance can certainly be equated to the resistance I discussed in the *Strategy To Enhance KSL Acquisition Or Suit Own Acquisition Needs* subsection. I feel there is a subtle but important distinction however, that being that resistance to the class in order to enhance classroom performance does not necessarily serve the purpose of enhancing acquisition. In Ilima's example, her tuning out of others' answers might actually have reduced her acquisition possibilities.

Tables 4 and 5 summarize the resistance data, following my previous distinction of resistance as it related to Korean as a Second Language (Table 4) and as it related to the class (Table 5).

292

Table 4
Summary Of KSL Related Types of Resistance

Reason	Forms of Resistance	Result	Participants
Discouragement over unexpected language difficulties	Mentally resisted; contributed to decreased investment	Questioned the possibility of ultimately acquiring the language.	Ilima
Assigning lower priority to the class than to many other things	Doing less preparation such as studying for class and tests	Felt they could be doing better, learned less Korean than they could have	Oliver, Natsu
Internal identity conflict	Various	Increased participation in some ways, decreased in others	Oliver, Me
To better acquire Korean in terms of participants' own perceived learning needs and style	Modifying activities as participants desired rather than as instructor directed	(Perceived) Improved learning; increased satisfaction with participation in the course (vs. dissatisfaction at doing it the prescribed way)	Oliver, Garrett
Attempt to accommodate to uncongenial teaching presentation	Subconscious roadblocks established to undermine acquisition	Perceived increased difficulties in acquisition or production	Garrett, Dawn
Social and Personal Identity conflicts with Korean socio-linguistic norms	Refusal to, or unwilling use of certain forms of language	Adapting Korean use away from socio-linguistic norms to suit identity concerns, or accommodating to such norms but creating an internal dissonance between those norms and identity.	Dawn, Howard, Ilima[1], Oliver
Belief that ultimate learning responsibility lies with each individual	Reduced	Only limited attempts at agency intended to change class to better fit individual learning styles	Ilima, Natsu

Note. [1] In Ilima's case, referring to her identity as a low proficiency Korean language user.

Table 5

Summary Of Classroom Related Types of Resistance

Reason	Forms of Resistance	Result	Participants
Too Passive Participation Demands	Inattention, Mind-wandering	Not catching material being presented	Dawn, Me
To maintain positive identity with classmates	Not volunteering, not demonstrating full range of ability in class, reduced participation	Possibly some disengagement from the class and a self-consciousness about appropriateness/inappropriateness of instances of participation	Dawn, Howard, Quinn, Me
Frustration or personal dislike of an activity	Various. E.g. reduced or non - participation in certain activities; missed class	Not deriving the benefits of the rejected activities or in the case of absence, the class for that day.	Ilima, Quinn, Oliver
Re-conceptualization of future identity with a decreased Korean element	Decreased effort for class such as in studying and preparation	Reduction of performance in class, some disengagement from the class	Ilima
Personality Conflict	From none to (successful or unsuccessful)) attempts to avoid working with individuals in question	Seemingly nothing of great significance in terms of how participants related to the class overall and learning from it.	Natsu, Ilima, Oliver
To maximize classroom performance	Responding to the class as the participants desired rather than as instructor would have preferred	Improving performance in the classroom	Natsu, Ilima

Agency

As I mentioned earlier in the *Ascribing Agency for Learning from the Class* subsection, use of agency to change the course was limited by the perception of my participants that ultimate responsibility for doing well in the course and the Korean language at our beginning level was ultimately the responsibility of each individual. Where problems learning or acquiring the Korean cropped up, even where the participants were critical of the textbook or other aspects of the class or curriculum, the solution of my participants was not to change the course, but rather to study harder. Quinn, for example, indicated that if he were to have any problems with the class, "Probably the main thing, I would be studying more on my own." And secondarily, "I guess I would be asking more help from classmates outside of class."

Some limited attempts to change the direction of the course were made however. Oliver expressed his grievances, mainly that "there's a certain way of delivering grammatical kind of knowledge in this class which doesn't work for me personally," through the midterm class evaluations. Others, such as myself, did likewise, all to some effect, particularly as regarded Kain. We had handed in evaluations specifically regarding her Tuesday lectures. The following week she responded to them before beginning her lecture. In a sense, in her case, the midterm evaluations worked as they should have. She conscientiously read them, thought about them and discussed her reactions to them in class, including in some cases actions she intended to take in response, for example checking more with the class after going over a point to see if we had "got" it.

At a deeper level, though, the evaluations were a flop in terms of agency; that is they failed to give the class real power over the curriculum and course content. Kain responded on the teaching, "how", process level which was all to the good, but there hadn't been very much to

criticize on that level; she was a fine teacher. The central problem to my mind was the grammar focus of the class, particularly of the Tuesday lectures, and the lecture format in general; that didn't change. Furthermore, the fast pace of the class meant that she even had difficulty maintaining her commitment to checking if we had gotten it; more and more as the semester went on the need to complete the syllabus, and therefore rush through things, became overriding.

I also was invited by Paul to discuss various dissatisfactions, and what I saw (and thought the class saw as well) as problems, after interviewing him around mid-term. To Paul's credit as well, he addressed some the concerns I raised in a subsequent class, without specifically telling the class that I, or anyone, had brought these to his attention. While I appreciated both Paul's and Kain's efforts, I felt the basics of the course curriculum were too locked in to grant appreciable agency for change to the students, or even the instructors.

In my (humble) opinion the most positive use of agency to influence the direction of the class originated with me. I made a conscious decision before day one, to make my Korean learning experience as positive and enjoyable as possible. To that effect, I used my previous language learning experiences as a resource. Based on those experiences, I felt that cultural or language related activities outside of the classroom were often among the most positively memorable parts of a language class, and equally important, were a strong stimulus toward forging a class identity. With that in mind, I talked to Howard, Garrett, Quinn and Oliver outside of class and enlisted the latter two as willing allies in planning and enabling such activities.

We eventually combined the idea of a dinner at Korean restaurant with a Korean movie at the Honolulu International Film Festival. Paul was encouraging, gave us a chance to sell the class on the idea, and eventually accompanied us to both the restaurant and movie. Including Paul, seven of us from the class showed up at the restaurant, plus Oliver's wife with young

daughter in tow. Several others, including Natsu and Howard, showed up for the movie. Garrett, who had planned to come, didn't, nor did Dawn. Similarly, aided and abetted by Paul, we planned, and held an end of semester party on the eve of the final class, although attendance was reduced, most likely due to an all day deluge.

Conclusions

Resistance

I feel my study revealed a number of interesting things in regard to resistance. Resistance to KSL acquisition revealed itself through less time and effort devoted to study and homework and refusal to ask questions about puzzling aspects of the language. Reasons for this resistance included discouragement due to realization of the extent of additional knowledge and new linguistic behavior required to become a competent speaker, and discouragement over failure to understand explanations provided by our instructor in response to previous student questions.

To a certain extent my findings that competing priorities can cause resistance are prosaic, particularly when those priorities involved time. My participants were busy and faced competing demands on their time. The extent they chose to invest their time in studying and preparing for our class was both a function of their investment in the class and the Korean language balanced against the required and desired tasks they were called on to perform in other spheres.

Obvious though that may be, it is worth keeping in mind that for some, priorities were also ordered within the context of what was required for the class. For some, certain things were assigned a high priority and therefore wholeheartedly worked on or participated in, others assigned a low priority and resisted in favor of more pressing outside tasks. Activities that were prioritized in the class were not always those the student felt most helpful for acquisition. Notably the pressure of getting a good grade in the class sometimes skewed the prioritization

process toward that goal rather than acquisition. In Natsu's case she resisted studying for quizzes, despite feeling that would have been useful for Korean acquisition, while focusing on the bigger exams, precisely for that reason.

Less readily obvious before considering my data, to me at least, was that a number of my participants indicated having an internal "template" of the relative importance of various aspects of Korean, ranging from syntactic forms to vocabulary, and encompassing basic to advanced and even esoteric levels. Where what we were being asked to learn was thought to be beyond what "should" be learned at our basic, Korean 101, level, resistance to acquisition was sometimes the response.

Another point, obvious in retrospect, is that some identities inherent in one individual may lead toward resistance, or assertion of agency in opposition to the instructor's classroom practices on the one hand while others might push toward participation and away from resistance, on the other, as was the case with Oliver. In other words the interplay of an individual's identities may cause conflicting behaviors by decreasing the amount of participation or resistance that those identity factors pulling in the opposite direction might, if unchecked, have led to, or alternatively, produce resistance in some, but enthusiastic participation in other activities.

As I discussed earlier, resistance can be used to enhance language learning as it did with Garrett, who felt that immediate response to many of the demands for classroom participation was counterproductive in terms of acquisition. Resistance can also be used to ultimately enhance classroom performance, as per Ilima who tuned out the class in order to better prepare her own responses for when she would be subsequently called on.

My participants showed signs of resistance to KSL acquisition when they felt the teaching (including the text) style conflicted with their learning style. This resulted in difficulty acquiring certain aspects of the language, or even, in the case of Dawn, becoming confused over something she already knew. My participants felt the difficulties they were having with the material in question was not due to the inherent difficulties of the material, but rather to the way it was presented.

Despite the above, the placing of ultimate agency for language acquisition on the self rather than external factors such as the text or the curriculum served to dampen resistance and agency aimed toward reshaping those aspects when problems arose, on the assumption that greater effort alone would and should overcome those problems.

The limited demands of activities requiring passive participation engendered passive resistance in the form of inattention. Again it is common sense perhaps, but the persistence of the passivity-inducing lecture as a preferred classroom teaching mode indicates that is a point frequently ignored. Giving the students a chance to raise their participation level to active, even by simply asking questions, as Kain frequently did, tended to maintain attention. Where the chance to participate was inadequate, though, as it was in my own example (of insufficient time to answer), discouragement and renewed resistance through inattention reasserted itself.

Identity, in the sense of how we wanted to be perceived by our classmates and instructors, exerted a strong influence on resistance. Some of my participants did not want to be seen as dominating the class or appearing arrogant by showing off how much they knew. In Dawn's case this resulted even in self-censorship of the Korean she was capable of. In other cases active participation in the form of volunteering was consciously monitored and reduced to whatever level the participant thought would not appear overly self-centered in other's eyes.

There were things some participants just didn't like or felt frustrated by. These may have been triggered by a negative comparison with how things were done in another language class, a sense that the "how" we were being taught did not correspond to the how we preferred to learn, or a simple feeling that what we were being asked to do was something we didn't enjoy. Ilima provided an example of resistance through non-participation in communal reading, attributed to the first and third of those reasons, despite feeling that it should be a useful activity for her own language learning. While the observation that being frustrated or not enjoying particular activities can cause resistance may seem like another "duh" revelation, I feel it is still worth stating, in that it even produced the very strong resistance effect of missing class in Oliver's case.

As could have been expected, when there was a negative change, that is a decrease in importance, visualized for Korean as a component of future identity, as evidenced by Ilima's situation, resistance increased, expressing itself through decreased investment in the class. Ilima, however, was still taking Korean the following year (Korean 201), so this factor should not be overstated.

There was resistance to working with certain classmates because of personality differences, their attitudes or their Korean levels. In our class this did not translate into resistance to the class itself. On the contrary, the problems arose because my participants wanted to participate more fully or actively in the activities called for than their co-participants did or could. While difficulties with classmates might conceivably cause enough disgruntlement to extend into other aspects of the class, even where the resistance among my subjects was strongest, that is where Oliver refused to ever sit and be grouped with several classmates, this type of resistance had little to no spillover affect in terms of either KSL acquisition or other classroom resistance.

Agency

The types of things that my participants talked about in terms of agency and KSL are hardly surprising, and are and in line with related literature (Ishihara, 2006; Ogulnick, 1996). What is more striking is how early in the second language learning process this issue received consideration. Granted, my interview questioning was intended to lead my participants toward this consideration. The specific question I asked to elicit these data was, "Is there anything we have been learning that you would feel uncomfortable using if you were conversing in Korean? If so, why? How do you see yourself handling this problem?"

I intended and believed the question to be ambiguous enough so that, if there hadn't been some previous thought given to the idea of identity conflicting with participation in the second language, it could be interpreted as either referring to difficulties with grammatical functions or lexical items, or simply dismissed with a "no." In fact, both types of responses were present in my data. It is also true that my participants were relatively sophisticated language learners. All were studying Korean as at least their third foreign language, many had some background in Korean, and several were in the Second Language Acquisition Graduate Program at U.H. Despite these factors, I still think it significant that a wide range of sociolinguistic and usage concerns can factor so early in the language acquisition process.

As for our class, attempts by my participants to influence its content and/or form were limited, although within certain narrow parameters our instructors were sensitive to those limited efforts and willing to make changes in response. Earlier in this chapter, I talked about agency expressed as resistance designed to effect a change in the class. I did not see examples of this type of agency in the class. To the extent that we, the class, exerted it, ours was rather negotiated

with our instructors, either through the medium of class evaluations, or face-to-face discussion with Paul after class.

<p style="text-align:center">Theme 5: Korean Withdrawal Analysis</p>

On a late October Thursday Garrett met with Paul, who expressed his concern that Garrett was not keeping up with the pace of the class and was behind everyone else. Garrett interpreted this as a warning that he might get a low, although not failing, grade. Even a low grade however "would have affected my GPA, which would have affected financial aid, which would have been a ripple effect for everything." Paul let him know that he had the option of officially withdrawing from the class. While Garrett was well aware of his class standing, he was not immediately convinced and asked what would happen if he persevered and did well on the remaining exams and quizzes. The message Garrett came away with was that, while he might attain a grade to his liking if he dealt with everything we were learning absolutely perfectly, Paul thought for him to do that would be extremely difficult. Subsequently Garrett decided to withdraw from the course. In this section, I intend to explore the Korean, classroom, and identity factors leading up to this result.

 The immediate cause for Garrett's withdrawal was the likelihood of a poor grade. However, in his first interview, Garret indicated that, while getting a good grade was important for its effect on his GPA and departmental status, "learning it [Korean] and understanding it to me is even more important." Furthermore, he felt that grades were not truly representative of ability and to him personally, were meaningless. To maintain himself as a graduate student in his department however, he felt couldn't "settle for anything like less than a B or a B+."

In the end, the grade had become paramount. Garrett indicated that if not for the threat of a poor grade and its attendant consequences, it is likely he would have stuck it out to the end of

the semester. The deleterious tension Garrett experienced in our class, between the demands of academic performance and simply learning a language at his own pace, led him to believe that he would be more motivated, willing, and likely to study another language, even Korean, without the academic pressure or possible repercussions of not doing well. He envisioned a night school or community center class as a more ideal learning environment.

However, this was hardly the whole story. The threat represented by the poor grade was a result of Garrett's not mastering those aspects of the language taught in the course to the extent required by the Korean department. A number of factors may have mitigated against Garrett's success in the class. It should be noted though that some of the factors which seemed to negatively impact achievement were hardly exclusive to Garrett. Other "successful" participants in my study also faced them. And not all factors were setting him up to withdraw from the class; some were pushing him toward success. Therefore, I consider the eventual outcome *not* simply to have been a one-way process of high hopes and expectations dashed on a succession of shoals represented by the negative factors. Many factors, including, significantly, self-identity, particularly a strong language learner identity, provided positive counterbalances. Garrett's own sense of his chances of success in class and the likelihood of his going on to acquire significant fluency in Korean beyond our class fluctuated prior to his withdrawal. I will explore these below.

The Korean Language Rollercoaster

Identification with, and investment in, things Korean were two areas in which Garret seemed to stand apart from his study participant classmates. At the time of the first interview Garrett had less of an identification with any aspect of Korea and Korean than any other participant. All, other than Garrett, had positive feelings for, background in, interests in, identification with, or personal connections to, aspects of Korean culture and or language.

Garrett, though, had formed basically no impressions of Korea, Koreans, or Korean culture and language. He considered himself a total outsider to Korean culture and language. His main contact with Koreans was through the Korean ESL students he was teaching. His reason for studying some language at the time of the study was that it was his SLA (Second Language Acquisition) Department's requirement that he study a language. He chose Korean, not because he had become interested in it through his Korean students, but because he felt doing so would help him appreciate their English acquisition problems and thereby become a better teacher. In this way he felt he could replicate his experience as a teacher in Japan, where he felt that his learning Japanese had increased his understanding of his Japanese students' difficulties and made him a more successful teacher.

