Native English Speaking Teachers at *Hagwons* in South Korea: An Investigation into Their Expectations, Motivations, Beliefs, and Realities

By

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is an investigation into the motivations, beliefs, expectations, and realities of native English speaking teachers who work at private institutions in South Korea. While understanding the beliefs of language teachers is important to improving pedagogy, little research has been conducted on the mental lives of the large number of native English speaking teachers at private academies in Korea. This dissertation surveyed native teachers who are employed at *hagwons* in an attempt to better understand their current situations. It begins with a literature review on language teacher beliefs and an overview of the Korean education system. The results of the survey on native speaking teacher beliefs are then presented and analyzed. Finally, the author discusses the implications of the research and makes some suggestions for how native teachers and *hagwons* might improve their current situations

CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE	Introduction	1
CHAPTER TWO	Literature review	2
2.1	Teacher Belief and Cognition	2
2.2	Belief and Cognition in Language Teaching	3
2.2.1	Childhood Experience as Learners	4
2.2.2	Training and Coursework	4
2.2.3	Past Experiences	5
2.2.4	Classroom Practice	5
2.3	The Uniqueness of Language Teachers	6
2.3.1	Subject Matter	6
2.3.2	Communication	7
2.3.3	Increasing Knowledge and Isolation	7
2.3.4	Support	8
2.4	English Education in South Korea	8
2.4.1	Pedagogic Realities	9
2.4.2	The Communicative Approach	9
2.5	The English Program in Korea (EPIK)	10
2.5.1	EPIK Teacher Qualifications	10
2.5.2	Cultural Conflicts	10
2.6	Hagwons and Native English Speaking Teachers	11
2.6.1	The Role of the Native Speaker	11
2.6.2	Management and Administration	11
2.6.3	Unrealistic Expectations	12
2.6.4	A Complex Situation	14
2.6.5	The Foreign Teacher Perspective	14
2.6.6	The Student Perspective	14
CHAPTER THREE	Research Methodology	16
3.1	Participants	16
3.2	Research	16
3.3	Questions	17
CHAPTER FOUR	Findings and Results	19
4.1	Demographics	19
4.2	Education and Qualifications	19
4.3	Experience in Korea	21
4.4	Motivations	23
4.5	Expectations and Beliefs	25
4.5.1	Experiences	26
4.5.2	Unmet Expectations	26
4.5.3	Business Focus	27
4.5.4	Parental Involvement	27

4.5.5	Poor Administration and Management	28
4.5.6	Students	29
4.6	Hagwon-Specific Conditions and Policies	29
4.6.1	Levels Taught	29
4.6.2	Colleagues	30
4.6.3	Native Language Usage	31
4.6.4	Grammar	32
4.6.5	Teacher Evaluations	32
4.7	Effectiveness and Happiness	33
4.8	Second Language Acquisition and Professional Development	35
4.8.1	Willingness and Feelings of Usefulness Towards Professional Development	37
4.9	Purpose	38
4.9.1	Comparing Perceived Roles	39
CHAPTER FIVE	Findings and Discussion	41
5.1	Hiring Bias, Motivations and Korean Experiences	41
5.2	Expectations vs. Reality	42
5.3	Effectiveness and Improvement	42
5.4	Constraints	44
5.5	Sense of Purpose	45
5.6	Limitations	46
CHAPTER SIX	Conclusions	47
REFERENCES		49
APPENDIX I	Survey of Native English Speaking Teachers Beliefs at <i>Hagwons</i> in South Korea	57
APPENDIX II	Qualifications & Professional Certificates (e.g. 100hour TEFL course, CELTA, Trinity CertTESOL). (Responses)	64
APPENDIX III	What was your main reason for becoming an EFL teacher? (Responses)	66
APPENDIX IV	What was your main reason for coming to Korea to teach EFL? (Responses)	69
APPENDIX V	What is your main reason for teaching at a <i>hagwon</i> ? (Responses)	71
APPENDIX VI	How has teaching at a <i>hagwon</i> been different from what you expected? (Responses)	74
APPENDIX VII	Please leave any other thoughts experiences you have about working at a <i>hagwon</i> in Korea (Responses)	77

FIGURES

13
20
20
21
22
22
23
24
FL? 24
25
30
mployed at 31
in the 31
32
33
33
ents English? 34
34
nt? 35
hing (CLT)? 35
SLA) 36
ofessional 36
if they were 37
extra 38 they been to
39

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

The goal of this study is to provide some insight into the beliefs, practices, and realities of EFL teachers at private English academies or *hagwons* in South Korea. While numerous scholarly articles and studies have been written about English language teaching from a native Korean perspective (Butler, 2004), at public schools (Oliver, 2009), universities (Barnes & Lock, 2010; 2013), or to highly motivated adults (Han, 2003), hardly any mention of Native English Speaking Teachers (NESTs) at private institutions seem to be available. Although NESTs at *hagwons* are the vast majority of teachers employed in South Korea (Ostermiller, 2014: iii; Dawson, 2010: 18), and South Korean families spend nearly one-third of their income on private education (Nunan, 2012: 601), minimal research into who these teachers are, their motivations and actual experiences has been conducted.

In response to the lack of information on NESTs employed at *hagwons*, the current study is an attempt to research their beliefs and motivations, and shed some light on the current situation in South Korea. Furthermore, this dissertation will attempt to bridge the academic divide between scholarship and actual teaching practice by examining the experiences and feelings of *hagwon* teachers and how it affects the way they teach.

The dissertation begins with a review of the pertinent literature on teacher beliefs and cognitions, and how teacher beliefs affect language teaching, because the experience of teaching EFL is often unique. Next, an overview of both public and private school education in South Korea will be explored, with specifics about NESTs in *hagwons* helping to conclude the literature review.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 Literature Review

While the field of general education has recognized that understanding teacher's beliefs as critical to understanding teacher classroom behavior, the role of teacher beliefs has increasingly been a focus of interest for scholars in the realm of ESL/EFL education (Johnson, 1994: 440). Teachers are a critical part of the teaching and learning process, and understanding their motivations is critical to effective English language instruction. Research has shown that what teachers perceive and believe affect their instructional and classroom behavior (Assalahi, 2013; Borg, 2001, 2003a, 2003b, 2006, 2011; Choi, 2000; Garton, 2009; Johnson, 1992, 1994; Yook, 2010)

2.1 Teacher Belief and Cognition

In general, a belief can be defined as "a proposition which may be consciously or unconsciously held, is evaluative in that it is accepted as true by the individual, and is therefore imbued with emotive commitment; further, it serves as a guide to thought and behavior" (Borg, 2001: 186). Teacher beliefs refer to pedagogical beliefs or those relevant to an individual teaching situation (*Ibid.*: 187), which in turn influence classroom behaviors (Woods, 1996; Borg, 1998; Richards, 1998; Lamb, 1995). Similarly, teacher cognition can be defined "as pre- or in service teachers' self-reflections; beliefs and knowledge about teaching, students, and content; and awareness of problem-solving strategies endemic to classroom teaching" (Kagan, 1990: 419).

Beliefs are an important part of life and teaching, because they help us to make sense of the world, influence how new information is perceived, and serve to frame our understanding of events (Borg, 2001: 186, 187). Therefore, beliefs are important to education research because of their deep impact on teacher thought. In turn, the purpose of any research on teacher beliefs should be to help teachers themselves, by improving awareness of who they are and why they make decisions (Garton, 2009: 1).

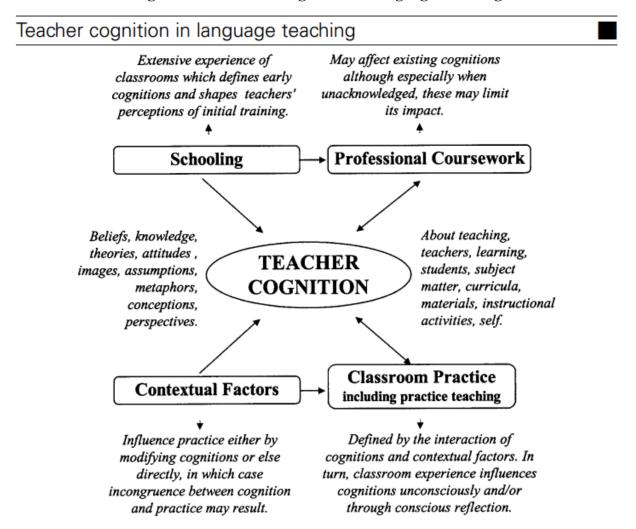
Given the previous definitions, certain assumptions can be made on the impact of those beliefs on teacher's mental lives and classroom practice. First, beliefs influence both perception and judgement which affect classroom behavior. Second, beliefs play a large part in how teachers learn

to teach. Third, understanding these beliefs is crucial to improve teaching practices and teacher training (Johnson, 1994: 439).

2.2 Belief and Cognition in Language Teaching

Teachers are active decision makers who draw on their past personal knowledge, thoughts and beliefs (Borg, 2003a: 81). This is important to the study of language teaching because there is a growing body of evidence that shows that teacher cognitions influence teachers in the classroom throughout their careers (*Ibid.*). Borg (2003a: 82) explains below how schooling, professional coursework and contextual factors all influence classroom practice and teacher cognition:

Figure 2.1 – Teacher Cognition in Language Teaching



2.2.1 Childhood Experience as Learners

With regards to schooling, many of the cognitive beliefs teachers hold stem from their experiences in childhood as learners. In his review of the research on teacher cognition, Borg (2003a) found that generally, teachers' prior language learning experiences formed the basis for their approach to second language education (88). This can be both positive and negative since teachers bring both what worked for them, and what didn't, as children to their teaching situations. As examples of how childhood experience influences may influence later pedagogic practice, Woods (1996) was encouraged to abandon formal teaching techniques for Communicate Language Teaching (CLT) because of negative experiences, while a teacher in Ebsworth & Schweers (1997) study took a blended approach with CLT and teaching techniques that had previously "worked" for them (252). Teacher's opinions on how grammar should be taught is particularly influenced by childhood experience, which can lead to conflicts between ideology and methodology and the use of outdated classroom methods (Borg, 2003b; Assalahi, 2013).

2.2.2 Training and Coursework

Professional, university, and pre- and in-service training are further sources of teacher beliefs. Teacher education allows existing beliefs to be verbalized and put into usage while helping bridge the gap between theory and practice and providing instructors with new ideas (Borg, 2011: 378).

It is critical for language teachers to be educated and well informed, because prior to teaching, many have "inappropriate, unrealistic, or naïve understandings of teaching and learning" (Borg, 2003a: 88 citing Brookheart & Freeman, 1992). Furthermore, student teachers often have inadequate concepts of curriculum and program design (*Ibid.* citing Cumming, 1989), how languages were learned, and L2 pedagogy (*Ibid.* citing Brown & McGannon, 1998).

As an example of the usefulness of teacher training, Assalahi (2013) explains that the incompatibility of theory and practice could be reflected upon in-service teacher education programs (597). Bedir's (2010) example of teacher's beliefs on strategy use in the classroom shows that while theories are often difficult to implement, in-service seminars and training are helpful (5211). Similarly, Macdonald, Badger and White (2000) saw their undergraduate and postgraduate

student teacher beliefs change positively towards Second Language Acquisition (SLA) theories and research which they initially showed aversion to (958-961).

There is controversy as to whether or not teacher training is effective with regards to changing beliefs. Peacock's (2001) survey of undergraduate TESL students showed that after three years, students had little changes in beliefs on how vocabulary and grammar should be taught and learned (184) and that the courses were ineffective in changing their minds (187). In addition, Yook (2010) cites two similar studies (Lee, 2006; Kim, 2008) which found that in-service training programs mandated by the Korean Ministry of Education were ineffective in significantly changing the beliefs in almost 40% of teachers surveyed, (48) and that these lack of changes resulted in teachers continuing to use previous methods such as grammar-translation (49).

2.2.3 Past Experiences

Teacher experiences have further impact on teacher beliefs. While there is a lack of longitudinal studies (Borg, 2003a: 95), how experience impacts teacher cognition has been studied in detail (e.g., Breen et al. 2001; Mok, 1994; Crookes & Arakaki, 1999; Nunan, 1992; Woods, 1996). For the purposes of this paper, a teacher with four to five years or more would be considered experienced, while novice teachers are those who are still undergoing training, have just completed training, or have less than two or three years of experience in a classroom (Gatbonton, 2008: 162).

2.2.4 Classroom Practice

By studying the differences between novice and experienced teachers, a better understanding of teacher beliefs begins to emerge. Borg (2003a: 95 citing Richards, Li & Tang, 1998) explains that experienced teachers are better able to think about subject matter from a learner perspective, have a deeper understanding of subject matter, know how to present subject matter in appropriate ways and know how to combine language learning with greater curricular goals than their novice counterparts (95). In another study, Mackey, Polio and McDonough (2004) found that experienced ESL teachers used more incidental focus-on-form techniques, which help students notice linguistic forms and meanings (301).

In contrast, novice teachers often make impactful pedagogical and curricular decisions which are based on their language learning experiences rather than institutional pedagogical practices or SLA theory (Johnson, 1994; Numrich, 1996). This is of concern since unqualified NESTs are more likely to be hired as teachers than their qualified and experienced counterparts, especially outside of the U.S. (Wong, 2009: 125 citing Maum, 2002).

