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English Program for North Korean Refugee College Students: What Promotes and What Hinders the Students from Achieving Learning Goals?

Sunghee Shin [*]
(Queens College, City University of New York)
Shieun Yu [**]
(Korea University)
Insook Kim [***]
(Seoul Women's University)
Booyuel Kim [****]
(KDI School of Public Policy and Management)

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This study was designed to expand our understanding about the ways in which North Korean refugee college students (NKRCS) acquire English as a foreign language in their newly adapted South Korean society. Using a socio-educational model, NKRCS's perception toward English, which includes their openness and identification with the target language community and their culture, was closely examined. Holding the understanding about their perception, we analyzed factors that promote and hinder North Korean refugee college students from success in English learning in relation to their English language learning motivations. A quantitative survey was administered to 28 participants, complemented with qualitative interviews with 24 participants. Results found there was a discrepancy between the instrumental goal of the program of improving scores on the TOEIC (Test of English for International Communication) and the learning goals of the participants, which demotivated them and led to low attendance and low performance on the TOEIC. Both quantitative and qualitative results, however, indicated that most of the participants were not ready to take the TOEIC but wished

[*] first author, [**] second author
[***] third author, [****] corresponding author

to learn more about basic and conversational knowledge of English, which reflected integrative motivation.

[North Korean refugee college students (NKRCS)/English as foreign language (EFL)/socio-educational model/second language acquisition motivation/ integrative motivation]

I. INTRODUCTION

According to the South Korean Ministry of Unification, the number of North Korean refugee migrants in South Korea was only 947 in 1998, but 20 years later, it reached 30,805 in 2017. Recent patterns of North Korean refugees show an increase of family-level entry to South Korea, where over 40% of all North Korean refugees in 2017 was in their teens and twenties. One of the stumbling blocks young North Korean refugees are facing is preparation for college education (Ahn, 2010; Park & Lee, 1999). While they struggle at the individual level, the lack of a systemic solution delays their progress in quality preparation for college education. Despite their unpreparedness, they are easily admitted to colleges or other higher education institutions in special admission cases simply because they have reached a certain age to attend college.[1] Without proper preparation and credible information, they depend on unreliable information from their small refugee community, which leads to high drop-out rates (Yu, Bae, Jo, Kim, & Choi, 2013).

North Korean refugees receive government support for college education up through age 35. When refugees attend college at a non-traditional age, they experience more difficulty in adapting and a higher likelihood of dropping out due to their lack of necessary preparation for college education. North Korean refugees' drop-out rate at college is double that of South Korean students (Korea Ministry of Unification, 2013). In addition, their re-entering rate is almost 50% less than that of South Korean college students. According to Yu et al. (2013), many North Korean refugee college students experience disenrollment or leave of absence at college. The prevailing reason for their discontinuation of schooling was to return with a competency in English required for college education as discussed in Lee (2017), and Paek and Yoo (2011). Although English was found to be a key factor of their maladjustment, it was not much explored in their learning circumstances (Choi, 2014). In addition, achieving a certain score on

[1] For example, 12 North Korean waitresses defected in groups from a North Korean restaurant in China in April 2016 and all of them have become college students in South Korea in 2017. In this paper, the term college includes 2-year college and 4-year university in Korea.

an English test such as TOEIC is required to apply for jobs in the South Korean labor market, so their ability to learn English plays a critical role in their college success and adjustment to life in South Korea.

Thus, this study is designed to expand our understanding about the ways in which North Korean refugee college students acquire English in their newly adapted society, South Korea in terms of their motivation and attitude toward English learning. Our research question addresses what factors promote and what factors hinder North Korean refugee college students from success in English learning, specifically in terms of their English learning motivation and difficulties they face in learning English. Thus, we employed a socio-educational model and examined their perception toward English, which includes their openness and identification with the target language community and its culture.

1. Literature about Foreign Language Learning in Korea

Research approach focusing on motivation in second language learning was introduced to Korea in 1980 and was accelerated by Lee (1996) that combined Gardner's (1985) motivational study, and Deci and Ryan's (1985) self-determination theory. Although motivation research has been conducted with populations of second language learning, Korean researchers realized that research in Korea should incorporate Korean English language learners in a foreign language context who are less likely to be exposed to opportunities to use English in their everyday life. However, it is also true that Korean culture which has been dramatically globalized requires English as almost second language level urgency for young learners. On top of this, Koreans' strong motivation toward English learning reflects English as a valuable asset for college entrance, career development, and promotion (Kim, 2009a, 2010a).