While this lack of identification or even previous knowledge of things Korean seems, and probably is, most telling, it is worth noting that Garrett had eventually gained fluency in Spanish in spite of not having made integration into Hispanic culture a priority in beginning his study of Spanish. Instead, he had found that cultural involvement was "a byproduct of the amount of time I spent studying" and further naturally increased as his interactions increased during his study abroad, so that by the time he finished "there was a lot more happening both linguistically and culturally with me."

A caveat to that caveat, though, was Garrett's stating in our second interview that the intervening month and a half since the first interview had not engendered any deeper understanding of things Korean. Nor at the time of the second interview did Garrett feel a stronger connection to Korean language or culture in any way. The only deeper understanding Garrett had developed was a greater understanding of the problems and difficulties his students had, particularly with reading and writing. This had of course been his stated primary aim in

taking the course. Even that understanding, though, was more from the sympathetic perspective of a fellow language learner in general, rather than specifically related to the Korean he was learning.

Garrett's stated initial investment goal of better understanding the difficulties of his Korean students seems to me a slim reed to have had to bear some of the Korean related possibilities he had considered early on. One possibility he had foreseen was, is that if he were to stay in the States after graduation, he might be able "to carve my own unique job just using Korean," given the paucity of Korean speaking professionals in the U.S.

As a more immediate possible goal, Garrett had found out about and considered entering a program sponsored by the U.S. State Department entailing an intensive study program in Korea. That he was having problems in our class was in some sense actually an incentive to apply to the program, as he felt language immersion in the country would be a far better way to learn Korean. That he had considered this plan, Garrett only revealed to me only in our third interview, but with the compelling addendum that once he had withdrawn from our course he had asked himself if he were sufficiently motivated for that program and answered himself in the negative. In the course of answering his question he realized that his answer would have been "yes" if the language had been Japanese, Spanish or even Chinese.

Yet another way in which Garrett had at first envisioned a successful Korean outcome involved his vision of future language capabilities extending beyond what was needed to reach his goal of understanding his Korean students' problems. During our first interview we discussed the idea of reaching a level of fluency to the extent that a native speaker might somehow mistake Garrett for Korean. He related that he had actually had this experience in a Japanese context

when talking on the phone, and he said that to be able to reach that level in Korean "would be a personal goal."

In Garrett's mind one key to his difficulties in class was that he had no previous background in Korean language, while our classmates all seemed to. In the very first interview he said that this "puts me at a disadvantage simply because in all aspects I am a true beginner compared to everyone else." He felt it was an unfortunate but natural tendency for any instructor in such a situation to gear his efforts to the needs of that more advanced group. Therefore, no matter how willing that instructor might be to provide help outside the classroom to the beginner, such a beginner, in this case Garrett, would be at a further disadvantage.

For the record, there were a few other classmates, non-participants in my study, who likewise had no previous investment history with Korean. They, like Garrett, seemed to experience considerable difficulty in the classroom. Among those who did participate in my study, it is likely Natsu's and my situations that came closest to Garrett's. Natsu however had spent time in a homestay with a Korean family and had a group of Korean friends in high school that she had spent a lot of time with. I had taught myself the basics of hangul (the Korean writing system) during the summer and was essentially repeating our class in the Korean 111 section three days a week.

At one point Garrett talked about two streams of input for learning a language, one being the classroom and the other native speaker interactions, with the latter stream broad enough to include input from the media such as television and movies. Although he hadn't given thought to this as it applied to his Korean experience prior to my question, in response to my inquiries he indicated that the second stream was non-existent for him in Korean, whereas it had been significant for his Japanese and Spanish acquisition. While he didn't consider this a key factor

differentiating those latter two acquisition experiences from the Korean, he did consider that it might have been *one* factor.

Even at the time of the first interview Garrett felt that he was unable to apply the learning strategies he had developed in his previous language learning experiences with Spanish and Japanese, because at U.H. the teaching style "is different from what I'm accustomed to." He cited as an example that the amount of material we were covering from week to week seemed to be equivalent to that covered in an intensive course in Japanese, but with only about a quarter of the classroom time. Interestingly, he thought that if there were actually less scheduled class time (three instead of four hours a week), he might have done better in studying and assimilating the material on his own. In other words he would have had more time to digest what we were learning and work more to his own pace.

In our second interview Garrett expressed several other concerns, some of which I list here: that too much emphasis seemed to be placed on adhering to a schedule (i.e. completing each lesson within a certain time), rather than making sure we had understood or mastered it thoroughly; that Paul's office hours were not convenient for him; and that what we were learning was unbalanced in favor of grammar explanations over communicative activities. He also felt that more pair work and listening practice would have been useful. And regarding the latter, he felt that some of the recorded listening we did have was unnecessarily fast, and was not merely unsuited for our beginner level, but for the context of the situations being presented as well.

In his third interview, Garrett acknowledged that he had been far more invested in his successful language acquisition efforts for Japanese and Spanish than for Korean. In that postmortem withdrawal reflection Garrett felt that, when studying Spanish and Japanese, he had both provided his own internal reinforcement and received external reinforcement involving a

307

social network of people with whom he would reference his ongoing language acquisition experiences. "There was none of that with Korean." Garrett indicated that this lack of investment was "a really large factor" in his lack of progress in the class and his ultimate decision to withdraw. Most profound, in Garret's analysis, was that "I was not completely committed to studying Korean. That's the bottom line."

Contiguous with Garrett's early-in-the-term ambitious considerations of Korean as a key part of a future career entailing possibly study in Korea, were early self-doubts about the very wisdom of continuing with our class. Garrett considered himself behind the class from the very first week, when we were expected to learn Hangul and how to read. By the second week of classes he realized that the demands of studying Korean were unexpectedly taking so much time that his efforts for his other courses were suffering. At that point he considered dropping Korean, but decided to drop one of his other graduate level courses instead. When after the second week he realized that still greater efforts would be required for Korean, he expressed some regret that he might have dropped the wrong course.

Nevertheless Garrett seemed to have come to terms, at least to his own satisfaction, with the progress he was making by the time of the second interview on October 15th. At that time he said, "I've come to an agreement with myself, accepted what my ability my level is, and do what I can do to improve it and I'm going at what I feel is the best pace for myself." This "agreement" enabled him to say he was feeling more positive about the class than he had been early on. And yet according to Garrett in the third interview, not only had the idea of withdrawing been in his mind from the beginning of the semester, but, as he failed to make much progress as the term went along, he came to consider it more seriously.

One strong countervailing factor mediating against Garrett's dropping the course until it became virtually unavoidable was his academic self-identity, particularly as a language learner. Garrett said he was "not accustomed to failing, especially with a language." He added that, "Pretty much every language I've studied I did well, especially first year, and I could not admit the fact that 'Well this may be a time where you're not gonna do well in the language.'" He said the class itself had become important, not only because of the need to get a good grade, but as a matter of "self-pride" and "accomplishment."

Specifics

Garrett did study. His routine at the time of the second interview entailed his getting up around four a.m. Between six and eight a.m. he would look over whatever we had to review for the day and try to practice reading and writing. His review consisted of reading the appropriate pages in our text and seeing if he understood them. He also got other supplementary materials like a "Korean dictionary or a graded reader…to help me understand what's in the textbook." For writing practice he would write the vocabulary onto flashcards, take five or six from that stack, and then see if he could recognize first the English from the Korean and then the Korean from the English. He felt, though, that his vocabulary study was insufficient because he was far too slow a reader.

It should be noted that we were expected to have pretty well mastered the Korean writing system at the end of the first week and a half. In other words Garret was reviewing what the rest of the class supposedly had mastered. Using myself as comparison, I considered my reading ability a bit slower than many others in the class, but felt no other particular difficulty at this point. Bluntly, Garrett's study efforts were enough to make progress in his Korean language

acquisition, but only at his own pace; they were clearly not designed to match the pace of the class.

Specific problems Garrett had with Korean in mid-semester, before he decided to drop the course (as discussed in our second interview) included, foremost, his continuing problems with reading, which he attributed to lack of study time and relying too much on the text without sufficiently using supplemental materials to master Hangul.

Garrett also had some problems understanding vocabulary as it was spoken in class and with listening comprehension in general. Garret attributed this to his own lack of sufficient study, to the frequent assimilation of final phonemes into the next word in Korean, and to his distraction over the voiced/voiceless distinction in certain consonants (discussed in Chapter 2, *Pronunciation – Consonants* subsection).

A third difficulty lay in knowing how to use many of the grammatical structures we were learning. Garrett attributed this mostly to lack of reinforcement sufficient to master the structures and a bit to the explanations being presented "a little bit fast." He felt also that his classmates, being more advanced, were likely not experiencing these difficulties, and that, therefore, the pace was too fast only for him and not the rest of us.

Garrett also felt that his knowledge of Japanese actually interfered with his Korean language acquisition, that when trying to produce vocabulary in Korean his efforts were obstructed by the Japanese equivalent popping into his head. Below I reference my own experience with other language interference, or more neutrally other language influence, to make the point that such other language influence can be subject to varying interpretations, both positive and negative, by the individual experiencing it.

Garrett noted only the most baleful effects of his Japanese knowledge on his Korean acquisition attempts, reporting finding nothing positive in his knowledge of Japanese in the Korean context. My own feelings were more mixed, as I found it easier than I otherwise would have to learn vocabulary which bore a relation to the Japanese, such as the days of the week, as well as to adapt to the SOV word order, to sentence particles (indicating such things as direction, subject and object), and to the idea of verbs requiring different forms based on the level of respect accorded to the listener, all common to both Japanese and Korean. For vocabulary, I found those words I could recognize as derived from Chinese easier to learn and retain as well. Many words were common to all three languages, although the Korean version was generally to my mind closer to the Japanese than the Chinese pronunciation. This common vocabulary aspect was a strong positive for me when it came to aiding my listening comprehension. It was somewhat of a negative at times when it came to production, as the similar Japanese version would sometimes pop into my head and even out of my mouth while I would be unable to recall the actual Korean pronunciation.

Ramifications: Life After Korean

After Garrett withdrew from the course, he reflected further on learning Korean as a Second Language, and on our classroom and his identity. Again involving his self-identity, the withdrawal entailed a degree of regret and self-reflection. Garrett said, "I don't like to fail and to me that was a way of admitting failure, but at the same time I realized that there's some things that you cannot, that you just can't, excel at, period, for whatever the reason is, and just admitting that fact was very humbling to myself." However he ultimately felt it was a good decision since it freed up much needed time to prepare for his other courses.

After withdrawing from the class Garret felt more disconnected from Korean language and culture than he had previously, although, as noted previously, his sense of connection had never been very high. It had simply become no longer a part of his life. To me this reveals the mutually reinforcing nature of the components of identity, the class and language study. Garrett's sense of identification with and connection to Korean language and culture had been minimal, far less than any of the other participants. Even that minimal connection, though, had been heightened by participation in our class and reduced when participation ceased.

And yet if Garrett had a hypothetical chance to redo the semester, he claimed that he would still have registered for the course! What he would have done differently was spending the summer learning to read. Despite his earlier attributing his problems to a lack of commitment, he said, "If I applied the same principles that I do with my graduate studies prior to the class semester – just reading, pre-reading some of the materials, to the Korean class, then there's a pretty good chance I would have stayed and actually done better."

Language Learning Lessons Learned and Future Plans

Also noted previously in another context, was that Garrett felt he had learned something about himself as a language learner, specifically that he could learn better at his own pace if not faced with academic pressure or the possible repercussions of not getting a good grade, and that night school or community center classes would be, for him, more ideal learning environments.

Although the demands of his major made starting another language immediately unlikely, Garrett indicated that the most likely next language he was eying for study in the not-so-distant future was Chinese (Mandarin) as he now felt that, professionally and socially, it offered more rewards than Korean. Interestingly, he again felt that it could help him work better with the increasing number of students he was seeing most recently from Chinese speaking countries,

much as learning Japanese had with his Japanese students. When I asked for clarification as to why his Chinese language acquisition should be more successful than his Korean, given nearly identical investment goals, he answered that Chinese language and culture seemed a bit more interesting, that there was a more direct relationship between Japanese and Chinese, most specifically in regard to the written language, and that a friend of his, intimately versed in the three East Asian languages, had previously enumerated to Garrett reasons why he might prefer learning Chinese to Korean. Garrett did not, however, completely close the door on studying Korean, saying he might do so again, but certainly not in the immediate future.

Resistance and Participation

In this subsection I explore Garrett's resistance and participation in class, addressing to what extent these may have either contributed to, or helped him to cope with the difficulties he encountered.

On the first day of class I noted that when Garrett participated he spoke "loudly and enthusiastically," so much so that on that day I mistakenly assumed he had some knowledge of basic Korean. As he first fell behind the class, he noted that his participation decreased. And yet he continued to make an effort to participate, even if that participation was not to the full extent or exactly what our instructor(s) had called for, as discussed in several paragraphs below. In his third interview, Garrett maintained that, after getting beyond those first few discouraging weeks, his in-class participation had actually increased up to the time of his withdrawal. His homework and out-of-class study picture was somewhat more mixed. There he continued to make an effort as the term progressed as well, but as time went by he would much more often lose motivation after about an hour and say to himself, "Ah what do I gotta do next? Let me just finish this off. I'm tired."

Probably the most overt example of resistance by anybody in our class involved Garrett. Early in the second week Paul asked him to read something. In my field notes I say, "Garrett says he can't read something when called on by Paul. Paul tries to cajole him by asking him to just try, but Garrett refuses saying he just can't read [yet]." It was uncomfortable for me, and I feel the others in the class, to watch that take place, all the more so since Paul was clearly trying to make the request as non-threatening and reasonable as possible. Later in the class Garrett made a point of volunteering to introduce Oliver in Korean, which I took as Garrett's way of demonstrating that he was not categorically refusing to participate in the class.

Garrett's own explanation when I interviewed him, gibed with my interpretation. He had felt he lacked the capability to even try to read at that point. He also realized that being so adamant in his refusal came across as a total refusal to participate, which had not been his intention. Therefore he later clarified his actions and intentions with Paul outside of class.

In contrast, on September 9th, when Kain had him read a few lines from one of the conversations in that week's lesson, I noted that he gamely tried to struggle through, asking repeatedly not to be helped as he tried to sound the words out. Although he did manage to get a few of the words, Kain, after giving him what I felt was an appropriate amount of time to answer, tactfully provided the words and parts of words he couldn't seem to get.

Also striking to me was Garrett's lack of preparation for our oral midterm on Monday October 20th, which required memorizing and being able to perform four of the conversations from early lessons in our textbook. I had spent a lot of time preparing and practicing by myself, with Oliver, Natsu and yet again with another classmate from the Korean 111 class I was auditing. Our mid-term "performances" were in front of Paul only, as the other pairs waited downstairs for their turns. After my turn I hung around a little and "coached" Oliver and Garrett

who were paired. I was surprised that Garrett more or less just read his lines. After they had performed for Paul, Garrett told me that he had been able to get through one role (each pair had to do a conversation twice, playing each conversational role once) without consulting the written page, but not the second. He explained he had been busy and tired out from a conference over the weekend and that if not for that conference his preparation would have been sufficient to know his lines without having to refer to the text.

Garrett's subsequent forms of resistance were far more subtle. There were acts of omission that might or might not be considered resistance, such as not having managed to pickup his textbook until several weeks into the course. (The text was actually not available until late in the first week and then only through a copy shop several blocks from the campus.) In addition, Garrett was one of those more frequently absent. Again he had his reasons, perhaps a conference, perhaps he was really ill, which he would always make a point of conscientiously communicating, even to the point of providing doctor's notes, to Paul.

Another type of resistance entailed his, like Ilima's, not reading completely aloud when we were asked to read communally. He said, "I say it to myself underneath my breath." In reference to a reading exercise we did on the day of the second interview he said, "I came in late a few times because I was just focusing more on reading it, rather than hearing it and repeating what he [Paul] said."

Further, Garrett felt he resisted participating fully in class, not because he wanted to, but because, "I'm still processing what was said or what the focus is of the activity or the exercise." To participate immediately without such processing would have violated his own learning philosophy, which entailed knowing "what we're doing first before I start giving answers blindly." He felt that "if you don't comprehend exactly what you're doing, you aren't learning."