The first years of ESL/EFL teaching can be quite difficult (Brannan & Bleistein, 2012: 519 citing Warford & Reeves, 2003) because teachers often feel under prepared and ill-equipped to deal with the stress, pressure and conflicts between ideals and practice (2012: 519 citing Veenman, 1984). This is often due to the fact that there is no agreement on what an effective language teacher needs to know (Faez, 2011: 31). Environments which are nurturing and supportive for novice teachers are rare, and frequently many "drop out of the profession early in their careers" (Farrell, 2012: 436).

2.3 The Uniqueness of Language Teachers

English language teachers and NESTs in Korean *hagwons* are unique in the teaching profession. Their experiences and issues that they deal with are different from those in general education, and those differences have a significant impact on their beliefs and practices. In an overview of the distinctive characteristics of language teachers, Borg (2006) explains the five factors that distinguish the experience of foreign language (FL) teachers (5). The following section will examine those differences, and how they affect education in Korea.

2.3.1 Subject Matter

First, the nature of the subject matter itself is unique because FL teaching is the only subject which requires teachers to use a medium of instruction the students do not yet understand. In South Korea, knowledge of the Korean language is not required to teach at *hagwons*, which can create issues when teachers, students and parents are not able to communicate with one another (Carless, 2006: 342 citing Luk, 2005). Furthermore, *hagwons* often have a contradictory policy that discourages

native language (L1) usage from students, even though native Korean instructors teach subjects such as grammar and reading in Korean.

Due to the fact that the sole use of the L2 in the L1 classroom is "not justified theoretically or practically" (Timor, 2012: 9), the acceptance of the L1 in the Korean classroom might be a helpful tool because Korean students have relatively more anxiety with oral performance than learners from other countries (Truitt, 1995), and code-switching is the "norm" in Korean public schools (Liu, Ahn, Baek & Han, 2004: 605).

2.3.2 Communication

Second, FL instruction often requires group interactions and communication in order to be effective. This is particularly important in the Korean context since Korea is a collectivist culture and students may be reticent to answer questions without being prompted (Barnes & Lock, 2013 citing Jackson, 2002; Mori, Gobel, Thepsikik, & Pojanapunya, 2010).

2.3.3 Increasing Knowledge and Isolation

Third, EFL teachers face challenges with increasing their knowledge of the subject because they often teach communication and not facts. Teachers, especially those in far or out of the way places, may have trouble maintaining and increasing their knowledge of the FL because it requires regular opportunities to communicate in it. This coincides with the fourth point, which is the fact that teachers often feel *isolation* from the TEFL world because of the absence of colleagues teaching the same subjects. This is especially true in Korea, where many *hagwons* are small and employ fewer than five native EFL teachers. *Hagwons* also tend to lack in-service training beyond the first week when a teacher starts a job.

2.3.4 Support

Finally, EFL teaching typically requires outside support and extracurricular activities for the subject to be taught effectively. The NESTs at *hagwons* are often the first foreigners Korean students have ever met and interacted with, and they often have little to no opportunity to use English outside of the classroom (Chin, 2002: 129). Although *hagwons* are meant to bridge that gap and be the extracurricular support to help students practice communication with a native English speaker, much of the actual interaction with NESTs which students get at *hagwons* is not necessarily authentic.

Keeping the previous issues in mind, the following section will give an overview of the current unique ESL situation in South Korea and how that situation may affect the beliefs and behaviors of NESTs at *hagwons*.

2.4 English Education in South Korea

In a recent speech, U.S. president Barack Obama (2011) praised the South Korean school system and the long hours students spend studying in the rapidly developing, technologically advanced capitol of Seoul. While South Korea has the highest rate of tertiary education among OECD countries (GPS Education, 2015) and the nation's GDP has skyrocketed 40,000% since 1969 (Ripley, 2011), president Obama's comments left many South Koreans shaking their heads. This is due to the fact that many students sleep through the archaic lectures they receive in public school because they do their real 'learning' late into the evening at private *hagwons*, often learning not because of their public schools, but despite them (Horn, 2014).

Many parents feel that Korean public education may not be "good enough" for academic success (Card, 2005). Although there is a 96% high school enrollment rate, public education has a

bad reputation for poor quality due to lack of funding, outdated curriculum, exam oriented classes, autocratic and untrained teachers, large classes, and ancient pedagogical techniques that include rote memorization, standardized tests, and corporeal punishment (Beach, 2011: 12).

It is therefore no surprise that learning English at public schools can be very difficult for students.

2.4.1 Pedagogic Realities

The purpose of studying English for most students in South Korea is not fluency, but to get good grades in school, pass an exam, enter a prestigious university, get a job, or to be promoted at work (Jeon, 2009a: 124). Since the National University Entrance Examination only tests students' grammatical knowledge and reading ability (Li, 1998: 692), native Korean teachers are forced to comply with government regulations and teach exam-based courses (Shim & Baik, 2004: 246). Similar to many other parts of East Asia, regular homeroom teachers in Korea who are not formally trained to teach English are asked to do so regularly (Butler, 2005: 424) and may have little to no experience communicating with native speakers (Butler, 2004: 245).

2.4.2 The Communicative Approach

These issues often mean that the implementation of new teaching techniques such as Task Based Language Teaching (TBLT) and CLT face heavy opposition because teachers may not be familiar with them and they do not prepare students well enough for the traditional form-based exams (Littlewood, 2007: 245). NESTs are often tasked with simply playing games and entertaining students, while using techniques such as Presentation-Practice-Production (PPP), parroting, and rote memorization. In addition, student workbooks at *hagwons* often must be completed by the end of each term or semester, even if the class is 'speaking' focused. Parents typically pay for student workbooks separately from the course itself, and many use the completion of text as a gauge of their child's progress, rather than their child's ability to communicate. As a result, finding opportunities for students to practice genuine English conversation in and outside of the Korean classroom is challenging.

Although many teachers may hold positive beliefs about the communicative approach to teaching, implementing such an approach often does not coincide with the reality of Korean schools (Jeon, 2009a: 123). While a need for change is well known, improvements would require "drastic conceptual changes" not just in schools, but in Korean society in general (Butler, 2011: 46). Therefore, because "exam culture is so deeply rooted in the sociocultural history in Asia" (Butler, 2011: 46), South Korea remains a test-driven society well into the 21st century, contrary to their stated educational goals (Finch, 2006: 41, 58-59).

2.5 The English Program in Korea (EPIK)

The Korean Ministry of Education has attempted to change and improve national English public school education. In 1995, they implemented the English Program in Korea (EPIK) (Jeon, 2009b: 236). The purpose of this program is to improve the English proficiency of students and teachers through cultural exchange while developing cultural understanding (Jeon & Lee, 2006: 57). NESTs from Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, the U.K. and the U.S.A. are hired to teach at public schools, train teachers and to assist the Korean Board of Education (*Ibid.*). The only qualification requirement is an undergraduate degree and a criminal background check.

2.5.1 EPIK Teacher Qualifications

According to government statistics, only 5.4% of English language teachers in Seoul public schools had both TESOL certifications and teacher certificates, while 48% had neither (Koehler, 2008). Only 37.4% had a TESOL certificate, 16.8% had an English or Applied Linguistics or related background, and 12% were education majors (*Ibid.*). Consequently, many of the previously stated problems within the public school system are found in the EPIK program as well.

2.5.2 Cultural Conflicts

In an overview on team teaching practices in East Asia, Carless (2006: 342) reported numerous 'cultural conflicts' between NESTs and native Korean teachers (*Ibid.* citing Ahn, et al., 1998). Although it was part of their stated goals, team teaching was not widely enforced and unqualified NESTs had difficulty managing classrooms (*Ibid.* citing Choi, 2001). Consequently, EPIK has been criticized for failing to encourage co-operation between NESTs and Korean teachers (Carless & Walker, 2008: 465-466).

Beginning in 2014, the EPIK program has received deep budget cuts and has begun to be phased out in the provinces outside of Seoul, leaving concern that native Korean teachers may not be ready to fully replace NESTs, and that students will not have enough set time to put their English skills into practice (Ramirez, 2014).

2.6 Hagwons and Native English Speaking Teachers

With the previously mentioned lack of qualified teachers and poor collaboration between NESTs and Korean teachers, many South Koreans feel English can only be learned through private education. While numbers vary from 2-4 billion USD spent domestically and 4.6 billion spent abroad (Lee, 2011), to 24 trillion Korean won (approximately 21 billion USD), or 2.79% of the Korean GDP in 2006 (Kim & Lee, 2010: 261), relative to the public school system, the private academy system in Korea is by far the largest in the world (Dawson, 2010: 18). The scope and influence of the *hagwon* system is truly staggering; three quarters of primary and secondary students attend some form of private tutoring (Kim & Lee, 2010: 261).

2.6.1 Role of the Native Speaker

NESTs are employed by *hagwons* to teach English for numerous reasons, including what Butler (2007 citing Phillipson, 1992) explains as the idea of the *native speaker fallacy*, which claims that NESTs are often seen as the ideal language teachers, even if they are unqualified (732-733). *General American* and *Received Pronunciation* are considered the models of speech in EFL in Asia (Tanabe, 2003), and students, parents, and institutions often express concerns that 'non-American' accents may be detrimental to student language acquisition (Butler, 2007: 734). Furthermore, SLA theories which consider native-like fluency the ultimate goal of English education have great influence (Butler, 2007: 733), even though what constitutes 'nativeness' is still controversial (Davies, 2003).

2.6.2 Management and Administration

The *hagwon* industry in South Korea has numerous issues. Some *hagwons* regularly employ racist, sexist, and ageist policies that restrict their hiring practices (see Hyams, 2015; Jung, 2014; Keelaghan, 2014). Many of these practices are often justified by the claim that hiring people of color/ethnicity would displease parents, regardless of the teacher's qualifications (Oh & Mac Donald, 2012: 8). The expectations of parents and the difficulty NESTs can find when dealing with *hagwon* management is exemplified by the following interview:

"I view it's not so much about educating the students but educating the parents as well," said Ham Joon-young, a Korean-Canadian educator working in Gangnam, the *hagwon* (English teaching center) epicenter of Seoul. "The problem is that most *hagwons* are run by people who can't speak English. It's funny how they are so accepting of such low standards. Since their English is so low, they can't evaluate good schools and then they rely on trends" (Card, 2005).

This disconnect between what *hagwon* owners and management expect, what NESTs look for in a workplace, and what parents expect may have significant impact on teacher beliefs.

2.6.3 Unrealistic Expectations

This notion that NESTs are better than their Korean counterparts regardless of qualifications leads to significant issues in *hagwons*. Teacher subject knowledge, qualifications and preparation are important to Korean students and parents (Barnes & Lock, 2013: 28-30), but teachers are often hired regardless of qualifications because of the aforementioned perception of native speakers (Wong, 2009: 125 citing Maum, 2002).

Korean students expect teachers who are qualified, prepared and culturally sensitive, but often find they are none of these, and may not make any efforts towards "good quality teaching" (Han, 2003: 1, 6). As an example, Barnes & Lock (2010: 140-141) in Figure 2.2 below shows how Korean students and parents have extremely high expectations of the attributes of an effective language teacher, which in many ways are unattainable for novice, untrained teachers.

Figure 2.2 - Attributes of effective teachers in Korea

Category	Attribute: Effective teachers
Rapport (sociability, empathy, personality, receptiveness)	 develop interpersonal relationships (Chen, 2005; Faranda & Clarke, 2004; Xiao, 2006) are congenial (Chen, 2005; Faranda & Clarke, 2004) share personal and professional life experiences (Chen, 2005; Faranda & Clarke, 2004) listen to students (Desai et al., 2001; Faranda & Clarke, 2004; Park & Lee, 2006; Rammal, 2006) care (Desai et al., 2001; Faranda & Clarke, 2004) make themselves accessible for consultation (Faranda & Clarke, 2004) have a sense of humour (Faranda & Clarke, 2004) are patient (Desai et al., 2001; Kutnick & Jules, 1993; Payne, 1978; Rammal, 2006) have a positive attitude towards students (Desai et al., 2001; Faranda & Clarke, 2004; Park & Lee, 2006; Rammal, 2006)
Delivery (personal style, communication, methodology. content)	 are enthusiastic (Faranda & Clarke, 2004; Kelley et al., 1991; Palmer, 2000) give clear explanations (Griemel-Fuhrmann, 2003; Kember & Wong, 2000; Kutnick & Jules, 1993) use good examples (Griemel-Fuhrmann, 2003; Palmer, 2000) use the students' native language selectively (ELT) (Auerbach, & Burgess 1985; Chen, 2005) vary their delivery methods (Chen, 2005; Faranda & Clarke, 2004; Gorham, 1987) encourage group work and participation (Faranda & Clarke, 2004; Kelley et al., 1991; Reid, 1987) provide interesting and meaningful activities (ELT) (Park & Lee, 2006) emphasise error correction (ELT) (Nunan, 1989; Rammal, 2006; Yorio, 1989) provide pronunciation practice (ELT) (Nunan, 1989; Rammal, 2006) teach grammar rules (ELT) (Horwitz, 1987; Yorio, 1989) emphasise vocabulary (ELT) (Horwitz, 1987; Nunan, 1989; Yorio, 1989) prepare students for examinations (ELT) (Rammal, 2006; Xiao, 2006) tailor content to the students' English levels (ELT) (Park & Lee, 2006)
Fairness (impartiality, examination preparation, grading, transparency, workload)	 treat all students impartially (Desai et al., 2001; Faranda & Clarke, 2004) produce examinations which closely relate to work covered in class (Faranda & Clarke, 2004) make examinations which allow students to express their knowledge freely (Faranda & Clarke, 2004) give prompt assignment feedback (Faranda & Clarke, 2004) provide pre and post examination reviews (Kelley et al. 1991) provide clear grading guidelines (Desai et al., 2001) articulate policies regarding attendance and late assignment submissions (Desai et al., 2001) are flexible with grading (Faranda & Clarke, 2004) impose a balanced workload (Faranda & Clarke, 2004)
Knowledge and Credibility	 have sound content knowledge of their discipline (Chen, 2005; Faranda & Clarke, 2004; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Kutnick & Jules, 1993; Xiao, 2006) go beyond the textbook (Faranda & Clarke, 2004) are able to answer complex questions (Faranda & Clarke, 2004) use relevant real world examples in lessons (Faranda & Clarke, 2004; Kelley et al., 1991) are proficient in English (ELT) (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Park & Lee, 2006; Rammal, 2006) have a sound knowledge of grammar (ELT) (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Park & Lee, 2006) are able to teach study techniques (Chen, 2005; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005)
Organisation and Preparation	 provide a comprehensive syllabus with content and methodology (Kelley et al., 1991; Xiao, 2006) communicate clear course objectives (Kember & Wong, 2000; Kelley et al., 1991) stick to the syllabus (Kember & Wong, 2000; Rammal, 2006) lay out all the materials needed for assignments (Kember et al., 2004) provide original supplemental material (Kember et al., 2004; Yorio, 1989) provide prompt feedback on assessment (Desai et al., 2001) prepare each lesson well (Park & Lee, 2006)

