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English Medium Instruction in Higher Education: Does It Promote Cultural Correction or Cultural Continuity?*

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This study investigates English medium instruction (EMI) in an institution of higher education in Seoul, Korea to see whether this course creates cultural correction (reproduction of inequitable relations of power in EMI settings) or cultural continuity (opportunities for transporting students into a third space and enabling them to explore cultural diversity and to create new knowledge for themselves). A single site where EMI is carried out, a class on fairy tales and child education taught by a native English speaking professor, was chosen because it was hypothesized that the professor would display some of her unconscious dominant cultural orientation. The results of the study show that there more cases of cultural correction than there were of cultural continuity. Cases of cultural correction included lack of knowledge about the local context, fixing Korean classroom discourse as if it were American classroom discourse, and reproducing orientalism in the local educational setting. Cases of cultural continuity included using comparison to consider the cultural reality of the milieu, creating new knowledge for the local milieu, and learning as a dynamic ongoing process. Implications of this research are discussed including the important realization that EMI should be managed by subject specialists who are trained in language education and have knowledge of the students' needs and discourse in the L1 and in the local context.

[English medium instruction/intercultural communication/immersion program /critical discourse analysis/cultural correction/cultural continuity]

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I. INTRODUCTION

English is increasingly being adopted as the language of higher education all over the world. According to *The World Almanac and Book of Facts* (1998) English is now the dominant language as an international language and has the greatest number of speakers. Although it is surpassed by Mandarin, Hindi, and Spanish in terms of the number of native speakers, English is by far the most popular language to learn as a second or foreign language because of its economic strength (Graddol, 1997). The result in many countries is 'internationalization' using English. Although most Asian countries such as Korea, Japan, China, and so on are also trying to carry out such an EMI, they have different characteristics and purposes because there are differences of opinion on the best time to start immersion, the extent of immersion, the ratio of L1 and L2 use at different stages within the program, the commitment of those involved, and the attitudes toward the culture of L2 and the status of L2 (Johnson & Swain, 1997). For the internationalization of Korean education, Educational departments in Korea have encouraged an increase in the number of EMI at universities for 'Internationalization Strategy for Higher Education,' a goal supported by an educational policy since 2006 (Park, 2007). The EMI at universities in Korea is practiced to attract national and international students for example, to enhance the position of a higher education institution among other similar institutions within the national and international context for each school level; to develop intercultural competence as well as L2 language proficiency, to enhance employability by teaching subject matter through L2 for each curriculum level and to promote interactive communication in the EMI classroom so that students could be empowered to create a new third space rather than being in a foreign context or L1 context.

Since EMI in Korea is only supported as a policy rather than as an innovative curriculum for foreign language education, it is still attached to a specific language and culture from the English speaking west rather than English as international language to increase intercultural communication competence and strategies. It is not just a problem for EMI in Korea but also for EMI in other contexts; Widdowson (1998) pointed out the problem that EMI and English for specific purposes (ESP) courses only focused on teaching specific language skills. For development of intercultural communication strategies, it is necessary to hire explicit conscious-raising activities such as activities for an awareness of different cultural assumptions, ways, patterns, and rules (Jenkins, 2000). Without critical consciousness, teaching and using English as an educational language easily becomes bureaucratized because teaching and using English itself has the characteristics of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992). Furthermore, learners can be controlled by implicating the popular method through the technicalization of liberal democratic principles such as learner centeredness by professional discourses.

Widdowson (1998) has claimed for other contexts that the narrow-angle EMI in Korea is rather a type of training, as opposed to education because there is no clear pedagogical direction. Although there is a movement in Korea to change the goal of English education from increasing students' communicative competence to increasing intercultural communicative competence (H. Kim, 2003; Y. Kim, 2008, 2009; Yoon, 2007), the current policy related to EMI misses these pedagogical points and has pushed students and staff into a speedy process of internationalization by skipping a number of quality sustaining steps related to content and language education (M. Kim, 2007).

The clear economic and political supremacy of English education in Korea and a number of related problems with practicing EMI have been argued in the mass media. It has been argued that we should stop short of a picture in which students and educators from outside the English speaking west are seen as powerless and underprivileged groups in need of the implementation of EMI (Sung, 2004). However, most of the research on EMI in Korea has been related to the needs analysis of learners and the satisfaction of learners for EMI (Hong, Min, & Ham, 2008; Kang, Seo, Shin, Lee, Lee, & Choi, 2007; Park, 2007). There have been no studies about whether interactional communication in EMI leads to cultural correction or cultural continuity and how EMI corrects the learner's culture and develops the third culture to reach the ultimate pedagogical benefit of using EMI. Therefore, it is time to conduct research on an actual EMI classroom in terms of how the students and teacher negotiate and interact. The purpose of this research is to investigate a single site of the EMI taught by a native English speaking professor in Korea in order to look at the ways in which cultural correction occurs and cultural continuity is created.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

1. EMI in Korea

In Korea the effort to increase the number of EMI in universities is not a new trend anymore. Since 2004 some universities in Korea have had a plan to increase EMI and now many universities plan to use EMI in up to 30% of all classes by 2010. This trend at first started with a special international college or international graduate schools for internationalization of higher education rather than at all universities. However, it has spread out to most universities with the support of a national policy for higher education – universities which offer EMI would get higher scores on their school governmental evaluation. However, there are problems with this reliance on the use of EMI in Korea because the people who have the power to decide to use EMI are not really aware of how

teachers teach and how learners learn a foreign language. What is required for both teachers and learners in learning environments like the one under investigation in this research has not been clearly described and defined by empirical evidence. Therefore, the quality of the learning outcomes in such contexts are at present unknown, and their future is in doubt unless ways are developed to evaluate and establish prerequisites for possible successful approaches in educational institutions like the one under investigation in this research, as has been done in similar educational institutions in other countries (Greere, 2008).