Im (2001) surveyed 668 elementary students about their English learning motivation and he found that students were most motivated to learn English because "English is essential to go to a better school and to find a better job" and "English is needed when one travels abroad." While instrumental motivation was more prevalent, answers that indicated integrative motivation, such as "to make foreign friends" or "to learn about the world better," were less frequent. Maeng (2001)'s qualitative research with 17 elementary students did not find much integrative motivation; however, instrumentally oriented students performed better in their early stage of English learning. Kim (2015) summarized discussions of English learning motivation in Korea in his book *English Learning Motivation Research in South Korea* and explained why Korean English learners are more inclined to instrumental motivation than integrative motivation and

extrinsic motivation than intrinsic motivation. The underlying trend of instrumental motivation in Korea reflects a social belief that fluency in English assures a better job, education as a short-term goal, and improvement of social status as a long-term goal (Kim, 2008). Drop-out rates among North Korean refugee students are a downside of the current trend in English learning in Korea and rapid globalization of Korean society calls for a need to research integrative motivation in English learning (Kim, 2009b, 2010b). However, there is no study done in this area. Thus, this study examines the struggles of North Korean refugee college students to learn a second language in the current state of English learning in South Korea through both quantitative and qualitative methods.

2. Socio-educational Model in Second Language Learning

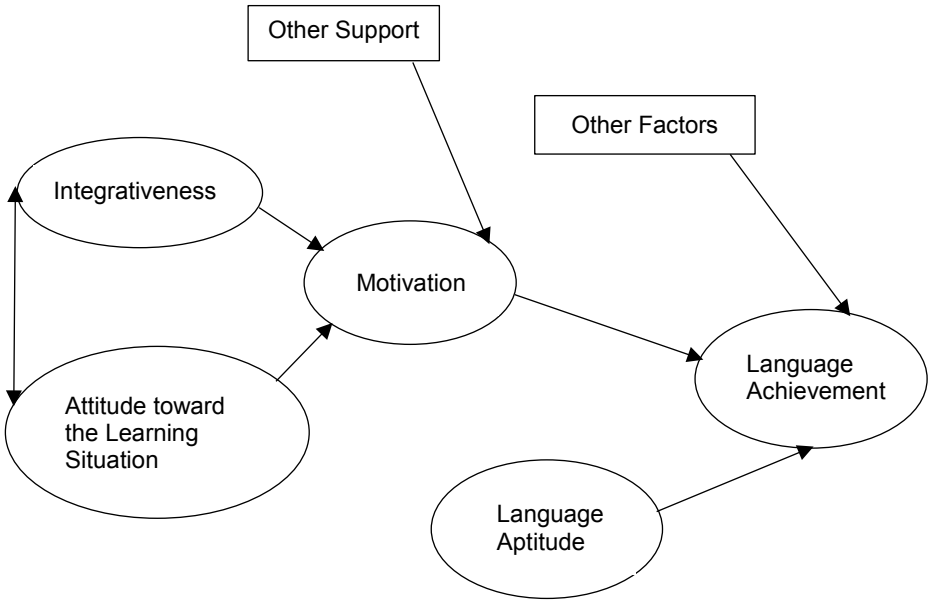
Factors that affect second language acquisition based on the socio-educational perspective can be divided into two categories – socio-psychological and cultural variables. A socio-educational model in second language acquisition not only pays attention to an individual's self-efficacy in learning but also looks carefully at language learning motivation (Gardner, 1985, 2010). The premise of a socio-educational model begins with the assumption that an individual with high self-efficacy in both intellect and linguistics tends to show higher performance in second language acquisition. In addition, an individual with higher motivation is more successful than one with lower motivation.