2.6.4 A Complex Situation

As shown, the situation for NESTs in Korean *hagwons* is complex. On one hand, *hagwons* expect and demand a great deal from their teachers. On the other, *hagwons* are seemingly willing to hire anyone regardless of their teaching experience or ability as long as they fit the prescribed ideal of a native teacher (Min, 1998).

Consequently, *hagwons* should share some of the blame that is placed upon NESTs for poor teaching practices. Jambor (2010) echoes this statement by claiming "...it is unfair to hire a non-qualified teacher and expect him/her to perform and act professionally especially if both the school and government have opted to stipulate that little professional training and background is needed to become an English teacher in Korea" (1).

2.6.5 The Foreign Teacher Perspective

For many, choosing to work at *hagwons* is a monetary decision, and the combination of benefits and hours seem to be attractive to teachers as well (Oliver, 2009: 7). New instructors at *hagwons* can expect to make between 1.9 - 2.3 million won (approximately \$1,700 - \$2,100 USD) monthly, with free accommodation or a comparable housing stipend (Fitzpatrick, 2014).

The majority of *hagwon* jobs begin in the late afternoon and end late in the evening (2 or 3 pm – 9 or 10 pm) because students attend them after their public schools. Instructors average around six teaching hours a day and around 30 hours per week, with any more hours considered overtime. Although South Korea's economy has grown rapidly in the last 30 years, the cost of living is still relatively low while the standard of living is comparable to or better than anywhere in the West.

2.6.6 The Student Perspective

These issues mentioned previously place a great burden on students who find themselves studying well into the evenings during the school year, as well as on their summer and winter vacations, and even after they have finished their final exams. The pressure on students to never stop working was so dire that governments in Seoul and surrounding provinces recently addressed the issue by forcing *hagwons* to only operate between 5 am and 10 pm (Bae, 2009). Unfortunately, some

hagwons still defy the law and teach classes until 2 am or later due to a supposed "demand from both parents and students" (Lee & Jeon, 2013). Education in South Korea for many students can be a competition; as evidenced by interviews by Lee (2011) where parents were motivated because their "child must be better than others" and "if that student goes to a hagwon, my child has to go" (16).

As shown, the *hagwon* system has numerous complex issues which affect teachers and students alike. The following chapter will present an overview of the methodology used in the current study to examine those issues and the feelings, beliefs and motivations of current *hagwon* teachers in South Korea.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 Research Methodology

This research was inspired by a lack of investigation into the large amount of NESTs that work at private institutes in South Korea. While Korean English education in general has been studied extensively (see Li, 1998; Park, 2009; Shin, 2007), there has been a lack of studies on *hagwons* and into what NESTs in *hagwons* believe, their motivations, qualifications, and the implications of each. The full questionnaire can be found in Appendix I.

3.1 Participants

A sample of 49 NESTs who currently work (as of September, 2015) at *hagwons* in South Korea participated in the survey, which was conducted anonymously via an online questionnaire. The survey was shared through personal connections, word of mouth, and on social networking sites such as Facebook. Participants were told that the data they provided would be used strictly for research purposes, and that the survey was completely voluntary.

3.2 Research

The questions in section 4.9 are adapted from Renandya, Lee, Wah & Jacobs (1999), whose study on changing trends and practices in South East Asia helped guide the direction of the research. Other questions were created to help present an overview of NEST experiences at *hagwons*, and coincide with Borg's (2003a: 82) examples that show that early cognition, professional coursework, contextual factors and classroom experience all have effects on teacher cognition and belief. The data was both qualitative and quantitative (Brown, 2009: 281) because a mixed-method approach increases the strengths of research while eliminating the weaknesses, allows for multilevel analysis of complex issues, improves validity and helps to reach multiple audiences (Dörnyei, 2007: 45-46).

3.3 Questions

The first group of questions in section 4.1 were to determine the respondents' demographics. This was relevant to the research because section 2.6.2 describes how *hagwons* have a hiring biased towards white, North Americans. The formal education and qualifications of the surveyed NESTs was then determined in section 4.2 in order see how they compared to the teachers in the EPIK program which was explored in section 2.5.1, and to give better insight into the background of some of the teachers currently working at *hagwons*.

In section 4.3, the survey asked teachers about their various experiences in Korea, such as time spent in the country, time spent at *hagwons*, how long they planned to stay at a *hagwon*, and how long they planned to stay in Korea. This section is especially relevant to understanding teacher beliefs and cognition, as described in part 2.2.3 and Borg (2003a).

Section 4.4 focuses on the motivations for teachers to join the ESL field, to come to Korea, and to work at *hagwons*. These questions coincide with section 2.6.5 which explains that teachers often choose Korean *hagwons* for the money, rather than teaching experience or for a career.

Section 4.5 deals with the expectations and beliefs of the surveyed teachers, since those beliefs have significant impact on pedagogic behavior as mentioned in section 2.1. In addition, these questions are meant to juxtapose the expectations of parents and students found in section 2.6.3.

Section 4.6 explores the various realities that NESTs at *hagwons* encounter. To begin, it shows which levels the surveyed teachers currently teach. Next, the amount of colleagues the teachers have is examined, which is relevant to section 2.3.3. The use of the L1 is then examined, relating to section 2.3.1. Furthermore, some aspects of how grammar is taught at *hagwons* is identified, and correlates with the data found in sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2. Finally, how teachers are evaluated is presented because it relates to the issues found in sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.4.

Section 4.7 presents the teachers' feelings of effectiveness and happiness, which are especially pertinent when considering pedagogic beliefs. Section 4.8 examines their knowledge and feelings toward SLA, CLT and professional development, in a hope to use the information to improve the complex situation for NESTs at *hagwons* in South Korea. Finally, section 4.9 examines the teachers' feelings of purpose in order to help provide an overview of the *hagwon* system, create a

deeper understanding of their beliefs, and compare and contrast NEST cognition to that of their counterparts in other parts of Asia.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 Findings and Results

The following chapter will present and examine the answers the 49 respondents gave to the survey.

4.1 Demographics

31 (67%) of the respondents were male and 15 (32.6%) were female, with three people choosing not to answer. The average age or participants was 31.7 years (n=40, s=7.14). Thirty-three were between the ages of 24-38 (83%). The youngest teacher was 22, and the oldest was 54. The majority of respondents were 27 Americans (58.7%), followed by 14 Canadians (30.4%), two Australians (4.3%), two New Zealanders (4.3%), one from the United Kingdom (2.2%), and three declining to answer.

With regards to race, 30 (71.4%) identified as White non-Hispanic and made up the vast majority of participants, four (9%) identified as Asian non-Korean, three (7%) as Korean or Korean-American, three (7%) as mixed or multiple races, one (2%) as Maori, and one (2%) as African American. Seven declined to answer.

As mentioned previously in section 2.6.2, *hagwons* tend to hire based on race and nationality and this sample coincides with that claim. The large amount of American and Canadian teachers in this survey may also be because there tends to be a preference in Korea for North American accents (Gibb, 1999).

4.2 Education and Qualifications

Figure 4.1 shows the breakdown of the education of those surveyed. While more than half (55.6%) had a bachelor's in a field unrelated to EFL teaching, 17 (37%) had either a bachelor's degree, a master's degree (or one in progress) in a related field. Although this number is ideal and the sample is much smaller, the basic qualifications of NESTs in *hagwons* seem to be higher than that of those in the government run EPIK program where "only 136 (16.8%) had majors related to English education, and only 102 (12.6%) were education majors" (Koehler, 2008).

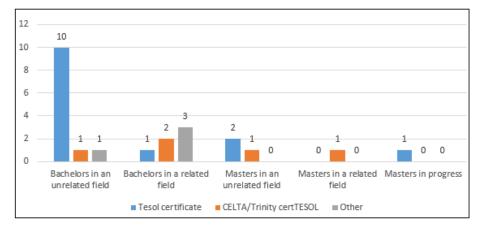
Figure 4.1 - Education

No higher education	0	0%
Associates/General Education	0	0%
Bachelors in an unrelated field	25	55.6%
Bachelors in English, TEFL, Applied Linguistics or another related field	11	24.4%
Masters in an unrelated field	3	6.7%
Masters in English, TEFL, Applied Linguistics or another related field	2	4.4%
Masters in English, TEFL, Applied Linguistics or another related field (In progress)	4	8.9%
Ph.D. in English, TEFL, Applied Linguistics or another related field	0	0%
Ph.D. in English, TEFL, Applied Linguistics or another related field (In progress)	0	0%

Figure 4.2 shows the extra qualifications and professional certificates of the surveyed teachers. 10 (20%) of the teachers with a bachelor's in an unrelated field had some kind of TESOL certificate. Those teachers with a bachelor's in a related field tended to have higher TEFL qualifications such as a CELTA or a Trinity certTESOL, a teaching certificate from their home countries, or some pre-service training. Although the instructors with a master's degree (unrelated, in progress or completed) make up the minority of teachers at *hagwons* at 20%, they are also the most likely to have extra qualifications (55%).

Overall, 47% of the teachers surveyed had some qualifications or training beyond the basic requirements to teach at a *hagwon*. Again, these numbers are higher than those of NESTs in the EPIK program, where only 37.4% of teachers held a TESOL certificate (Koehler, 2008). More specific details about individual qualifications can be found in Appendix II.

Figure 4.2 – Qualifications and Professional Certificates (by degree held)



4.3 Experience in Korea

The respondents to the survey had a varying amount of time spent teaching in South Korea. The largest group (24.4%) had spent a significant amount of time, five to ten years, in country teaching. The next largest group (20%) had spent one to two years in the country. As shown, the range of time spent teaching in Korea for teachers varies greatly.

Applying Gatbonton's (2008: 162) definition of novice and experienced teachers, the data shows that while 55.6% of teachers would be considered novice or inexperienced, almost half of them (44.4%) could also be considered experienced. The amount of time teachers have spent in Korea teaching is also significant later in section 4.4 when motivations for coming to Korea, teaching EFL, and working at a *hagwon* are examined further.

Figure 4.3 – How long have you been teaching in Korea?

Less than one year	7	15.6%
1-2 years	9	20%
2-3 years	3	6.7%
3-4 years	6	13.3%
4-5 years	4	8.9%
5-10 years	11	24.4%
10+ years	5	11.1%

Figure 4.4, shows how long the surveyed teachers have been teaching at a *hagwon*. The data is very similar to Figure 4.3, and suggests that many of the NESTs have spent much of their time in Korea working for a *hagwon*. 64.4% had worked in a *hagwon* for three years or less. 26.7% of teachers had spent five or more years or more at a *hagwon*, suggesting that working at a private academy may in fact be a long term career choice for them, regardless of their initial intentions.

Figure 4.4 – How long have you been teaching at a *hagwon*?

Less than one year	6	13.3%
1-2 years	10	22.2%
2-3 years	7	15.6%
3-4 years	6	13.3%
4-5 years	4	8.9%
5-10 years	9	20%
10+ years	3	6.7%

Figure 4.5 tells us how long the teachers surveyed plan to continue working at *hagwons*. As shown, a large majority (80%) plan to only continue to work at *hagwons* for three years or less. 20% claimed they wanted to stay at a *hagwon* for more than three or more years.

These numbers are interesting because 57.7% of teachers in Figure 4.3 have been in Korea for more than three years, and 48.9% in Figure 4.4 have worked in *hagwons* for more than three years. Therefore, Figure 4.5 may imply that NESTs do not see *hagwons* as a career choice or a long term job, but continue to work in the 'system' for longer than they expect. Some of the reasons why may teachers feel this way will be further explored in section 4.4.

Figure 4.5 - How long do you plan to continue to work at a hagwon?