In other words Garrett's resistance in cases like this and those cited in the preceding paragraph, took the form of adapting what we were doing to his learning preference rather than our instructors' instructions.

Whether or not Garrett's somewhat frequent absences were the result of any element of resistance, they certainly reduced his participation, likely a detriment to success in Korean 101 class terms. His study efforts for our oral midterm and, as I stated earlier, his study habits more generally, were likewise not geared toward success in the class. And yet strange as it may seem, I feel many of Garrett's resistance efforts were largely positive in terms of his trying to progress, to his own satisfaction, in the language at least, if not the classroom. His study efforts, although less enthusiastic as the term wore on, were also aimed at making progress in Korean on his terms. The strongest indication of this was his adaptation of classroom activities, such as reading aloud, to suit his own learning style and philosophy. Such resistance implies, I believe, a deeper level of attention and effort than simply following the instructor's instructions without question.

Agency in Class

Like so many of the participants, Garrett had criticisms of the course, as I discussed earlier. Like the others, though, he also took on himself final and full responsibility for his problems. He put it that, "I was not completely committed to studying Korean, that's the bottom line." He was in no way prepared to get our instructor(s) or the Korean department to address his problems with the course. For example he felt that beginners, such as himself, were placed a disadvantage. He did say that this was because his was the minority situation, that "if there were others I found out that had shared similar problems, yeah, I would address that. I definitely would go and say, 'This is what's going on.'" The extent of his demonstrating his agency in the

classroom, was that, more than most of his classmates, he would ask questions in class to elucidate points he felt were unclear or insufficiently explained.

Relation To Others / Beyond Class

It seems almost axiomatic to me that having some kind of support for language acquisition outside of the classroom, such as a link to a Korean speech community the class was preparing us to enter, would be a positive boon to the language learner. Garrett did have such a support system for Korean. Although not supposed to speak to his Korean students in their L1, he would sometimes tell them what we had learned and ask them how to write, say, or paraphrase something. He said his students were happy to teach him. Moreover, one of the owners of a shop he frequented in the mornings was Korean, had already answered a few of his Korean questions, and said she would be happy to help him whenever he came by. In none of these cases, though, did Garrett try communicating in Korean, limiting himself to asking questions about Korean in English.

Most of the other study participants had some kind of support as well. If I were to seek out a difference between Garrett and the others, I would say that in the majority of those cases the desire to use Korean to communicate with those in their support networks seemed strong. Dawn provided the most extreme example, as her overriding investment in Korean from the beginning was to better communicate with and understand her mother and other Korean-speaking relatives. In Garrett's case, though, there was no indication that being able to communicate in Korean at some point with his support people was something he cared about.

When I explored the question of whom my participants would be most comfortable and least comfortable using Korean with outside the classroom at the time of the study, I felt their responses could open some windows as to envisioning their entering a community of Korean

317

language speakers in the future (see *Theme 2: Comfort Level In Talking To Various Others* section). Garrett's answers were idiosyncratic, in that his attitude toward conversing in Korean seemed to be less about comfort than enthusiasm, which he lacked. Basically he did not feel his Korean level was high enough to be trotting it out outside of class.

Garrett was not particularly enthusiastic about the idea of talking to Paul outside of class in Korean for example, at least not beyond a simple greeting. If he were to initiate the conversation he was not even sure whether he would make his greeting in English or Korean. If Paul were to initiate the conversation in Korean he felt he would try to respond in Korean to the extent of his ability. Likewise if I were to try to get a conversation going with Garrett in Korean, he indicated he would take it as far as he could go. However he saw no real benefit to engaging with our classmates in Korean, as our levels were so low. Garret compared this to his taking a higher-level Spanish class. In that context he intentionally spoke in Spanish with classmates, particularly those more advanced, and felt comfortable code-switching when necessary.

Garrett was no more enthusiastic about conversing in Korean with friends, acquaintances or his Second Language Studies Department Korean classmates, feeling that since English would be the dominant shared language, it would also be the most comfortable. He did imagine that there might be certain friends or acquaintances in certain contexts with whom he might engage in limited Korean conversation.

Relation To Others / Our Class

Garrett self-designated for himself the role of the most backward student in the class. On September 11, for example when I complained to those seated around me that my classmates seemed to be able to write much more quickly than me, Garrett felt the need to add that he was seventy-five percent slower than I was.

Others agreed with Garrett's assessment. One possible piece of evidence is that he, along with *C,* had been asked the week before to prepare to read the conversations from our textbook lesson by Kain on October 7th. Kain's ordinary procedure before and subsequently was simply to call on people to read on the same day. Since it was so unusual, my thought at the time was that she was giving students who were lagging behind extra preparation time and an improved chance to do well in front of the class. Garrett had not given Kain's reasoning much thought at the time, but in response to my asking for his take on what was going on, felt in retrospect that he had been singled out as lagging behind the class.

Despite this designation, Garrett didn't try to fade into the woodwork or to view his status with anything but equanimity. He tried to participate with enthusiasm in the class to the extent that his level permitted, although, at the time of the second interview, he said that he wasn't particularly enthusiastic about studying Korean outside of class, seeing it as merely a task. His own take on how his classmates, at least those who generally sat near him, viewed him, was that he kept "a sense of humor about things." While I would not dispute that, my own stronger impression was that he was, as he affirmed in the first two interviews, confident that learning at his own pace would eventually lead to a successful language acquisition outcome. So convincing was this belief that I too remained convinced of his eventual "success," until I learned that he had dropped the course. Finally, Garrett saw himself as facilitator, "trying to encourage other people to participate more in the class." He also liked the idea of helping his classmates when possible. He felt these were carryovers from his teacher identity into our classroom.

Class Group / Relational Identity

If, as Boxer and Cortés-Conde (2000) suggest, the language classroom should be a place where a bond is formed between classmates "as (valid) interlocutors in a new speech community" and "for many learners, the first place they can receive such validation in their L2" (p. 203), then Garrett's view of our class was the most extreme in its denial, rejecting the notion that any semblance of class or group identity had developed at all. Possibly significant was the impression I recorded about Garrett in my *Journal* after our final interview on December 18th: "A common theme among the rest of the participants was how much their environment and their liking of their classmates was an important part of their positive 101 class experience – never got this sense from Garrett." While none of the other participants felt we had developed a full-blown class identity, Garrett's total denial meant he never derived this "valid interlocutor" validation in even the most limited sense from our class.

Conclusion

The weaknesses and strengths of qualitative research lie in the complexity of the pictures that it paints. It does not seem possible to isolate one or several factors and say that this one or those few were the problem, deal with them and the problem is solved. On the contrary, many factors at the nexus of who Garrett was, the particulars of our classroom, class curriculum, and Garrett's relationship to the Korean language, played off against each other, some pulling Garrett toward, some pushing him away from Korean language acquisition and leading to his ultimate decision to withdraw.

Specifically, factors pushing Garrett away included the threat of a poor grade, his lack of investment, that is lack of a history and identification with Korean language and things Korean, his failure to invest in actual preparation for the class to the degree the course required, and his

having a primary goal, to understand his Korean students better, that was far less compelling than those of his classmate study participants. Nor did he acknowledge and therefore derive support from any sort of group identity shared with his classmates. Factors pushing Garrett to do well and not withdraw included his confidence in the value of learning Korean to the beat of his own drummer, and his self-identity as a good language learner and good student, an identity that considered not doing well and withdrawal from the class an admission of failure damaging to self-esteem.

Our classroom experience, plus Garrett's history as teacher and language learner, gave Garrett insight into his own preferred learning style, ending in the realization that a less academic, more individually paced classroom than ours was what he preferred. That same history enabled Garrett to continue acquiring Korean at his own pace, with confidence, up to the time he withdrew from the course.

In hindsight, it may seem that Garrett's investment, or lack of it, led inexorably to his resulting withdrawal from the course. I think it would be a mistake to fully accept that interpretation however. I see his withdrawal more as the result of an interplay of factors, some in concert, some in conflict, eventually tipping the balance in the direction of the withdrawal. If, for example, the grade had not figured so significantly in Garrett's academic life, it is likely that he would have lasted out the semester despite his other difficulties. Whether Garrett would have then continued on with Korean and developed more of an identification with things Korean is an open question. Although it may seem likely the answer would still have been negative, it should be noted that Garrett's analogous start on his route to fluent Spanish speaker involved an identification with that language and culture later, rather than earlier, in the language learning

process. Under slightly different circumstances something similar might have occurred between

Garrett and Korean over the longer term.

CHAPTER 7: SYNTHESIS, IMPLICATION, AND APPLICATION

In this chapter I refocus the Chapters 5 and 6 discussions of my data to that data's real world applicability. In doing so I also redirect attention from the learner, the true to focus of the study, to the classroom teacher. Specifically I attempt to discuss why a teacher should, and how he might, make the learner-driven insights of the previous chapters an integral part of his teaching. To that end I discuss elements from each research question and theme discussion, often reframing those elements to fit this teacher-focused perspective.

Introduction

To deal with the complex nuanced nature of my data, I have chosen to unravel it into strands highlighting individual aspects of the identity-language learning-classroom triad connection. In examining each strand closely, I hope the observations I have noted, the data from my interviews I have presented, and the conclusions I have drawn have been at least somewhat thought-provoking and instructive.

The breadth of my topic precluded presenting more than a sliver of the relationships and interactions that came into play. Given my own ocean of data, I could easily have presented a number of other themes and discussed additional connections and their ramifications within the triad. However, some limitations had to made in the interests of length. Based on the perspectives I *did* discuss in the two previous chapters, I reprise and further develop below some of the insights I gained in the course of carrying out this research. I will also offer some reflective thoughts from a new perspective as well, that of my anticipated audience, members of the second-language teaching community, as derived from my past capacity as a part of that community.

My research focused on the learner, her identity, and her learning process. In terms of the

anticipated audience and my once again future teacher role, I intend to discuss application of the insights derived from the teacher's perspective. Specifically I intend to discuss actions teachers might take, in class, to ensure that the confluence of identity and the second language is a happy and productive one for the student.

My goal in these sections is first to highlight some areas I noted from my data that seem to have relevance to the broader second language classroom universe, and to further stimulate reflection on a possible teacher role in these areas. My suggestions therefore are offered primarily to encourage further thought among my teacher-readers as to actions they might consider taking. In the two sections that follow, I discuss some of my previously presented data, using two organizing factors: the first drawing on my research questions, the second on some themes that I saw emerging from my data. In most cases, I present first, a "Reflection" section on the topic in question, followed by an "Application" section offering possible suggestions for the second language classroom.

<div align="center">Research Questions and Themes</div>

<div align="center">*Question 1*</div>

1. How do learners enrolled in a beginning Korean class describe their experiences with the new language in ways that might be interpreted as related to identity?

Reflection

One issue touched on, but not heavily emphasized in previous chapters, involves the inter-relationships between participant confidence and competence – in other words confidence in their competence in our class. For those participants who possessed strong confidence, the results were high enthusiasm, incentive to persevere, and satisfaction with future investment goals involving Korean. Furthermore, where confidence seemed to decrease as a consequence of

<div align="center">324</div>

a decreasing sense of competence in the class, although the sense of lost confidence was disturbing, the effect was mixed, and not always completely negative. For Ilima and myself it sometimes spurred renewed effort.

On a related note, I also noted that a strong academic self-concept provided a boost in the incentive to persevere or work harder than the participant might otherwise have done. In the case of Garrett, his belief in himself as a good language learner would likely have pushed him to see the semester through if not for the damage that would have resulted from the threat of a poor grade. Dawn likewise felt the need to push herself to study harder when her grade in our class briefly seemed to be in jeopardy. In her case though, strong academic self-concept was more a function of expecting to get a good grade, rather than mastering the material presented. Therefore, when her grade was no longer threatened, her self-perceived need to put greater effort into the class decreased. In short, there seems to have been a complex interplay involving confidence, perceived success in learning, and assessment in the form of grades.

Application

From my data I found that confidence played a part in my participants' second language classroom acquisition. The language teacher can hardly avoid being a factor in shaping students' confidence levels, whether intentionally or unintentionally, since the teacher's words, teaching style, and methods will affect and cause reaction in his students. Compliments and criticism can play a part; however other teaching decisions may play just as important (if more indirect) a role.

For example, in my *Theme 3: Comparisons* section, I favorably compared the quiz and test-taking procedure of our Korean class to that of the Japanese class I had taken many years before. By and large I felt our Korean tests, particularly the quizzes, were designed so that with a modicum of study we could do well. When poor results were achieved by many on a particular

quiz, we would retake that quiz in a subsequent class. This meant to me that a major goal of the testing was to build our confidence in our competence toward the Korean we were being taught. I take this as a model. Designing tests to show the student what she knows, rather than what she doesn't know, can help build or maintain confidence. It is a desirable result to instill in the student the concept that learning is a process and that what has not been mastered today can still be successfully learned tomorrow. This result was accomplished by our instructors having us retake quizzes; and this practice can help the student maintain confidence during those times she struggles with some aspect of he language.

That a decreased level of confidence could also be a spur to increased effort indicates to me that while a class can be designed to instill confidence, the instructor need not try to instill false confidence. For students, who like my participants, all saw themselves as generally academically quite competent, a dip in performance in the class, leading to decreased confidence, need not be a bad thing. Perhaps some minimal effort by the teacher to ensure that the decreased level of confidence and competence does not become chronic may be all the teacher need see to in this regard.

Finally, the teacher might choose to explore with the students their assumptions about the importance of the grade versus learning the language or other subject matter. While there may be a confluence between a student's actual learning in the class and his grade, the focus on the grade may also get in the way of the actual learning, as occurred for Dawn and Garrett. Grades seem an unavoidable component of most academic settings; however discussing the possible dichotomy between studying for a grade or for the sake of learning might help alleviate the possible negative impact of a focus on the former.

2A. In what ways do these learners' perceived identities affect, and in what ways are they affected by, in-class events, their in-class experiences, and their class participation?

Reflection

To a large extent, simple interaction among classmates seemed to trigger RID (relational identity); however, if the same few people are constantly interacting, it is possible that cliques may form rather than a class identity. Unfortunately, the more interaction and working together occurs, the greater the possibility of friction in interaction would seem to arise, as occurred occasionally between Howard and myself, and between Ilima and *C* and *4*. This friction may be detrimental to both group harmony as well as to the development of a class identity.

I see four possible modes of response to such friction: (1) one student completely having her way; (2) the group's accommodating one group member's preferences, even though all members may not feel satisfied; (3) negotiating a compromise; (4) an impasse, in which none of the conflicting proposals is modified, and none is accepted. Examples of types (1) to (3) were provided in my Research Question 2A discussion of our Final Projects. Even when one of these modes of action is employed, particularly with (2) accommodation, some dissatisfaction may result. This was the case during the final project for Ilima when working with *4*, and for me with Howard, when we each had our own preferred method of dealing with a pair activity. Dissatisfaction or not, such solutions provided a mechanism for maintaining at least minimally cordial relations among classmates. Failing to utilize any of these means would likely result in the fourth possibility, the most problematic, in which two or more students each insist on their own preferences and each refuses to compromise or accommodate. This was more or less the case with *C* versus *4* and Ilima in preparing for their final project.

Application

In my experience, when teaching adults (including college students), I have preferred to let my students, as adults, have considerable latitude in their interactions with each other and the class in general. Frictions between people who interact frequently are probably inevitable; most often, as in my Korean class, the problems will be solved by the students themselves. However, a more hands-on approach early in the course might prevent more serious conflicts from developing later. I suggest that the overall class context should be the key for deciding if, when and how to monitor group cohesion in a given situation. Based on my teaching experience, it is likely that a type (4), no accommodation or compromise situation, is rare. My general solution then would be to simply strive to be aware if such a situation seems likely to or has developed. At that point I would consider it my responsibility to intervene in order to protect whatever class identity has formed and if necessary, prevent harm from coming to any individual involved. As for the other kinds of interaction, it may be important for the instructor to be aware of developing tensions in groups, and to meet with the groups (or even to step in and re-structure groups with conflicting goals) in order to ensure the success of group projects.

<center>*Question 2A*</center>

Reflection

In my response to Question 2A I discussed why Quinn felt our oral midterm and final project were important as learning experiences. I see his perception of certain class activities being entwined both with imagined future identity and, implicitly, with participation in a Korean language community, as a powerful learning incentive. To recap some quotes from Question 2A as a reminder, he felt the activities entailed really, "using the language, putting [it] into use. You,

<center>328</center>

yourself, using it, speaking it." While performing the activities, "I see myself a little bit more Korean doing those things" and can "even just pretend that I'm Korean."