The EMI in Korea can be categorized as late immersion which has features such as the L1 dominated language environment, a specific local classroom culture similar to L1 taught class and the objective of improving language proficiency by teaching through the L2. The previous education for English was not obviously sufficient to prepare the masses for L2 taught higher education so that their English proficiency is far below that required to follow the higher education successfully (Johnson, 1997). In some cases, even the teachers are not sufficiently qualified to teach the respective subject matter and L2 as a subject even if they use the L2 for doing and reporting on research or in daily communication. Also, staff members are rarely offered language support. With the expansion of EMI in policy, more native speaking English professors have been hired to teach subjects. For example, some universities have reported plans to hire more than 40 native English speaking professors to increase the move toward internationalization in these universities. For Korean professors, it is required that new university faculty members in Korea should be able to give lectures in English as well as in Korean.

Although the use of EMI in Korea aims to improve the students' L2 proficiency by teaching subject matter through the L2, and this method was created to compensate for the dehumanized skill based approach used in the pre-entry program in ESL contexts, the use of EMI in Korea ends up being colonialization through English education. In reality, it is a controversial issue hotly debated in the public media with pros and cons as to whether it is a step necessary for universities in Korea to become fully globalized or a phenomena related to the process of linguistic imperialism within and by Korean society (Kwon, 2007). Therefore, it is not just the matter related to foreign language acquisition issues in Korea but highly related to social issues of power and imperialism. It is a critical time to think about whether we should admit self-orientalization through the implementation of EMI following the fallacy of culturism which is influenced by native speakerism, a pervasive ideology within ELT, characterized by the belief that 'native-speaker' teachers represent 'western culture' from which springs the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology (Holliday, 2005), or whether we should empower ourselves with the proper use of English as an international language within the politically correct pedagogy and curriculum for the future society. In the following two sections of the

literature review, the background of EMI will be introduced and how it is used in TESOL contexts and how it could be used for cultural continuity rather than cultural correction will be discussed.

2. Redefining EMI

EMI has been used with content and language integrated learning (CLIL), contents based instruction (CBI), and sometimes even with ESP as a means of preparing secondary education with a dual focus. It involves the integration of language study with the study of specific subject domains as aims of instruction. CBI is used mostly in the North America contexts and started with criticism of skill based programs, in which students study in separate classes of reading, writing, speaking, and listening, supplemented perhaps by an extended writing or study skills classes (Garner, 2004). The CLIL is used in a European context and emphasizes learning language together with content to promote a multilingual society rather than learning about language.

There are a number of different types of immersion programs which can be divided according to the proportionate emphasis in teaching goals on content or language. It can be shown as a continuous spectrum including theme-based, sheltered and adjunct (Brinton, Snow, & Wesche, 1989), and various hybrids of these basic types. Theme-based instruction is organized as a set of topics selected by the teachers and only focuses on developing overall academic skills rather than a particular discipline. Sheltered courses originally created for ESL learners are separated from regular curriculum to be given special assistance to help these learners understand their regular classes. They are sometimes managed through team teaching with a content specialist and an ESL specialist. It assumes an institutional framework such as a high school, college, or university where there is access to content courses. ESL learners can benefit from instruction run by a content specialist, because the specialist will naturally make adjustments and simplifications for the ESL teacher to communicate more effectively with their students (Flowerdew & Peacock, 2001). Finally, in the adjunct model, the ESL students attend regular content lectures and also language courses which help them to understand the content lecture because the language courses are integrated with the content course and teachers collaborate and share are materials.

TABLE 1
A Continuum of Content and Language Integration (Met, 1999, p. 3)

CONTENT-BASED LANGUAGE TEACHING: A CONTINUUM OF CONTENT AND LANGUAGE INTEGRATION					
Content-Driven				**Language-Driven**	
Total Immersion	Partial Immersion	Sheltered Courses	Adjunct Model	Theme-Based Courses	Language classes with frequent use of content for language practice

EMI in Korea is close to the sheltered model. The ultimate goal of EMI is to enable Korean university students to study the same content materials as regular English speaking students. However, unlike the sheltered model there is no specialist for the contents and language teaching; rather, all the responsibility of the course depends greatly on the content teachers whether they are native English speaking professors or non-native English speaking professors. According to the following criteria, for immersion programs to realize their purpose (Spanos, 1987) they should be based on the local learner's needs and emphasize the situational communication because students construct knowledge through interactive communication in their own context:

- Language teaching should consider how learners will eventually use the language.
- The motivation of the language learner is increased when informational context is used.
- Teaching is more effective when prior and existing knowledge, the total academic environment, and the linguistic proficiency of the learner are considered.
- Focusing on contextualized language use is more effective than focusing on sentence level usage.
- Language learning increases when important and relevant content is focused on because learners can understand the relevant cognitive structures that assist the acquisition of vocabulary and syntax and also written and oral production.

However, it has been criticized that the needs analysis of immersion programs has not involved consultation with the students themselves. Rather, they follow dominant English education approaches which do not fit into the local context because the target cultural situation is considered a set of external practices which they have to master as a result of being taught. This ignorance of how local students in such settings might make sense of and deal with language as part of a broader social involvement (Holliday, 2005) can lead to cultural correction because of the imposition of dominant approaches.

3. From Ecological Approach to Critical Approach

Currently in order to view the immersion program with more concern for situatedness, interaction, and variability at the core of language theory, the concept of language ecology has been used (Garner, 2004). The ecological approach is especially sensitive to the broader sociological nature of its 'ecosystem' for designing a curriculum. It pays attention to social context and needs analysis with an ethnographic investigation of the local 'educational environment' (Holliday & Cooke, 1982; Tudor 1996, p. 131). The ecological approach aims to create a cultural continuity with connections and integration at a deep level with the cultural realities of the milieu within which it is being carried out (Holliday, 2005).