When Gardner (1979) first introduced the socio-educational model, it involved four elements: social environment, individual differences, condition of second language acquisition, and performance. Gardner added attitude towards the learning situation and integrative motivation within individual motivation variables. As Figure 1 illustrates (Gardner, 2001, p. 3), the learning situation includes the school environment, attitude towards textbooks, and attitude towards the teacher and class. These are learning situations that affect an individual's learning motivation. Gardner and Lambert (1959, 1972) suggested two motivations for second language acquisition — integrative motivation and instrumental motivation. While integrative motivation represents interest towards the language and culture, instrumental motivation provides more practical reasons for second language acquisition, such as a better chance at getting a higher paying job or better educational opportunities. Gardner did not see these two factors working against each other; rather, he saw them interact positively with each other. Gardner (2004, 2010) developed the Attitude Motivation Test Battery for second language acquisition, which was divided into four categories: integrativeness, attitude towards learning situation, motivation, and language learning

anxiety. This study applied the four elements in Gardner's socio-educational model to analyze the data.

FIGURE 1

A Basic Model of the Role of Aptitude and Motivation in Second Language Learning (Gardner, 2001, p. 3)



II. RESEARCH METHODS

1. Program Participants

A six-month non-credit English program was desgined for North Korean refugee college students in order to help them improve their English proficiency. Forty eight North Korean refugee college students were recruited in October 2014. Their average age was 27.4 years old. The average time spent in South Korea since their refuge was 6.4 years, while the average time passed since they left North Korea was 8.2 years. The average amount of time they received public education in North Korea was 8.2 years, and 36% of the participants attended a public or charter school in South Korea before they entered college.

The classes met three times a week (Monday, Wednesday, and Friday) in the evenings, and the first class began in November 2014. The first two months were

arranged to teach the basics of English grammar along with conversational skills, and the classes for the next four months focused on TOEIC (Test of English for International Communication) preparation.[2] To record the participants' progress, TOEIC practice tests were given in November 2014, January 2015, and March 2015. The actual TOEIC was administered in December 2014, February 2015, and April 2015.

2. Data Collection

In order to answer the research question, "what factors promote and what factors hinder North Korean refugee college students from obtaining success in English learning?", this study employed both qualitative and quantitative research methods to cross-reference the findings. Qualitative interviews were conducted to gain knowledge about North Korean refugee college students' attitude toward their learning situation. A quantitative survey was designed to measure the relationship between variables such as motivation, anxiety, and TOEIC score. The survey data were analyzed through descriptive analysis, whereas the interviews provided in-depth information to support developing themes.

First, a semi-structured interview was conducted with 24 of the total 48 participants (50%) and the average interview time was an hour-and-a-half for each person. Interview questions included: 1) Did the instructors provide helpful comments and assessment on your performance? 2) Did you gain some confidence from the classes? 3) Did the way instructors teach the class enhance your learning? 4) Please share your thoughts about how to improve English education for North Korean refugee college students. Since it was a semi-structured interview, additional questions were generated during each session by the interviewer.

Second, survey questions were developed through a literature review and a pre-survey. The pre-survey was administered to five North Korean refugee college students. A pre-interview was also conducted to modify the wording and expressions that the participants could not comprehend. We administered the quantitative survey to 28 students out of the total 48 participants (58%) The main dependent variables were class attendance rates and TOEIC scores while the key independent variables included motivation in language learning and anxiety about foreign language acquisition.

[2] Since many universities require a certain level of TOEIC score for graduation and a high TOEIC score is necessary in applying for quality jobs in South Korea, we designed the English program focused on TOEIC preparation.

Motivation in language learning was measured by 12 questions while language learning anxiety was measured by eight questions.[3]

3. Data Analysis

The qualitative data analysis was conducted with grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) in order to obtain relevant predictions, explanations, interpretations and applications (p. 1). First, the interview data was coded to generate themes. Then, the researchers identified recurring patterns and themes, and then synthesized the themes into larger categories to see their saliency in the investigation.

For the quantitative data analysis, we first presented the descriptive statistics for the main independent variables (motivation in language learning and anxiety for language learning), and then examined the correlations between the dependent variables of class attendance rates or TOEIC scores and the independent variables of language learning motivation and anxiety about foreign language acquisition while controlling for gender, age, years since leaving North Korea, years since entering South Korea, and education attainment in North Korea.

III. RESULTS AND FINDINGS

1. Attendance Rate and TOEIC Performance

The class attendance rate was 34%. Only six students attended more than 80% of the classes. Most of those who dropped out left the institute as early as one month after classes began. Surprisingly, nine students never attended class at all.[4] Students took TOEIC (mock exam or real exam) while attending classes. Results on the TOEIC taken during the study show very low performance. 19 out of 28 students earned scores lower than 400 out of a total score of 990, which illustrates the participants' very poor English skill. Only two participants earned a TOEIC score higher than 600 while one participant scored 845, which is quite a high achievement for a North Korean refugee college student.