Application

I suggest that it is precisely these types of activities, ones which encourage the student to consider himself as a second language user in the world outside the classroom, that provide the fundamental constituents of a "good" class language activity. I would therefore suggest creating language use activities with such goals in mind.

<div align="center">

Question 2B Part 1

</div>

2B. In what ways do participants' statements about identity in relation to our class develop over the course of the semester? In what ways do these re-conceptions of identity over time (during the first semester second language learning process) affect the second language learning process, judging from learner perceptions and observation of classroom dynamics?

Reflection

I discussed, in question 2B, a concrete way of connecting the outside Korean language world with the classroom; many of my participants reported that they actually interacted on some Korean level with a Korean-speaking world. Given this, I came away from my study with a fresh appreciation of the permeability of the outside and classroom worlds. As with many of the insights I gained from this study, that realization was hardly revelatory; it simply became more a focus, rather than background perception and concern as it had been previously in my thinking.

Outside of Korea, Hawaii is probably the ideal place to study KSL; there are numerous Korean restaurants, groceries, other shops, and cultural events such as an annual Korean festival in Honolulu's Kapiolani Park featuring Korean food and cultural performances. The semi-annual

Honolulu International Film Festival routinely features new Korean films; we had about six to choose from for our class outing. On campus are many, in my experience mostly friendly, students from Korea. During the semester of my study a graduate student organized a weekly Korean film series held in the same Korean Center Building in which our class was held. Once a year, actually during the spring semester, the Korean department also held a Korean day in the same building, showcasing food, traditional Korean games, traditional garb, and K-pop karaoke. In other words there were countless opportunities to meet and interact with Korean language and culture.

None of us took full advantage of these outside class interaction opportunities (although Oliver and Dawn, given their family situations, were to a certain extent living with Koreans). However, I made an effort to explore Korean restaurants, attended the Kapiolani Park festival, was introduced to Korean coffee shops and practiced reading all the Korean signage I encountered on the streets of Honolulu. And Natsu would practice Korean with some Korean students in her hula class. She would also sometimes have get-togethers with friends involving cooking together. Some of those friends were Korean speakers, with whom she would "practice some Korean."

Several participants (e.g. Quinn, Natsu, and I), took what they were learning and brought it into interchanges outside of class with people other than our classmates. This set up a pattern of positive reinforcement, increased enthusiasm, and a desire to further invest in Korean language and culture. Also, although omitted from earlier discussion, something similar took place with Dawn as well. Her cousin's mid-semester visit acted as an incentive to learn new

things from the class:

> When I learn the new forms, when I learn the new words, I want her to see that I'm improving and that I'm learning new things and it's fun when I say words that she doesn't think that I would know. And she'd ask me, 'How'd you know that? Where'd you learn that?' And I'll just be like, 'Just, you know.' It's just fun."

As visualized in *Figure 1*, (page 332) these types of experiences illustrate complimentary effects, in one direction bringing the language from the class to outside world, in the other, second language experience is brought back to the classroom to positively (or negatively) affect students' classroom participation.

Decreased investment

Negative factors:
e.g.
Discouragement, difficulties,
decreased identification

Positive factors:
e.g.
Increasing acquisition,
confidence, comfort level

The class

Increased investment

Positive factors:
e.g.
Encouragement / native
speaker validation

Negative factors:
e.g.
Difficulties or unpleasantness
in communication

Increased investment

Outside target
language
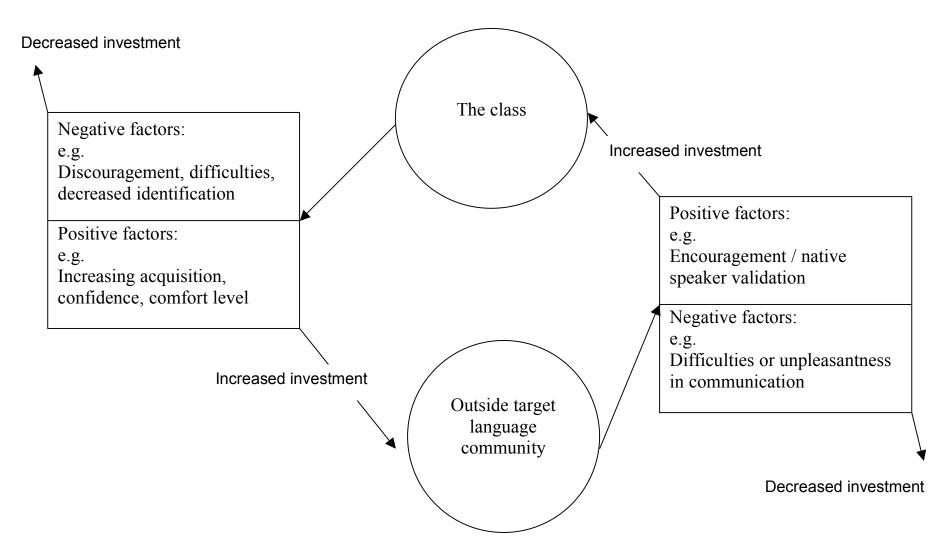community

Decreased investment

Figure 1. Effects of the reciprocal cycle of student participation in both the realms of the language class and an outside target language community.

Examples demonstrating the positive cycle in Figure 1 include Quinn's encounter with the "quarter" girls in the bookstore (discussed in Question 2B), Natsu using her Korean with the hula girls, and Dawn trying out things she learned in class with her cousin (both discussed above).

I can only provide one clear example of a participant acquiring new language outside class and bringing that back to the classroom, and that comes from my experience, not discussed previously, of eliciting samples of "bad cop" language from Korean speakers on and off campus, which I incorporated as dialogue in our final project. However, the effects of outside experience do not always enrich the classroom experience. For example Dawn, as discussed in *Theme 4: Dynamics of Participation: Resistance and Agency*, provided an example of a conscious resistance to bringing "new" language she had learned from her mother or cousin back to the class. As might be expected, she felt this resulted in distancing herself from the class and decreasing her participation in the class.

I do not have data for the negative side of the cycle presented in *Figure 1*. The best example I have of negative sway from an outside Korean community was, as discussed in Research Question 3B, Ilima's finding her Korean friends' implied criticism of her Korean attempts to be unpleasant and discouraging. These did not seem to have produced negative classroom effects however. Despite the lack of data for this negative aspect of the cycle, I chose to include it in my *Figure 1* model, since the possibility for negative experiences in class or in a target language community certainly exists.

Application

Once again I can offer no extraordinary or revelatory recommendations for the language teacher to use in finding application for the above. Many language teachers routinely make

connections between their classes and an outside target language world, pushing their classes to make such classroom-outside world language community connections, through class trips, the internet, assignments requiring student contact with members of a target second language community, and so on. I would like to suggest though that instructors might implement this connection more explicitly, by developing strategies which build such activities into the positive reinforcement loops of *Figure 1*. In this way, teachers could more powerfully utilize those activities and more strongly encourage increased student investment in the language and culture.

Question 2B Part 2

Reflection

In the subsection on Quinn in my answer to question 2B, I discussed Quinn's exhibiting two contrasting types of interest that encouraged his further investment in Korean. The first was his intellectual curiosity toward the different, taking delight in aspects of Korean which differed from our own, English language and American cultural, norms. The second was in finding commonalities between his world and Korean, making it easier for him to establish a degree of identification with the Korean world.

Application

Both these above interests are hardly unique to Quinn; I imagine they are present in varying degrees in most, if not all people. The urge to explore and take delight in the new and different seems quintessentially human. However, the "new" we may delight in exploring varies from individual to individual. Therefore to effectively yoke this interest to investment in the second language, it would be worthwhile for instructors to focus on the individuals in the class to see what each gets excited about, and use this information as a guide to what topics or experiences might be brought into the classroom.

Likewise, what signals commonality for one may not for another. For instance, Quinn's sense of connectedness to Korea increased when he learned of the Korean artist's sculpture symbolizing the Seoul-Honolulu sister cities status. However, this realization would not likely resonate so strongly with participants like Howard and Oliver, who lacked Quinn's sense of Hawaii as his only home. Therefore bringing these connections into the classroom involves a sense of the individuals in the class as well. Overall, it seems to me that making connections and exploring differences between the target language and culture and others, especially the students' own language and cultures, can only be beneficial.

Question 3A

How do the student participants react in class to positive feedback from the instructor?
How do they describe this positive experience, and how do their subsequent behaviors in
the class seem to change after such an experience?

Reflection

In examining my data for this question, I found that the sincerity of many of our instructors' compliments was questioned by my participants, but the absence of sincere praise was not felt as negative. My participants came up with reasons or rationalizations to explain such off-hand compliments: they were "teacher talk," they indicated a low standard of expectation, they were intended to encourage, they were a thank-you for making the effort to participate, and so on. My participants did not pay these much attention; indeed there was disagreement over their frequency and whether they were generally directed at the class as a whole or individuals. Even so, most found this type of compliment mildly encouraging.

Occasionally compliments seemed to register as more sincere, and these tended to stand out. However, even this type was not picked up on, or at least long remembered, by every

participant. The strongest one, Kain's to Quinn, was recalled only by Quinn and me. I was the only participant to raise the specter of jealousy when a sincere compliment was directed at a classmate; but this reaction on my part, even if atypical, might be a cause for reflection on the part of language teachers.

Application

Teachers who compliment thoughtlessly and frequently may find their compliments questioned, or at least discounted, by the recipients. Even so, giving compliments seems to produce at least a mild positive effect, indicating that it may be worthwhile. It would be interesting, though, to undertake action research investigating such things as the delivery and frequency of compliments and varying the ratio of sincere to 'teacher talk' compliments to discern which instances had greater or lesser, more positive and more negative effects on a class. In the absence of that data, the results from my study suggest that compliments in general, like chicken soup, can't hurt.

<center>*Question 3B*</center>

3B. How do the student participants react in class to negative feedback or criticism from, or a negative interaction with the teacher or other students? How do they describe such experiences, and how do their behaviors or stated strategies in class seem to change after this kind of experience?

Reflection

Although the data on criticism in my class was minimal, it seems likely that the possibility of its negative impact on identity and investment is strong.

<center>336</center>

Application

In light of the strong possibility of negative consequences, my suggestion that criticism be used sparingly or avoided altogether should hardly come as a surprise. A possible exception, though, might involve couching criticism as general warnings to the class as a whole, as was done in our Korean class.

Themes

I saw my examination of the themes in Chapter 6 as a chance explore the inner mental processes of my participants, to uncover what was going on for them internally during class, how they were connecting to the class and to Korean, as well as what they were carrying between the class and the outside world. The focus on identity gave me a chance to note that far more goes on in the classroom language learning process than simply, "Individual meets new language and tries to learn vocabulary and grammar." In what follows, I try to develop the idea that addressing those underlying concerns should be an integral consideration for the second language teacher.

Theme 1: Classroom Group Relational Identity

Reflection

Based on Boxer & Cortés-Conde's (2000) article and my own observations, it seems important for teachers to identify conditions conducive to producing a group identity in the classroom. Greater interaction and activities in pairs, in larger groups and whole-class activities beyond the teacher-at-student traditional lecture classroom, seem to push the class toward such a group identity. Once that ground has been laid, however, it seems up to the individuals in the class to position themselves at the center of that group or remain at the periphery. There did seem to be that perception of a center/periphery distinction, at least for some, in our Korean class; and Dawn, for example, placed herself on the periphery.

However, while I focused on the participants' consensus that we had formed a limited group identity in our Korean, a quick look back at Table 2, *Summary Of Participants' Perceptions Of Class Identity Formation*, reveals that there was actually a surprising diversity of opinion over the extent of that identity and whether it tended to strengthen or weaken over the course of the semester. This indicates to me that, even in the microcosmic world of the classroom, the reality and shape of group identity is highly subjective. Despite that subjectivity, it seemed clear enough that in our class, as I pointed out in *Classroom Group Relational Identity Theme*, that benefits were obtained from the formation of a group identity.

Application

Once again, my data indicated that teaching / learning is not just about taking some subject matter and imparting it to (or absorbing it from) a class. Other considerations, such as RID, are important as well. The benefits provided by RID are considerable: for example, the chance to comfortably practice, stumble, fall, and try again provide valuable preparation for entrance into the imagined target language community.

Experienced teachers may, without consciously referencing RID, do as I often did in my past teaching experience. That is, they may note a "class spirit" in a particular class, or that a particular class seems to work together well and enthusiastically. These types of classes are the most memorable for both teacher and student. I always assumed it was simply "chemistry" between members of the class, and between the class and myself. While chemistry does seem necessary, the awareness that the formation of RID in the classroom can be aided and abetted, coupled with a knowledge of what is useful to nurture its formation and what mitigates against it, means that the teacher can consciously plan to foster such identity in his classroom.

338

Theme 2: Comfort Level In Talking To Various Others

Reflection

Although it was beyond the scope of this dissertation to track my participants beyond the semester of my study in order to correlate comfort levels with the subsequent progress of my participants in Korean, a greater willingness to talk to a wider range people would seem, prima facie, to be a plus for language acquisition.

Application

What is most relevant from the classroom teacher's point of view is the degree to which students are comfortable using the second language with their classmates and the teacher. It is likely that, if RID develops, a significant comfort level for conversation with classmates will naturally evolve. Developing a similarly high comfort level with the instructor, however, seems a bit more problematic. In our Korean class it was universally agreed that our instructors were supportive, non-threatening and approachable. Despite this, four out of the eight participants were not happy with the idea of talking to them in Korean outside of class. While I don't imagine this is of make-or-break importance for the second language classroom, perhaps in an attempt to make a good learning experience better, the instructor might probe students' feelings in this regard and work at increasing the comfort level not only of student with classmates, but of student with the instructor as well, in second language interchange.

Theme 3: Comparisons

Reflection

The ubiquity of comparisons among my participants was a powerful example of their creating mechanisms to best deal with and respond to the class, and additionally assess their

success. I feel it is an indication of the power of comparisons, and therefore of the value of bringing them into the discussion, that my participants employed them to:

- Produce a model for emulation

- Create a sense of competition

- Spur investment

- Aid in the language learning process (e. g. Quinn's copy-paste idea) or

  - Cause confusion (e.g. Ilima's language interference)

- Engender self-reflection of our own learning preferences (e.g. Howard's preference for a semi-immersion style course)

- Sort out or clarify our developing ideas about the new language (e.g. Howard's contrasting elision between Japanese and Korean syllables)

- Foster empathy with classmates

- Evaluate ourselves in relation to the language and culture (e.g. Quinn's comparison of investment in Korean to previous investment in Japanese)

- Evaluate appropriateness of how we were be taught against our (the participants) own learning preferences and styles

- Evaluate the appropriateness of the material we were learning

- Evaluate level of success in learning

Application

Further research may reveal the efficacy or lack thereof in overtly encouraging students to utilize comparison strategies as they study a language. I would be hesitant to suggest pushing a class to use comparisons in a systematic way. Individuals seem to employ comparisons naturally to suit their own idiosyncratic identities. However, based on the experiences of my

participants, it may be important for instructors to be aware of their occurrence; comparisons to classmates seem to be tempting for some, and yet fraught with pitfalls leading to discouragement, as noted by Howard and Garrett. Perhaps it is safe to suggest that, where the cause of discouragement may be due to the student seeing herself falling short in comparison to a classmate or others, the teacher might downplay the significance of such a comparison.

I also noted that comparisons among my participants to previous language learning experiences were significant; other language classes may have far fewer, if any, students studying the target language as a second or third foreign language. Students learning their first new language may more easily fail to appreciate that what and how they are learning is not the only learning possibility. In any case, it might be useful for instructors to emphasize that each learner is unique, and that alternatives can be explored to the organization or practice of any particular class.

Students who, like my participants, have had previous second language learning experience, might prematurely identify themselves with particular language learning preferences or as particular types of language learners. In some cases, this may lead learners to draw negative inferences about their present experience, thus failing to leave themselves open to alternatives which might work for them if they were to keep an open mind. A teacher who notes such negativity might encourage such a student to keep that mind open. Students like Oliver, Garrett and myself might have greeted our Korean text's grammar centered approach with more enthusiasm if we had had been presented with a somewhat convincing rationale, or if some more congenial, non-grammar based approach, designed to be complimentary had been partnered with the grammar focus used.