The ecological approach tries to redefine the role of communication as well as context in language pedagogy. Therefore, according to the idea of language ecology, the term 'communicative' should be defined not as a method but a principle. Holliday (2005) points out that communicative principles can be developed as specific methodologies in a multitude of different ways based on local contexts. Then there is no need for transportation of a standard methodology into a local educational context such as the 'learning group ideal' of the communicative approach. Holliday (2005) suggests three communicative principles for foreign language education. The first principle is that language should be treated as communication, an idea we are already accustomed to in the communicative approach. The second principle is that there should be capitalization on students' existing communicative competence. It means that the students are recognized as individual contributors capable of changing their society through the learning process. The third principle is that there should consideration for communication with local exigencies (Holliday, 2005). For example, how language is used in a target situation should be extended into a broader ethnographic investigation of how a curriculum which suits the broader social context in which it will be used might be developed. In this way, students like those in the Korean university studied in this research might be better served.

However, the ecological approach has been criticized by scholars such as Kumaravadivelu, Pennycook, and Canagarajah who consider it inadequate as a critical

approach for English education because although there is an attempt to reject specific methodologies any kind of appropriateness is 'still influenced' by the dominant English methodologies and approaches (Canagarajah, 2002). Therefore, it is necessary to add a reflective component to a pedagogy developed using the ecological approach and to develop macro-strategies for localizing the curriculum based on this approach (Kumaravadivelu, 1993). So in this way, local teachers will be able to "critically interrogate their pedagogical practices in terms of broader questions related to power and difference which will enable students to consider the purposes/objectives/ends of their learning" (Holliday, 2005, p. 145). With this modification of the ecological approach, teachers around the world will have a way to examine critically their pedagogical decisions and practices using broader questions concerned with power and differences; this will help students to evaluate their learning objectives, purposes, and outcomes.

Looking at the current EMI in Korea with the above criteria, we can view it as a contributor to the ideology of TESOL because the EMI curriculum in Korea does not involve consultation with the students themselves nor with the educators in the local setting. There is no attempt to let students or teachers negotiate the ways in which meaning can be created as there would be in a more progressive form of this pedagogy. There is no negotiation with them the way in which meanings are made as represented in a more progressivist form (Holliday, 2005). Some educators assume naively that TESOL ideas of innovation automatically fit into any local culture and context and that we can expect to be able to change practices and beliefs within the sub-system without changing those beliefs and practices in the wider system as long as they were tweaked appropriately (Barmada, 1994). However, this is very dangerous because behind native speakerism there is an innate desire to know about foreign peoples and cultures in order to change and improve it but through cultural correction, which is driven by a chauvinistic desire to dominate and control, in contrast to the alternative concept of cultural continuity.

III. RESEARCH DESIGN

This study investigated various cases of cultural correction and cultural continuity that can be seen in the interactions between a teacher and students of EMI in Korea. For this study, the researcher found a single site where EMI is carried out. This course, *Fairy Tales and Child Education*, was offered by the liberal arts department of a university in Seoul. It was taken by 8 students, all female, as an elective; three were seniors and the other five were juniors. Their TOEIC scores ranged from 600 to 870. All the students stated that their primary reason for taking the course was to improve their English, while only four stated their interest in literature as a secondary reason for taking the course. The course was

taught in a winter session and met four days a week for three hours each day during the four weeks of this session.

The reason for choosing this class taught by a native English speaking professor as the focus of this research is that she would display some of her unconscious dominant cultural orientation because she is from the dominant culture. She is an exchange professor who just arrived in Seoul at the beginning of the semester in which she taught this course. She had never been to Seoul before but she had experience teaching Korean students as ESL students in her university. Therefore, this class has some degree of integration between content and language because she can be categorized as a subject specialist and an L2 language specialist. However, she makes little attempt to tailor the class according to the local educational context. Although she has some level of intercultural knowledge about the Korean language, she doesn't know Korean at all.

Classroom observation and interviews with participants were utilized as research methods. This is naturalistic classroom observation which can be used to study real factors rather than hypothesize about the classroom discourse. The researcher collected data from the etic and emic perspectives (Bailey & Nunan, 1996) conducting interviews before and after the course. The interview data which is like an informal conversation (attitude toward the class, relationships between students and the teacher, and some personal information, the rational for using a certain activity) can be used to support the observed data.

The data for this study were collected in the following steps. Before the lesson, the researcher explained the purpose of this study and obtained permission to video tape from both teacher and the students. For the classroom observation, the class was video taped by the researcher who took notes during the observation. The process of data collection and analysis was recursive. The video tape of the first class was transcribed, and the data was categorized and codified by the researcher. The rest of the tape was codified in the same way as above and analyzed by the researcher. The data from the observations and interviews were analyzed enhanced by the discourse analysis methods which have been developed by Gee (1999) and critical classroom discourse analysis (Canagarajah, 1993; Kumaravadivelu, 1999; Pennycook, 1999).

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This study investigated a single site of EMI for the literacy course taught by a native English speaking professor whether it leads to cultural correction or cultural continuity and the ways in which cultural correction and cultural continuity are created. The analysis of this study shows that in the teaching process of EMI there are both cultural correction and cultural continuity. Although there are both of cultural correction and continuity there are

more cases of cultural corrections rather than cultural continuity. This study points out the five cases of cultural correction and three cases of cultural continuity.