Less than one year	17	37.8%
1-2 years	14	31.1%
2-3 years	5	11.1%
3-4 years	2	4.4%
4-5 years	3	6.7%
5-10 years	2	4.4%
10+ years	2	4.4%

Figure 4.6 shows that 73.3% of surveyed teachers planned to stay in Korea for three years or less. This is similar to the data in Figure 4.5, and may suggest that the majority of NESTs in this survey plan to leave Korea once their time at *hagwons* is complete. However, while only 8.8% of teachers in Figure 4.5 planned to stay at *hagwons* for more than five years, 22.2% of the teachers in Figure 4.6 planned to stay in Korea for five years or more. This shows that a significant number of NESTs

may find Korea to be a long term destination, but wish to move on from *hagwons* when they decide to settle here.

Figure 4.6 - How much longer do you plan to stay in Korea?

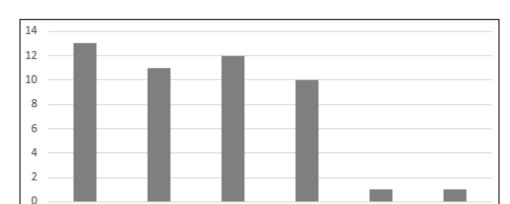
Less than one year	18	40%
1-2 years	10	22.2%
2-3 years	5	11.1%
3-4 years	2	4.4%
4-5 years	0	0%
5-10 years	5	11.1%
10+ years	5	11.1%

4.4 Motivations

The following section deals with the surveyed teacher's motivations for working in ELT, working in Korea, and working in a *hagwon*. The participants were able to give multiple answers to the questions in Figures 4.7, 4.8, and 4.9 (see Appendix I). It should also be taken into consideration that while the survey asked for the main motivations for teachers to come to become and EFL teacher, to come to Korea, and to work in a *hagwon*, their reasons are not mutually exclusive and there is of course going to be an overlap of motivations when people decide to work and live abroad.

Figure 4.7, below, shows us that the main reason for becoming an EFL teacher for most instructors was the opportunity for international travel (27%) followed closely by the opportunity to make money (25%), the opportunity to teach (22%), and the chance at some new experiences (20%). Only one teacher (2%) surveyed went into EFL teaching as a conscious career choice.

Figure 4.7 may indicate that NESTs often use EFL as a 'resume builder'; an opportunity to gain experience and money, while not necessarily committing to EFL or teaching as a long-term career. Consequently, teachers may not take their opportunities as seriously as they should since their motivations are not to educate and advance their careers but rather to have an enjoyable experience. Specific answers to the question can be found in Appendix III.



Money

New

experien ce

Other

Career

Opportunity to

teach

Travel

Figure 4.7 - What was your main reason for becoming an EFL teacher?

Figure 4.8 shows the main reasons why the teachers chose Korea as the place they wanted to teach abroad. A large majority chose money as their main motivation (36%). Next was the chance at a new experience (18%), followed closely by an interest in Korea (14%) and a recommendation from a friend (14%). A significant amount of teachers chose Korea because they were unable to find work in their home countries (10%). A small percentage did not consider Korea as a destination to teach in until they were recruited (2%), desired an opportunity to teach (2%), or because they have some Korean ancestry (2%). Curiously, eleven teachers claimed that they chose EFL for the opportunity to teach in Figure 4.7, above, but only one of those chose Korea for the same reason. Because respondents could give multiple reasons, we can assume that an interest in Korea, new experiences, recommendations from friends (or other sources), good pay, and a lack of opportunity in their home countries played at least some role in teachers choosing Korea. Specific answers to the question can be found in Appendix VI.

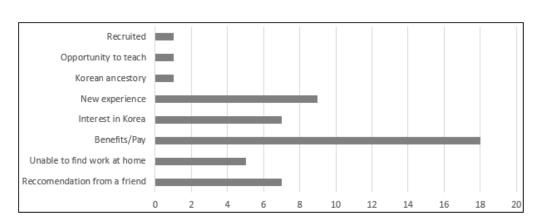


Figure 4.8 - What was your main reason for coming to Korea to teach EFL?

Figure 4.9 explains the teacher's main reasons for working at a *hagwon* in Korea. Again, it should be kept in mind that while the question asked for only the most important reason why teachers chose *hagwons*, some teachers gave multiple answers.

Money was again the main factor for teachers choosing *hagwons* at 30%. 25% of the teachers claimed their working hours were the main factor for them choosing a *hagwon*. 15% took a *hagwon* job because it was the first available to them. 9% chose their school based on location, 5% were recruited to work there, and less that 10% gave other reasons, such as their preference for the age of their students, class sizes, ease of teaching, and the opportunity to teach. Once more, it is likely that the right combination of hours, salary, location, and need for work is what made the instructors choose to work at a private academy, rather than just a single factor. Specific answers to the question can be found in Appendix V.

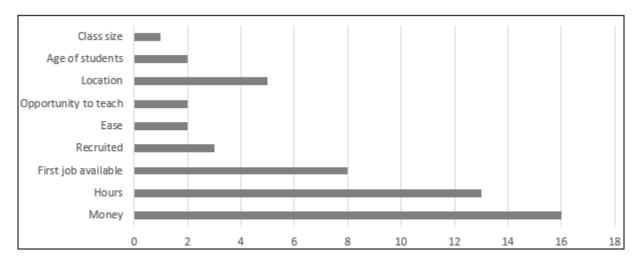


Figure 4.9 - What is your main reason for teaching at a *hagwon*?

4.5 Expectations and Beliefs

As mentioned previously in sections 2.1 and 2.2 of the literature review, teacher beliefs can have a significant impact on what teachers do in classrooms. Teachers often begin their jobs with a set of expectations that may affect their ability to teach. The following section explores some of those differences between expectation and reality for NESTs at *hagwons*. The responses in the following subsections refer to Appendix VI unless otherwise noted.

4.5.1 Experiences

Some teachers had very positive experiences in *hagwons*, stating that they "didn't expect to be treated so well, and to have such great relationships with my students and fellow staff" (#12). Others said that "the students are better and more motivated than in a public school or university setting" (#16) and "it has allowed me to truly pursue a career in education as opposed to babysit and make money simply by being a native speaker" (#11).

Another satisfied teacher states:

I'm lucky, I got a great school from the outset and have not needed or wanted to change jobs at all. [...] I know that others have not been so lucky so I'm thankful that I have never experienced any of the difficulties that you hear about (Appendix VII, #44).

4.5.2 Unmet Expectations

Many other teachers noted that they were disappointed that their *hagwons* were "more like a business than education" (#26). One said "I expected it to be more about education rather than entertainment" (#2), and that "my *hagwon* was all about how much money they could make and not about the student learning" (#28). An experienced teacher claimed:

When I first arrived 13 years ago I didn't realize these were businesses, and as such they needed to keep recruiting students, regardless of whether they were suited to the programs being offered. Now I get it (#6).

Furthermore, a teacher stated that "it is depressing to see how much focus there is on 'achievement' but not on actual learning" (#47). Similarly, another experienced NEST noted:

The only thing I can think of is that I hadn't expected it to be such a business environment. I went in thinking I would be teaching in the way I was taught, which is silly in hindsight because I had none of the training my teachers had. I am there mostly as an advertising tool and to prepare students for the Suneung (the big grade 12 test). It took me a while to figure that out, and I think when I did it really changed my motivations and understanding of what I do and how effective it is (#38).

4.5.3 Business Focus

Consequently, this focus on business can be off putting to some teachers:

It is a great place for backpackers to spend a few years working to pay off debt and travel. However, *hagwons* are not educational environments in the traditional sense but are businesses. I am evaluated on my ability to keep students in my class and not on my ability to teach effectively. I have no intention of staying on at a *hagwon* once my MA is completed (Appendix VII, #38).

Personally, I have had a great experience working as a *hagwon* instructor here in Korea. But, the *hagwon* industry is a business, which can be a gift or a curse. As a business, *hagwons* choose to make decisions based around maximizing profits and keeping customers happy. This can be great because competition between *hagwons* improves the quality of education for students. However, this can also be terrible, as many owners place unprepared students into higher course levels to keep customers satisfied (Appendix VII, #46).

4.5.4 Parental Involvement

Another frequent response from teachers was the surprise at how influential the parents are in the Korean *hagwon* system. A teacher notes that there was "much more involvement from parents. Private education has a much higher stress level than public education. More importance and keeping parents happy on a monthly basis" (#1).

One NEST stated that "my biggest surprise with *hagwons* initially was how much freedom is given to the parents to make ridiculous demands. For a country that prides itself so much on education, the system is really just a smoke and mirrors show" (#9).

This causes some issues for other teachers. "The parents have too much control over the system. As a result, consistency is rare and decisions to change are motivated my money rather than what is best for the students and/or teachers" (#48). For a more detailed explanation, one NEST said:

The *hagwon* business is run like any other business. It is highly motivated by new customers and keeping existing ones. Parent consulting is an area that is kind of uninfluenced by native teacher's input. [...] Also, complaints can be filtered through a [secretary] and delivered to the instructor or unfiltered depending on the customer service savvy of the [secretaries]. Either way, individual teacher complaints are kind of a one way avenue where a native teacher has less chance to represent his or herself (Appendix VII, #4).

4.5.5 Poor Administration and Management

Numerous teachers also found that organization and management failed to meet their expectations, describing the administration as "horrible" (#15), "less organized and less like a proper school than I initially thought" (#49), "not organized, little curriculum development (teaching from books), little or no innovative teaching methodologies supported by owners to meet learner needs" (#14) and "some *hagwon* owners are only in it for the money and have no clue about EFL let alone second language acquisition" (#14). Some of these poor management decisions extend to hiring practices as well.

One experienced teacher noted how there is a culture of discrimination within the *hagwon* industry:

There are also a number of racial biased and unethical hiring practices. I have personally observed these issues and the people they impact. These biased and unethical practices are the result of *hagwon* owners attempting to satisfy the desires of parents who place a higher value on certain English speakers--American, British and Canadian, and lower value on other English speaking groups [such as] South African, Indian and Chinese (Appendix VII, #46).

Others noted that "it's easier than I had expected" (#10), "not as hard as I thought it would be" (#4), and "it has had a lot less scrutiny" (#20). Some teachers also found that they had a large amount of freedom. One teacher stated "It's more laid back than I was expecting. More freedom than I expected - with regard to teaching" (#18). Another instructor elaborated further:

I would love it if my position was more serious. If I could hold students accountable, had a grading system, had homework and exams, etc. Right now, none of that exists and there is no pressure on me to produce anything, nor any expectations of the students when they come out of my class. However, the lack of salary increases, job security, and freedom to work has left me jaded. As much as I want to see foreigners take a prominent position in education, until that time when we are given equal opportunity and power over educational targets in the classroom and opportunities for professional success foreigners will not be comfortable with Korea (Appendix VII, #10).

Other teachers felt similar feelings of discomfort with poor administration and work conditions. One felt there was "a lot of training involved" which was "a little overbearing at times" (#22). Another claimed "It has been alright, but the hours and work sometimes can feel overwhelming" (#29).

4.5.6 Students

With regards to teaching and its impact on the children, teachers had the following to say about their experiences. One NEST noted that the "kids are hard-working and smart" (#7) and "I am humbled by the dedication of some of the students" (Appendix VII, #23).

Conversely, another said they teach to a "room full of zombies. Students [are] not interested in studying and don't care and don't answer when spoken to" (#36). Other teachers reiterated their negative experiences with students. They said:

Korean students at private academies tend be very overworked and tired. They also tend to be very privileged. Some of them simply do not like learning English, and misbehave when frustrated. I wish I had been more prepared for these realities beforehand (#42).

I am at a test teaching factory. The students just memorize their school's English textbooks. It is a nightmare and the kids hate their lives. I give them candy and snacks [...] to make it bearable. I often fail. Poor children (Appendix VII, #27).

4.6 Hagwon-Specific Conditions and Policies

The following section examines some more of the realities that all EFL teachers may deal with. It will explore how grammar is taught, native language usage, the professional environments teachers' experience, and how they are evaluated.

4.6.1 Levels taught

The NESTs who participated in this survey taught a wide range of ages and levels. NESTs at *hagwons* typically teach a combination of classes throughout the day, usually elementary and middle school, and participants could choose multiple answers. 39 (88.6%) taught elementary, 28 (63.6%) middle school, 16 (36.4%) Kindergarten, 9 (20.5%) high school, 8 (18.2%) adult and one (2.3%) university.

Some of the surveyed teachers noted how important students' age and level was to their teaching situation. They claimed that "many owners place unprepared students into higher course levels to keep customers satisfied" (Appendix VII, #46); and "most parents want to see that their child will progress faster than others. A lot of times a student will advance without really fitting the higher

level even though the native instructor doesn't recommend it" (Appendix VII, #4), which echoes the sentiments of pressure on students found in section 2.6.6.

Figure 4.10 - Levels currently taught at your hagwon

Kindergarten	16	36.4%
Elementary	39	88.6%
Middle School	28	63.6%
High School	9	20.5%
University	1	2.3%
Adult	8	18.2%

4.6.2 Colleagues

The participating teachers were asked how many NESTs, including themselves, work at the *hagwon* they were currently employed at. This question is significant because, as mentioned previously in section 2.3.3, Borg (2006) explains that *isolation* is a unique characteristic of EFL teaching and instructors "experience more than teachers of other subjects feelings of isolation resulting from the absence of colleagues teaching the same subject" (5).