341

Theme 4: Dynamics of Participation: Resistance and Agency

Reflection

If the goal of studying a language is acquisition, then it should be obvious that behaviors favorable to language acquisition are positive and those unfavorable are negative. Resistance can be examined and evaluated from that perspective. The results of, and reasons for, the resistance behaviors extracted from Table 4, *KSL Related Types of Resistance* are listed here (with the reasons, generalized from the specifics of my participant data as presented in Theme 4, given in italics; *(?) indicates some ambivalence as to whether the result was positive or negative.):

Positive Result:

- (Perceived) improved learning; increased satisfaction with participation in the course (vs. dissatisfaction at doing it the prescribed way)
    - *To better acquire Korean in terms of participants own perceived learning needs and styles*

Neutral Result:

- Increased participation in some ways, decreased in others
    - *Internal identity conflict*

Negative Results and reasons for them:

- Questioned the possibility of ultimately acquiring the language.
    - *Discouragement over unexpected language difficulties*
- Felt they could be doing better, learned less Korean than they could have
    - *Assigning lower priority to the class than to many other things*
- Perceived increased difficulties in acquisition or production
    - *Attempted accommodation of uncongenial teaching presentation*

- (?)* Adapting Korean away from socio-linguistic norms to suit identity concerns, or accommodating to such norms but creating an internal dissonance between those norms and identity.
  - *Social and Personal Identity conflicts with Korean socio-linguistic norms*
- (Only) Limited attempts at agency intended to change aspects of class activities to better fit individual learning styles
  - *Belief that ultimate responsibility lies with each individual*

The results of the resistance behaviors extracted from Table 5, *Classroom Related Types of Resistance* and the reasons for them were:

Positive:

- (?)* Improving performance in the classroom
  - *To maximize classroom performance*

Neutral:

- Seemingly nothing of great significance in terms of how participants related to the class overall and learning from it.
  - *Personality Conflict*

Negative:

- Not catching material being presented
  - *Too passive participation demands*
- Possibly some disengagement from the class and a self-consciousness about appropriateness/inappropriateness of instances of participation
  - *To maintain positive identity with classmates*

- Not deriving the benefits of the rejected activities or, in the case of absence, of the class for that day.
  - *Frustration with or personal dislike of an activity*
- Reduction of performance in class, some disengagement from the class
  - *Re-conceptualization of future identity with decreased Korean component*

In the above I intentionally omitted the actual resistance behavior and focused on the reasons for such behavior, on the premise that the resistance, when negative, was merely the symptom and that addressing the reason for such "negative" resistance would alleviate that symptom. On this basis, I discuss applications for the second language classroom below.

Application

The above reasons for resistance, since they are representative only of my participants, are only a sample of possible causes. Based on my language teaching experience however, I feel they are common to many language classrooms and therefore worth examining in more detail. Some of the issues raised would seem amenable to amelioration based on teacher practice.

First, teachers should be sensitive to individuals in the class in order to note even subtle "negative" resistance and uncover the underlying reasons, such as those listed above. Once these are identified, the instructor may be able to decide which areas can be dealt with. For example, the "competing priorities of a student" may not be possible for the teacher to satisfactorily address. Even for areas that might be addressed, teachers need to reflect on whether it would be more helpful than harmful to address the particular issue, and what steps might be useful in addressing it. Below are some broad, general examples of approaches that might be taken.

From the Table 4 KSL related types of resistance:

- Discouragement over unexpected language difficulties

    Discouragement can be met with encouragement and empathy. To identify this problem, the teacher might have the class share their problems and frustrations with the language and discuss possible solutions with each other. The teacher might bring up his or her own problems in learning a second language as well.

- Accommodation to uncongenial teaching presentation

    Identity affects how we learn. Different individuals have different learning styles. One individual may learn well with one type of presentation while experiencing another way as an impediment to learning. A second may find the latter presentation clarifying and the first confusing. It is likely that there will be some who have trouble with the material we present, no matter how brilliantly we think we present it. Fortunately, the same material can be presented in various ways. I advocate the teacher's trying to create or adapt her course to fit her students, rather than expecting those students to unilaterally adapt to the class. To do so, she might try to identify learning styles and preferences of her individual students in order to present alternate, targeted-to-individual students types of presentations of the same material, so that as many students as possible can catch what is being presented.

- Social and personal identity conflicts with the second language socio-linguistic norms

    Students can be made consciously aware that that other cultures and languages have different, "foreign" modes of interaction that are integral to the language, ways that learners may feel misrepresents their own identities and which they therefore may resist. Having students think about the advantages and disadvantages of their accommodation or resistance to the target language may help in their working through this type of conflict for themselves.

345

- Belief that ultimate responsibility lies with each individual

Although this view certainly has positive aspects, far preferable to the student's accepting no responsibility for his acquisition, it also has its drawbacks. If a student never sees his learning problems as a result of the course design, materials, teaching methods, or the teacher, he may lose sight of the possibility of changing these when they are unsuitable. Therefore, it might be useful for teachers to provide some explicit indication to the students that they have agency to influence the direction of the class to better suit their own needs.

From Table 5, Classroom Related Types of Resistance:

The data from Table 5 dealt with resistance to the class. It was placed apart from the data in Table 4, since resistance to the class is not necessarily resistance to language acquisition. Full participation in class may not always be the ideal type of participation to meet the goal of acquisition for example. However, to the extent that resistance to participation and other aspects of the class hinders language acquisition, it should be valuable here as well to identify the cause of the resistance. Of the above listed causes, some are more problematical than others. For instance, a KSL teacher might focus on a student's "re-conceptualization of future identity with decreased Korean component" by working with the student to reflect on her current and future engagement; the teacher might also be justified in accepting this re-conceptualization as a part of the student's life outside his purview. As to the other resistance reasons, some comments are be offered here:

- Frustration or personal dislike of an activity

Although I did not have space to include discussion of this aspect of my data, there were activities in our Korean class that some participants really liked but others considered a waste of time. This kind of divergence can be expected in any classroom. One possibility, might be, for

pair work or group work for example, to provide students with a choice of activities that covers the same material, but are aimed at different learning styles. In other cases, such as Ilima's refusing to read chorally with the class, there may be no great harm in permitting non-participation, or rather adapted participation, such as reading silently while the others read aloud.

- To maintain positive identity with classmates

In some cases, maintaining positive identity with classmates may conflict with class participation. On the one hand, concern over excessive participation in the form of volunteering could be seen as positive and justifiable. It is quite possible that a student who seems to volunteer excessively may be resented by his classmates. Although that student may decide to decrease his participation, that decrease can be viewed positively, as an attempt to behave properly in the social context of the classroom. This same type of consideration extends to turn taking in conversations and the skill of listening to others. Therefore as long as this cause of resistance seems reasonable, it might be wise for the teacher to simply be aware of the dynamics involved, and not to intervene actively.

On the other hand, a student's self-restraint may be excessive. I can see Dawn's point of view, that if she were to continually use language forms and vocabulary that we had yet to cover in our classroom, she might just as easily be resented as appreciated. However, her self-censorship seemed excessive to me. I feel that an instructor might best use a student with her advanced abilities in some type of assistant's role, say modeling conversations, receiving extra credit for running practice sessions for the other students, and so on, thus greatly expanding her participation in the class while simultaneously benefiting her classmates.

- Too Passive Participation Demands

The solution for passive students seems obvious – that is to require more active participation from such students. Even within the lecture format, a teacher can require students to actively engage with the material under consideration. At the most simple level, the instructor can ask students to apply or manipulate the material being presented, and provide enough time for them to formulate an answer.

As noted above, some causes of resistance seemed to lead to neutral or even positive acquisition results. Even some of these resistance types might be addressed, however, if they seem to have the potential for negative repercussions in other classrooms. For example, where some aspects of an individual's identity may increase and other aspects decrease a student's participation or investment in the class and the language, it may be possible to address and reduce the impact of some of the reasons for the decrease.

Furthermore, personality conflicts among classmates might lead to resistance to the extent of classmates refusing to cooperate. This pattern might negatively affect language acquisition either directly or indirectly by poisoning the class relational identity; or if escalated to the point of hostility, such conflicts might threaten individuals' identities in the class. Teachers need to be aware of such conflicts, and address such situations early, before they become full-blown impediments to learning.

Finally, even seemingly positive resistance for the purpose of improving classroom performance may actually be detrimental to acquisition. Ilima's focus on her own, rather than her classmates,' responses had the potential to limit what she might have learned had she instead listened to her classmates' responses and the instructor's feedback to those as well. Again, the

instructor may be able to improve the learning outcomes if she can become aware of student attitudes in this area.

<center>*Theme 5: Korean Withdrawal Analysis*</center>

Reflection

It seems reasonable, as suggested by my data, that a student is not likely to learn a language well if he has practically no past, present or future, investment in and identification with the target language and culture. Since these limited investment conditions seemed to fit Garrett almost perfectly, it would hard to deny or perhaps even overstate the link between them and his eventual failure to complete the course. Responding to that consideration then, the language teacher might certainly try to plant seeds of identification and the desire for continued investment in such a student. She might do so, for example, by using the approaches taken by Quinn, as discussed in question 2B, in other words presenting the language and culture as an interesting "other," so as to provoke curiosity and wonder. It might also be important to underscore the shared commonalities between the target language and culture and the student's own, so as to encourage identification with the target culture.

Garrett however had a self-described tendency, perhaps even a strategy, to approach new situations very cautiously. He strongly avoided hastily prejudging anything or jumping right in to a new situation, but rather would hold himself back to analyze that situation before fully participating. In his Chapter 4 *Profile* subsection, for example, I reported that when he approached a new class he liked to "observe and listen and get an idea of the dynamic of the class before I begin to make my opinions known." He also said, in talking about his relationships with people he would meet, that "I don't divulge too many details about me personally so much, just gradually over time." This tendency seems to have been reinforced by his time in Japan,

where he learned by experience "that being direct is not the best way to approach people." He felt that this same tendency to hold back before committing to an investment in Spanish seems to have stood him in good stead for learning that language.

Application

For a student like Garrett, who might initially build only severely limited identity connections with the target language and culture, while expecting these to naturally develop during later stages of acquisition, it might be enough to focus on other aspects of the learning process, specifically how such a student enjoys learning and feels he best learns. Of course, the particulars of Garrett's situation included other problems (more pressing academic demands, his focus on achieving a good grade, and his starting out behind most of the class); and these may have rendered Garrett's outcome inevitable. Still, in many cases a focus on the student's learning preferences might be helpful with cautious learners.

<div align="center">Synthesis</div>

The following synthesizes the applications suggested above into more general suggestions and approaches to the second language classroom. The types of applications I recommended for the classroom share several features. Primary among them is teacher attention paid to the individual in the class; I suggested that teachers need to remain aware that a class consists of individuals with unique learning preferences and styles. This study provided me with visceral confirmation that for the second language learner, many factors contribute to learning: approaches, preferences, investments, identifications, histories, personalities and so on had all helped to form the unique individuals we had become; and these in turn required individual tailoring of the language teaching to empower us to become the best learners we could be.

As a first step, teachers could try to understand how identities manifest themselves for the individual students as they interact with the language and the classroom. The required sensitivity might include exploring the comfort levels of the students in using the target language, uncovering individuals' preferred learning styles, noting resistance and trying to uncover the underlying causes of that resistance, as well as getting a sense of individuals' overall investment in the language.

Taking that sensitivity a step further, a teacher can *act* on these understandings of her students. At this point, many options are possible: encouraging students to feel comfortable and unthreatened in using the target language, adapting to student learning styles, negotiating with students about teaching methods and activities they may find uncongenial, and addressing causes for resistance.

In line with these ideas, explicit class discussion or teacher explanations could be a useful step toward spurring reflection in students. It could be useful to bring out in the open students' thoughts on studying for a grade versus studying for acquisition, to share and suggest solutions to student discouragement over unexpected difficulties in the language, or to talk about the students' right of agency in determining how the course should unfold. My feeling is that the reflection emerging in such discussions could enable the student to clarify her investment and derive fuller benefits from the class in line with that investment, ultimately aiding her language acquisition.

As a part of all this, the nature and structure of class activities is a key concern. A teacher in charge of a language course can and should pay attention to course content, suiting this to the individual student needs. Class activities should be designed with students' identities in mind, and teachers need to take into account such goals as building confidence, actively engaging the

students' minds, connecting students to a wider target language community, and creating a positive feedback loop between a target language community and the class.

Conclusion

I choose to study Korean specifically, but as I analyzed my data and discussed it throughout this dissertation, tried to juggle the specifics of learning that language with learning a second language in general. This chapter represents even more of an attempt to generalize my data from learning KSL to learning a second language, and to bring the focus of that analysis to second language classrooms in general, including classrooms in my field of TESOL.

Whether and to what extent my suggestions above are helpful is in one sense moot. More importantly I think is whether I successfully conveyed the sense I got from my study that addressing identity in the language classroom widens the language learning/language teaching vista. I have become convinced that we cannot view language learning and teaching narrowly as a set of discrete points to be learned/acquired; we need to broaden that focus to include many factors: individual learning styles and preferences, learner confidence, class group identity, communicative comfort level in using the second language, students' previous experiences and expectations based on those experiences, and the dynamics of participation as expressed through resistance and agency.

The five themes I presented were hardly the only themes I had data for or could have profitably discussed. Lack of space precluded my discussion of additional perspectives. Identity in the context of learning a second language and the classroom is a multifaceted topic. Further research by other researchers will, without a doubt, profitably refine and add both depth and breadth to the discussion. I do not believe it will undermine my underlying conclusion, though,

that the complex interplay of multiple factors interacting with student identity in the process of

language acquisition should be addressed in every second language classroom.

REFERENCES

Agar, M. H. (1996). *The professional stranger* (2nd ed.). San Diego: Academic Press.

Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism.* (Revised and extended ed.) London: Verso.

Angrosino, M. V., & Mays de Pérez, K. A. (2003). Rethinking observation: From method to context. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln. (Eds.), *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials*. (pp. 107-154). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Armour, W. (2000). Identity slippage: A consequence of learning Japanese as an additional language. *Japanese Studies,* 20(3), 255-268.

Armour, W. (2003). 'Nihonjin no yoo to omoimashita' (I think I'm like a Japanese): Additional language learning and the development of multiple selves. *Asian Ethnicity,* 4(1), 115-128.

Bailey, II, J. A. (2003). The foundation of self-esteem. *Journal of the National Medical Association*, 95(5), 388-393.

Baker, C. (2004). Membership categorization and interview accounts. In David Silverman. (Ed.), *Qualitative research: theory, method and practice*. (pp. 162-176). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Bakhtin, M. M. (1981). M. Holquist. (Ed.), C. Emerson and M. Holquist (Trans.) *The dialogic imagination: Four essays*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Bohn, M. (2004). Japanese classroom behavior: A micro-analysis of self-reports versus classroom observations, with Implications for language teachers. *Applied Language,* 14(1), 1-35.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). J.B. Thompson (Ed.), G. Raymond and M. Adamson (Trans.) *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

354

Boxer, D., & Cortés-Conde F. (2000). Identity and ideology: Culture and pragmatics in content-based ESL. In J. K. Hall & L. S. Verplaetse. (Eds.), *Second and foreign language learning through classroom interaction*. (pp. 203-219). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Brekhus, W. H., Galliher, J. F., & Gubrium, J. F. (2005). The need for thin description. *Qualitative Inquiry* 11(6), 861-879.

Bruner, J. (1990). *Acts of meaning*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bucholtz, M, & Hall, K. (2004). Language and identity. In A. Duranti. (Ed.) *A companion to linguistic anthropology*. (pp. 369-394). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Byon, A. (2004a). Korean cultural values in request behaviors. In H.-m. Sohn. (Ed.), *Korean language in culture and society*. (pp. 174-188). Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Byon, A. (2004b). Learning linguistic politeness. *Applied Language Learning,* 14(1), 37-62.

Callero, P. L. (2004). The meaning of self-in-role: A modified measure of role-identity. *Social Forces,* 71(2), 485-501.

Cangarajah, S. (1993). Critical ethnography of a Sri Lankan classroom: Ambiguities in student opposition to reproduction through ESOL. *TESOL Quarterly,* 27(4), 601-626.