The results of this study indicate the reason that there were more cases of cultural correction although none of the participants in the process of English education purposely engage in such cultural correction and that native speakerism and the intrinsic ideology of TESOL lead to cultural correction because of a hidden curriculum (Mohan, 1986; 2001). Although EMI was introduced initially with the pedagogical objective of creating new knowledge for the students and enhancing their intercultural communication proficiency, the syllabus the teacher used in this study is based on western literacy curriculum with only some modification of the activities. Moreover, there was no attempt to adapt the materials to the local students' need and the local educational and cultural context. The outcomes of the class ended up contributing to reinforcing the dominant discourse in this educational setting.

On the other hand, cultural continuity which is supposed to be the ultimate goal of EMI was seen only in a few cases compared to cultural correction even though the teacher took a critical point of view to analyze the literacy works, especially related to the analysis of stereotypes. Different from cultural correction, there was a struggle for the teacher and the students to create cultural continuity. This indicates producing cultural continuity in EMI in local contexts might be hard without strong efforts of all of the participants for English education which include teachers, students, curriculum designers, school policy makers, managers, etc.

1. Cultural Correction

The definition of cultural correction used in this study is reproduction of inequitable relations of power in EMI educational settings (Norton, 1997). The output or the process of teaching and learning leads to indoctrination with certain values and beliefs which are from mainstream English speaking cultures and the dominant values and ideology are reproduced in this local context. During the process of learning, the students were reconstructed with culturism unconsciously. Some knowledge that the teacher and the students shared in the EMI is not for an overall campaign of self-affirmation but to dominate for the purpose of control as Said (1978) distinguishes it. The study shows that the EMI course directly and indirectly leads to correction of local cultures through English education.

1) Rationalization for Using a Specific Method as a General Principle

Using a certain method the way it is used in the United States plays the role of leading the class to producing cultural correction. The value of group discussion is made operational in western educational contexts (Edge, 1996). Group discussion encourages co-operative enquiry and with strategic and contextually sensitive use of group work a teacher can communicate a respect for diversity in the learning process. Due to such characteristics of group discussion as having underlying values such as learner centeredness, group work has emerged as a widespread teaching technique in the realization of the TESOL culture.

It seems very natural for the teacher in this study to use the popular styles of classroom activities such as a small group discussion because she is from a western educational background. She explains to her students the reasons for using small group discussions for this class from the very first lecture. According to her comments, she shows some considerations for her students in that she wants to provide them more opportunity to talk in English using small group discussions and give time for the students to organize their thoughts in order to avoid losing face while they are talking in front of others in the whole class.

> T: In the USA, it is popular to discuss in small groups and later share that in a whole class. Do you use this method in Korea? In your literature class do you use it? I think it is more effective to have two or three people in small discussion. It is easier to share idea and give a presentation in the whole class after the small group discussion. So, I would like to give you as much chance as possible to practice English. In the morning, I ask short writing (homework related) in order to warm up. I will give you some questions related with your reading (homework) and you will discuss them in class in the early morning.

However, in her orientation toward small group discussions she unconsciously assumes that this specific method is universal; if it is good in the Untied States, undoubtedly, it is very useful for Korean students. This shows how easily the strategic and contextually sensitive use of group work can be routinized. It allows for the deeper value or power of corrective training to come through while ceasing to be contextually sensitive. It is a good example of a ‘liberation’ trap because the teacher is trying to reconstruct the students according to her own image of how they should behave as ‘democratic’ people (Holliday, 2005).

Actually, group discussion for the Korean students is not as popular as in the United States so the students have to put some effort to adjust themselves to carry out this activity.

In the class the activity takes place privately between the participants; the teacher cannot hear them because it is carried out mainly in Korean and members of other groups cannot hear each other. What is being discussed is not debatable in any public sense, but the idea is that what a more proficient speaker of English says is more likely to be true and internalized by the participants rather than challenged or changed by them. As a result, the dominant discourse of the course and professional culture is served by the teacher's management. The problem is not in the specific method itself but is when the means for perpetuating these values as a core of professionalism become routinized as a prescriptive method.

This study also illustrates points that Baxter (2003) has discussed. The real power relations are masked while the idea is that the participants are supposed to be constructing their own versions. Rather, there is a lack of students' autonomy in this study because the activity is new to the students so the teacher ends up controlling the amount of time for each activity and procedure. She stops the discussion not when she feels it is no longer useful, but when she wishes to move to the next point. The power over what is worth knowing and what is worth saying lies with the teacher rather than the students.

2) Lack of Knowledge about the Local Context Reconstructs Students' Identity

The teacher's lack of knowledge about the students' needs and intellectual level and also of the local context created not only a gap between the teacher and the students but also an ideology of supremacy of teacher's-English speaking western-culture. Research of Y. Kim (2008) shows that the teacher's knowledge of the students' language and culture influences students positively to reconstruct their identity in EFL and ESL classroom. The teacher's lack of background knowledge of the students work with the current English status in Korea and the different power allocation between teachers and students influences negatively the students' identity. In Korea, English takes on a high status as the language for social mobility and the unequal institutional power difference between a teacher and a student produces social distance and a feeling that the students are an underprivileged group and outsiders of English speaking west.

In this study, the professor doesn't have much information about the local educational context so that she doesn't know about the level of intelligence and educational background of the Korean university students. Since she is concerned with the students' level and understanding, she keeps asking the students whether they know certain things while she is giving lectures and discussion sessions. For example, she asks the students whether they know *Freud* and have read stories such as *Hansel and Gretel*, and *Rapunzel.* She keeps asking whether the students understand some words she thinks are difficult for

them. These kinds of questions which she asks to know about the students' background were scattered from the beginning to the end of the course.