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[3] Both motivation in language learning questionnaire and language learning anxiety questionnaire used five-point likerty scale questions. The Cronbach's alpha for motivation in language learning questionnaire and language learning anxiety questionnaire were 0.84 and 0.90, respectively.

[4] This low attendance rate implies that it must have been very challenging for North Korean refugee college students to manage both their study at college and three-times-a-week evening English class at the same time.

2. Discrepancy in Learning Goals

The most frequently mentioned problem in the interviews also was that while the goal of this English education program (targeting 800 points on the TOEIC exam) was highly instrumental, most of the participants were not ready or motivated enough to engage themselves in test preparation. The investigators presumed that the participants would be highly motivated to prepare for the test like other South Korean college students since a TOEIC score is necessary in applying for jobs. Thus, the investigators set up the instrumental goal of improving test results, but were not aware of the participants' integrative motivation such as their interest to become familiar with the culture of the target language speaking country or people from countries where English is spoken as a first language. Below is one of the representative statements prevalent among the interviewed students.

> Some day, I want to travel English-speaking countries and have a real conversation with the people I meet there. That would be really great. When I watch foreign videos, I really want to understand them without a help of captions.
> *(Student #1 / male / age: 24 / junior / SK entering year: 2006)*

3. Attitude Toward the Learning Situation

Gardner (2001) discussed two variables (attitude toward the learning situation and integrativeness) that affect language learning motivation. Attitude toward the learning situation includes attitudes toward the institute, facility, textbook, and the instructors. The interview data indicated that the participants were positive about the facility and instructors.

The loyalty to the institute was due to the high quality teaching and the instructors' inclusive attitude toward the participants. Their positive attitude toward the instructors led them to be more attentive to what they were learning and resulted in more engaging classroom behavior. The participants often showed their appreciation by bringing food for the instructors. They said they would recommend the institute to their friends and will study harder when they have another chance. One of the students recalled good memories about the instructor.

> We used to make a joke saying it's more fun to meet the instructor than to learn English. I still remember he encouraged me with a few good words when I was tired or sick. I think he did everything from the bottom of his heart.
> *(Student #2 / female / age: 22 / sophomore / SK entering year: 2010)*

The overall interview data indicated that the participants were positive about the facility and instructors. Although a few students complained about the delayed distribution of teaching materials, most of the participants had a positive attitude toward the instructor who motivated the participants to try to attend classes even when they had reasons for absence, such as the burdensome amount of school assignments for North Korean refugee students who were admitted to college in special cases and not by test scores. Nevertheless, most students pointed that the reason for their low performance on the test was their lack of preparedness and lack of time to review the lessons due to their personal situation, including their coursework at college.

4. Integrative Motivation

Integrativeness indicates openness to the target language culture and people and is another factor that affects motivation. Viewed from a long-term perspective, Gardner (2001; 2004; 2010) believed that integrative motivation affects and better sustains motivation for learning. Surprisingly, the majority of students displayed integrative motivation toward English learning. The discrepancy between the learners' goal and the program's was revealed through a series of interviews.

> I was admiring those people who can talk with foreigners without any help of an interpreter. I also want to be like one of them. I guess this kind of desire motivated me to learn English.
> *(Student #3 / female / age: 31 / junior / SK entering year: 2011)*

> My goal was to learn communication ability with foreigners so I liked the institute's teaching methods for conversational skills.
> *(Student #4 / male / age: 34 / senior / SK entering year: 2006)*

They clearly stated their integrative goal of learning, and many of them noted that "TOEIC-taking-skill-oriented teaching didn't work well." Therefore, an approach "to understand English itself as a language and to be familiar with the language" seemed like a more necessary and appropriate approach. Although they acknowledged the effectiveness of the strategy of drill and practice by focusing on tips to raise their test score, they still preferred to learn the basics of English. Many of the participants indicated an interest to learn "more details of grammar such as conjunctive particle, part of speech, and so on" because they "wanted to learn English, not the TOEIC." The participants recognized that the instrumentally oriented goal did not sustain their own learning goals which were, first, to learn conversational English and knowledge

and, second, to have a basic understanding of the language. A participant suggested that the pre-survey may have been helpful to set a more reasonable learning goal. Table 1 also indicated that instrumental motivation such as "8. Learning English would be useful for my future career" and "9. Learning English would be useful for finding a job" marked the lowest score. Thus, these results imply the participants' integrative motivation for learning English such as learning the culture, history, and literature of English and learning to speak to English-speaking friends.