Cangarajah, S. (2002). Reconstructing local knowledge. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education,* 1(4), 243-259.

Celce-Murcia, M. (Ed.). (1985). *Beyond basics: Issues and research in TESOL*. Cambridge, MA: Newbury House Publishers, Inc.

Chang, et al. (2008). *Korean 101: Workbook*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i at Manoa.

Chase, S. E. (2005). Narrative inquiry: Multiple lenses, approaches, voices. In N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln. (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed.) (pp. 467-481). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Cheng, C. (2004). Identity formation in Taiwanese and American college students. (Doctoral dissertation. University of Texas at Austin. 2004). *Digital Dissertations*. AAT 3150562.

Chinen, K. (2004). Heritage language development: Understanding the roles of ethnic identity, attitudes, motivation, schooling, family support and community factors. (Doctoral dissertation. Carnegie Mellon University. 2004). *Digital Dissertations*.AAT 3131513.

Cho, J., & Trent, A. (2006). Validity in qualitative research revisited. <u>*Qualitative Research*</u> 6(3), 319-340.

Cho, Y. M., Lee, H. S., Schulz, C., Sohn, H. M., & Sohn, S. O. (2008). *Integrated Korean: Beginning 1.* (2nd ed.) Revised by Cho, H. T., Kim, M. S., Oh, S. S., Park, M. J., & Suh, J. W. Honolulu, HI: KLEAR Textbooks in Korean Language.

Chung, Y. H. (2006). The modern transformation of Korean identity: Enlightenment and orientalism. *Korea Journal,* 46(1), 109-138.

Clandinin, D. J. & Connelley, F. M. (1999). *Narrative inquiry: Experience and story in qualitative research.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Coleman, L. M. (1988). Language and the evolution of identity and self-concept. In F. S. Kessel. (Ed.), *The development of language and language researchers: Essays in honor of Roger Brown*. (pp. 319-338). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Colley, T. (1959). The nature and origins of psychological sexual identity. *Psychological Review,* 66(3), 165-177.

Curran, M., & Stelluto, D. (2005) Opportunities for adult ESOL learners to revision and envision their social identities. *TESOL Quarterly*. 39(4), 781-785.

Davis, K. A., & Skilton-Sylvester, E. (2004) Looking back, taking stock, moving forward: Investigating gender in TESOL. *TESOL Quarterly*. 38(3), 381-404.

Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (2003). Introduction: The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative

    Research. In N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln. (Eds.), *The landscape of qualitative*

    research. (pp. 1 – 45). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Devos, T. (2006). Implicit bicultural identity among Mexican American and Asian American

    college students. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology,* 12(3), 381-402.

Dittmar, N., Spolsky, B., & Walters, J. (1998). Language and identity in immigrant language

    acquisition and use: A framework for integrating sociological, psychological and

    linguistic data. In V, Regan. (Ed.), *Contemporary approaches to second language*

    acquisition in social context; Crosslinguistic perspectives. (pp. 124-136). Dublin:

    University College Dublin Press.

Djité, P. G. (2006). Shifts in linguistic identities in a global world. *Language Problems &*

    Language Planning, 30(1), 1-20.

Dunkel, C. S., & Lavoie, J. C. (2005). Ego-identity and the processing of self-relevant

    information. *Self and Identity,* 4, 349-359.

Eckert, P., & McConnell-Ginet, S. (1999). New generalizations and explanations in language and

    gender research. *Language in Society,* 28(2), 185-201.

Ehrlich, S. (1997). Gender as social practice: Implications for second language acquisition.

    Studies in Second Language Acquisition 19(4), 421-446.

Ellis, C. (2004). *The ethnographic I: A methodological novel about authoethnography*. Walnut

    Creek, CA: Altamira Press.

Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I., & Shaw, L. L. (1995). *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes*. Chicago:

    The University of Chicago Press.

Etherington, K. (2004). *Becoming a reflexive researcher: Using our selves in research*. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Fukuda, C. (2006). Resistance against being formulated as cultural other: The case of a Chinese student in Japan. *Pragmatics*, 16(4), 429-456.

Gallagher, S., & Marcel A. J. (1999). The self in contextualized action. *Journal of Consciousness Studies* 6(4), 4-30.

Garfinkle, H. (1967) *Studies in ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Giles, H., Bourhis, R. Y., & Taylor, D. M. (1977). Towards a theory of language in ethnic group relations. In H. Giles (Ed.), *Language, ethnicity and intergroup relations*. (pp. 307-348). London: Academic Press.

Gilgun, J. F. (2005). "Grab" and good science: Writing up the results of qualitative research. *Qualitative Health Research* 15(2), 256-262.

Giroux, H. A. (1983). *Theory & resistance in education: A pedagogy for the opposition*. South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey.

Goffman, E. (1989) On fieldwork. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 18. 113-131.

Goffman, E. (1959). *Presentation of self in everyday life*. New York: Doubleday.

Gordon, T., Holland, J., Lahelma, E., & Tolonen, T. (2005) Gazing with intent: Ethnographic practice in classrooms. *Qualitative Research*, 5(1). 113-131.

Gubrium, E., & Koro-Ljungberg, M. (2005). Contending with border making in the social constructionist interview. *Qualitative Inquiry* 11(5), 689-715.

Gubrium, J. F., & Holstein, J. A. (2003). From the individual interview to the interview society. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln. (Eds.), *Postmodern Interviewing*. (pp. 21-49). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Hall, J. K., & Verplaetse, L. S. (2000). The development of second and foreign language learning through classroom interaction. In J. K. Hall & L. S. Verplaetse. (Eds.), *Second and foreign language learning through classroom interaction*. (pp. 1-20). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Hamachek, D. (1995). Self-concept and school achievement: Interaction dynamics and a tool for assessing the self-concept component. *Journal of Counseling & Development,* 73(4), 419-425.

Hammersley, M. (2004). Towards a Usable Past for Qualitative Research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 7(1), 19-27.

Hammersley, M. (2005). What can the literature on communities of practice tell us about educational research? Reflections on some recent proposals. *International Journal of Research & Method in Education*. 28(1), 5-21.

Handley, K., Sturdy, A., Fincham, R. & Clark, T. (2006). Within and beyond communities of practice: Making sense of learning through participation, identity and practice. *Journal of Management Studies*. 43(3), 641-653.

Haneda, M. (2006). Classrooms as communities of practice: A reevaluation. *TESOL Quarterly*. 40(4), 807-817.

Hansen, J. G., & Liu, J. (1997). Social identity and language: Theoretical and methodological issues. *TESOL Quarterly* 31(3), 567-576.

Heller, M. (2001, 2003). Discourse and interaction. In D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen, and H. E. Hamilton (Eds.), *The handbook of discourse analysis*. (pp. 250-264). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Hermanowicz, J. C. (2002). The great interview: 25 strategies for studying people in bed. *Qualitative Sociology* 25(4), 479-499.

Hirst, E. (2003). Diverse voices in a second language classroom: Burlesque, parody and mimicry. *Language and Education* 17(3), 174-191.

Hornsey, M. J. and Jetten, J. (2005). Loyalty without conformity: Tailoring self-perception as a means of balancing belonging and differentiation. *Self and Identity* 4, 81-95.

Hsieh, M.-H. (2006). Identity development of East Asian female international students with implications for second-language higher education. *Education* 127(1), 3-15.

Institute of International Education, Open Doors. (2006). *Leading places of origin: Open doors 2006 report on international educational exchange: Leading 20 places of origin, 2004/05 & 2005/06*. Retrieved September 27, 2007, from http://opendoors.iienetwork.org/?p=89191

Ishihara, N. (2006) Subjectivity, second/foreign language pragmatic use, and instruction: Evidence of accomodation and resistance. (Doctoral dissertation. University of Minnesota. 2006). *Digital Dissertations*. UMI 3225746.

Jacoby, S. & Ochs, E. (1995). Co-construction: An introduction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*. 28(3), 171-183.

Jo, H.-y. (2001). 'Heritage' language learning and ethnic identity: Korean Americans' struggle with language authorities. *Language, Culture and Curriculum* 14(1), 26-41.

Johnston, Barney E. (1999). The power of language: Second language acquisition, narrative, and identity. (Doctoral dissertation. University of Houston. 1999). *Digital Dissertations*. UMI 9939683.

Jones, S. H. (2005). Autoethnography: Making the personal political. In N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln. (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed.) (pp. 763-791). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Joseph, J. E. (2004). *Language and identity: National, ethnic, religious*. Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, Macmillan.

Kasper, G. (2006). Introduction. *Multilingua*. 25(3), 243-248.

Kawakami, K., and Dion, K. L (1995). Social identity and affect as determinants of collective action: Toward an integraton of relative deprivation and social identity theories. *Theory & Psychology,* 5(4), 551-577.

Khadar, Bashir-Ali. (2006) Language learning and the definition of one's social, cultural, and racial identity. *TESOL Quarterly*. 40(3), 628-639.

Kim, J.-K. (2002). Globalization and English language education in Korea: Socialization and identity construction of Korean youth. (Doctoral dissertation. New Mexico State University. 2002). *Digital Dissertations*. UMI 3053643.

Kinch, J. W. (1963). A formalized theory of the self-concept. *The American Journal of Sociology* 68(4), 481-486.

Kleinman, Sherryl, Copp, M. A.& Henderson, K. A. (1997) Qualitatively Different: Teaching Fieldwork to Graduate Students. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 25(4), 469-499.

Kramsch, C. (2000). Social Discursive Constructions of Self in L2 Learning. In J. P. Lantolf. (Ed.) *Sociocultural theory and second language learning*. (pp. 133-153). NY: Oxford University Press.

Kramsch, C. (1998). *Language and culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kramsch, C. (2003) The privilege of the nonnative speaker. In *The sociolinguistics of foreign-language classrooms: Contributions of the native, the near-native, and the non-native speaker*. Issues in Language Program Direction (pp. 251-262). ERIC

LeCompte, M. D., & Schensul, J. J. (1999). *Designing & conducting ethnographic research* Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.

Lee, C.-H. (2001) Sociocultural identity and second language learning: A study of Korean students in an American university. (Doctoral dissertation. Ohio State University. 2001). *Digital Dissertations*. UMI 3011100.

Lee, J. S. (2002). The Korean language in America: The role of cultural identity in heritage language learning. *Language, Culture and Curriculum* 15(2), 117-133.

Lee, S. K. (2001). English language and the construction of the sociocultural identities of ESL speakers. (Doctoral dissertation. University of Houston. 2001). *Digital Dissertations*. UMI 3003153.

Lin-Aigler, L. M., Moore, D., & Zabrucky, K. M. (2004). Effects of personality on metacognitive self-assessments. *College Student Journal,* 38(3), 453-461.

Lincoln, Y. S. (1995). Emerging criteria for quality in qualitative and interpretive research. *Qualitative Inquiry* 1(3), 275-289.

Liyanage, I., Birch, G., & Grimbek, (2004). Religion, ethnicity and language learning strategies. In B. Bartlett, F. Bryer, & D. Roebuck (Eds.). *Educating: Weaving research into practice* (pp. 222-229). Canberra: Griffith University

LoCastro, V. (2001). Individual differences in second language acquisition: Attitudes, learner subjectivity, and L2 pragmatic norms. *System* 29, 69-89.

Long, H. B. (1994). Resources related to overcoming resistance to self-direction in learning. In

    R. Hiemstra, and R. G. Brockett. (Eds.) *Overcoming resistance to self-direction in adult*

    learning. (pp. 13-29). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Lvovich, N. (1997). *The multilingual self: An inquiry into language.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence

    Erlbaum Associates.

Manning, Maureen A. (2007). Re-Framing How We See Student Self-Concept. *The Education*

    Digest, 72(8), 36-41.

Marchenkova, L. (2005). Language, culture, and self: The Bakhtin-Vygotsky encounter. In J. K.

    Hall, G. Vitanova, & L. Marchenkova. (Eds.), *Dialogue with Bakhtin on second and*

    foreign language learning: New perspectives. (pp. 171-188). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Markham, A. N. (2004). Internet communication as a tool for qualitative research. In David

    Silverman. (Ed.), *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice*. (pp. 95-124).

    Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Marsh, H. W. Byrne, B. M., & Yeung, A. S. (1999). Causal ordering of academic self-concept

    and achievement: Reanalysis of a pioneering study and revised recommendations.

    Educational Psychologist. 34(3), 155-167.

Martinot, D., & Monteil J.-M. (2000) Use of the self-concept in forming preferences by French

    students of different levels of academic achievement. *The Journal of Social Psychology*

    140(1), 119-131.

Marx, N. (2002). Never quite a 'native speaker': Accent and identity in the L2 – and the L1. *The*

    Canadian Modern Language Review/La Revue Canadienne Des Langues Vivantes, 59(2),

    264-281.

Maxwell, J. A. (2005). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

McElwee, R. O., & Dunning, D. (2005). A broader view of "self" in egocentric social judgment: Current and possible selves. *Self and Identity,* 4, 113-130.

McKay, S. L., & S.-L. C. Wong. (1996). Multiple discourses, multiple identities: Investment and agency in second-language learning among Chinese adolescent immigrant students. *Harvard Educational Review,* 66(3), 577-608.

McNamara, T. (1997). Theorizing social identity: What do we mean by social identity? Competing frameworks, competing discourses. *TESOL Quarterly* 31(3), 561-567.

McVeigh, B. J. (2002). *Japanese higher education as myth*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe Inc.

Meneley, A, & Young, D. J. (Eds.) (2005). *Auto-ethnographies: The anthropology of academic practices* Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press

Meneley, A, & Young, D. J. (2005). Introduction: Auto-ethnographies of academic practices. In A. Meneley and D. J. Young. (Eds.), *Auto-ethnographies: The anthropology of academic practices*. (pp. 1-21). Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press.

Miller, J., & Glassner, B. (2004). The "inside" and the "outside": Finding realities in interviews. In David Silverman. (Ed.), *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice*. (pp. 76-94). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Moran-Ellis, J., Alexander, V. D., Cronin A., Dickinson, M., Fielding J., Sleney, J., & Thomas, H. (2006). Triangulation and integration: Processes, claims and implications. *Qualitative Research* 6(1), 45-59.

Morita, N. (2004). Negotiating participation and identity in second language academic communities. *TESOL Quarterly*. 38(4), 573-603.

Motzafi-Haller, P. (1997). Writing birthright: On native anthropologists and the politics of representation. In D. E. Reed-Danahay. (Ed.), *Auto/Ethnography: Rewriting the self and the social*. (pp. 1-17). Oxford: Berg.

Niedenthal, P. M., & Beike, D. R. (1997) Interrelated and isolated self-concepts. *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 1(2), 106-128.

Norton, B. (1997). Language, identity, and the ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly* 31(3), 409-429.

Norton, B. (2000). *Identity and Language Learning*. Singapore: Pearson Education Limited.

Norton, B. (2001). Non-participation, imagined communities and the language classroom. In M. Breen. (Ed.) *Learner Contributions to Language Learning: New Directions in Research*. (pp. 159-171). England: Pearson Education.

Norton, B., & Pavlenko, A. (2004). Gender and English language learners: Challenges and possibilities. In B. Norton & A. Pavlenko. (Eds.), *Gender and English language learners*. (pp. 1-12). Alexandria, VA: Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages.

Ochs, E. (1993). Constructing social identity: A language socialization perspective. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 26(3), 287-306.

Ogulnick, K L. (1996). *Onna rasiku* [Like A woman]: A personal and theoretical account of a language learner in Japan. (Doctoral dissertation. New York University. 1995). Ann Arbor: UMI.

Ommundsen, Y., Haugen, R., & Lund, T. (2005). Academic self-concept, implicit theories of ability, and self-regulation strategies *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research* 49(5), 461-474.

Onwuegbuzie, A. J., Bailey, P., & Daley, C. E. (2001). Self-enhancement versus self-derogation biases in learning a foreign language. *Educational Research Quarterly* 25(1), 3-11.

Owens, T. J. (2003). Self and identity. In J. Delamater. (Ed.) *Handbook of social psychology*. (pp. 205-232). NY: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers. [chapt. 9]

Pagnucci, G. S. (2004). *Living the narrative life: Stories as a tool for meaning making: Tales of the teaching life*. Portsmouth, NH: Boynton/Cook Publishers.