The survey found that 26 (57.8%) teachers had five or less NEST colleagues. Six (13.3%) had between 6-10 coworkers, 11 (24.4%) had between 11-20, and 2 (4.4%) had 21 or more. While 13 (28.8%) teachers having more than 11 or more coworkers is a large amount, juxtaposing it with the 8 (17.8%) teachers who worked alone (or are self-employed) shows that a large amount of teachers may feel isolated. Furthermore, it shows again that individual experiences at *hagwons* can vary greatly and many teachers at *hagwons* may not feel isolated at all.

One positive of the *hagwon* system is that many schools are large and in central locations, giving the opportunity for novice and experienced teachers to collaborate often, such as one of the surveyed NESTs who noted that they "work for a large company that has many branches around the Seoul area and they treat their teachers very well" (Appendix VII, #44). This may contrast with the EPIK program where language teachers are often the only NESTs at their school and are placed in rural areas.

Figure 4.11 - Including yourself, how many native English teachers are employed at your hagwon?

1 Teacher	8 (17.8%)
1	, ,
2-5 Teachers	18 (40%)
6-10 Teachers	6 (13.3%)
11-20 Teachers	11 (24.4%)
21+ Teachers	2 (4.4%)

4.6.3 Native Language Usage

Borg (2006) mentions that "FL teaching is the only subject where effective instruction requires the teacher to use a medium the students do not yet understand" (5). As stated previously in section 2.3.1, the use of the L1 in the L2 classroom might be useful for many NESTs at *hagwons*, since they may teach classes preparing students for the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) (Kim, 2012), and Content Based Instruction (CBI) courses, which introduce difficult vocabulary beyond that of the students' level and require translation (Browne, 1996).

The survey found that that 34 (75.5%) of NESTs surveyed claim their students are not allowed to use Korean in their classrooms. Only small percentages allowed the judicious use of Korean in class (11.1%) or complete freedom (8.9%).

Figure 4.12 - What is your *hagwon*'s policy on native language (L1) use in the classroom?

Students are free to use Korean	4	8.9%
Students may use Korean judiciously in class		11.1%
Students may use Korean during breaks but not in class		31.1%
Students may not use Korean		44.4%
Don't know	2	4.4%

4.6.4 Grammar

The data on native language usage coincides with Figure 4.13, which shows that grammar at *hagwons* in often taught in Korean by Korean speakers (35.6%), in English by Korean speakers (15.6%), in English by NESTs (17.8%), as needed by NESTs (11.1%), or not taught at all (17.8%). One teacher had this to say about how grammar was taught at their academy:

In my experience, grammar is taught by both the native teacher in English and the Korean teacher usually in Korean and usually with completely different methods (synthetic vs. analytic) Grammar exercises in the books are form focused rather than meaning. Any sort of extensive reading content generally follows the student book content, meaning that it's too difficult for actual extensive reading as students don't know sufficient vocabulary to make it enjoyable (Appendix VII, #37).

In contrast, another teacher had seemingly positive things to say about how grammar was taught at their school:

My [hagwon's] approach to language acquisition is completely different from other hagwons in Korea. We never use a Korean teacher and never teach grammar. We teach children how to logically find information in English and then express those ideas in a logical way. By doing so students are able to develop their communication skills (Appendix VII, #16).

Figure 4.13 - How is grammar taught at your *hagwon*?

In Korean by a Korean speaker	16	35.6%
In English by a Korean speaker	7	15.6%
In English by a native English speaker	8	17.8%
In English by a native English speaker as needed	5	11.1%
Grammar is not explicitly taught	8	17.8%
Don't know	1	2.2%

4.6.5 Teacher Evaluations

Figure 4.14 shows how the teachers in this study are evaluated. This question allowed the respondents to choose all that applied to them. 42.2% were evaluated through CCTV footage, and 40% experienced in-class observations. The next largest group were evaluated through student surveys at 31.1%, followed closely by student retention rate at 28.9%. Coincidentally, 28.9% were not evaluated at all. 17.8% were evaluated from student test scores and 15.6% by another method.

One teacher who participated in the survey stated that non-pedagogic elements of their methods were a part of their evaluations and that they were assessed based on their ability to keep students enrolled in the *hagwon*, and not on their ability to teach effectively (Appendix VII, #38).

Figure 4.14 - How are you evaluated as a teacher?

In person classroom observation	18	40%
CCTV	19	42.2%
Student surveys	14	31.1%
Student retention rate	13	28.9%
Student test scores	8	17.8%
I am not evaluated	13	28.9%
Other	7	15.6%

4.7 Effectiveness and Happiness

Figure 4.15 deals with the NESTs' feelings of happiness. Six teachers (13.3%) felt very happy and 23 (51.1%) rated themselves as happy with their job. 11 (24.4%) felt neither happy nor unhappy with their situation, 4 (8.9%) felt unhappy and only one (2.2%) was very unhappy with their current situation. Figure 4.15 shows us that in general, most NESTs at *hagwons* (64.4%) are happy with their situations, which may have an impact on their cognition and classroom practices. This data is curious because in Figure 4.5, 68.9% of planned to leave the *hagwons* system in less than two years, even though many teachers in Figure 4.15 appear to be happy, or at least comfortable with their situations.

Figure 4.15 - How happy are you with your job?

Very unhappy: 1	1	2.2%
2	4	8.9%
3	11	24.4%
4	23	51.1%
Very happy: 5	6	13.3%

Figure 4.16 explores how effective the surveyed NESTs felt their *hagwons* were in teaching students English. Four teachers (8.9%) felt their schools are extremely effective, while 20 (44.4%) felt it was somewhat effective. 16 (35.6%) felt neutral about their *hagwons* effectiveness, and only four (8.9%) felt it was ineffective or extremely ineffective (2.2%).

Figure 4.16 - How effective do you feel your *hagwon* is in teaching students English?

Extremely uneffective: 1	1	2.2%
2	4	8.9%
3	16	35.6%
4	20	44.4%
Extremely effective: 5	4	8.9%

Figure 4.17 shows how effective the NESTs felt as teachers. Seven (15.5%) felt extremely effective, and 24 (53.3%) felt effective in general. 9 (20%) were neutral in their feelings of effectiveness, and only 3 (6.7%) felt ineffective or extremely ineffective (4.4%).

Taking a closer look, this data shows that NESTs felt more effective as teachers than they felt that their schools were at teaching students English. 68.9% of NESTs felt at least somewhat effective while only 53.3% felt their *hagwons* were as effective in teaching students English. Furthermore, the 64.4% of teachers who rated themselves as happy with their jobs in Figure 4.15 is very close to the number who rated themselves as effective (68.9%) in Figure 4.17, possibly suggesting that NESTs at *hagwons* are happiest when they feel they are effective as teachers, and that teacher happiness and feelings of effectiveness may be directly correlated. Two teachers had this to say about their effectiveness:

I feel that with my MA and experience I *could* [respondent's stress] be a very effective teacher. However, my evaluations center around criteria that evaluates how engaged and happy the students appear to be. [...] I question whether or not the apparent happiness of the students equates to language acquisition and my ability to teach (Appendix VII, #38).

The only thing I would say is that in this environment the foreign teachers are little more than 'figure heads'. We are there to look good for the parents, all the actual teaching is done by Bi-lingual Koreans (Appendix VII, #44).

Figure 4.17 - How effective do you feel as a teacher?

Extremely uneffective: 1	2	4.4%
2	3	6.7%
3	9	20%
4	24	53.3%
Extremely effective: 5	7	15.6%

Figure 4.18 shows how much input teachers have in how their classes are taught (i.e. curriculum design, textbooks, activities). The data shows that eight teachers (17.8%) had complete freedom, 11 (24.4%) had a large amount of input, and 12 (26.7%) had some input. A significant amount of teachers had little input (17.8%) or no input (13.3%). This data again shows that *hagwon* experiences can be quite different for NESTs, and teachers are just as likely to have complete freedom in the classrooms to none at all.

Figure 4.18 - How much input do you have in how your classes are taught?

No input : 1	6	13.3%
2	8	17.8%
3	12	26.7%
4	11	24.4%
Complete freedom: 5	8	17.8%

4.8 Second Language Acquisition and Professional Development

Figure 4.19 explains how familiar the surveyed NESTs were with Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) techniques, such as TBLT. Nine (20%) were extremely familiar, 11 (24.4%) were familiar, and 4 (8.9%) were somewhat familiar. Four (8.9%) were unfamiliar and 17 (37.8%) were totally unfamiliar. The 20 (44.4%) teachers who claimed to be familiar with CLT coincides almost exactly with the data in Figure 4.2 where 19 teachers stated they had an extra TEFL certification.

Figure 4.19 - How familiar are you with Communicative Language Teaching (CLT)?

Totally unfamiliar: 1	17	37.8%
2	4	8.9%
3	4	8.9%
4	11	24.4%
Extremely familiar: 5	9	20%

The surveyed NESTs were less likely to be familiar with Second Language Acquisition (SLA) theories such as Krashen's (1985) input hypothesis or Long's (1996) interaction hypothesis. Figure 4.20 explains that only five (11.1%) were extremely familiar, nine (20%) were somewhat familiar and six (13.3%) had some familiarity. Six (13.3%) more were mostly unfamiliar while the

majority, 19 (42.4%), were totally unfamiliar. Figures 4.19 and 4.20 show that around half of the NESTs surveyed were unfamiliar with many of the theories and techniques which are the basis for modern ELT.

Figure 4.20 - How familiar are you with Second Language Acquisition (SLA) theories?

Totally unfamiliar: 1	19	42.2%
2	6	13.3%
3	6	13.3%
4	9	20%
Extremely familiar: 5	5	11.1%

Figure 4.21 asked teachers how likely there were to attend teacher training courses or professional development seminars/workshops in their free time. Five (11.1%) claimed to be extremely likely to, seven (15.6%) were very likely, and seven (15.6%) were somewhat likely. However, 13 (28.9%) were very unlikely and 13 (28.9%) more were completely unlikely to attend extracurricular teacher training.

Figure 4.21 - How likely are you to attend teacher training courses or professional development seminars/workshops in your free time?

Completely unlikely: 1	13	28.9%
2	13	28.9%
3	7	15.6%
4	7	15.6%
Extremely likely: 5	5	11.1%

Figure 4.22 shows how likely teachers would be to read scholarly articles on EFL teaching if they were made available to them. 11 (25%) were extremely likely and 13 (29.5%) were very likely to read scholarly articles. Eight (18.2%) were somewhat likely to, but six (13.6%) were very unlikely, while six (13.6%) were completely unlikely to do so. While it is positive that around half of the teachers surveyed would read scholarly articles, more than a quarter (27.2%) were unwilling to do so even if it were made available to them.

Figure 4.22 - How likely would you be to read scholarly articles on EFL if they were made available to you?

Completely unlikely: 1	6	13.6%
2	6	13.6%
3	8	18.2%
4	13	29.5%
Extremely likely: 5	11	25%

4.8.1 Willingness and Feelings of Usefulness towards Professional Development

Figures 4.21 and 4.22 show us that NESTs at *hagwons*, in general, may be willing to read scholarly articles if they were made available to them. Conversely, attending workshops or seminars in their own time for professional development seems to be unlikely. Two of the surveyed teachers commented on why they felt this way:

I had no idea what CLT was or who Krashen was before I started my MA. Job training and professional development opportunities are non-existent. That is why I am leaving when my contract is up in October [2015] (Appendix VII, #38).

I've studied teaching theories and such in my own time. Frankly they're completely worthless. Teaching can be learned only through doing, and theories only give an idea of how to approach situations. Every environment is different and knowing the theories only helps someone adapt. Any semi-intelligent individual can learn to teach even the most brilliant of elementary school students (Appendix VII, #39).

While the previous statements note that in their context, extra training and academic literature may be ineffective, unavailable or not worthwhile, according to those surveyed, many teachers who had extra qualifications (Figure 4.2), felt that what they learned may be useful when they taught.

Figure 4.23 shows that six (15%) used something from their training daily, seven (17.5%) used something they learned often, and nine (22.5%) used something from their courses occasionally. Six (15%) teachers rarely used their training, and two (5%) found nothing from their training courses applicable. According to the data, slightly more than half (55%) of the teachers who had some extra training or qualifications (23 teachers or 47% of those surveyed; Figure 4.2) found their extra qualifications to be applicable at least occasionally.

Figure 4.23 - If you have an educational background in teaching, EFL, or extra qualifications such as a TEFL course, how applicable have they been to your current position?

Extremely applicable; I use something I learned daily	6	15%
Very applicable; I use something I learned often	7	17.5%
Somewhat applicable; I use something I learned occasionally	9	22.5%
A little applicable; I use something I learned rarely	6	15%
Not applicable; I almost never use something I learned	2	5%
Not applicable; I have no background or other qualifications	10	25%

4.9 Purpose

The following questions were adapted from Renandaya *et al.*'s (1999) multi-country survey of English language teaching trends and practices in South East Asia. The question asked "What do you think your purpose is as a teacher at a *hagwon*?"