In one sense, this displays a good attitude for a teacher to have the desire to know about the students' current level. However, this positive desire turns to a somewhat negative outcome because she frequently asks these questions directly. In the high communication context the direct questions related to the students' intellectual capability frequently is counted as condescending to the students because it is commonly assumes most university students know *Freud* is a psychologist and that these stories are fairy tales that they read when they were very young. If someone asks about it, it is rather counted as being sarcastic. In fact, the idea that these students might not have any information on these things comes from the national-based stereotype that Asian students would not know the western author and stories. This teacher might not be aware of this stereotype.

In this case, the result of such classroom interaction might be influential in constructing the students' new identity. The students realize that they will of course be evaluated because she is their teacher, but the teacher's questions and comments about Korean university students make them to think about themselves as coming from a different, inferior perspective.

> S1: When she keeps on asking the information, I was annoyed because we all know them. I said to myself 'Is she ignoring us? Or really doesn't know it?'

As Norton (2000) and Toohey (2000) both conclude, the identity of L2 learners is related to their investment and motivation in their learning of the target language, accordingly, the students become demotivated and say what they don't know in order to maintain the integrity of their identities as Koreans. It also shows that there are some gaps between the teacher's and the students' perceptions of the questions. Although the teacher tries to understand the students' background by asking such small questions they are interpreted as oppositional behavior for the students. Although there is a sincere desire for inclusive collaboration with local ownership, at the same time it suggests an instrumental agency on the side of the expatriate instigator. Therefore, a certain technique and discourse should be localized rather than implicated to another culture.

3) Fixing Korean Classroom Discourse as If It were American Classroom Discourse

When students' needs in relation to the activities did not seem to match, the students themselves came to be seen as the problem to be solved and as constraints to the methodology. Also, when students were perceived as not fitting in, the teacher seemed to

think they must be changed (Baxter, 2003). The fact that a native speaking teacher is seen as preferable creates unrealistic expectations for the L2 learners because the native speaker is viewed as the goal. If students cannot reach this goal, they view themselves as very deficient L2 speakers. But in fact their goal should be to become multicompetent language users (Cook, 1999).

Even though in the learner centeredness theory which is the core idea of EMI, emphasis on the learner, on cognitive and affective need, and sensitivity to language students from different contexts is very important to promoting the teacher's understanding of his or her learners, it is sometimes problematic. The following example illustrates how this teacher views the students as 'problems' and as deficient L2 learners.

In this study, the teacher explains that asking questions in the classroom is a common custom in the United States and if there is no question that means students are not interested in the lecture. The teacher already knew that Korean students are not as orally outgoing as American students are in the classroom. Like Baxter's (2003) comments, the Korean students' silence and quietness become problematic for the teacher and places constraints of her teaching style which she is used to in the United States. She tries to force her students to change them to fit into her style.

> T: If you don't understand my question please ask 'say it again'; otherwise I don't know where I have to go. Please don't feel bad. In the USA, it is customary for students to raise their hands and if they don't understand then they ask questions because they are interested in the lecture. The professors don't take it in a bad way. It is different system so please ask some questions.

Such a way of viewing foreign cultures is problematic because cultural information which is technicalized and becomes a specialized professional knowledge which might be false is created. Holliday (2005) comments that these ideas are evoked from culturism such as the notion of a disciplined oriental and sedentary classroom in Japan or Korea with teacher-fronted teaching and very little communication going on. The teacher's idea about 'quiet' students is based on persistent perceptions about national groups and ethnicities. Her attention was also given to students from different national 'cultures' from her own culture and with dividing them with the binary concept of 'us vs. them.' This can be indicated as an attempt to change the students' classroom discourse because for the Korean students, they show respect for the teacher not to break her lecture and if there are some questions they couldn't understand they use the intersession to clarify the problems privately rather than wasting another person's time in a public space.

4) Reproducing Orientalism in the Local Educational Setting

The specific objective for this course is for students to be aware of the socio-historical frameworks that control fairy tales. The professor's lecture showed that fairy tales tend to have a didactic purpose because the fairy tale is a type of literary discourse about mores, values, and manners which helps children to become civilized according to the social code of that time (Zipes, 1991). Although she is aware of this socio-historical power structure of the literature she isn't aware of how her class reproduces this power code during her teaching.

The teacher introduced some heroes in western fairy tale especially in America, such as *Jonny Appleseed*, *Paul Bunyan*, *John Henry*, and *Pocahontas*. And she asked a question right after *Pocahontas* focusing on 'acculturation: she is a native Indian but she transfers her religion to Christianity and she is able to bring two completely different cultures into one place.' The question is if those heroes come to Seoul what would happen and what could they do. The activity was a small group discussion managed in English. The output of the group discussion was the following;

> S2: John Henry came to Seoul. He ends the war in the tangled world between South Korea and North Korea so he became a hero. And he gets a prize from the president. When he stands up on a platform suddenly he dies.
> T: That is a good idea. He has a huge job solving the problem between South and North Korea and he is mighty man so John Henry who is the person to solve the problem. Maybe who get the Nobel international peace prize. Good and clever idea.
> S3: John Henry came to Korea but there was nothing to do because Korea is industrialized so he became useless. So he decided to show his power in a boxing match. He became very popular and all the Koreans are fascinated by his power. He was chosen Olympic player for boxing. He received a gold medal in China Olympic held in 2008.
> T: John Henry was out of a job but he found a new career for himself. Let me ask you do think Korean accepted him as being a black? … Like he is in a subway. He is noticed him because he is black. Yes, I think so. That was good. Next.

The students told the researcher in private interviews that their identity has not been influenced by this course. However, the native speaking English teacher had influence on the students' identities by acculturating them into a western point of view in this course.

