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Language Ideologies of Pre-service English Teachers in Korea*

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The present study investigates language ideologies of pre-service English teachers in Korea. Considering the fact that most of them were taught English by non-native Korean English teachers in their elementary and secondary schools, this study is aimed at shedding light on how they, from a perspective of language ideologies, have been influenced by the 2009 Revised National Curriculum. Pre-service English teachers often internalize and practice dominant language ideologies unconsciously or uncritically as they themselves are also the product of the language policies, national-level or meso-level, which continuously generate dominant discourse. Employing both qualitative and quantitative data based on the research questionnaire from the first-year pre-service English teachers, this study finds that they are also reproducing the dominant language ideologies predisposed to the language policies in which they were embedded as students in general and English learners in particular. Finally, it further provides implications for how teacher preparation programs could be improved to promote critical awareness, critical self-reflection, and critical pedagogical relations so that future English teachers in Korea are able to situate and reconceptualize English education both in national and global contexts.

[language ideologies/EFL/pre-service English teachers/teacher preparation program]

I. INTRODUCTION

Perceived as a global language, English is officially introduced and taught from elementary-school 3rd year in Korea. It continues to be one of the *de facto* required subjects in secondary and also in tertiary schools. Thus it follows that Korean students

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are generally exposed to English for more than ten years in formal educational settings. It is also true that most Korean students are to learn English from their Korean English teachers. In this sense, Korean English teachers play a crucial role in English education as they are exclusively in charge of students' English learning over a decade although some students are partially exposed to Native English Speaking Teachers (NESTs). This being the case, language ideologies of Korean English teachers among others are at the center of English education, being reflected and practiced in English classes whether or not their language ideologies are in accordance with the discourses and ideologies in Korean society as a whole.

On the other hand, a growing body of literature in TESOL, Applied Linguistics, and Second Language Acquisition started to take a critical stance on English education unpacking the colonial and/or neoclassical perspectives that have been entrenched in ESL and EFL education (Hawkin & Norton, 2009; Johnston, 1999; Norton, 2005; Pennycook, 2010; Tollefson, 2002). Teacher preparation programs, in this respect, need to prepare future English teachers in Korea not only to be ready to teach the language *per se* but also to be critical in describing, evaluating, and critiquing "the broad ideologies and ideological structures of English language education in the country" (Tupas, 2018, p. 86). These programs, therefore, should involve the understanding of the positionality of the English language, of the ways in which language ideologies affect its teaching and learning in regional, national, and global contexts, and of the interconnectedness of their own language ideologies with broader ideologies circulating in society and in the world as well. Raising critical awareness of the English language and its education starts from identifying the dominant language ideologies that pre-service English teachers may hold and thereby recognizing how these ideologies have been constructed. The present study, in this respect, is aimed at investigating the aspects of English language ideologies implicitly rooted among pre-service English teachers in Korea as the first step toward critical language education. In so doing, two main research questions of this study are as follows.

(1) How do pre-service English teachers view the English language and its education?
(2) What English language ideologies do they hold?

By exploring pre-service teachers' language ideologies of English, this study illustrates that they are reproducing the dominant language ideologies predisposed to the language policy in which they are embedded. The study further provides implications for how the teacher preparation programs could be improved.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Language ideology refers to a framework of thoughts, beliefs, and attitude toward a particular language which are constructed and held by members of society to rationalize, legitimatize, and naturalize its particular use (Bartolomé, 2008; Silverstein, 1979; Woolard, 1998). Dominant language ideology usually reflects cultural, economic, and educational practices of a dominant culture in which people unconsciously accept "the current way of doing things as *natural* and *normal*" (Bartolomé, 2008, p.xiii, emphasis in the original). Once a language ideology obtains a dominant position via public consent over a long period of time, it achieves hegemony and becomes common sense where it is rarely questioned. The dominant language ideology is constantly perpetuated and solidified in educational settings through enactment and implementation of language policies (Johnson, 2013; McCarty, 2011; Tollefson, 1991). Language teachers, who are directly influenced by language policies, either may reproduce the dominant language ideology which is often manifested in the language policies or may resist the dominant language ideology, implementing critical and transformational curricula to challenge the status quo. In this respect, the study of language ideology should not be overlooked nor belittled in the teacher preparation program (Bartolomé, 2008) for pre-service English teachers.

Some argue that language ideology has very little to do with effective language teaching nor with preparing future language teachers. They contend that what pre-service and in-service teachers demand is a technical knowledge rather than a comprehensive understanding of language ideology with respect to social, economic, structural contexts of a society (Alfarno & Bartolomé, 2017; Bartolomé, 2004; Hwakin & Norton, 2009; Tupas, 2018). It is not to argue that expertise in theories and teaching methodologies is insignificant.

However, the argument that language ideology is irrelevant in teaching and learning a language is somewhat naive and disingenuous (Bartolomé, 2008). Restrictive language policies which generated the dominant language ideology of English-only in Arizona, California, and Massachusetts are a case in point to show examples of how language teachers were under a stricter regulation on how to teach English (Gándara & Hopkins, 2010).