Most teachers agreed that they are to be a model of correct English usage (72.7%). 9.1% neither agreed nor disagreed, and 18.2% disagreed. Second, 63.7% of teachers agreed that their responsibility was to correct students' errors, while 22.7% felt neutral and 13.6% disagreed. Third, 77.8% felt their job was to create a fun environment for students. 11.1% felt neutral, and another 11.1% disagreed. Fourth, 65.9% of teachers felt they were responsible for directing and controlling the classroom, while 15.9% felt neutral and 18.2% disagreed. Fifth, 61.3% of teachers felt that their purpose was the help students find effective language learning strategies. 20.5% neither agreed nor disagreed, and 18.2% disagreed. The sixth question was the most controversial. 16.3% of teachers strongly agreed that their purpose was to help students pass exams. 23.3% agreed and 23.3% felt neutral. Another 23.3% disagreed and 14% strongly disagreed. On the other hand, the seventh question found that 77.8% of teachers agreed that their purpose is to pass on their knowledge and language skills. 6.7% felt neutral and 15.6% disagreed. The final question also received mixed responses. When asked if their purpose was to teach native culture and experiences, 51.2% agreed. 15.6% felt neutral, and 33.4% disagreed.

4.9.1 Comparing Perceived Roles

In accordance with the survey in Renandaya *et al.* (1999), teachers were asked various similar questions about what they felt their purpose was for teaching at *hagwons* (Section 4.9). Figure 4.24 shows the comparison between the two sets of data.

Figure 4.24 - Teachers' perceived roles
(Renandaya *et al.*, 1999) (Current survey)

Pass on knowledge to students	82.5%
Help students discover good strategies	83.3%
Provide useful learning experiences	76.2%
Help students become more self-directed	81.9%
Model correct language use	63.5%
Help students pass exams	53.2%
Correct learners' errors	42.1%
Give rules about English	48.0%
Direct and control learning	42.1 %

Pass on my knowledge and skill	77.8%
Help students find effective language	61.3%
learning strategies	
Teach native culture an experiences	51.2%
Model of correct English usage	72.7%
Help students pass exams	39.6%
Correct students' errors	63.7%
Direct and control the classroom	65.9%
Create a fun environment for students	77.8%

As shown, NESTs in *hagwons* in South Korea may feel their roles as teachers are different than that of their counterparts in other parts of Asia. Both surveys found that teachers felt strongly that their role was to pass on their knowledge to students (82.5% and 77.8%). The majority of teachers in the current study felt that they should help students find effective language learning strategies (61.3%), but this was still significantly less than those in the previous survey (83.3%).

Almost half of the teachers in Korea felt they were to teach their native culture and experiences (51.2%), while 3/4 of those in Asia felt they should provide useful learning experiences (76.2%).

The NESTs were more likely to feel their purpose was to be a model of correct language usage (72.7%) than their counterparts (63.5%). About half of those surveyed previously felt they needed to help students pass exams (53.2%), while only 39.6% in Korea felt the same way.

Teachers in Korea were much more likely to feel that they should correct students' errors (63.7%) than those in the previous survey (42.1%). Furthermore, NESTs at *hagwons* were very likely to feel that they should direct and control the classroom in Korea (65.9%) than in other parts of Asia

(42.1%). Creating a fun environment is often an expectation of *hagwons*, and 77.8% of teachers felt that this was part of their responsibility.

Now that the relevant data within the current survey has been presented, the following chapter will present the findings in greater detail and discuss the implications of what was found.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 Findings and Discussion

This study aimed to overview the current situation for NESTs at *hagwons* in South Korea, while examining some their motivations, realities and beliefs. In doing so, this dissertation hopes to bridge some of the divide between scholarship and classroom practice and help to improve teaching and learning in the private sector.

5.1 Hiring Bias, Motivations and Korean Experiences

The data provides some interesting clues into the realities of NESTs at *hagwons*. The demographic data seems to confirm that there is a hiring bias towards White, North American males. Furthermore, only 34% had a degree related to English, ELT or Applied Linguistics, and 47% had some extra qualifications. These percentages are higher than those in the EPIK program (Koehler, 2008), but are still less than desirable.

The decision to come to Korea and teach at a *hagwon* for those surveyed was largely an economic one. A new experience, the ability to travel, teaching schedule, and recommendations from friends were also highly cited as reasons for working for private institutions, and it must be assumed that multiple factors influenced their decisions.

The teachers surveyed spent a varying degree of time in Korea and at *hagwons*. Teachers tended to spend a significant time working for *hagwons*, although over 60% planned to leave *hagwons* and Korea within 2 years or less. 22.2% of NESTs planned to stay in Korea for five years or more, while less than 10% had plans to stay at a *hagwon* for that same amount of time. This suggests that for many, teaching at a *hagwon* is not a long term career. With that in mind, it should be noted that 86.7% of those surveyed had worked at a *hagwon* for a year or more, which shows that once teachers enter the *hagwon* system, they tend to stay longer than their initial contract period.

5.2 Expectations vs. Reality

Many of the responses to the question of how teaching at a *hagwon* has been different from their expectations were negative. Teachers felt that management is worse than they expected it to be, their schools are more focused on business and/or entertainment rather than education, there is an overbearing amount of parental involvement, required overtime or extra training, and students are overworked.

Although these issues may have an impact on teacher belief and classroom practice, it is in many ways unfair to place the blame for negative experiences solely on *hagwon*s for not living up to teacher expectations. As mentioned earlier in section 2.2.2, novice teachers often have "inappropriate, unrealistic, or naïve understandings of teaching and learning" (Borg, 2003a: 88 citing Brookheart & Freeman, 1992) and bring with them prior language learning experiences (*Ibid.*) which can lead to conflict between methodology and ideology (Borg, 2003b; Assalahi, 2013) as well as culturally inappropriate mores towards teaching, learning, and business.

NESTs should be aware that language schools are commercial enterprises concerned with turning a profit (Walker, 2011b: 491), and they are not teaching at a traditional school. Most teachers are not experts in business (Walker, 2011a: 327), and many NESTs starting at *hagwons* lack a social, economic, and historical understanding of South Korea, which may create conflict when applying their Western expectations of learning and teaching to this context.

5.3 Effectiveness and Improvement

Although the *hagwons* do not seem to meet teacher expectations, most teachers felt happy with their current situations, felt personally effective as teachers, and felt that there *hagwon* was effective at teaching students English as well. This data seems to support Borg's (2003a) conclusion that contextual factors have an impact on teacher cognition.

Teachers who claimed to have the most input into how their classes were taught, in general, gave the highest ratings to the questions of how happy with their job they were, how effective they felt as teachers, and how effective they felt their *hagwon* was at teaching students English. The

surveyed teachers who considered themselves happy with their jobs also ranked their feelings of effectiveness higher than those who were unhappy.

While it is positive that teachers felt their *hagwons* were effective at teaching English, the surveyed teachers seem to have an inflated view of their effectiveness compared to that of their *hagwons*. In general, teachers felt they were more effective than their *hagwon* was at teaching students English, even though more than half of those surveyed could be considered unqualified and/or novice teachers. Furthermore, around 55% of teachers had little or no familiarity with CLT and 68.8% were unfamiliar with SLA theories. Those that claimed to be familiar with these theories were also most likely to be the teachers who had degrees in related fields and/or CELTA certifications. These findings have some similarity with Rainey's (2000) survey which found that over 75% of the teachers she surveyed had never even heard of action research.

Although being unfamiliar with CLT and SLA does not necessarily make one a poor language teacher, it is disconcerting when given the data that 57.8% of the same teachers surveyed were unwilling to attend teacher training courses or professional development seminars/workshops in their free time, and 27.2% would not read scholarly literature on ELT even if it were made available to them. Although each *hagwon* will be unique in their curriculum and approach to teaching, according to the data in this survey, NESTs in *hagwons* feel they are effective as teachers (more so than their employers), but are in general unwilling to improve professionally.

As discussed earlier in section 2.2.2, in order to be truly effective teachers, language teachers must be educated and well informed because many hold improper understandings of language and teaching, poor concepts of curriculum and program design, how languages are learned and L2 pedagogy (Borg, 2003a). Furthermore, 70% of the teachers in this survey who had extra training found that training useful. While difficult, studies have shown that theory can be brought in line with practice through training (Assalahi, 2013; Bedir, 2010; Macdonald, Badger & White, 2000). Perhaps this difficulty is why NESTs at *hagwons* show aversion towards professional development and this data instead may coincide more closely with the studies on pre- and in-service teacher education programs which were ineffective in changing teacher's beliefs (see Peacock, 2001; Yook, 2010; H. Lee, 2006; E. Kim, 2008).

5.4 Constraints

Section 4.6 explored some of the *hagwon*-specific conditions and policies that NESTs encounter at *hagwons*. The majority of the teachers who participated in this survey (67.8%) have five or less coworkers, which may encourage feelings of isolation (Borg, 2006: 6), since language teachers have particular emotional and social concerns (Hammadou & Bernhardt, 1987). This is one difficulty that may not have a direct solution, but extra-curricular teacher training and research engagement may help make up for the lack consistent interaction with peers.

Using the L1 in the L2 classroom can be helpful for Korean students (Truitt, 1995; Liu, Ahn, Baek & Han, 2004: 605). However, less than 20% of the surveyed teachers were permitted by the *hagwons* to allow students to use Korean in their class. Again, *hagwons* may place unrealistic restrictions on novice and inexperienced teachers (Barnes & Lock, 2010: 140-141; Figure 2.2), and discourage L1 use, even when it may be an efficient tool for providing clarity (Barnes & Lock, 2013: 29).

However, one survey found that Korean university students disagreed with the selective use of Korean in class (Barnes & Lock, 2013: 29). There seems to a cultural aversion to the use of Korean in *hagwons* and since Korean students have limited opportunities to use English with NESTs in and outside of the classroom (see sections 2.3 & 2.4.2), and it therefore may be more appropriate for the current socio-cultural context to continue to only use English in *hagwons*.

We find in section 4.6.4 that grammar is most often taught in Korean by a Korean speaker. NESTs were just as likely to teach grammar explicitly themselves as they were to not teach it at all. Once again, teacher beliefs on grammar teaching are significantly impacted by their prior language learning experiences (Borg, 2003b: 100), and this data seems to correlate to Li's (1998: 685) claim that grammar in Korea is often taught explicitly through the grammar-translation and audiolingual methods, rather than through CLT.

The data also showed that 70% of teachers are evaluated in some way, which therefore impacts their behavior and beliefs because regardless of their initial qualifications or experience, they will be held accountable somehow for their in-class actions and methods. The consequences of these evaluations may not have the teachers or learners pedagogic needs in mind however, keeping in mind section 2.6.2 which explains how *hagwons* are run as businesses and owners make decisions

accordingly. *Hagwon* owners are often not language teachers themselves and may not be able to communicate in English (Card, 2005) and many of the teachers in the current survey (section 4.5.5) felt that their schools were managed poorly and inappropriately. This division may result in ownership and management making incorrect, unproductive, inefficient and/or ineffective pedagogic decisions, which *hagwon* teachers may resent and fight against, resulting in many of the same issues Carless (2006) found amongst NESTs and Korean teachers in the EPIK program.

5.5 Sense of Purpose

In accordance with the survey in Renandaya *et al.* (1999), NESTs in section 4.9 were asked "What do you think your purpose is as a teacher at a *hagwon*?" The majority of participants in the current survey felt that their purpose at *hagwons* was to pass on their knowledge and skills, create a fun environment for students and to be a model of correct language usage. Around 60% felt they were responsible for directing and controlling classroom behavior, correcting students' errors, and helping students find effective language learning strategies. Half said their purpose was to teach native culture and experiences, and slightly less than 40% felt they were supposed to help students pass exams.

Compared to the survey results in Renandaya, *et al.* (1999), the current NESTs tended to have much more neutral and uncertain feelings towards their purpose as teachers at *hagwons*. Furthermore, it is difficult to find correlation between the demographic data, motivations, expectations, and experiences with the teacher's sense of purpose because NESTs at *hagwons* teach for multiple purposes, age ranges and levels.

This lack of a unified sense of purpose is likely to cause an impact on teacher beliefs and distract from effective teaching, especially for those new to the profession. Novice teachers often make uninformed pedagogic decisions based on their past learning experiences and not context (Johnson, 1994; Numrich, 1996), which could be mitigated if *hagwons* provided teachers with more of an understanding of their purpose. This may be difficult though because *hagwons* are businesses which may rely on trends (Card, 2005) and there is no agreement as to what an effective language teacher need to know (Faez, 2011: 31). Consequently, *hagwon* teachers being unclear about their purpose may be why the first years of ESL/EFL teaching can be quite difficult (Brannan &

Bleistein, 2012: 519 citing Warford & Reeves, 2003) and many NESTs quit early in their careers (Farrell, 2012: 436).

5.6 Limitations

Because the survey was conducted anonymously online, it is impossible to verify the participants' truthfulness in their answers. While the vast majority of those surveyed gave insightful and well thought out answers, a very small percentage gave inappropriate responses. This correlated to the data where there is a noticeable range of maturity, professionalism and experience found in *hagwon* teachers. However, since the data sample was relatively large (49 participants), these individuals were not able to skew the data in any significant way.

While the size of the sample was large enough to make some assumptions on current NESTs at *hagwons*, there are around 20,000 foreign English teachers in South Korea (Lee, 2010) which makes making any generalizations difficult. Furthermore, participants in the survey are likely to be more motivated and/or qualified than the average *hagwon* teacher since the survey was shared on language teaching themed social networking websites, was voluntary, and taken in their own free time.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 Conclusions

In an attempt to provide a brief overview of the current situation for NESTs at *hagwons* in South Korea, 49 teachers were surveyed on their various beliefs, motivations, experiences, and feelings. This was necessary because there is such a large number of NESTs teaching at *hagwons*, but little research has gone into discovering who they are, their beliefs, their realities, and their practices.