For example, the output of this activity shows an expansion of orientalism into their own lives. Most students create the main characters as a hero in the creative writing assignment: “if the characters come to Seoul, Korea what happen and what they do in Seoul?” Although John Henry is a useless man in the industrialized society he still has enough power to take an important position as a hero in current setting of the story.

Through the course, orientalism is embedded in activities although the teacher doesn’t intend to implement it. It is influential in reconstructing students’ identity and acculturating them into western ways of thinking even reproducing orientalism. Our identities can be multiple, conflicting, and fluid, constantly being negotiated and renegotiated so that our identities can be created as performances through our use of words (Y. Kim, 2008). And this EMI course itself influences changes in the student’s identities. The interaction between the teacher and the students reproduces orientalism in a local educational setting.

5) Indirect Changes Resulting from Influence of the Western Classroom Model

The process of teaching and learning unconsciously leads to changes in the discourse although the teacher wouldn’t consciously ask for students to change or take on certain ways to carry out the lesson. Native English speaking teachers use their own institutional identity to provide good lessons. However, because the different discourse styles in the classroom depend on the culture there could be conflicts. And the different power allocation between the teacher and the students reinforce changes because the students have to try to fit into the teacher’s values and criteria to have a good grade.

In this study, the teacher teaches lessons based on the model of teaching and classrooms used in western cultures and in the educational system of the United States. There was no intentional request for the students to change but there were the outcome of the class leads to the correction of culture.

(1) Planning a Detailed Agenda

It seems very natural for the teacher to act and teach according to her cultural icons which are associated deeply with English speaking culture. In most English-speaking cultures, the idea of wasting time is seen as very regrettable. It is not that there is any harm in simply doing nothing, but it is, for example, regarded as unacceptable to make others waste time (Fowler, 1995). This teacher starts her class with a sequenced plan of its contents. She introduces a ‘Plan for Today’s Class’ in the beginning of every class. She explicitly wrote three parts of the day’s lesson and the exact minutes and break times. She controls for when a group discussion starts, when they stop the discussion, and from whom the presentation would start. Most of the participants sensed her desire to go quickly and

there was no room for frivolous time wasting in this session. The cultural icons of a controlling professionalism are all there.

The systematic classroom management designed not to lose any valuable time contradicted with the activity of self-writing in the beginning of the each class. Although it seems that she manages time very efficiently she wastes time on writing the discussion questions twice: at the end of the class to give homework and in the beginning of the class the next day. All the students already have the questions in their notes and even prepared the answers to discuss them in the classroom. So some students wondered why the professor wrote the questions again.

> S4: I don't understand why she wrote the question again on the white board. She already gave them the day before. And I also don't understand why she had us think about the answers to the questions again in the classroom. Wasn't it the homework? So we already have the answer. Does it mean we should think about them more? I don't understand.
>
> …
>
> Usually, a Korean professor doesn't give us a detailed plan for the day's lesson. We all know the routine so there is no need to explain explicitly.

The students are from a culture which is more tolerant about the concept of time compared to the culture that the teacher comes from. Whether the agenda is detailed or not doesn't affect them much because they will follow the lesson with respect of the teacher rather than lead the lesson. They were bothered wasting time with writing the same questions that they already copied down in their notes the day before. The teacher's rewriting is for the teacher's satisfaction rather than the students. She thinks it is better to show the questions on the board explicitly for the small discussions. This practice seems very much teacher oriented class rather than student oriented course.

(2) The Democratic Method of 'Voting'

The teaching technique of 'voting' has a connotation as being democratic. The method created from western discourse is based on individualism. In some cultures some people are more willing to talk about their opinion and discuss controversial topics in public (Fowler, 1995). In this study, the teacher started using the method of voting when she couldn't get some answers which she expected from the students.

> T: In class in the United States, sometimes, we have a vote. Let's do it in here too. Why don't you raise your hand if you think voting that the step sisters should have been punished.

S5: Because they do some bad things to Cinderella.
T: Ok. We have more people who want to punish the sisters. If you have bad behavior then you should be punished. Let's hear from the other side.
S6: It is a fairy tale and a children's story so it is cruel if they are punished.
S7: They are already punished not for choosing by the prince and they cut their feet in order that the glass shoes will fit.
T: That is a good reason.

She uses the word 'we' and 'in the USA' in the above dialogue. She emphasizes that the technique seems intrinsically good because it is based on democratic principles and it is used in the United States. She also distinguishes the students and the teacher with an 'us and them ideology' which results from culturism. This teacher's suggestion that they vote like in the United States forces the students to think they are somewhat different from American students. In a Korean cultural context, students don't want to be distinguished from others with having strange ideas on a certain topic so as a result they don't express themselves in public although they might have alternative ideas. That is why the students didn't answer or resisted responding to each other's opinions. They didn't want to cause discomfort. However, the practice of voting makes them bare their individual thoughts in public. Sometimes the result of the activity makes a certain student to be embarrassed to keep the course or lesson because is only makes the person have a different perspective from others and it makes the person feel strange in a homogeneous oriented society. Although the teacher does not intend this to happen, the outcome of the class leads to this result which changes their discourse style and it also leads to cultural correction.

(3) Evaluation System

Another example of cultural correction concerns evaluation and the grading of students. Using EMI in a certain local context, we should expect different outcome from EFL and ESL classes because the objective of EMI is to create new knowledge in a local context enhanced by intercultural communication proficiency. Therefore, to evaluate the students in the EMI classes there should be a different evaluation system. However, the evaluation criterion which the teacher used in this study is based on western literacy curriculum with only minor modifications.

In this study the teacher describes the scoring system of the United States. Although she explicitly explains that she will follow the direction or guideline of evaluation which the local Korean university provides, she introduces further information about the criteria of American university evaluations in order to simply inform the students about the differences between the Korean and American evaluation system.