Various research suggests that teachers' ideological orientations are often reflected in the way they teach and interact with students in their classrooms (Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017; Nieto & Bode, 2018). Menken, Funk, and Kleyn's (2011) study on a Spanish/ English biliteracy project in a secondary-level school in New York City describes how teachers' language ideology plays an essential role in their classes. While some language teachers actively resisted the dominant language ideology of monolingualism and

actively promoted multilingualism, others were inhibiting multilingualism by realigning with the institutional culture or the dominant ideology which sends a clear message that Spanish instruction was of lesser value than other subjects. This study illustrates that resistance to the dominant discourse on language in classroom settings "relies on *teachers*, who are at the epicenter of language policy implementation in schools" (Menken, Funk, & Kleyn, 2011, p. 103, emphasis added). The study of ideology, therefore, should be one of the key principles in the preparation of future educators. Language teachers' attitudes toward and beliefs in languages are widely studied, yet they are an "overly psychologized apolitical construct that … merely reflect personality types, individual values, and personal predispositions that have little to do with the larger political, ideological, social, and economic order" (Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017, p. 16). Teachers' language ideological orientations which emerge as their attitudes and beliefs are yet to be researched.

Teacher education research indicates that pre-service teachers often internalize and practice dominant language ideologies unconsciously and uncritically as they themselves are also the product of the language policies which continuously generate dominant discourse. This is how future teachers typically enter teacher preparation programs with very few opportunities to recognize, question, or deconstruct dominant language ideologies (Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017; Davis, 1994; Sleeter, 1993). This is often the case in a top-down educational system in which governmental agencies have more control over in what way and how a language can be taught in classrooms. Language teachers, therefore, need to be prepared to be critical by acknowledging and deconstructing the dominant language ideology, and also by examining what messages are, explicitly or implicitly, conveyed through language policies. This, according to Bartolomé (2004), is called ideological clarity, an ongoing process that requires an individual to consciously juxtapose various competing ideologies and acknowledge how those ideologies serve the interest of particular speech communities. The very first step to achieving ideological clarity is to identify dominant language ideologies that the future teachers hold and thereby to investigate how those ideologies have been formulated in order for them to *construct* the problem (Freire, 1985).

III. LANGUAGE POLICY IN KOREAN CONTEXT

This section illustrates the dominant discourse of English that the first-year pre-service English teachers were immersed in particularly delving into the era of the 2009 Revised National Curriculum during which these future teachers were in elementary and secondary schools. In a Korean context in which education is generally controlled by the

central government, or the Ministry of Education (Seth, 2002), the national curriculum *per se* tends to become the national policy that all public education sectors need to abide by. In this respect, national curriculum plays a vital role in providing the guidelines and/or stipulation on which content is to be taught, how it is taught, how it is assessed and so on. The national curriculum of English also presents both macro-level policy such as an overall rationale for English education and directions about what students need to achieve, and micro-level policy including standards and assessments for all four language skills, vocabularies, and grammar points. Since current pre-service English teachers appertain to the 2009 Revised National Curriculum, it is of significance to identify major characteristics of the 2009 Revised National Curriculum of English and to unpack what explicit and implicit messages it conveys in order to understand what dominant language ideologies it projected and to juxtapose how first-year pre-service English teachers' language ideologies align with dominant language ideologies.

The 2009 Revised National Curriculum of English was designed to incorporate all four language skills in English classes, presenting proficiency standards and assessment standards for listening, reading, speaking and writing. According to Park and Park (2013), the revision of the national curriculum was carried out due to the need to improve the ability to *use* the English language. Table 1 below succinctly summarizes some of its key components (Lee, 2012; Park & Park, 2013).

TABLE 1

Key Components of the 2009 Revised National Curriculum of English

1	Emphasis on the practical *use* of English • Concentration on *productive* skills: English speaking and writing e.g. High School English Classes (Practical English Conversation, English Conversation, English Reading and Composition, Advanced English Composition etc) • Concentration on communicative English teaching nationwide e.g. Teaching English in English (TEE) Certification
2	Revision of proficiency standards • Addition/Revision of assessment according to the proficiency standards (e.g. National English Ability Test)
3	Reinforcement of connectivity between and within elementary and secondary level English education • Decrease in the gap between school levels

With the practical *use* of English, the 2009 Revised National Curriculum emphasized productive language skills: English speaking and writing. This emphasis on productive skills has led to other collateral language policies: (1) offering regular classes in high schools such as Practical English Conversation, Practical English Composition,

Advanced English Conversation, and Advanced English Composition (Lee, 2015), and (2) administering the Teaching English in English (TEE) certification for in-service English teachers (Chang, 2012; Lee, 2012). Closely aligned with this emphasis on productive skills is an addition and/or revision of the assessment system to strengthen proficiency standards. A case in point is the introduction and development of the National English Ability Test (NEAT)[1], replacing the English section of the traditional college entrance exam (Chang, 2012; Lee, 2012; Lee, 2015).