TABLE 1

Descriptive Statistics for Motivation in Language Learning

Questionnaire	Observations	Mean	SD	Min	Max
1. I want to better understand the world by learning different cultures.	28	2.11	0.99	1	4
2. I am interested in American culture, history, and literature.	28	2.71	0.94	1	5
3. English is an important language worldwide.	28	1.75	0.80	1	4
4. I want to learn other languages as well by learning English.	28	2.36	1.10	1	5
5. Learning foreign language is a way to develop other capabilities.	28	2.07	1.05	1	4
6. I want to use English when I talk to English-speaking friends.	28	2	0.94	1	4
7. I want to use English when I travel to English-speaking countries.	28	1.71	0.90	1	4
8. Learning English would be useful for my future career.	28	1.46	0.64	1	3
9. Learning English would be useful for finding a job.	28	1.46	0.64	1	3

10. I want to talk to people in Korea who speak English.	28	2.18	1.12	1	5
11. English is a core requirement at college.	28	1.75	1.00	1	5
12. Learning English is a part of requirements in my major at college.	28	2.11	1.03	1	4

Note. Each question is based on a 5-point Likert scale (1: Strongly disagree ~ 5: Strongly agree)

5. Reasons for Drop-out and Demotivation

The most frequently mentioned issues during the interviews were that the goal of earning 800 points on the TOEIC was too high and that the teaching strategies were not appropriate for North Korean refugee students. Based on the post-survey and in-depth interviews, the investigators found that the participants were divided into three groups. First, those who were equipped with basic knowledge in English and thus ready and motivated to prepare for the TOEIC; second, those who were not in urgent need of high scores in the TOEIC so that they only needed a basic understanding about the test; and third, those who needed to build confidence by having a basic understanding about English in general. This was based on their level of English that determines the readiness for the test and their motivation for learing English in that some were interested in learning skills and knowledge necessary for the test while the rest were interested in building basic skills in English.

A major suggestion from the first group was that Basic English classes in the first two months were unnecessary. The second group felt that both basic and TOEIC skills are necessary but they were satisfied by a basic understanding about the TOEIC since their needs were not urgent. Since the third group was more interested in learning English in general, they had the highest dropout rate when it came time for TOEIC. The first interview below is a participant's report on the ineffectiveness of preparing for the TOEIC due to the lack of basic skills necessary to learn the test. The second case is a quote from a participant who was positive about the TOEIC lecture but still preferred to learn more applied language skills to use every day.

> I think the instructors were really good at teaching the classes but I hoped our English skill was a little bit higher than it actually was so that we could really enjoy the TOEIC lectures. I mean if we were more prepared, we would probably be more motivated to learn. It was first time I learned TOEIC so it was a bit burdensome.

(Student #5 / female / age: 22 / freshman / SK entering year: 2008)

I also believe that the key to master TOEIC is to develop the right skills. If we were taught how to study, we would earn high scores. The teachers taught very well. However, I wanted to learn more about speaking and listening since I am sometimes embarrassed at my poor language when I meet foreigners.
(Student #6 / female / age: 30 / junior / SK entering year: 2010)

Reasons for demotivation in learning in our research program are two-fold. First, participants lost interest due to their lack of readiness. Second, their motivation decreased when the class moved to a different content area from what they were interested in learning. On top of this, as mentioned earlier, when the college semester began they did not have enough capacity to deal with both their school assignments and the TOEIC lessons. From the survey, we found that language learning motivation and class attendance rate (or TOEIC score) are not correlated as shown in Table 2. The coefficient of language learning motivation score is close to zero (-0.001) and is statistically insignificant.