T: In universities in the USA, when you give an example, professors look at how much you can say about the question. You will find that I give some space between the questions in the test paper. The more you write, the better it is. The more you can explain the idea, the better it is. Always, when you write in an English setting, try to expand your ideas and give examples and details to explain. When you are preparing and reviewing for the test, think that you can do that.

T: This time I want to explain a little bit. This time I put a letter grade on your paper because I want you to know where I felt your written work was good. As I understand it, at this university there is a system where I am supposed to give a certain number of grades out of A, B, C…. In American universities it is a little different. I can give out many As and Bs as I wish. Here I see that I am supposed to have a category. So, I have to keep that in mind. I graded you as I would in America and we call it, the words for it is holistic. The holistic grading system. It takes into account three things; the content – of your writing- idea. Thoroughness- how thorough you are to explaining your idea in paper or test, English. It is combination of all three things.

It seems simple to introduce the system of scoring in the United States because she mentions that she will follow the criterion which the local school provides. But it leads to the result that the teacher corrects the Korean scoring system by explaining the American scoring system and commenting that the Korean evaluation system doesn't satisfy her wish so she still prefers to evaluate them in the way she uses in the United States. With a long explanation she rationalizes her decision by explaining how good the American scoring system is, emphasizing that it is holistic. The different power relationship between the teacher and the students makes the students follow the criteria which the teacher provides although it is not the criteria of their university.

2. Cultural Continuity

The definition of cultural continuity used in this paper is providing an important opportunity for transporting students into a third space and enabling them to explore cultural diversity and create new knowledge for themselves. However, the previous analysis above shows that there is ambivalence toward teaching some subjects mediated in English in any kind of local indigenous context because there is nearly always an imperialistic motive in language curriculum (Philipson, 1992). It is due to the

characteristics of language and literature which are by nature cultural. In order to achieve cultural continuity in language education requires very explicit consciousness to create a balance with local culture through collaboration and it should be based on the vision that we need to develop knowledge that is beneficial for all of us.

In this study, there were three cases of cultural continuity. The first one is considered a result of intercultural interaction in which the students create certain ways to express certain things in the classroom integrating their L1 perspective combining it with L2 discourses. The second one is from the practicing of comparison activity which the teacher hired helps students to create consideration for the cultural realities of the milieu with various perspective and intercultural interaction processes. In the process of learning, the students develop intercultural communication strategies that might lead to the cultural continuity.

1) Using Comparison to Consider the Cultural Realities of the Milieu

In order to get into a third space the students should be exposed to various perspectives rather than be forced to change their perspective to fit the mainstream. For cultural continuity the first step is comparing different perspectives on a certain issue to understand others and oneself. In this study, comparison which is used as a classroom activity is hired to provide various perspectives.

In this study, the teacher consistently used the activity of comparison. Comparison classroom activities provide various perspectives. Teachers should have as a formal objective in their students' learning process overcoming prejudices and cultural stereotypes. Teachers need to open up new worlds to their students by bringing a cosmopolitan atmosphere to the classroom.

With this activity students can create new consideration about the cultural realities of the milieu. For example, from the very beginning one student compares the Korean Cinderella, 'Konggi' with western version of Cinderella. There were also comparisons between the traditional fairy tale version and the modern movie version with the same theme. For the first comparison, the students could consider the specific cultural differences and the similarity of issues in the male oriented societies of Korea and western countries. The second comparison between the fairy tale version and the current movie version brings out that there were different power allocations for women in the stories depending on the time and era. In the movie *Ever After*, the main character Daniel shows the opposite personality from Cinderella who is very passive and gets social mobility marriage with the prince rather than achieving with her own effort. And finally, there was a third comparison with the modern scientific fairy tale which includes an unexpected surprise ending. Although the modern story is considered a fairy tale, it doesn't include the typical elements a

traditional fairy tale has. This brought up the result of breaking stereotypes on the analysis of fairy tales through synchronic and diachronic comparison and analysis.

2) Creating Knowledge about the Local Milieu Based on Reflection with Others

This course taught by the native English speaking teacher provides benefits for her students in having 'native speaker' teachers who would force students to use English in the class. It provides a cross cultural encounter so that pedagogical tension often emerges due to the cultural and linguistic 'otherness' embodied by a native speaker teachers (Luk, 2002). According to Y. Kim (2008), learners of EFL show their innovativeness using intercultural competence in EFL classes taught by the native speaking English teacher.

This study also shows the students' identity is reconstructed from the past histories of the students. Considering their interlocutor, the native English speaking professor, as being different and somebody who does not know Korean stories very well, they take the role of an informer to provide new information. On the other hand they also shed temporally their sociohistorically conditioned institutional role which they would have displayed in front of the non-native speaker teacher. Since intercultural encounters with the teacher are necessary, the students are able to step outside themselves. They thus enjoy a kind of liberation made possible by the third culture, space, or place created by these cross-cultural encounters (Kramsch, 2003).

For this situation, the students have to make sense of and be able to describe this kind of third space for themselves - to say what it looks like and whether they are conscious of it. Their teacher can't do this for them. The teacher's job is only to transport students to this space. Whether the teacher is a native speaker or not is not important. What is important is that the teacher be able to overcome prejudices and stereotypes so that a cosmopolitan atmosphere can be brought to the classroom which can open up new worlds to the students.

For example, in this study the teacher asks students to write or create conversations between Little Red Riding Hood and the wolf. She gives instructions for the activity which includes choosing a setting and a plot for the dialogue. In this case, the students participated in the activity willingly because they could actually express something they wanted to express by asserting a different form of their selves or their identity that is not the same as the usual ones.