Pao, D. L., Wong, S. D., & Teuben-Rowe S. (1997). Identity formation for mixed-heritage adults and implications for educators. *TESOL Quarterly* 31(3), 622-631.

Pavlenko, A. (2003). "I never knew I was a bilingual": Reimagining teacher identities in TESOL. *Journal of Language Identity and Education,* 2(4), 251 - 268.

Pavlenko, A., & Lantolf, J. P. (2000). Second Language Learning as Participation and the (Re)construction of Selves. In J. P. Lantolf. (Ed.) *Sociocultural Theory and Second Language Learning*. (pp. 155-157). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Perakyla, A. (2004). Reliability and validity in research based on naturally occurring social interaction. In David Silverman. (Ed.), *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice*. (pp. 76-94). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Pomerantz, A. I. (2001). Beyond the good language learner: Ideology, identity, and investment in classroom foreign language learning. (Doctoral dissertation. University of Pennsylvania. 2001). *Digital Dissertations*. UMI 3003681.

Rampton, B. (1996) Youth, race, and resistance: A sociolinguistic perspective. *Linguistics and Education*. 8, 159-173.

Reed-Danahay, D.E. (Ed.). (1997). *Auto/Ethnography: Rewriting the self and the social*. Oxford: Berg.

Reed-Danahay, D.E. (1997). Introduction. In D. E. Reed-Danahay. (Ed.), *Auto/Ethnography: Rewriting the self and the social*. (pp. 1 – 17). Oxford: Berg.

Ricento, T. (2005). Considerations of identity in L2 learning. In E. Hinkel. (Ed.), *Handbook of research in second language teaching and learning*. (pp. 895-910). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Richards, K. (2003). *Qualitative inquiry in TESOL*. Houndsmills, U.K: Palgrave Macmillian.

Richardson, L. (2003). Writing: A method of inquiry. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln. (Eds.), *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials*. (pp. 499-541). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Ryan, G. W., & Bernard, H. R. (2003). Data management and analysis methods. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln. (Eds.), *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials*. (pp. 259-309). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Saryusz-Szarska, M. J. (2000). Jumping Into The Learner's Shoes: An Ethnographic Study of the Classroom Language Learning Experiences. (Doctoral dissertation. Indiana University of Pennsylvania. 2000). *Digital Dissertations*. AAT 9974713.

Saville-Troike, M. (1989). *Ethnography of communication: An introduction* (2nd ed.). Oxford, UK: B. Blackwell.

Schmenk, B. (2004). Language learning: A feminine domain? The role of stereotyping in constructing gendered learner identities. *TESOL Quarterly,* 38(3), 514-524.

Shi, X. (2006). Gender, identity and intercultural transformation in second language socialisation. *Language and Intercultural Communication* 6(1), 2-17.

Siegal, M. (1996). The role of learner subjectivity in second language sociolinguistic competency: Western women learning Japanese. *Applied Linguistics,* 17(3), 356-382.

367

Silverman, D. (2003). Analyzing Talk and Text. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln. (Eds.), *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials*. (pp. 340-362). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Smith, H. W., & Francis, L. E. (2005). Social vs. self-directed events among Japanese and Americans. *Social Forces,* 84 (2), 821-830.

Snow, D. A., & McAdam, D. (2000). Identity work processes in the context of social movements: Clarifying the identity/movement nexus. In S. Stryker, T. J. Owens, & R. W. White (Eds.). *Self, Identity, and Social Movements,* (pp. 41-67). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Sohn, H. M. (1986). *Linguistic expeditions*. Seoul: Hanshin Publishing.

Song, J. J. (2005). *The Korean language: Structure, use and context*. Oxon: Routledge.

Spindler, G. (1982). *Doing the ethnography of schooling: Educational anthropology in action*. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

Spindler, G. (1982). General Introduction. In G. Spindler. (Ed.), *Doing the ethnography of schooling: Educational anthropology in action*. (pp. 1-13). New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

Spradley, J. P. (1979). *The ethnographic interview*. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

Spradley, J. P. (1980). *Participant observation*. Fort Worth: Holt Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

Stewart, A. (1998). *The ethnographer's method*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Stroud, C., & Wee L. (2006). Anxiety and identity in the language classroom. *RELC,* 37(3), 299-307.

Tajfel, H. (1982). *Human groups and social categories: Studies in social psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tedlock, B. (2005). The observation of participation and the emergence of public ethnography. In N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln. (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3ʳᵈ ed.) (pp. 467-481). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Vitanova, G. (2005). Authoring the self in a non-native language: A dialogic approach to agency and subjectivity. In J. K. Hall, G. Vitanova, & L. Marchenkova. (Eds.), *Dialogue with Bakhtin on second and foreign language learning: New perspectives.* (pp. 149-169). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Wall, S. (2006). An autoethnography on learning about autoethnography. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 5(2), 1-12.

Wang, H.-S. (2006). Gender differences in Korean politeness strategies. In H.-m. Sohn. (Ed.), *Korean language in culture and society.* (pp. 199-210). Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, and Identity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Williams, M., & Burden R. (1999). Students' developing conceptions of themselves as language learners. *The Modern Language Journal,* 83(2), 193-201.

Wolcott, Harry F. (2004). Writing up qualitative research...better. *Qualitative Health Research* 12(1), 91-103.

Young, D. J. (2005). Writing against the native point of view. In A. Meneley and D. J. Young. (Eds.), *Auto-ethnographies: The anthropology of academic practices.* (pp. 203-215). Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press.

Young, R. (1999). Sociolinguistic Approaches to SLA. In W. Grabe (Ed.), *Annual review of applied linguistics: Volume 19 1999 a survey of applied linguistics*. (pp. 105-132). NY: Cambridge University Press.

Zeungler J. (1989). Identity and IL development and use. *Applied Linguistics,* 10(1), 80-96.

APPENDIX A: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Voluntary Consent Form
Agreement to Participate in Second Language Acquisition, the Classroom, and Identity
Study
Joel Diamond
Primary Investigator
(510) 329-5680 // joeld@california.com

      This research project is being conducted as a component of a dissertation for a
doctoral degree. The purpose of the project is to investigate the connection and
implications of the link between who you are, that is your history, beliefs and
identifications, and second language learning. You are being asked to participate as
classmates of the researcher, who will also be a participant, class member and beginning
Korean language learner. Participation in the project can be flexible, but will certainly
consist of both of informal brief interviews (a few minutes) from time to time, most likely
as class lets out, but only at your convenience, and at least two but no more than four,
longer interviews (of about 45 minutes to an hour) over the course of the semester, focusing
on your personal history, identity, and Korean language learning as the semester develops.
Longer interviews will be audio recorded for the purpose of transcription whenever
possible. For those willing to do so, I will ask that you keeping some form of notes or
journal; but this will be optional, and not required.

      The research period will cover the course of the semester, although you may
withdraw from active participation (and actively participate once again) at any point during
the semester if you feel the need. I may also contact you for further clarification or follow
up after the semester has ended, as the dissertation is being written, pending your
permission for me to do so. Some of the information you provide to me will be included in
the dissertation; however you will be identified with a pseudonym.

      The investigator believes there is little or no risk to participating in this research
project. However, there may be a small risk that you will experience psychological stress
or discomfort when discussing your background, identity, or Korean language learning
classroom experience. Busy participants may also feel that any additional time spent as a
participant may detract from their efforts in our Korean language classroom or that the
added responsibility of participating in the study may provide unwanted distraction from
their already challenging Korean language study.

      Therefore, if you agree to be a participant, you may elect not to answer any
question(s) at any time for any reason. Additionally, you are free to withdraw from
participation at any time during the duration of the project without penalty. Furthermore,
participation in this research project is completely voluntary. It will not be a factor in your
class grades. The Korean department will not be aware of who participates, will not
provide you with any benefit for participating, and neither encourages nor discourages you
from doing so.

Participating in this research may be of no direct benefit to you. The researcher believes however, that the reflexive self-examination the research should stimulate should help you to understand and clarify for yourself your own identity as related to your ongoing Korean language acquisition, and in so doing likely improve your language acquisition and academic perfomance as well.

Research data will be confidential to the extent allowed by law. Agencies with research oversight, such as the UH Committee on Human Studies and Indiana University of Pennsylvania
2
Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects, have the authority to review
research data. Audio tapes and all data will be retained for at least three years in compliance with federal regulations. All research records will be stored in a locked file in the primary investigators' room for as long as they are kept.

If you have any questions regarding this research project, please contact the researcher, Joel Diamond, at (510) 329-5680.

If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research participant, please contact the UH Committee on Human Studies at (808) 956-5007, uhirb@hawaii.edu, or Indiana University of Pennsylvania Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects at (724) 357-7730.

Project Director:
Mr. Joel Diamond
Doctoral Student
Department of English
Indiana University of Pennsylvania
Indiana, PA 15705

IUP Faculty Sponsor:
Dr. Jeannine Fontaine
Associate Professor
Department of English
Sutton Hall
#347
Indiana, PA 15705
Phone: (724) 357-2457; English office: (724) 357-2261/2262

UH Faculty Sponsor:
Dr. Mee-Jeong Park
Assistant Professor
Department of EALL, Korean Section
Moore Hall
#353

University of Hawai'i at Manoa
1890 East-West Road
Honolulu. HI 96822
Phone: (808) 956-2052

VOLUNTARY CONSENT FORM:

I have read and understand the information on the form and I consent to volunteer to be a participant in this study. I understand that my responses are completely confidential and that I have the right to withdraw at any time. I have received an unsigned copy of this informed Consent Form to keep in my possession.

Name (PLEASE PRINT) _____

Signature _____

Date _____

Phone number, e-mail, or location where you can be reached (any or all)

e-mail: _____

phone: _____

other: _____

Best days and times to reach you

_____

I certify that I have explained to the above individual the nature and purpose, the potential benefits, and possible risks associated with participating in this research study, have answered any questions that have been raised, and have witnessed the above signature.

_____   _____
Date   **Investigator's Signature**

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

First Interview

Initial statement – I don't want you to be uncomfortable, first there are no right or wrong answers, I'm just trying to learn about you. Second, if you feel a question is too personal or uncomfortable to answer, just say you don't want to answer it and we'll go on to the next question. Also any time you want to ask me a question just go ahead. By the way when I write about these interviews I'll use a pseudonym to hide your identity and also give you the chance to correct any errors I make.

age? (approximate is fine)

1. Tell something about your background:
a. Your family – any particular role(s) in your family such as the good kid, the troublemaker, the good student, the rebellious one?

b. Can you talk about the history of your family – grandparents and as far back as you can go. Any family stories about that family history?

c. Where you grew up

d. Your friends – growing up did you have many, a few, how about your role with them, same as with your family or different?

e. Your personality growing up? Friendly/shy? Quiet/Talkative? Average? Popular? Like to try new things? a loner/liked to be with and do things with people? Active (in what ways?)/Passive (in what ways)?

f. Your education.
    Where?
    Were you a good student? Why or why not?
    Did you enjoy school? Why or why not do you think?
    Subjects you particularly liked and/or disliked?
    Do you usually feel competent, confident, prepared in the classroom or incompetent, uncomfortable, lacking confidence in the classroom (how about our Korean class if different than usual, how and why do you think?

    Why did you decide to study at U.H.? What year are you in? Your major/ Subjects you're interested in now?

2. How would you describe the 'real' you?
    1ˢᵗ things that come to mind –

Personal identity – including character traits (self-confident, easy-going, a worrier, a procrastinator, impulsive/like to think things over carefully), things you really like or dislike, really like or dislike to do (play an instrument, a sport, watch Korean dramas, eat delicious food…), care about, or don't care about so much so that it in some ways define you…

Group/social identity – which are important to defining who you are: geographic (e.g. American, Hawaiian), ethnic, [hyphenated American?] religious, gender (do you see your gender as particularly relevant to your desire to study Korean), economic, age (such as generation X, or young adult) social (student?). – Are there any groups you see yourself in contrast to (that you would sometimes contrast yourself with)

Role identity: what roles do you see yourself as having (student and anything else?) Any particularly important to your study of Korean.

3. Can you recall any events in your life that influenced you to be this person – the you you/ve described?

4. How do you see yourself as a student?

5. Have you studied a (which) foreign language(s) before? if so please describe yourself as a language learner.

6. Do you expect to do well in Korean or do you feel you might have difficulty and if so in what ways?

7. How important is doing well in this class for you?

8a. What are your reasons for studying Korean?

When you described yourself before, which of those things are most connected to your wanting to study Korean?

8b. What are your goals in studying Korean, including plans for continued study after this semester?
   • Do you picture yourself being able to converse easily in Korean at some point?
   • If so, do you think that Koreans might in some way, either for short or extended periods of time in some way see you as Korean? [expand on the "look Korean" or "don't look Korean" thought / telephone? Would it somehow please you if they did (why or why not?)?

9a. What are your general impressions of Korea, Koreans, Korean culture and language at this point? – Give some of your thoughts on Korean language, Korean people and culture – positive and negative) – Compare if necessary to another language, group, and or culture.

9b. How do you see yourself in relation to Korean language and culture at present? (As a complete outsider trying to get in? Partial insider?)

Are there some things you know or believe about Korean culture that you identify with? Cannot identify with? What things?

10. Do you think that using Korean language appropriately requires knowing and adapting to Korean culture or do you think just learning the vocabulary and grammar of Korean is sufficient to communicate well?

Second interview

1. What makes a Korean person a Korean?

2. Could you briefly describe your basic study/preparation strategies / routines for our class?

3a. Do you ever compare yourself to others (in general – the language learning group, or our class in general, or particular people in out class) in regard to your Korean ability, the level you would like to be at or in terms of positive or negative models as language learners?

3b. Do you consciously compare what we are learning in Korean with any other language you know and if so what are the kinds of things you think about and conclusions you have made?

Classroom
4a. Have you noticed *Paul* ever complimenting you, someone else in the class or the class in general? Are/would these compliments meaningful to you (compliments both to oneself and others)?

4b. Have you noticed *Paul* ever criticizing you, someone else in the class or the class in general? Do/would these criticisms affect you in some way?

5a. Do you sometimes resist participating in class (or out such as doing homework, studying)? If so, why and in what ways?

5b. How do you see your own identity in the class – (including how you think your classmates and *Paul* see you?). (Ask specifically about participation and competence if not mentioned also Korean lang. ability, likeability, in class group belonging, who they might think you are in general –"your image" such as humorous/serious and the history they suppose for you)

5c. Does this view of yourself and the image you believe others have of you/would like others to have of you has any effect on your studying of/learning Korean and/or your classroom behavior?

5d. Have you felt any change in your level of confidence in the classroom since the first interview? Your feeling of competence toward the material we've learned so far? If so has this **affected your feelings about Korean or about our class in some way**?

5e. Please talk about whether you feel these factors (your participation, competence and how others view you) have any effect on your **progress (or lack of progress) in learning Korean?**

6. (Be as specific as you are willing - use names or don't as you wish)

Which people in our class stand out for any reasons in your mind) your impressions of them as people, as language learners, as good/not so good in our class/ in Korean (there may be a difference), as conscientious or not, adjectives – cool, standoffish, leader, hesitant, in terms of participating – more or less, willingly, reluctantly, seems to like / resent working in pairs, groups. Do you see anyone as resisting anything we have done in the class or the class in general?

The class – instruction, curriculum etc.
7. In general are you satisfied with what and how we are learning? [anything lacking? not necessary? something you would change if you could?]

8a. Are there any specific things we've been studying that have been giving you difficulty learning? [specific vocab, grammar points, reading, writing…?] If so, what? Why, do you think?

8b. Have you had trouble understanding anything in class? If so, what? Why do you think?

9. If you have any such problems regarding the previous question or some dissatisfaction (from the question before) what if anything are you doing or intend to do about it? If you don't have any current problems or dissatisfaction but something comes up later in the semester, what do you think you might do about it?

10. Is there anything we've been learning or doing in class which you really enjoy(ed) or identified with? What made it/these so enjoyable for you.

Classroom to Korean
11. Is there anything we have been learning that you would feel uncomfortable using if you were conversing in Korean? If so, why? How do you see yourself handling this problem?

11a. How does the class / what we are learning fit in with what you expected before beginning class – any surprises about the class/Korean language or culture? Any deeper understanding? Any effect on you because of this?