TABLE 2
Correlation between Motivation in Language Learning and Class Attendance Rate (or TOEIC Max Score)

Dependent Variable:	(1) Class Attendance Rate	(2) TOEIC Max Score
Total Score of Motivation in Language Learning	-0.001	0.442
	(0.006)	(5.409)
Gender (1 = female)	0.227**	-73.112
	(0.088)	(77.976)
Age	0.010	-3.927
	(0.008)	(3.974)
How many years since leaving North Korea	-0.016	21.519**
	(0.025)	(9.305)
How many years since entering South Korea	0.013	-20.091
	(0.023)	(14.773)
Education Attainment in North Korea	-0.024	-8.080
	(0.024)	(14.261)
Observation	28	28
R-squared	0.173	0.334

Note. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

6. Desire to Learn with Peers

Another interesting factor is that many North Korean refugee college students wanted to learn English with South Korean college students. But, their desire was not met in the current research setting and it caused the participants' motivation decreased. This research was conducted with a homogeneous group consisting of North Korean refugee college students, but interview data indicates that they preferred to learn with South Korean college students. The investigators were concerned about assigning them into general classes with South Korean students because North Korean refugees generally have lower performance in English. From their interviews, however, the participants did not indicate reluctance to be in the same class even though their English level was much lower than that of their South Korean peers. Instead, the participants did not think they would be helpful to their South Korean counterparts because of the difference in their English competency. At the same time, the refugees showed a strong will to learn how South Korean students study. They were open to learn South Korean culture and desired to have them as role models to learn successful study strategies. They wanted peer pressure from South Korean students and wanted to learn about South Korean culture through them. One student commented on composition of class students.

> I once had a class with South Korean students. If the class was only with North Koreans, we all would be at a very low level, but with South Korean students I could see higher level students in my class. It motivated me to study harder to catch them up.
> *(Student #7 / male / age: 31 / senior / SK entering year: 2008)*

> I would rather be in the same class with South Korean students since I want to learn how they study and see and experience how much they study etc. Being only with North Korean students, I became like "well, we are all the same" so I did not have that tension to study hard, although a few North Korean students were also very good, they did not motivate me enough.
> *(Student #8 / female / age: 23 / sophomore / SK entering year: 2009)*

It was interesting to find that refugee students were not reluctant to be with South Korean students despite their inferiority in English. It seemed that the anxiety of speaking poor English in front of peer Korean students was not a risk factor. In relation to this, the result of the survey about language learning anxiety shows interesting result which indicates that anxiety is not a negative factor at all. The

anxiety survey (see Table 3) is composed of eight questions and among them were three positive correlations between items 2, 6, 7 and the TOEIC score (see Table 4). The coefficients of these items are 43, 60, and 56, respectively and they are all statistically significant. Those were "2. I get nervous when I don't understand every word the teacher says," "6. I feel very self-conscious about speaking English in front of other students," and "7. I am afraid that the other students will laugh at me when I speak English." Among them, 6 and 7 are called output anxiety which comes around when they speak in front of others. This complies with Gardner's (1982) argument about the positive relation between motivation and 'language retention' which affects the degree to use the language they acquired.

TABLE 3

Descriptive Statistics for Language Learning Anxiety

Questionnaire	Observations	Mean	SD	Min	Max
1. Memorizing too much English grammar makes me anxious	28	2.54	1.17	1	5
2. I get nervous when I don't understand every word the teacher says	28	2.32	1.19	1	5
3. I often think that other students speaking English are better than me	28	2.32	1.16	1	5
4. The more I study English, the more I get confused	28	3.14	1.11	1	5
5. I do not feel comfortable to voluntarily speak up during English class	28	3.07	1.27	1	5
6. I feel very self-conscious about speaking English in front of other students	28	2.96	1.07	1	5
7. I am afraid that the other students will laugh at me when I speak English	28	3.14	1.11	1	5
8. I worry if I do not perform well in English test	28	2.75	1.24	1	5

Note. Each question is based on a 5-point Likert scale (1: Strongly disagree ~ 5: Strongly agree)

TABLE 4

Correlation Between Language Learning Anxiety and TOEIC Max Score

Dependent Variable:	TOEIC Max Score	Obs.	R-square
Total Score of Language Learning Anxiety (8-40)	9.371***	22	0.648
	(2.387)		
Language Learning Anxiety Q2	43.090**		
"I get nervous when I don't understand every word the teacher says."	(19.072)	22	0.618
Language Learning Anxiety Q6	60.553***		
"I feel very self-conscious about speaking English in front of other students."	(12.534)	22	0.663
Language Learning Anxiety Q7	56.674***		
"I am afraid that the other students will laugh at me when I speak English."	(18.619)	22	0.649