On the other hand, the 2009 Revised National Curriculum associates English with internationalization, globalization, future, communicative competency, cultivated and cultural lifestyle as illustrated below.

> Today, the world is so closely connected with frequent exchanges between countries that it is called a *global* village. … In this context, *as a language that is widely used internationally*, English plays a critical role in understanding and bonding with those who speak other languages. Therefore, being able to *communicate in English is one of the core competencies for future generations*. In other words, *understanding and speaking English are indispensable competencies* which are needed to play a leading role in the era of *globalization* and knowledge and information-oriented society. In addition, English communicative competency is a necessity to *enhance the quality of personal life* such as living a cultivated and cultural lifestyle and thereby to *strengthen an individual's capability*. (The 2009 Revised National Curriculum of English, 2009, p.3, emphasis added)

This excerpt is from the middle school section of the 2009 National Curriculum of English, aptly illustrating the rationale for and the objectives of middle school English education in Korea. As it stands, the English language is necessary and is indispensable for globalization, internationalization, communication with the world, and the prosperity of individuals' life. The language ideology of "necessitation reifies English as a necessity to the effect that South Koreans must all learn English, regardless of whether or not they actually use it in everyday communication" (Song, 2011, p.41). This language ideology is interwoven with globalization, internationalization, and communication with others for the economic interest of the nation state.

Global communication is extraordinarily highlighted as identified in its particular emphasis on understanding and speaking the language in the 2009 Revised National Curriculum of English. As illustrated in Table 1, one of the key components of the 2009

[1] The National English Ability Test (NEAT) was developed by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology in order to assess the productive skills as well as the receptive skills. Although the pilot tests of NEAT were administered in 2009 (Lee, 2015), this assessment was not fully implemented in replacement of the traditional college entrance exam, Korean College Scholastic Ability Test.

Revised National Curriculum of English is to enhance students' practical English ability to improve their English proficiency, particularly underlining speaking and writing skills and focusing on fluency rather than accuracy (Chang, 2019; Park & Park, 2013). Thus the curriculum was drafted to increase the number of English class hours, providing students with more opportunities to speak and write in English, decrease the number of students per class, and adopt a performance assessment particularly for speaking and writing competencies (Chang, 2012; Park & Park, 2013). It should be noted that speaking competency was particularly highlighted during this period of time as the Lee Myung Bak administration (2008-2013) presented several speaking competency-oriented programs such as the Teach and Learn in Korea (TaLK) program placing the Native English Speaking Teachers (NESTs) in local schools and proposed the English immersion program in public schools to teach even content subjects like history or science in English (Lee, 2010). While some of these policies were carried out as intended (Lee, 2012), others turned out to be a failure. Whether a success or a failure, however, these policies in relation to English education in Korea generated and/or reflected the language ideology that English speaking comes first among other skills, or so called *English Speaking First* ideology.

As it stands, perceived as a necessary tool for the nation state to survive in a globalizing world and recognized as a primary means to attain economic growth, English was justified to "be taught as much and early as possible" (Song, 2011, p. 41), reproducing the ideology of *the Earlier the Better* to achieve English proficiency in general and English speaking proficiency in particular (Lee, 2020). What should be additionally noted is that English proficiency, as clearly illustrated in the 2009 Revised National Curriculum of English, is not only profitable to the nation state in its achieving national economic prosperity but it is also beneficial for individuals as it will enhance the quality of life such as living a cultivated and cultural lifestyle and thereby strengthen an individual's capability (Ministry of Education, 2009). In conjunction with the ideology of merit, becoming proficient in English and obtaining high scores on exams whether national or international such as the Korean College Scholastic Ability Test or the TOEIC exam regenerate the language ideology of English indexing personal advancement although "the social capital gained from English language skills is often more meretricious than material" (Song, 2011, p. 47).

IV. METHOD

Employing both quantitative and qualitative methods, this case study examines the perspectives of first-year pre-service English teachers in Korea toward the English

language in general and English education in particular. First of all, the textual data such as the 2009 Revised National Curriculum of English for both elementary and secondary level education are collected as the 2020 first-year pre-service teachers represent a generation that is the product of this curriculum. Considering the fact that Korean education is chiefly operated by the central government, or the Ministry of Education, it is first of all necessary to examine some important aspects of the macro-level policy. They not only become a guideline regulating what can or cannot be actually practiced in English language classrooms, but also generate dominant language ideologies serving to decide, for example, on one of the English varieties to be taken and the teaching methodology as well as teachers and teaching materials. As a result of it, they finally come to remain legitimate in English education.

In addition to the textual data, this case study is also based on the questionnaire data from the first-year pre-service teachers. 35 participants of this study are all freshmen at the Department of English Education in one of the metropolitan cities of Korea. Although the Department of English Education provides the general curriculum for preparing them to become in-service English teachers in Korea, it is not until their sophomore year that they immerse themselves in major subjects such as second language acquisition theories, English teaching methodologies, lesson planning and so on. Since the objective of this study is to unpack the underlying language ideologies that future English teachers have when they enter the teacher preparation program, they are considered most suitable for the participants of this study in that they are yet to be socialized in the discourse of English language teaching.