The data seemed to confirm that *hagwons* do hire based on ethnicity and nationality (Oh & MacDonald, 2012) rather than background, qualifications or experience. Teachers tended to be unqualified and unexperienced, and showed little desire for improvement. This may in part be due to the fact that, similar to Warford and Reeves' (2003) survey, many of the participants in the current survey simply "fell into" (57) EFL teaching, rather than making a conscious decision to join the field. Nonetheless, when standards for becoming a teacher in South Korea are so low, it is unfair to completely blame NESTs for poor teaching practices (Jambor, 2010).

Respondents also seemed to feel effective as teachers, and were happy with their current situations. However, they had misgivings with regard to how focused *hagwons* are on business rather than education, the amount of parental involvement, the perceived poor administration and management, and the stresses that *hagwons* place on students. Additionally, the teachers had less concrete feelings of their purpose than other teachers in East Asia. These issues highlight the need for *hagwons* to be more explicit with what they expect from NESTs from the outset, which would help mitigate some of the issues that often occur when expectations do not match with pedagogic reality.

Beginning in 2016, EPIK will have stricter requirements for new teachers including a minimum undergraduate GPA, certifications from junior and high schools that the primary method of instruction was in English for South Africans, and mandatory 100 TEFL courses with at least 20 hours as part of an in-class practicum (Korea Times, 2015). This is a step in a positive direction for Korean public schools, and the Korean Ministry of Education and *hagwon* owners should encourage qualifications of a similar nature to be the norm in the private sector. In addition, enforcing anti-discrimination laws and opening up teaching opportunities to qualified instructors

from countries such as the Philippines and India would allow for a more diverse and competent *hagwon* system.

One way NESTs at *hagwons* could improve is to attend in-service seminars, which provide extensive and efficient means for implementing new teaching strategies (Bedir, 2010: 5211). Furthermore, in-service education can address incompatibilities between belief and practices by providing opportunities for reflection (Assalahi, 2013: 597).

NESTs at *hagwons* in Korea should also read and participate in research because of its benefits for teacher development (Borg, 2009). This still may prove difficult for language teachers, including the ones in the current study, because they often feel constrained in their ability to engage in research due to lack of time, encouragement, and motivation (Borg, 2009: 359). Consequently, *hagwons* should provide pre-service training, regular in-service training, as well as extra-curricular opportunities that encourage collaboration between fellow NESTs. Furthermore, *hagwons* should provide NESTs with chances to read scholarly articles, and encourage them to actively participate in research.

The situation for NESTs at South Korean *hagwons* is unique, and many issues should be kept in mind to help reduce cultural conflicts and improve teaching and learning within the system. NESTs in Korean *hagwons* must be aware that they should create a non-threatening environment because students may have little experience with foreigners and Korean society is stratified, they may encounter large classes and a wide range of levels, and that learning the local culture and language is worthwhile because Korean society is different from that of English speaking countries (Chin, 2002: 128-130). In addition, teachers should focus on building rapport with students because Korean students may be reluctant to volunteer answers, and try to appreciate how difficult it is to learn a foreign language (Barnes & Lock, 2013: 29).

This study has shown that more research is necessary into the beliefs, motivations, expectations, and realities of NESTs at *hagwons* in South Korea. Understanding the mental lives of native English speaking teachers, who currently impact so many students in Korea, is critical to helping to improve their contexts and should continue to be researched further.

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APPENDIX I - Survey of Native English Speaking Teachers Beliefs at ${\it Hagwons}$ in South Korea

Current hagwon teachers in Korea

This survey is voluntary and takes approximately 5 minutes to complete. Please only fill it out if you are currently employed as a Native English speaker at a hagwon in Korea.

Dat	e of birth
mr	n/dd/yyyy
Gor	nder
	Male
	Female
	-emale
Rac	ee e
plea	ise be specific
Na	tionality
	America
	Australia
	Canada
	Ireland
	South Africa
	United Kingdom
	New Zealand
	Other:
Ed	ucation
	No higher education
	Associates/General Education
	Bachelors in an unrelated field
	Bachelors in English, TEFL, Applied Linguistics or another related field
	Masters in an unrelated field
	Masters in English, TEFL, Applied Linguistics or another related field
	Masters in English, TEFL, Applied Linguistics or another related field (In progress)
	Ph.D. in English, TEFL, Applied Linguistics or another related field
	Ph.D. in English, TEFL, Applied Linguistics or another related field (In progress)

Qualifications & Professional Certificates		
(e.g. 100 hour TEFL course, CELTA, Trinity CertTESOL		
Levels currently taught at your hagwon		
please choose all that apply		
■ Kindergarten		
Elementary		
■ Middle School		
High School		
University		
Adult		
How long have you been teaching in Korea?		
Less than one year		
1-2 years		
2-3 years 3-4 years		
4-5 years		
5-10 years		
10+ years		
101 years		
How long have you been teaching at a hagwon?		
Less than one year		
1-2 years		
2-3 years		
3-4 years		
4-5 years		
 5-10 years 		
 10+ years 		

How long do you plan to continue to work at a hagwon?
Less than one year
○ 1-2 years
2-3 years
○ 3-4 years
5-10 years
□ 10+ years
How much longer do you plan to stay in Korea?
Less than one year
○ 1-2 years
2-3 years
○ 3-4 years
5-10 years
10+ years
Including yourself, how many native English teachers are employed at your hagwon?
○ 2-5
□ 11-20
O 21+
How are you evaluated as a teacher?
☐ In person classroom observation
□ CCTV
☐ Student surveys
Student retention rate
☐ Student test scores
☐ I am not evaluated
Other

What was your main reason for becoming an EFL teacher?
What was your main reason for coming to Korea to teach EFL?
What is your main reason for teaching at a hagwon?
How has teaching at a hagwon been different from what you expected?

1 2	3 4	5				
Very unhappy	0 0	⊚ V	ery happy			
How effective do yo	u feel a	as a tea	acher?			
	1 2	3 4	4 5			
Extremely uneffective	0 0	0) (Extremely	effective		
How effective do yo		our ha		hing students Engl	lish?	
Extremely uneffective				effective		
What do you think is		urpose ongly		at a hagwon?		I strongly
		gree	I disagree	nor disagree	l agree	agree
To pass on my knowledge and language skills	(0	0	0	0
To help students find effective language learning strategies			0	0		0
To be a model of correct English usage	(0	0	0	0
To direct and control the classroom	(0	0	0	0
To help my students pass exams	(0	0	0	0
To correct students' errors						
To teach native culture and experiences	(0	0	0	0
To create a fun environment for students	(0	0	0	

How happy are you with your job?

(i.e. curriculum design, t	textbooks, activities)	sses are taugnt?	
1 2 3 4	5		
No input 🔘 🔘 🔘	Omplete freedom		
How likely would you you?	be to read scholarly arti	cles on EFL teaching if they were made available	e t
1	2 3 4 5		
Completely unlikely	O O O Extremel	y likely	
seminars/workshops	s in your free time?	courses or professional development	
1	2 3 4 5		
Completely unlikely) O O Extreme	ely likely	
Please leave any oth	er thoughts or experien	ces you have about working at a hagwon in Kore	a
		<u> </u>	

APPENDIX II - Qualifications & Professional Certificates (e.g. 100 hour TEFL course, CELTA, Trinity CertTESOL). (Responses)

1.
2. Passed Chungdahm training coursenot an official certification
3. None
4. TESOL certificate
5. 100 HOUR TEFL
6. CELTA
7.
8. Beautiful and cunning and I have a few tricks up my sleeve
9. 160 hour TEFL course
10. 120 TESL course
11.
12.
13. CELTA
14. CELTA
Post Grad Dip in Second Language Teaching
15. 100 hour TEFL
16. Tesol Certification
Have taught EFL in Korea for 8 years from kindergarten to University.
Taught ESL after-school in the Bronx to children of Dominican immigrants. Am currently a Faculty Manager at an Academy.
17. Trinity CertTESOL
18. Indiana Elementary Primary, Initial Practitioner
Indiana Elementary Intermediate, Initial Practitioner
Indiana Initial Practitioner in Mild Interventions Primary

19.	
20.	Bachelor of Education plus Bachelor of English
21.	
22.	
23.	120 hour Certificate-4 in TESOL
24.	
25.	
26.	5+years of iBT TOEFL courses. Debate.
27.	Tefl
28.	
29.	Bachelors of Education
30.	N/A
31.	CELTA
32.	CELTA
33.	
34.	
35.	I am currently about 25% done with a ma in applied linguistics, and I try to apply when I've learned so far to my classrooms.
36.	-TESOL 100 hrs. (Specialization in teaching children) -BA. Education (elementary) -Teaching Certificate (Alberta, Canada) -BA. History -Cooking Certificate (american food).

38. 120 Hour couse with TEFL International	
39.	
40.	
41. 100hour TEFL	
in class TESL	
42. 40 hour TEFL course	
43.	
44. 110 hour TESOL course	
45.	
46. none	
47.	
48. Bridge CertTESOL	
140+ hours (I think)	
49.	

APPENDIX III - What was your main reason for becoming an EFL teacher? (Responses)

1.	Had an education degree and decided to try EFL for a while.
2.	Wanted to travel
3.	Looking for a short term life experience out of my normal comfort zone.
4.	Wanting to teach and being good at communicating with people of other languages.
5.	RECOMMENDATION BY FRIEND, ENJOYED PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHING, DECIDED TO CONTINUE
6.	Money.
7.	Fell into it. Was on vacation wanted to extend it. Needed money so I tried teaching and liked it.

8. Korean beer
9. I wanted to travel and get paid to do so.
10. To have an opportunity to live in Korea.
11. To travel and make money.
12. At first I wanted to travel, but then I fell in love with teaching.
13. Paying off student loan debt
14. Travel Now my profession
15. Money and doing something good
16. I am multilingual and have an understanding of how to practically learn another language. I felt that going to another country would give me the chance to share what I know and allow me to learn another language and another culture.
17. Money, experience, travel
18. Travel
19. money
20. I enjoy teaching and wanted to try living in a differeny lifestyle.
21.
22. Traveling opportunities and helping kids that actually want to learn English.
23.
24.
25.
26. Money
27. Travel
28. I enjoy teaching and seeing the process of the students English capabilities improving
29. In Canada, I taught FSL (French Second Language) so I have a passion for teaching languages.

30. To travel and pay off loans before entering grad 31. interested in language and other cultures 32. Initially as a means of travel. It became a passion after I became a teacher. 33. 34. I wanted to teach and I wanted to live in Asia. 35. Wanted to travel, was an easy job after college, was interested in linguistics and foreign languages 36. It's the kind of teaching that English speakers do in Korea. 37. Career choice 38. I had wanted to travel in Asia for most of my adult life and being an EFL teacher seemed the best way to to that. 39. I majored in philosophy so learning has always been a passion. I wanted to share my passion with younger people. 40. 41. Adventure abroad 42. 43. A new experience, I enjoy working with children 44. To travel, experience a new culture and be able to earn while doing it. 45. Initially just for the experience of working in another country. 46. It started as a means to live in South East Asia. It was also a way make some money while planned out my graduate school details. 47. I wanted to leave my home country and experience something different, as well as make money. 48. I was interested in teaching but not certain enough to return to university to receive a teaching certificate. I heard about teaching ESL and after a little research I left the States to give it a shot. 49. An interest in linguistics and a lack of job options at home.

APPENDIX IV - What was your main reason for coming to Korea to teach EFL? (Responses)

1. Friend's recommendation: making good money while living/working abroad
2. the pay is nice
3. I was recruited to come here after applying for other positions in other countries.
4. Money.
5. RECOMMENDATION BY FRIEND WHO TAUGHT HERE, MONEY, TRAVEL WITHIN ASIA
6. Couldn't find work at home.
7. I was on vacation.
8. Korean food
9. I visited a friend currently teaching here and decided to come join him.
10. To study Korean while being a paid employee.
11. It offered the best compensation, was the easiest (air fare and accommodation paid, many offers to choose from, the like white people), and the girls were said to be hot and into foreigners.
12. At first I wanted to travel, but then I fell in love with teaching.
13. Highest available pay rates
14. Best contract offer in Asia
15. Money and an adventure
16. I felt that going to another country would give me the chance to share what I know and allow me to learn another language and another culture. Also being in the position I am in I hope to be able to move into a position dealing with international business.
17. Money
18. Travel
19. travel
20. I had a friend living here who convinced me to come.

21.
22. For the experience!
23. Employment in Australia was difficult to find without any experience. This job reqired no prior experience and would be a great way to experience the teaching profession
24.
25.
26. Cultural experience
27. Travel
28. The chance to be a teacher The money Korea is a fascinating country
29. I wanted experience in teaching and travel at the same time.
30. Motherland
31. to learn Korean
32. I had a friend who was already teaching here. Easy, well-paid.
33.
34. I applied for jobs in several countries in Asia and the job offer I received from the school I work at in Korea was the best one in terms of pay and living expenses.
35. Didn't need a certification, flight was paid, high salary, housing provided
36. No elementary school teaching jobs avaavailable inin my hometown when I graduated from university with my B. Ed.
37. It was the first place which offered a job
38. I had graduated with a degree in history in 2008. At the time I had no EFL or teaching qualifications. Korea was the only place that would offer me a good paying job with no actual qualifications.
39. I grew up living with my grandparents. My grandfather was the most important figure in my life and fought in the Korean War. He never spoke of it so I wanted to see it myself.