Note. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. Each regression includes controls such as gender, age, years since leaving North Korea, years since entering South Korea, and education attainment in North Korea. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

IV. DISCUSSION

1. Unexpected Phenomena of Integrative Motivation

The findings suggest implications of Gardner's model in North Korean refugee college students' English learning. First of all, the complexity of refugee students' cultural and educational context somehow motivated them with integrative motivation in English learning. The refugee students' motivational factors positively influenced cultural contact, however, discrepancy of learning goal and academic burden negatively affected their persistence in learning. Most interestingly, some of the output language anxiety positively affected language retention. This implies that the Enlish classes should incoorperate output-oriented teaching as also found from Bok and Cho (2017)'s research about English tutoring program. Most of all, we found more critical implications are laid beyond simply accomplishing higher scores on a language test.

Based on a literature review of previous studies about North Korean refugee college students (Ahn, 2010; Park & Lee, 1999; Yu et al., 2013), which indicated that earning high scores on the English test will help them overcome problems they face during

their college and job preparation period, we implemented the English program to improve North Korean refugee college students' TOEIC scores. Therefore, an integrative approach was used in the beginning sessions and an instrumental approach for the rest of the sessions. The instructors used teaching strategies that supported their instrumental approach accordingly. The results of the survey, however, suggest that the participants had a similar motivation level in both instrumental and integrative motivation, although their integrative motivation may have led to their instrumental motivation. This is different from Kim's (2008, 2015) research findings that support instrumental motivation as a dominant trend in English learning motivation in South Korea. Apparently, if motivation is not strong, they are less likely to be successful in their performance, but the participants in this study did not display high motivation in either case. As Gardner (1982, pp. 22-30) observed motivation to learn as a rather complex construct in that a motivated individual "is goal directed, expends effort, is persistent, is attentive, has desires (wants)," the less motivated learners in this study were less persistent in their learning by multiple cognitive, emotional, and behavioral reasons. Although the refugee students were supported by favorable Attitude toward the Learning Situation and Intergrativeness, they did not show high level of motivation and, therefore, did not display high achievement. Given that integrative motivation is a product of the interplay of those variables, the current research findings suggest that researchers and education practitioners should put more effort into finding the refugee students' motivations to English before setting up the goal and making decisions on what to teach.

Language anxiety is a very common phenomenon in foreign language learning and is categorized into three stages depending on different learning points: input, processing, and output (MacIntyre and Gardner, 1994). The quantitative analysis of this study found that language learning anxiety in the current setting worked as a signal to progress and, consequently, positive motivation toward learning. The higher level of the language learning anxiety seems to correlate with better performance. Among these anxieties, output anxiety was positively related to language learning motivation. Output anxiety occurs when learners try to demonstrate their ability to use previously learned material (Tobias, 1986). Although MacIntyre and Gardner (1994) claimed that high levels of output anxiety can possibly hinder students' ability to speak or write in the target language, it increases motivation for learning. Observing the fact that output anxiety has more to do with their motivation toward conversational language learning, the result corresponds to their integrative learning goal discussed above. When the participants were motivated with the desire to use English in their everyday life, they performed better than when they had input and processing anxiety. This demonstrates that refugee students' anxiety factors seemed to interplay with

integrative motive rather than instrumental one.

2. Experience of Crossing the Borders

The investigators observed that the participants were characterized by their experience of crossing the borders and adapting to the new culture of South Korea. This unique experience has both positive and negative aspects. As found from the interviews, one participant confessed that she lost confidence in speaking in general and gained anxiety toward language in general after her negative experience of using her North Korean accent in public. Thus, the anxiety was found both in speaking English and Korean especially because they have North Koren accent. Their lack of prior knowledge in English caused "English divide" between the refugee students and their South Korean peers (Choi, 2014). Meanwhile, their experience of risking themselves in illegally crossing borders of multiple countries including China and many Southeast Asian countries helped them develop the capability to adapt to new culture, including languages. For example, they had to switch their languge from North Korean to Chinese, and Chinese to South Korean again. On top of this, they had to learn English when they entered schools in South Korea. They did not show much resistance toward their enculturation process. As evidence, many of the students we interviewed revealed eagerness to learn English by going abroad. This is aligned with the major finding of Lee (2017)'s research of refugees in college setting. If the learner has a strong attachment toward their native language, learning motivation decreases. Noting that North and South Korean languages developed their own uniqueness due to their division history, North Korean refugees had to learn South Korean ways of speaking as part of their enculturation. The experience of border crossing appears to moderate resistance toward learning another language, which is just another border to cross after a series of crossing experiences that occurred in their lives.