The survey questionnaire consists of 27 items comprising both multiple choice questions and short or long-answer questions[2]. They are grouped into three sub-titles: (1) Your Personal Background (2) Your English Proficiency and (3) Your Understanding of English, covering experiences of their own English learning, perception of their English proficiency level, their motivation to learn English, and also their general opinions on English education. The questions were written in Korean and students were advised to answer in Korean so that they were not restricted from expressing their own experiences, perception and opinions. The qualitative data or their written answers from the survey were categorized by different themes and sub-themes. Below is an example of a survey question.

[2] See Appendix.

FIGURE 1
Example Questions from the Questionnaire

Question 18: When do you think is the best time to start learning English?		
□ Prior to 3rd grade □ kindergarten □ 1st grade □ 2nd grade	□ 3rd grade	□ After 3rd grade □ 4th grade □ 5th grade □ 6th grade
Question 19: Please write down your reasons for the answer to #18 in detail.		

The general theme of the questions in Figure 1 is related to an early introduction of English education. In Question 18, as it stands, the options for participants to choose are (1) prior to 3rd grade, (2) 3rd grade, and (3) after 3rd grade. Then in Question 19 the participants are to elaborate some reasons for their answer to the question. After rereading, re-viewing, and recording the qualitative data from Question 19, relevant notes are made when there are any significant themes and issues. Then each category is re-categorized under emerging sub-themes such as age, exposure, mother language, experience based on the answers to Question 19.

V. FINDING AND DISCUSSION

This section discusses the participants' language ideologies that are identified in the analysis based on the survey questions and the interrelationship between their dominant language ideologies with which they might have been unquestioningly or uncritically impregnated. First of all, the language ideology of English that indexed globalization or internationalization still remained a prevalent language ideology among these future English teachers in Korea. The participants were asked to write down both short and long answers to the questions: "If your English proficiency improves, what kind of advantage do you expect to have? (Survey Question #17)", "What is the benefit of learning English? (Survey Question #24)", "Why do you think you have to learn English? (Survey Question #26)" Among 35 participants, 30 participants mentioned the relationship between English and globalization although their exact words might be somewhat different. Listed in Table 2 are six examples representing participants' view of English as being closely related to globalization and/or internationalization.

TABLE 2

Perception of English

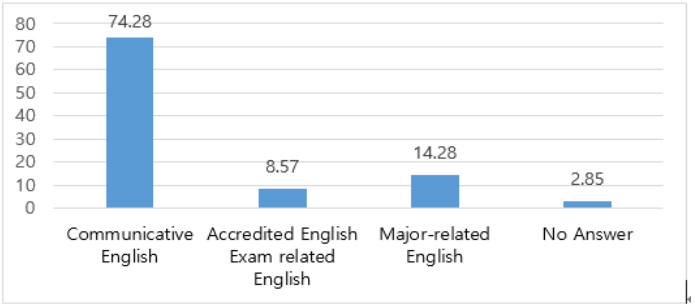
Theme: Globalization/Internationalization	
(1)	You can have the ability to *view the world*[3], and through English, Korea can enhance its national status or position on the *global* stage.
(2)	English is the language of the *globalized era*, and it has a great influence on the *world*. Therefore, it is a required and necessary language.
(3)	One should not lag behind but rather expand his or her potential particularly in the era of *globalization* by learning English.
(4)	English is a *lingua franca*. With the advent of *globalization*, which, by the way, is still in progress, the English language is necessary to express his/her opinions to people from other countries.
(5)	Along with the 4th Industrial Revolution, which is currently in vogue in Korea, English is seminal to our lives, particularly since we are living in the era of *import and export of capital and goods*.
(6)	Due to *globalization*, English provides opportunities for Korea to expand its horizon.

Although these are no more than a part of excerpts from their written answers, they are explicitly connected with globalization, economic prosperity of the country, and even the future. English is perceived as a tool kit for the nation state to survive in the globalized world. International commerce or business in which both capital and goods flow from one country to another is seen to be done only through English. Not just the economic prosperity of the nation state but also the higher status or positioning of Korea on the global stage, as clearly revealed in (1) and (6) of Table 2. Even being associated with the coming of the Fourth Industrial Revolution, English is recognized as indexing the future of Korea to come as seen in (5). The underlying language ideology that is manifested in these recurring quotes from the pre-service teachers is that English is a gateway to the global economy and thereby to the national economic prosperity, and also a means to the enhancement of the nation's position on the global stage. The construct of this language ideology is not necessarily due to the 2009 Revised National Curriculum. It has rather been percolating into Korean society since the country's independence in 1945 (Lee, 2016). Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the 2009 Revised National Curriculum played a vital role in consolidating this ideology since it was at the center of government-driven policy reinforcement and implementation in the field of English education. The pre-service English teachers of this study, who have been exposed to this curriculum, seem to be naturally entrenched in this language ideology.