40.
41. EPIK pay & benefits package
42. The job market, and a more developed economy as compared to other TEFL destinations such as Choma or Thailand
43. as far as esl programs go, korea seemed the best economically. I studied here before and wanted to come back

- 44. Korea offered the best benefits, I did a lot of research and it fit all of my needs.
- 45. I was contacted by a recruiting company and asked if I would be interested in coming to teach EFL in Korea. I said "Sure."
- 46. It was a means to travel south east Asia, and It was recommended by a family member who had a positive experience as an instructor here in korea.
- 47. It offered the best benefits.
- 48. Competitive wages with decent benefits.
- 49. I knew Korean exchange students in the US and I found that there were many opportunities here.

APPENDIX V - What is your main reason for teaching at a *hagwon*? (Responses)

1. Money.
2. Easy to find a job in a <i>hagwon</i>
3. I had no idea what a <i>hagwon</i> was, I was recruited.
4. Recruiting agency
5. LESS HOURS, MORE PAY, FLEXIBLE SCHEDULE
6. Pay is good, hours are good, close to my home.
7. Higher pay and less hours.
8. Korean co teachers
9. I got denied from EPIK for applying too late for when I wanted to come over.

10. It was in the location I wanted.
11. Best compensation available in the teaching industry.
12. Pay is a lot higher than public schools. Also, we have smaller classes and higher level students. Overall, my <i>hagwon</i> owner treats us spectacular and makes our work environment a special place to work.
13. Short hours
14. Progressive real learning by students
15. \$
16. I get more money at a <i>Hagwon</i> than at a University.
17. Easy
18. That's the job I was offered. I was eager to start teaching and the timing didn't work with hiring seasons for EPIC/Public Schools.
19. money
20. It was the first job i saw.
21.
22. schedule and pay.
23. a <i>hagwon</i> was the first place to accept my application
24.
25.
26. Money
27. Part time schedule. It is a bit of a unique situation.
28. I work Afterschool in a public school. It's good hours
29. I wanted a specific location and I enjoy teaching kindergarten.
30. Higher salary
31. i only want to teach adults

32. didnt know about other options.
33.
34.
35. Higher salary than most other jobs, and this school had a good reputation among the people I knew.
36. It pays better than GEPIK.
37. close to home
38. I first chose a <i>hagwon</i> because I could live where I wanted to live.
I stayed with them because of that, and because the pay is better than at a public school or a university.
The hours also allow me time to work on my MA and pursue other interests.
39. Exceptionally high pay, exceptionally low hours and a student centered focus I approve of. (My <i>hagwon</i> is, well, exceptional - I wouldn't work at a different <i>hagwon</i> .)
40.
41. Not EPIK
42.
43. probably the schedule and pay drew me in, but I think it's the best for educating and developing a relationship
44. It's just the job i got, I like working in the afternoons/evenings too.
45. It is where I initially was placed to work and have had no negative experiences, the money has been good enough to pay for school, and it has become comfortable for the time being.
46. because the hours were great. I start instructing in the afternoon, which leaves my afternoon for free to do other work/projects.
47. It gave me more control over my schedule.
48. The smaller number of students allows me to have more impact on the students' learning.

49. I was too late in the year to apply for public schools.

APPENDIX VI - How has teaching at a *hagwon* **been different from what you expected?** (Responses)

- 1. Much more involvement from parents. Private education has a much higher stress level than public education. More importance and keeping parents happy on a monthly basis
- 2. I expected it to be more about education rather than entertainment
- 3. It is more directed and intentional, and has a higher proficiency student body than the 'cultural experience' position I was expecting.
- 4. Not as hard as I thought it would be
- 5. MY FIRST *HAGWON* MET ALL MY WORST NIGHTMARES AND WORSE. MY CURRENT ONE IS GREAT WITH NO MICROMANAGEMENT, FREEDOM TO TEACH WITH MY OWN METHODS, AND A GREAT SUPPORT STAFF.
- 6. When I first arrived 13 years ago I didn't realize these were businesses, and as such they needed to keep recruiting students, regardless of whether they were suited to the programs being offered. Now I get it.
- 7. Kids are hard working and smart.
- 8. Too many colds
- 9. I've taught at three *hagwons* and they've all had pros and cons I didn't expect.

My biggest surprise with *hagwons* initially was how much freedom is given to the parents to make ridiculous demands. For a country that prides itself so much on education, the system is really just a smoke and mirrors show.

- 10. It's easier than I had expected.
- 11. It has allowed me to truly pursue a career in education as opposed to babysit and make money simply by being a native speaker.
- 12. I didn't expect to be treated so well, and to have such great relationships with my students and fellow staff.
- 13. I keep staying

14. Not organized, little curriculum development (teaching from books), little or no innovative teaching methodologies supported by owners to meet learner needs. 15. The administration is horrible 16. The students are better and more motivated than in a public school or university setting. 17. It is exactly as I expected 18. I didn't have many expectations coming in, I tried to keep as much of an open mind as possible. It's more laid back than I was expecting. More freedom than I expected - with regard to teaching. 19. no expectations 20. It has had a lot less scrutiny. 21. 22. a lot of training involved....a little overbearing at times. 23. the age of students was far lower than i expected 24. 25. 26. More like a business than education. 27. I hate hogwons. 3 years in public school was better. But i teach 4 hours a day at my current hogwon. 28. Yes- previously my hagwon was all about how much money they could make and not about the student learning 29. It has been alright but the hours and work sometimes can feel overwhelming. 30. Overtime teaching 31. pretty similar to what I expected 32. i had no expectations. However, having taught at a non hagwon institution, I came to believe that the *hagwon* a purpose was purely profit driven, with emphasis on keeping parents happy rather than students' educational well-being. Passionate teachers are able to bridge this gap however teachers themselves are treated as replacable rather than respected as capable teachers, though granted many are not.

This is not the case at my current employer. 33. 34. 35. I definitely thought I was going into a formal school setting where kids would be respectful and ready to learn, but I realized hagwons are really just educational childcare. So I have to do a lot more work to manage behavior and discipline than I expected, and also a lot more work to entertain children than I expected. 36. Rooms full of zombies. (Students not interested in studying and don't care and don't answer when spoken to. 37. It's only different because of the age group, understanding classroom management for students at that age and trying to dovetail my teaching with the other teaching that they receive - very much like the grammar translation method - heavy on reading and grammar but not on speaking. 38. That is hard to answer because I had no expectations, or any idea what to expect, when I started. The only thing I can think of is that I hadn't expected it to be such a business environment. I went in thinking I would be teaching in the way I was taught, which is silly in hindsight because I had none of the training my teachers had. I am there mostly as an advertising tool and to prepare students for the Suneung (the big grade 12 test). It took me a while to figure that out, and I think when I did it really changed my motivations and understanding of what I do and how effective it is. 39. It hasn't, but my best friend taught here before me so I knew what I was getting into. 40. 41. Trust Self-agency Consistancy **Expectations** Actual teaching Appreciation Respect Fun

42. Korean students at private academies tend be very overworked and tired. They also tend to be very privileged. Some of them simply do not like learning English, and misbehave when frustrated. I wish I had been more prepared for these realities beforehand.
43. just korean coworkers are more u unreliable, manipulative, and untrustworthy than I could've expected
44. It's pretty much what I expected. I thought there would be more foreign teachers but my school only has one or two per branch.
45. It has been essentially what I expected.
46. It has not greatly differed at all. The students are fairly easy to manage, the hours are what I expected them to be, and my lifestyle if fairly comfortable.
47. It is depressing to see how much focus there is on 'achievement' but not on actual learning.
48. The parents have too much control over the system. As a result, consistency is rare and decisions to change are motivated my money rather than what is best for the students and/or teachers.

APPENDIX VII - Please leave any other thoughts or experiences you have about working at a *hagwon* in Korea (Responses)

49. It's less organized and less like a proper school than I initially thought.

1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	The <i>hagwon</i> business is run like any other business. It it highly motivated by new customers and keeping existing ones. Parent consulting is an area that is kind of uninfluenced by native teacher's input. Most parents want to see that their child will progress faster than others. A lot of times a student will advance without really fitting the higher level even though the native instructor doesnt recommend it. Also, complaints can be filtered through a desk teacher and delievered to the instructor or unfiltered depending on the customer service savy of the desk teacher. Either way, individual teacher complaints are kind of a one way avenue where a native teacher has less chance to represent his or herself.
5.	

6. Because I teach adults and my school is run by a fairly liberal administration, my answers are very different from the ones I would have given one year ago, when I was teaching kids, or 10 years ago, before a bunch of reforms came into place.
7.
8. Bananas are yellow
9.
10. I would love it if my position was more serious. If I could hold students accountable, had a grading system, had homework and exams etc Right now none of that exists and there is no pressure on me to produce anything, nor any expectations of the students when they come out of my class. However, the lack of salary increases, job security, and freedom to work has left me jaded. As much as I want to see foreigners take a prominent position in education, until that time when we are given equal opportunity and power over educational targets in the classroom and opportunities for professional success foreigners will not be comfortable with Korea.
11.
12.
13.
14. KOTESOL workshops helped navigate the curriculum development field. Some <i>hagwon</i> owners are only in it for the money and have no clue about EFL let alone second language acquisition,
15.
16. My Academies approach to language acquisition is completely different from other <i>hagwons</i> in Korea. We never use a Korean teacher and never teach grammar. We teach children how to logically find information in English and then express those ideas in a logical way. By doing so students are able to develop their communication skills.
17.
18.
19.
20.
21.

22.	Good times full of good experiences. Just wish we had time to relax and things were not so uptightwith random trainings and such.
23.	I have found it an incredible experience. Though i am humbled by the dedication of some students. I do the best i can but i have always felt somrwhat unqualified for this position.
24.	
25.	
26.	
27.	I am at a test teaching factory. The students just memorize their school's english textbooks. It is a nightmare and the kids hate their lives. I give them candy and snacks and tey to make it bearable. I often fail. Poor children.
28.	
29.	
30.	Just okay
31.	
32.	
33.	
34.	
35.	I work for a large company so in total there are over 21 teachers (and I know most of them) but at my specific branch there are only 3 foreign teachers.
36.	Fun. Mostly.
37.	about the grammar question. In my experience, grammar is taught by both the native teacher in english and the korean teacher usually in korean and usually with completely different methods (synthetic vs. analytic) Grammar exercises in the books are form focused rather than meaning. Any sort of extensive reading content generally follows the student book content, meaning that it's too difficult for actual extensive reading as students don't know sufficient vocabulary to make it enjoyable.
38.	It is a great place for backpackers to spend a few years working to pay off debt and travel. However, <i>hagwons</i> are not educational environments in the traditional sense but are businesses. Lam evaluated on my ability to keep students in my class and not on my

ability to teach effectively. I have no intention of staying on at a *hagwon* once my MA is completed.

As to how effective I feel as a teacher. I feel that with my MA and experience I COULD be a very effective teacher. However, my evaluations centre around criteria that evaluates how engaged and happy the students appear to be. My smiling is an actual evaluated component. By those standards I am very effective, with raises and better hours to prove it. However, I question whether or not the apparent happiness of the students equates to language acquisition and my ability to teach.

As to the sections on scholarly journals and job training. I had no idea what CLT was or who Krashen was before I started my MA. Job training and professional development opportunities are non-existent. That is why I am leaving when my contract is up in October.

39. I've studied teaching theories and such in my own time. Frankly they're completely worthless. Teaching can be learned only through doing, and theories only give an idea of how to approach situations. Every environment is different and knowing the theories only helps someone adapt. Any semi-intelligent individual can learn to teach even the most brilliant of elementary school students.

40.

41. I am fortunate. I never let a day pass without expressing my gratitude.

42.

- 43. I don't have credentials. But I have some ability to educate. Maybe many foreigners don't so they don't want my input, but I could add value if. They'd let me
- 44. I'm lucky, I got a great school from the outset and have not needed or wanted to change jobs at all. I work for a large company that has many branches around the Seoul area and they treat their teachers very well. I know that others have not been so lucky so I'm thankful that I have never experienced any of the difficulties that you hear about.

The only thing I would say is that in this environment the foreign teachers are little more than 'figure heads'. We are there to look good for the parents, all the actual teaching is done by Bi-lingual Koreans. all the Korean Teachers at my school speak excellent English and many of them have spent a lot of time overseas.

- 45. I'm sorry for not taking your survey the first time around Michael. Fighting.
- 46. Personally, I have had a great experience working as a *hagwon* instructor here in Korea. But, the *hagwon* industry is a business, which can be a gift or a curse.

As a business, *hagwons* choose to make decisions based around maximizing profits and keeping customers happy. This can be great because competition between *hagwons* improves the quality of education for students.

However, this can also be terrible, as many owners place unprepared students into higher course levels to keep customers satisfied. There are also a number of racial biased and unethical hiring practices. I have personally observed these issues and the people they impact. These biased and unethical practices are the result of *hagwon* owners attempting to satisfy the desires of parents who place a higher value on certain english speakers--american, british and canadian--, and lower value on other english speaking groups--south african, indian and chinese--.

47		
48		
49		