In the end of the course, the students could generate their own fairy tales following the direction which the teacher provided. The story should include three main characters - a western hero, Korean hero, and some animals. The students have to do research on Korean fairy tales and analyze them to restructure them with new information about western fairy tales and to think about the ways to introduce the knowledge that they reconstruct in English. This activity was carefully designed by the teacher to enable the students to enter

a third space to generate new knowledge with their prior knowledge and new incoming knowledge rather forcing them to write a story based on the western writing style. The knowledge the students create with creative writing in this class is not for dominants for English speaker but it is for themselves for their own cultural continuity.

3) Creating Cultural Continuity through Oppositional Behaviors

Cultural continuity can be achieved when there is communication with others when links are formed with the students' own cultural perspectives. Since intercultural communication is defined as a situated social interactive practice created locally and negotiated among a group of interactants in the sociocultural context (Y. Kim, 2008) rather than "the meeting of two cultures or two languages across the political boundaries of nation-states" (Kramsch, 1998, p. 81), we can achieve cultural continuity when we confront imperialism through conscious resistance which is created in a collaborative model. Resistance here entails interaction or communication (Jacob, 1996). To achieve continuity, students must confront the dominant culture in order to insure their own survival and to view their own cultures more clearly.

For example, in this study the teacher discusses examples of oppositional perspective that there are somewhat different power allocations between men and women in literature. This teacher's intervention was important in bringing to light the unequal relationship between the teacher and students. She shows responsibility as 'the one who brings the two worlds together – to the best of her ability in a fixed time and space' (Hanarbin-Holliday, 2004). However, this kind of criticism of the dominant culture may become a more normalized way of life as the dominant culture becomes a more permanent part of the scene. Therefore, although something is critical it still needs to be critical of the critical.

In this study the students show their resistance to dominant ideology which is the English only rule in a classroom. The students were asked to discuss some guided questions that the teacher provided in Korean first and translate them into English in the early part of the course. However, in the middle of the course the professor decided to change the principles related to classroom language. She prohibits the use of the L1 in the discussions and insisted on using English only in the classroom from the fourth class. In the interview the teacher comments that her intention of using L1 in the early part of the course was for students to get accustomed to small group discussions. But later she intentionally makes the students stop using Korean to give them more chances to practice English.

Because of this English only rule, there was resistance to the teacher designed activities. The students resisted using only English in their group discussion activities. This resistance can be seen as an example of paradoxical attitudes towards an English education.

> S8: At first, we discussed the topic in Korean and we had no time to think about it again in English so usually one person translated it into English and used English when we gave personal presentation in whole class activity. And later on, she asked us to use only English but no one used English much. Just when she approached into our group we stop to using Korean and just mumbled something or one person pretended to give her opinion.

The students highly valued the opportunity to learn English. On the other hand, their resistant behavior was manifested in their use of their L1 in small group discussions. This oppositional behavior is a response to the conflicts and discomfort generated by alienating English discourse (Canagaragah, 1993). Through this kind of oppositional behavior, the students make sense of the dominant culture and resist it to reconstruct their own identity and cultures.

There is another example of resistance of the dominant culture. The students interpret the teacher's compliments of the students as good culture and even a superior one and admire their cultures but sometime later the students become reluctant with this because they start to take it as lip service and so it doesn't mean anything and doesn't have the effect of building trust between the teacher and students.

> S6: I thought it was good that she gave us compliments very often. It was really nice for me at first. However, later, I felt like she was just talking without much meaning. So, now I don't take her compliments very seriously. It's maybe her way of expressing something without really meaning it.

> S5: I know that they give a lot of compliments compared to Korean professors. Although I know it, I can't do it to others. If Koreans give such compliment like she does other people might wonder whether she is being sarcastic or whether she really means it.

The students also realize that they need to know themselves first to communicate with others and they also find out how their images were preoccupied by the native English speaking professor who doesn't have much experience with Korea and Korean people.

V. CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This study which investigated EMI course shows several cases of cultural correction and cultural continuity. The cultural correction shown is the phenomena of ambivalence toward teaching with EMI in a local indigenous context because of the imperialistic character in the language curriculum. This study makes us aware that we need to view language education as being related to power structures.

This study provides some of implications for educational policy. Internationalization of university in Korea is very important in the global economy and academic community. However the current policy that just encourages an increasing in the rate of EMI in universities doesn't help for internationalization but rather forces students to be colonialized in the Korean English educational system with its linguistic imperialism. In order to create cultural continuity in foreign language education though EMI there should be conscious efforts to be vigilant and a willingness to see and have a critical understanding of representation of the foreign which are perpetuated by society.

This study clearly tells us that, consciously or unconsciously, among those who advocate the use of EMI there is an attempt in the profession to dominate and re-categorize the lives of students and colleagues whom they seem to be trying to help through 'cultural change.' Therefore, all participants in foreign language education need to remember how difficult it has been for the victims of this process in their struggle to establish their identities in an educational process which leads us to love and hate simultaneously.

This study also provides some implications for the curriculum of EMI in Korea. Curriculum development for cultural continuity should be encouraged by a small culture approach because it stimulates an equality of status for all concerned parties. For cultural continuity the ideal curriculum is a combination of forces and a complex in which people interact on an equal basis. For a person to find himself/herself in this complex, an understanding of how this interaction takes place is both multi-dimensional and multi-participatory. Therefore, there should be unique and specially made methodologies for a local EMI milieu -not only for curriculum but also assessment for EMI different from those ESL or EFL classes. From the teacher training perspective, EMI should be managed by subject specialists who are trained in language education and have knowledge about students' needs and discourse in L1, and in the local context in order to create mélange. We need to fill in this gap in order to create cultural continuity with more effective EMI in higher education in Korea.

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Examples in: English
Applicable language: English
Applicable level: Elementary

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