[3] Highlighted in the italic font are key words representing the concept of globalization and/or internationalization in one way or another.

Secondly, as highlighted in the 2009 Revised National Curriculum of English, it is the communicative English that is represented as the most admired and eulogized competency in English indicated in Figure 2.

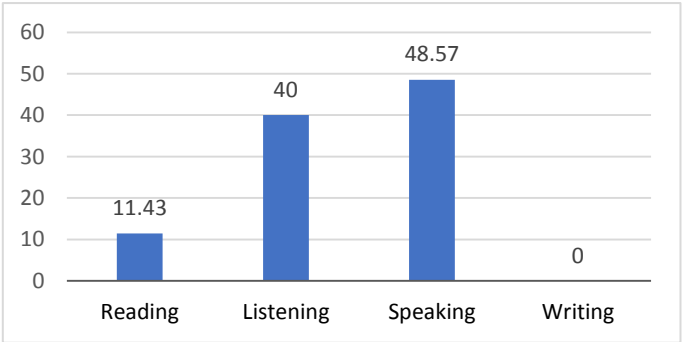
FIGURE 2
Preference of English by Its Purpose



Question 22: Which of the following purposes do you think English is the most necessary for? Choose only one.

Figure 2 explicitly illustrates that most of the pre-service teachers consider communicative English to be of overwhelming importance even though what they essentially need are the accredited English exam score as a requirement for graduating from college and also major-related English in order to become in-service English teachers.

FIGURE 3
The Most Important Language Skill in English

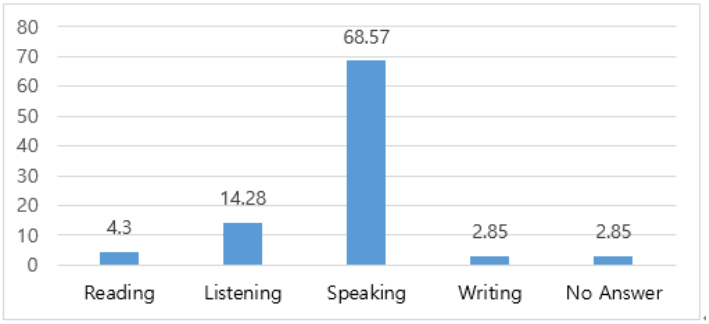


Question 14: Among the four skills, which do you think is the most important one? Please rank them in order.

Even within the domain of communicative English, English speaking is revealed to be the most desired among four different types of competencies. As identified in Figure 3, English speaking is given the first rank by approximately 49 percent of the pre-service

teachers when asked to rank the four competencies in order of importance. This indicates that English speaking is viewed as more important than any other language skill.
A similar pattern is also laid out in Figure 4.

FIGURE 4
The English Skill That Participants Wish to be the Best at



Question 13: Among the four language skills, which do you wish to be the best at? Please rank them in order.

As illustrated in Figure 4, approximately 69 percent of the pre-service teachers ranked the English speaking skill as the first place, strongly aspiring for English speaking competency. The results of both Figure 3 and Figure 4 demonstrate that English speaking is the competency on which these teachers put the utmost significance and thus the one that they strongly aspire to achieve. Based on the survey Question 15 (see in Appendix), which is to elaborate the reason for their choosing the answer to Question 14 as seen in Figure 3, many elucidated that English is a tool to communicate with others. One of the participants clearly states it as below.

> Because a language is a tool to communicate, English listening is the most important competency. It is meaningless to learn English if you cannot say [speak] a word even after learning English for more than 10 years.

Highlighting the importance of English listening and speaking, this quote exemplifies that communication is the primary rationale for learning English. Based on the survey results of Figure 3 and Figure 4, the clear discrepancy of English listening between the two figures is noticeable. While both English listening and speaking skills are viewed as important in a similar rate in Figure 3, these future English teachers are revealed to yearn much more for English speaking skill rather than English listening skill as seen in Figure

4. In other words, this result shows the deficiency in English speaking that these teachers see in themselves. The fact that they see themselves as deficient in English speaking aligns with the language ideology identified "as self-deprecation, in which Koreans view themselves as 'bad speakers of English' who are unable to speak English well despite many years of investment in learning the language" (Park, 2011, p. 451). Although communication *per se* is essentially a broad concept including even reading and writing as well as listening and speaking, the figures above show that most participants conceptualized English communication in a limited perspective connotating spoken English covering only English listening and speaking.[4] While the two are crucial components for English communication, many of them prioritized English speaking as the skill that they aspire to attain since they were fully embedded in the language ideology that they lack speaking competency.