11b. Has anything that has happened (such as any classroom incidents or events) or that you have learned in class (or something in relation to Korean outside of class) that has caused you to change your behavior or thinking about yourself or your relationship to others, to the Korean language and learning Korean or to our class? Or affected your identity in any way?

More specific prompt for 12b
12c. Has there been any particular event, lesson, conversation, practice with partner or group, practice or exchange with *Paul* that had a particularly strong effect on you? What was the effect on you and why do think it was significant?

12d. Any change between the first interview and now as to **your conception** of Korean language, Korea, or Korean culture?

12e. Do you feel **more (or less) connected to, or identify more (or less)**, with anything Korean (language, culture, the country) than you did before starting class or the first interview at least? If so, in what ways is this happening?

12f. Since you started our class, has learning Korean become more or less important for you and in what ways?

12g. Since you started our class has doing well in the class become more or less important for you?

12h. Has there been any (other) change between the first interview and now as to how Korean language or Korea fits into your future plans

13. Do you feel we've developed a class identity? In other words do you identify or pull for your classmates when they're called on? If so, all of them or some you don't (or some you would like to see screw up)? Do you enjoy helping your classmates when in pairs or groups when you know something they don't or are better at something or do you feel annoyed at them? Or if the reverse do you feel comfortable asking for their help?

14. We've learned how to say a few things so far. How comfortable would you be at this point starting a brief conversation in Korean with a Korean person you don't know very well? With *Paul* outside of class? With one of our classmates outside of class? With (for those who know some Korean speakers outside of class) a Korean person you know fairly or very well?

<div align="center">Third Interview</div>

Any change between now and the second interview as to your:

1. Basic study/preparation strategies / routines for our class?

Classroom
2a. Noticing *Paul* (or *Kain*) ever complimenting you, someone else in the class or the class in general? As to how meaningful these compliments are to you (compliments both to oneself and others)?

2b. Noticing *Paul* (or *Kain*) ever criticizing you, someone else in the class or the class in general? These criticisms affecting you in some way?

3. Resistance to participating in class (or out such as doing homework, studying)? If so, why and in what ways? Have you increased or decreased your amount of resistance (or stayed the same) since the 2nd interview?

4a. How you see your own identity in the class – (including how you think your classmates and *Paul* (or *Kain*) see you?). (participation and competence, also Korean language ability, likeability, in class group belonging, who they might think you are in general –"your image" such as humorous/serious and the history they suppose for you)

4b. When you began the course what kind of impression did you want your teacher to have of you? Describe the kind student you wanted or expected to be? Now that the semester is nearly over how do you think the reality matched your original expectations?

5. Your level of confidence in the classroom? Your feeling of competence toward the material we've learned so far? If so has this **affected your feelings about Korean or about our class in some way**?

6a. Since the second interview are there any additional thoughts on people in our class who stand out for any reasons in your mind?

6b. Have you seen any of your classmates as resisting anything we have done in the class or the class in general since the second interview? Do you feel resistance has increased, decreased or stayed at the same level among your classmates since the second interview?

The class – instruction, curriculum etc.
7. In general are you satisfied with what and how we are learning? [anything lacking? not necessary? something you would change if you could?]

8a. Are there any specific things we've been studying that have been giving you difficulty learning? [specific vocab, grammar points, reading, writing…?] If so, what? Why, do you think?

9a. What content or types of content in the textbook do /did you enjoy the most?

9b. What things in the lessons or types of things in the textbook did you find the most useful or helpful for learning Korean?

9c. What did you find the least useful, useless or even creating unnecessary difficulty?

9d. Anything that really annoyed you about the text?

10a. Which content or types of content in the classroom lessons do /did you enjoy the most?

10b. What things in the lessons or types of things in the classroom lessons did you find the most useful or helpful for learning Korean?

10c. What did you find the least useful, useless or even creating unnecessary difficulty?

10d. Anything that really annoyed you about the classroom lessons or any particular lesson?

11a. What things did you work the hardest on for the class? Why?

11b. Which of the things we had to do for the class did you put the least amount of effort into (or none at all)? Why?

12. If you only consider your needs and learning style – not the other students in the class, how would you change the course to make it ideal for you?

13. Have you had trouble understanding anything in class since the second interview? If so, what? Why do you think? (more, less, or the same degree of trouble as before?)

14. Any difference between now and the second interview as to how you handled problems or dissatisfactions with the class?

15. Did you talk about the class or your teachers outside of class with anyone? What did you talk about?

Classroom to Korean
16a. Any changes between the second interview and now as to your use of Korean outside of class? Has this affected your feelings about speaking/learning Korean (encouraging? discouraging)

16b. Are there any things we have been learning since the second interview that you would feel (do feel) uncomfortable or feel it would be particularly difficult to use well or make sense of using, if you were conversing in Korean? If so, why? How do you see yourself handling this problem?

16c. Since the second interview have there been any surprises about the class/Korean language or culture? Any deeper understanding? Any effect on you because of this?

17a. Has anything that has happened since the second interview (such as any classroom incidents or events) or that you have learned in class (or something in relation to Korean outside of class) that has caused you to change your behavior or thinking about yourself or your relationship to others, to the Korean language and learning Korean or to our class? Or affected your identity in any way?

More specific prompt for 17a
17b. Since the second interview and now has there been any particular event, lesson, conversation, practice with partner or group, practice or exchange with *Paul* since the second interview that had a particularly strong effect on you? What was the effect on you and why do think it was significant?

17c. Any change between the second interview and now as to **your conception** of Korean language, Korea, or Korean culture?

17d. Do you feel **more (or less) connected to, or identify more (or less)**, with anything Korean (language, culture, the country) than you did either before starting class or the second interview? If so, in what ways is this happening?

17e. Since you started our class and since the second interview, has learning Korean become more or less important for you and in what ways?

17f. Since you started our class and since the second interview has doing well in the class become more or less important for you?

17g. Has there been any (other) change between the second interview and now as to how Korean language or Korea fits into your future plans?

18. Any further feelings on whether we've developed a class identity – (more, even less, the same since the second interview?)

19. At this point when /if you speak in Korean to someone out of class do you (would you) always expect / hope / make clear to the other student that you are a beginning student so that they will judge your Korean by that standard, or do you just try to communicate and don't worry about how the other person perceives your actual language ability?

20. Since the second interview has the class and what you have learned, somehow altered or added to the person you were before. In other words do you in some way see yourself and feel others should see you differently than at the time of the second interview or when you began the class?

21a. Rank this against your other classes this semester as to favorite?

21b. Now that the semester is almost over what are your thoughts about the course: how useful was it? how strongly did it effect you and in what ways? good? bad? so-so? fun? boring? mixed? What did taking the class mean to you?

Third Interview (Garrett)

Follow-ups
1. Do you consider yourself to be a true insider in any culture?

2. Two adjectives I would use to describe you or at least your answers from the two interviews we've done so far are thoughtful and guarded. I sense you don't like to reveal too much of yourself to others. Do you agree?

3. To paraphrase from our previous interview you seemed to have a two-stream or at least a set of complimentary learning techniques for Spanish and Japanese, one being learning from classroom lessons, the second being to learn from native speaker interactions whether you observed or participated in them live or tried to pick up on language and culture from media such as TV and movies (yes?). To what extent was the second type of learning taking place while you were studying Korean?

4 At one brief point in the second interview you mentioned that many of the students seemed to be more advanced because they were invested more in Korean, your investment being limited to wanting to understand your Korean students better. Do you feel you were significantly more invested in Japanese and Spanish (if so in what ways?)? Could this have influenced your progress in class and your decision to drop?

New Questions

1. When I saw you on the Friday after you had just missed a week, you said you had talked to Jason and you would be back in class on Monday. When did you decide to drop the class? What were the deciding factors?

2a. To what extent did unanticipated and unavoidable external factors play a part in your decision to drop the course?

2b. Of those external factors to what extent was the class itself a contributory factor? What aspects of the class were most significant factors in your decision?

2c. What things did you work the hardest on for the class? Why?

2d. Which of the things we had to do for the class did you put the least amount of effort into (or none at all)? Why?

2e. Anything about the text that really bothered or frustrated you?

2f. Anything about the class itself that really bothered or frustrated you?

2g. If you only consider your needs and learning style – not the other students in the class, how would you have changed or designed the course to make it ideal for you?

3. To what extent if any do you hold yourself (not external factors) responsible for not completing the course? What might you have done differently so that you didn't feel it was necessary to drop the course? If we could rewind to the beginning of the semester would you do things differently in regard to the course? (not signing up is a possibility)

4. What are your feelings about giving up the course? Did dropping the course involve involve any emotional (mixed feelings, relief, regret, a feeling of time on your hands, a sense of loss….). (If negative, how did you deal with that?) or physical adjustments – sleeping later, less stress, less time on campus..). Did anyone ask you about your dropping the course or did you feel necessary to explain that to anybody and if so what sorts of things did you say?

5. Did dropping the class or our Korean class experience in general cause you change your attitudes/perspectives on language learning in any way? To change your attitudes or perspectives, including your view of yourself, about anything at all in any way?

6. Your past history of language learning has been one of success. Do you consider this attempt to learn Korean a temporary setback, a failure, or what? Does this affect your view of yourself as a language learner in some way? As a student?

7a. Has your view (feelings about, conceptions of) of Korean language (also Korean culture and Koreans) and any possible future relationship with it changed since the second interview or since you decided to drop the course?

7b. Do you feel **more (or less) connected to, or identify more (or less)**, with anything Korean (language, culture, the country) than you did either before starting class or the second interview? If so, in what ways is this happening?

[The answer to 7c may be obvious from the answer to question 5]
7c. Since you started our class and since the second interview, has learning Korean become more or less important for you and in what ways?

8. What are your future plans in regard to learning Korean?

9. Your reasons for studying Korean at UH were to meet your departmental language requirement and to make yourself a better teacher for your large proportion of Korean students. Do you feel that if you had had different goals, motivations or investments in studying Korean that might have resulted in a different outcome?

10.In the weeks leading up to your dropping the course, did your resistance to participating in class (or out such as not doing homework, studying) increase gradually, suddenly, or not at all? If so, why and in what ways?

11. Can you imagine in a general way what your classmates thought about you dropping the course (do you think they noticed?)?

First Interview with Paul

1a. Compared to the previous 101 classes you've taught before how would you describe our class in general?
b. In terms of overall level?
c. Participation?
d. Enthusiasm?

2. In general are you satisfied with how our class is doing? [anything you would like to see an improvement in?]

3. Can you make any groupings and generalizations about "groupings" that seem to provide contrast in the class – such as younger/older, where people sit, men/women, graduate students/undergrads, Asian/non-Asians, reasons you know or imagine individuals have for learning Korean, people who have studied Japanese and/or Chinese before - about such things as study habits, participation, volunteering, speaking vs. reading writing ability, attitude, confidence in the classroom.

If you are willing to talk about individuals by name, please, otherwise could you just refer to student x, or y, or say one student, or several students..in answering the following.

4a. What kinds of problems have you noticed the class in general and particular students in particular having?

4b. Are there any specific things we've been studying that you feel all or some of us are difficulty learning? [specific vocab, grammar points, reading, writing…?] If so, what? Why, do you think? Especially if some people and not others are having trouble with some specific things, why do you think those people are having trouble.

5. Have you noticed any particular classroom events, lessons, conversations, practice with partners or in groups, practice or exchange with you that had a particularly strong effect on the class or any of the students? What was the effect and why do think it was significant?

6. Have you noticed any signs of resistance from individual students to participation in class or learning Korean?

7. In your experience are there certain characteristics you expect to find in students who do well and certain characteristics you expect to find in students who do not do so well. Which of these characteristics do you see in the individual members of our class.

8. Have any students in our class surprised you in some way – such as unexpected improvement, or unexpectedly doing worse? Or in the first week your being surprised by a particular student knowing more than you would have expected or seeming to have some unexpected background in Korean?

9. Which if any of our class do you guess will continue with Korean beyond the first year and be likely to develop into a fluent Korean speaker.

9. [If willing to talk specifically about each student] can you discuss each in terms of:
a. class participation
b. confidence and competence in class
c. image in class – (cool, serious/humorous, friendly, interested/bored). Does this image seem to effect how well they are doing in class.

Or
10. (Be as specific as you are willing - use names or don't as you wish)
Which people in our class stand out for any reasons in your mind) your impressions of them as people, as language learners, as good/not so good in our class/ in Korean (there may be a difference), as conscientious or not, adjectives – cool, standoffish, leader, hesitant, in terms of participating – more or less, willingly, reluctantly, seems to like / resent working in pairs, groups.

11. How much do you feel the students in our class identified with Korean language and culture before beginning the class? (If you can talk about particular individuals or a least groupings please do) Do you see our class or individuals in our class as developing more of an identification with or deeper understanding of Korean language and culture over this first half semester or not really? Do you feel this usually happens with most of the beginning 101 students over the course of the semester? (or rarely happens, or usually happens with a few students only, or about half the students?) Do you see these happening more or less than usual with our class?

12. Do you feel we've developed a class identity? In other words do we seem to want our classmates to answer well when you call on them, and do we seem to enjoy working in pairs or groups and practicing Korean with each other.

13. What makes a Korean person "Korean"?

Second Interview with Paul

1a. Did you change your opinion since the first interview about our class: (you can compare us to previous 101 classes you've taught)
b. In terms of overall level?
c. Participation?
d. Enthusiasm?

2a. What kind of activities (and what activities specifically, if possible) did you feel our class enjoyed the most? Learned the most from? Enjoyed the least? Were not so useful?

2b. What made you most happy with our class? Least happy?

2c. How well do you think the textbook suited our class, including the workbook. What parts did you feel suited us best? What parts the least?

3a. Last time I asked you to talk about the class as contrasting groups. You said that you felt the older, graduate student were the better students. Do you want to make some change in that analysis? You also talked about people who sat near the door in contrast to those who sat in the center and by the window. You asked people to change their seats. Talk about how you felt that worked out?

3b. Any other way to divide the class into groups that provides an interesting contrast? [men/women, Asian/non-Asians, reasons you know or imagine individuals have for learning Korean, people who have studied Japanese and/or Chinese before, - by study habits, participation, volunteering, speaking vs. reading writing ability, attitude, confidence in the classroom.]

4a. What kinds of problems, if any, did you notice the class in general and particular students in particular having since the first interview?

4b. Are there any specific things we studied since the midterm that you felt all or some of us had difficulty learning? [specific vocab, grammar points, reading, writing/spelling…?] If so, what? Why, do you think? Especially if some people and not others had trouble with some specific things, why do you think those people are having trouble.

5. In the second half of the semester, did you notice any particular classroom events, lessons, conversations, practice with partners or in groups, practice or exchange with you that had a particularly strong effect on the class or any of the students? What was the effect and why do think it was significant?

6. Did you notice any signs of resistance from individual students or by the class as a whole to participation in any specific class or activity, or to class or learning Korean in general since the midterm?

8. Did any students in our class surprise you in some way since the last interview – such as unexpected improvement, or unexpectedly doing worse? Trying harder / putting in less effort, more enthusiastic/ less enthusiastic.

9. Did you feel any changes in the class in general or in some individuals between the first half of the semester and the second?

10. Any further thoughts on which people in our class stood out for any reasons in your mind) – as people, as language learners, as good/not so good in our class/ in Korean (there may be a difference), as conscientious or not, adjectives – cool, standoffish, leader, hesitant, in terms of participating – more or less, willingly, reluctantly, seems to like / resent working in pairs, groups.

11. Did you feel our class or individuals in our class developed more of an identification with or deeper understanding of Korean language and culture since the second interview or over the period of the whole semester, or not really? Do you feel this happened more or less than usual with our class than for the average 101 class?

12. Do you feel our class developed a greater or lesser class identity since the second interview? Or we were more a collection of groups? Or just a bunch of individuals each completely independent of the others? Did you try to create some kind of class identity? If so was there resistance?

13. Different people in the class had different impressions as to how much you would call on them and especially as to why you called on them – some felt you called on the best students more often to model answers, others thought you called on the poorer students to give them practice, others said you called on them when they looked like they wanted to answer and didn't when they looked like they were uncomfortable answering. What was your strategy for calling on people?

14. Two people dropped out rather late in the semester. What do you think were the causes? Any other thoughts on this?

15. Anything you would do differently if you teach the same course again?

16. Anything interesting you felt about the class that you haven't talked about so far?