All of the participants we interviewed shared positive opinions toward having a heterogeneous class with South Korean students. They did not mind exposing themselves to South Korean students in English classes despite their inferiority in English. They preferred to be with South Koreans because they felt that a homogeneous class would not help them much in their learning because they all were at a low stage and, hence, had no peer models. Another factor that influenced their desire for a heterogeneous class was to learn the way South Korean college students study and about their culture. Their strong devotion to learn English and their Korean peer group's culture led them to learn from Korean peers whom they look to as their role models. This indicates that assimilation to the South Korean peer culture was another goal to achieve. Their motivation to learn English as well as culture of

learning seemed to lead them to perceive peer South Korean students as their cultural contact (Gardner, 1985). According to the 2003 Korea Institute for National Unification survey, 52.3% of the North Korean refugee participated in the survey responded that it took more than three years to gain command of the South Korean language (KINU, 2003). Thus, seeking opportunities to contact their deemed peer model is a demonstration of a desperate desire to be acculturated into South Korea.

V. CONCLUSION

Research on North Korean refugees has focused on various hardships they experience in South Korea, such as economic difficulties, maladjustment to schools, and emotional distance or isolation (Kim & Jang, 2007; Park & Kim, 2014). This study found that NKRCSs' struggle with English interrelates with all of these issues. Hence, to understand the difficulties of NKRSCs' adjustment in South Korea, we need to pay attention to the issues they face in their previous and current schooling experiences. Although we did not delve into this issue, we were aware that they had a paucity of experience of leaning English from North Korean schools. Moreover, they had such an inconsistant experience of learning English especially due to their refugee life (Choi, 2014).

This study was conducted in an attempt to assist educational practitioners and policy makers to understand the difficulties of NKRCSs' English learning, to help them prepare for better job opportunities, and, ultimately, their successful adjustment to South Korea. Thus, the authors investigated this issue of language learning by examining their motivation and attitude toward English learning, their educational experiences both in North and South Korea, their psychological needs, and their view of Korean education through in-depth interviews and surveys.

When planning any educational programs for North Korean refugee students, we suggest that examing their motivations through pre-survey should be imperative. It is because due to their unique cultural background their learning goals are often different from that of same-age South Korean students. We also found culturally responsive teaching methods should be adopted by teachers when the classes are prepared for North Korean students or for inclusive classes. This will also help diminish levels of discrepancy in learning goals when teachers have deficits in pre-knowledge about them. Ideally, participatory curriculum can be considered for the development of a customized English program for this marginalized group of students (Bok & Cho, 2018; Lee, 2014).

The issues and problems we did not discuss here include the relationship between

their test performance and their beliefs and hopes, psychiatric needs, family relationships, adjustment level, mental health status, and the generalizability of this study to name a few. Especially about the case of the students with high TOEIC scores (as high as 600 or 800), we look forward to further in-depth study about the factors that affected their successful performance. Among many educational issues around this vulnerable group of people, these are the areas for further research.

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Examples in: English
Applicable Language: English
Applicable Level: University

Sunghee Shin
Department of Elementary and Early Childhood Education
Queens College, City University of New York
65-30 Kissena Building, Flushing, NY 11367
Email: sunghee.shin@qc.cuny.edu

Shieun Yu
Korea University
Department of Medicine and Healthcare for Unified Korea
73 Inchon-ro, Seongbuk-gu, Seoul, 02841
Email: seyou1225@naver.com

Insook Kim
Seoul Women's University
Center for Innovative Engineering Education
621 Hwarang-ro, Nowon-gu, Seoul 01797
Email: kis1@swu.ac.kr

Booyuel Kim
KDI School of Public Policy and Management
263 Namsejong-ro, Sejong-si, 30149
Email: bkim@kdischool.ac.kr

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