This analysis aligns with the ever present language ideology that communicative English is a skill whose development has been almost totally ignored. The emphasis on communicative English was extraordinarily highlighted during the era when this cohort of pre-service English teachers was in their elementary and secondary schools (Chang, 2012; Lee & Kim, 2012; Park & Park, 2013). Some of the policies that they were exposed to as students include expansion of speaking classes in public education, allocation of English specialists and NESTs in public education, establishment and operation of the English Villages, application of Teaching English in English certificate system, among others. What is at stake here is that a variety of such educational policies are excessively communication-oriented, reflecting and also implementing the 2009 Revised National Curriculum of English.

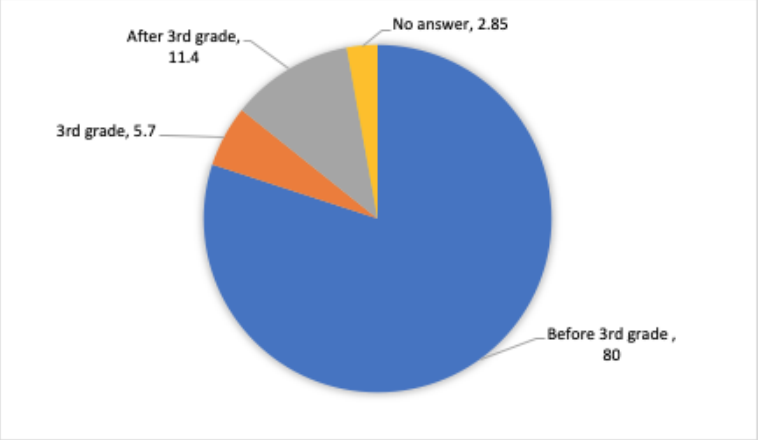
It should be noted that though the curriculum was intended to focus on productive skills, or speaking and writing, far more attention was paid to English speaking competency in both national-level and meso-level language policies on English education. In addition to the national-level language policies stated above, meso-level language policies also emphasized English speaking to an excessive extent. The changes in the national curriculum provided the leeway for the schools to increase or decrease the number of hours for the English language classes. According to Park and Park (2013), English speaking is the area for which many schools increased the number of hours for English instruction while English writing is the area for which schools decreased the number of hours for instruction. This illustrates that although the national-level language policy directed the emphasis on both English speaking and writing, other supplementary language policies and meso-level policies were committed to projecting the language

[4] Refer to 88.57% for listening and speaking in Figure 3 and also 82.85% for listening and speaking for Figure 4.

ideology that English speaking, with English writing totally ignored, is the first and foremost language skill needed for Korean students. This explains the predisposition of pursuing communicative English in general and English speaking skill in particular, as revealed by the pre-service English teachers.

As mentioned previously, the English language is officially introduced from the 3rd grade of elementary school in Korea. This language policy has been implemented since 1997, becoming the manifestation of language ideology that the earlier the English language is introduced, the better the learners will result in improving English proficiency. This ideology, called the *Earlier the Better English* (EBE) (Lee, 2020) is also identified by the pre-service English teachers, as seen in Figure 5.

FIGURE 5
Early Introduction of English Education



As shown in Figure 5, 80 percent of the participants concurred that English education should be introduced earlier than it is currently introduced while 11.4 percent opposed the current policy arguing for the introduction of English education after 3rd grade. Only 5.7 percent of them chose to maintain the current policy of initiating English education in the 3rd grade. Among the 80 percent of the pre-service teachers in favor of the earlier introduction of English education, approximately 58 percent asserted that it would have more positive effect if English education were introduced in the kindergarten; and 31 percent saw that the first grade would be appropriate to start English education; 11 percent thought that the second grade would be desirable. Being different in specific age for the beginning of English education, they all agree that the earlier introduction would be beneficial for the following recurring reasons.

1. Learning English should be like a native language acquisition.
2. Earlier introduction is necessary particularly for the acquisition of English pronunciation and intonation
3. English is learned naturally and easily if it is introduced early.
4. Listening and speaking are best learned at an early age.
5. More exposure to English is necessary.

These recurring themes support their EBE ideology justifying the earlier introduction of English. Although this ideology prevails among most of the participants, it should also be noted that they would agree with lowering the age only if the early English introduction would not hinder their first language acquisition. The conflict between the two language ideologies manifested among the pre-service English teachers mirrors the societal discussions that were vehemently held on the relationship between English education and the confusion in linguistic and national identity during the Lee's administration.

In addition to national prosperity, proficiency in English in general indexes individual affluence as clearly identified from the 2009 Revised National Curriculum of English. According to the national curriculum, communicative competency in particular is directly correlated with the conception of living a cultivated and cultural lifestyle and improving quality of an individual's life. Based on the "assumption that English is a tool for getting ahead … [which] is an example of ideology" (Tollefson, 1991, p. 11), English indexes an individual affluence along with both financial and cultural prosperity. This language ideology of what English represents was also manifested by the pre-service English teachers. There were several emerging themes under this language ideology: Indeterminate affluence, gateway to affluence, cultured lifestyle and personal value.

TABLE 3

Four Major Themes under the Language Ideology of Merit

Themes	Students' Written Responses
Indeterminate Affluence	• English enables you to see the world. • You can expand your view. • It enables you to expand your ability. • You have more opportunities and options.
Gateway to Specific Affluence	• High English test scores are beneficial to both college admission and employment. • It enables you to apply for scholarships. • You can teach younger children in private English schools or tutoring sessions. • You can take certified English exams (e.g. TOEIC or TOEFL) or national examination.

Cultured Lifestyle	• You can watch movies or soap operas without subtitles. • You can travel with no constraint. • You can have access to foreign articles, news, research studies and so on. • You can understand American culture. • You can experience the cultures of English-speaking countries.
Personal Value	• You will be more confident if you learn English. English can raise your personal value. • High proficiency in English will improve one's self-esteem and it will bring about a faith in oneself. • It will provide satisfaction in your life.

For the pre-service English teachers, English indexed an affluence or merit. As seen in (1) of Table 3, however, its conceptualization is somewhat abstract and indeterminate, including such things as expanding one's view, seeing the world, and having more opportunities or options in the future. In addition to such vague representations, English also stands for quite reified conceptualization of instrumentality, indexing the gateway to specific tangible attainments such as getting a high score in certified English exams, getting a scholarship, and being able to teach as a part-time job. The language ideology that English guarantees individual merit was held by all participants.

This ideology stands out particularly in major corporations in Korea that insist on "English competence in the workplace - in conjunction with the promise of better pay and promotion" (Song, 2011, p. 47) under the ground rule for globalization. Song (2011) specifies this language ideology within the context of economic structure: insistence of English competence as essential criteria for employment and promotion among major corporations and companies. Not only the economic sector but also the education sector was also driven by this dominant ideology of globalization as identified in the 2009 Revised National Curriculum of English. When it comes to the analysis of language ideologies of pre-service English teachers, it is significant to find that this ideology has percolated not only into the neoliberal capitalist economic structure in which individuals are accountable for their own advancement (Park, 2011) but also into the educational domain, particularly since receiving good education, therefore, entering a prestigious college is strongly believed to guarantee success (Seth, 2002). Considering the fact that economic hierarchy is closely tied to education, particularly in Korean society, it may not be surprising that this language ideology is clearly identified among pre-service teachers. It needs to be acknowledged, however, that this indexicality *per se* still remains an imaginary representation of English as English proficiency alone does not guarantee these material benefits.

Perceived to render a sophisticated cultural lifestyle, English was to provide the opportunity to travel to other countries, to watch movies and listen to English songs, to read books, articles, research papers written in English, and to experience American and/or other cultures. By being able to do so, these pre-service English teachers envisioned themselves as intellectuals participating in a sophisticated cultural lifestyle. In addition to the affluence or merits that pre-service English teachers could attain whether meretricious or material, it is interesting to note that high English proficiency itself was closely bound to their personal identity as identified in (4) in Table 3. For these future English teachers, achieving high proficiency in English was interwoven with their self-esteem, confidence, and personal satisfaction. Although specific themes have been categorized, all of them in Table 3 represent what English is believed to be able to provide to an individual. In short, though in different forms, the English language ideology of merits was manifested by *de facto* all the participants.

VI. CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This study finds that the dominant English ideologies, which have percolated into Korean society, still remain intact even among pre-service English teachers. Having been fully immersed in those English ideologies during the 2010s, they seem to have had no alternative but to reproduce their existing language ideologies as they stand, unless they are ready to have access to a critical perspective on those ideologies. Listed below are English language ideologies reproduced by pre-service English teachers who participated in a questionnaire survey for this study.

- English is indispensable for the national prosperity.
- Communicative English in general, and spoken English in particular is what Koreans need.
- Early introduction of English is necessary for higher proficiency in [communicative] English.
- English is essential for individual affluence.

These language ideologies of English were prevalent in Korean society as an indexicality of advancement for both national prosperity and individual affluence. As an emblem of what English can provide, English speaking competency among others has been constantly desired to achieve throughout the history of modern Korea despite having no need of it for communication in Korean society. Nevertheless, a strong emphasis on speaking competency is led to the language ideology that the early introduction of English is the key to achieving English communicative competency in

general and speaking competency in particular. In addition, it is of significance to note that these language ideologies have, in part, influenced the (re)shaping of the national and personal identity since high proficiency in English is perceived as a significant measure of becoming confident Korean nationals on the global stage and local community members with high self-esteem.

However, the insidious invisibility of dominant English language ideologies is likely to prevent future English teachers from accurately identifying and critically reading the dominant discourse of English education in the 2009 National Curriculum of English, paying little attention to the way in which the English language is positioned and also the way in which English proficiency plays a role in maintaining the current social hierarchy of power relations.

Although most preparation programs in Korea for future English teachers pay much attention to the methodologies or strategies to teach the language effectively, sociohistorical, political, and ideological dimensions of language education need to be made explicit and studied critically so that they are prepared to analyze educational challenges and develop comprehensive and democratic solutions (Bartolomé, 2004; Bartolomé, 2008; Hawkin & Norton, 2009). Without acknowledging any ideological and/or political dimensions of English education, as future in-service English teachers in the midst of such dimensions they would fall into the danger of unconsciously and uncritically reiterating dominant English ideologies without any agency.

Teacher preparation programs, in this respect, need to be improved to promote critical awareness, critical self-reflection, and critical pedagogical relations (Hawkin & Norton, 2009). In other words, future teachers need to first "comprehensively and historically situate the problem - that is 'construct' the problem" (Bartolome, 2008, p. x), raising consciousness in what way power relations are constructed and shaped in and through English education. This includes questions about the neutrality of English spread, the superiority of English, the construct of Standard English, and the inequality in and through English education (Tollefson, 1991; Tupas, 2018). By questioning the current ways of learning and teaching as *natural* and/or *normal*, pre-service teachers need to be able to critically reflect on their own identities and positioning in Korean society. Only after critically analyzing or deconstructing the language ideological issues of English education in Korea, can they seek for alternative possibilities in their praxis. It would consist of questioning the traditionally accepted Western mode of English education and seeking "potential spaces for transforming teaching and learning" (Tupas, 2018, p. 95). Teacher preparation programs which address not only the technical skills of teaching language but also comprehensive dimensions of the English language and its education may empower teachers with agency instead of becoming passive educators who may fall into the danger of reproducing dominant language ideologies.

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APPENDIX

Questionnaire: Your Experience with English

Please check ALL that apply and write down your answers in detail.

*NEST= Native English Speaking Teacher

Your Personal Background					
1	When did you start learning English?	☐Prior to 3rd grade (☐home-study ☐tutoring ☐private institution ☐other) ☐After 3rd grade (☐home-study ☐tutoring ☐private institution ☐other)			
2	From whom did you learn English in school?	☐Korean English Teacher ☐NEST	3	From whom did you learn English outside the school?	☐Korean English Teacher ☐NEST
4	Please write down your experience in learning English from Korean English Teachers.				
5	Please write down your experience in learning English from NEST.				
6	If you have learned English from a NEST, what was his/her race?	☐White ☐Asian ☐Black ☐Other ( )			
7	Which country was the NEST from?	☐the U.S. ☐Canada ☐the U.K. ☐Australia/New Zealand ☐Other ( )			
8	If you have an opportunity to learn English from a NEST, which country would you prefer the teacher from?	☐the U.S. ☐Canada ☐the U.K. ☐Australia/New Zealand ☐Other ( )			
9	Which variety of English do you think you are using?	☐American English ☐British English ☐Other ( )			
10	Which variety of English would you prefer to learn?	☐American English ☐British English ☐Other ( )			
Your English Proficiency					
11	At which level do you think you are in your English proficiency?	English Listening	1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5	1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5 (1:Beginning – 5:Proficient)	
		English Reading	1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5		
		English Writing	1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5		
		English Speaking	1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5		

12	Among the four language skills (English Listening, English Reading, English Writing, English Speaking), which one are you the best at? Please rank them in order.	1st 2nd 3rd 4th	13	Among the four skills, which do you wish to be the best at? Please rank them in order.	1st 2nd 3rd 4th
14	Among the four skills, which do you think is the most important one? Please rank them in order.	1st 2nd 3rd 4th			
15	Why do you think is the skill ranked 1st in # 14 the most important one for you? Please write down the reasons for it.				
16	Evaluate your overall proficiency in English. Which category of the following do you belong to?	☐Fully Satisfied ☐Generally Satisfied ☐So-So ☐Generally Dissatisfied ☐Totally Dissatisfied			
		Please explain it in detail.			
17	If your English proficiency improves, what kind of advantage do you expect to have? Please write it down in detail.				
Your Understanding of English					
18	When do you think is the best time to start learning English?	☐Prior to 3rd grade (☐Kindergarten ☐1st grade ☐2nd grade) ☐3rd grade ☐After 3rd grade (☐4th grade ☐5th grade ☐6th grade ☐middle school)			
19	Please write down your reasons for the answer to #18 in detail.				
20	From whom do you want to learn English?	☐Korean English Teacher ☐NEST *If you check both, in which ratio do you want to learn? (Korean English Teacher: _____ NEST: _____)			
21	What kind of English do you want to learn?	☐English for communication ☐English for Certified Exam ☐English for Major (English education)			
22	Which of the following purposes do you think English is the most necessary for? Choose only one.	☐English for communication ☐English for Certified Exam ☐English for Major (English education)			
23	What do you think is the most effective way of learning English?	☐English classes in Korean ☐English classes in English ☐Other (_____)			

24	What is the benefit of learning English?	
25	What are the major difficulties that you encounter when you learn English?	
26	Why do you think you have to learn English?	
27	What is your opinion on the requirements of a Certified English Exam (e.g. TOEIC) score for graduation and/or employment?	

Examples in: English

Applicable Language: English

Applicable Level: College

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